CATCHING INKFISH IN THE EMERALD CITY

A Narrative Exploration of Squid Jigging in Seattle

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CATCHING INKFISH IN THE EMERALD CITY:
A NARRATIVE EXPLORATION OF SQUID JIGGING IN SEATTLE

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ABSTRACT

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Gavin Aubrey Tiemeyer

Squid jigging is a popular fishing pastime that takes place during the fall and early winter at piers along the Central Waterfront of Seattle and the greater Puget Sound. Despite its popularity, there's no academic research about who fishes for squid, or their reasons for doing so. The squid jigging community of Seattle *has* been documented extensively over the last twenty years, thanks in part, to the reporting of the Seattle Times. Preliminary analysis of tertiary sources suggests that squid jigging is important to participants for a combination of cultural and recreational reasons; providing an opportunity to spend time with friends and family, a connection to nature, and access to an inexpensive food source. Squid jigging is also deeply rooted in Seattle's fishing culture and is influenced by places around the world, including Japan, Italy, and Southeast Asia, to name just a few.

Meanwhile, Seattle's Central Waterfront is undergoing a massive $728M redevelopment project with popular squid jigging destinations such as Waterfront Park (Pier 58), the Aquarium Pier (59), and Pier 62/63 undergoing extensive renovations. Using a combination of qualitative methods, including participation, situ observation study, and interviews, Catching Inkfish in the Emerald City provides an in-depth look at the richly layered world of squid jigging in Seattle and seeks to understand how the beloved fishing pastime may be impacted by the redevelopment of the Central Waterfront.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

All photos by author unless otherwise noted.
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To my partner Liz Tyning for sticking with me through the highs and the lows; from humble beginnings living with your parents, to quarantine, to the summer thaw of 2020 that felt like it would never come. I Couldn't have done it without you.

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Kathleen Saul, for creative freedom.
Music, for my sanity.

Greenhorn's Journal, January 14, 2020: Letter from Mom

Hello Gavin!

1989: You were four and a half years old when we moved to Pleasant Harbor Marina in Brinnon, Washington (Figure 1). There was a lot to keep a little guy busy in such a beautiful place, but one of my fondest memories was when we went jigging for squid. We set out one night at the beginning of October equipped with a bare fishing pole and what resembled a large white Christmas bulb with fishhooks on the end. Our Friends told us that the best place for us to do this was at the end of the dock at dusk because the schools of squid travel toward bright lights in search of food and there was a huge light at the end of the dock. There we sat patiently waiting for them to show up and not knowing what to expect once they did.

We sat there for about 30 minutes bobbing our pole up and down while the guys were shining large flashlights into the water waiting for a school to come along. All of the sudden someone said, "here they come!" I was nervous again wondering what we were going to do once they got there. Like a flock of birds landing on the water, this school of squid came up out of the water towards the dock. I really don't remember what I thought they could possibly do to me, but I threw down my pole and started running toward the shore. Once things calmed down, I was able to enjoy the experience as we sat there shining the bright flashlights into the water, watching them swim.

We actually caught quite a few and were able to make a good batch of calamari.

Hope this helps Gav, because a writer I'm not.

Love you,

Mom

Figure 1. Brinnon Washington: 1989

Introduction: The Year of the Squid

Nighttime at Waterfront Park (Pier 58) on the Central Waterfront of Seattle. Tucked between the tourist attractions of Miner's landing at Pier 57 (Figure 1) and the Seattle Aquarium (Pier 59), Waterfront Park's wooden façade extends out onto the water of Elliott Bay. During the daytime, the park is a great place to stop and take in a view of the Olympic Mountains before riding Seattle's Ferris Wheel (also located on Pier 57), or to check out the Seattle Aquarium exhibits.

But at night, when all of the tourist trinket shop's noises die down, the park hosts a most peculiar activity. Huddled shoulder-to-shoulder, forty or so people cast fishing lines into Elliott Bay, visibly an emerald green, as the water is illuminated by the fisher's powerful halogen spotlights. In a jig like dance, fishing poles jerk up, and then down. Elliott Bay fisher's hope to attract visitors from another world, *Doryteuthis opalescens,* or more commonly known as the market squid, who congregate in parts of the Puget Sound in prolific numbers to feed, mate, spawn, and then die.

Fishing is a test of patience.

Tonight, nothing happens for a long while, save for the din of generators powering the lights, and the many languages of the fishers. As the night grows darker, the action begins. A school of white ghosts move fluidly into the green spotlight and stop on a dime. The crowd is simultaneously silent and taking action, as they watch the squid come towards the light, yank their fishing lines, and one by one pull in squid, each one squirting a swan song before they're placed in a white bucket to be taken home, and eaten.

Figure 2. A view of Seattle's Central Waterfront on a fall night in 2019.

The scene above describes squid jigging, a nocturnal fishing activity that has grown in popularity in Seattle over the last forty years. My interest in squid jigging began in the summer of 2019 while working as a communications intern with the Water and Land Resources Division (WLRD) of King County. In 2016, the science and technical support team of WLRD performed a tissue analysis on market squid in order to test for chemical contaminants in the animal's flesh. The report's results were positive, indicating market squid as a potentially healthier food alternative to the more toxin prone seafood people catch in Elliott Bay and the Lower Duwamish Waterway. As an intern, I conducted background research on squid fishing and supported a media-based communication plan that would build awareness of the science and technical support team's findings (see Appendix A).

After preliminary research I was hooked or jigged for that matter.

It was during this time that I first read a Seattle Times article written by columnist Danny Westneat mourning the 2017 closure of Linc's Tackle, a beloved fishing hub

located on Rainier Avenue South and King Street in the International District. The family-owned shop sold squid jigs and taught people how to fish. “This one tackle shop…schooled tens of thousands of Seattleites, maybe a couple of hundred thousand all told, in how and where to fish, to crab, to squid,” wrote Westneat (para. 7). In Seattle, squid jigging has a history—It represents a wonderful amalgamation of cultures and people from around the world, who after dark, huddle onto the public piers of downtown Seattle. “It’s like the United Nations down there,” someone once said to me. In such an atmosphere, local and global boundaries melt away as fishers exchange stories, jigging techniques, and food recipes.

My internship with WLRD culminated with a media event that took place at Waterfront Park on November 21, 2019, to promote water quality research, along with Washington and King County Public Health’s safe seafood consumption mission. The communications team attended the event, including myself, Jenee Colton, author of the science section report, and Dave McBride, the seafood consumption and safety expert for Washington State Department of Health. My supervisor goaded me into a squid jigging “how to” demonstration, although admittedly at the time, I barely knew how to tie my lure to the fishing line.

Kiro and Komo 4 news showed up to interview Jenee Colton, Dave McBride, and others on the communications team (Figure 2). The transcript of these interviews made the internet. “Forget fishing for salmon. Puget Sound crab pots are so passé. Squid is in,” read a Komo 4 news article by Dyer Oxley. “The feeling around squid is so positive with county and state officials, they led an instructional event along the Seattle waterfront last

week" (Oxley, 2019, para. 7). The local coverage was eventually picked up by the Associated Press, who proclaimed "tests show Puget Sound squid is safe to eat."

Figure 3. Local news interviews Jenee Colton, environmental scientist for King County Department of Natural Resources and Parks.

In the fall, not long after my internship with WLRD, I was walking along Alaskan Way, near Colman Dock, when I noticed signs proclaiming that a new Seattle waterfront was on its way. Curious, I went home to learn more. The Central Waterfront of Seattle has been undergoing a transformation for the past decade, beginning with the rebuild of the aging Alaskan Way Seawall, to the removal of the Alaskan Way Viaduct in 2019. The facelift project is collectively known as Waterfront Seattle, a $728 million-dollar infrastructure program designed to turn the waterfront from a vehicle congested freeway, to a 26-block greenspace. The program is overseen by Seattle's Office of Waterfront and

Civic Projects and a number of partners, including the non-profit Friends of Waterfront Seattle and Seattle Parks and Recreation. When completed in 2024, the new waterfront will feature a park promenade, expansion of the Seattle Aquarium's operations, and renovated historic piers.

A handful of the popular squid jigging destinations on Seattle's Central Waterfront are within the boundaries of the 26-block project, including Waterfront Park (Pier 58), the Aquarium Pier 59, and Pier 62/63. Waterfront Park, for example, will become a new waterfront plaza, part of a 9-acre public gathering space offering live music, markets, and a children's play place (Waterfront Seattle, 2020). An informational poster on one of the concrete walls of Waterfront Park describes the new plaza as a "lively, fun and flexible space that will host events, performances, markets, and activities, while providing open views of Elliott Bay and the Olympic Mountains" (Figure 3). The poster shows the current, and future state of Waterfront Park. In the latter, an artist's rendition depicts park goers gathered in front of a lighted stage with Elliott Bay in the background. Similarly, Pier 62/63, when renovated, is designed to host a multitude of activities, including a soccer field.

Figure 4. Waterfront Seattle promotional material posted along the boundaries of Pier 58.

Accessibility is one of the allures of squid jigging from the Central Waterfront, because all a fisher needs is inexpensive, often homemade gear, and transportation to one of the piers. Compared to other fishing ventures, jigging from a pier doesn't require a boat, or investment in costly materials. Consequently, access can become the main barrier for someone squid jigging or not—there have already been closures of popular fishing destinations. For example, fishing Pier 86, located near the Expedia campus, closed in 2017 because of safety concerns regarding the pier's structural integrity (Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife, 2017b). Additionally, Pier 62/63 has been closed for renovation during the Waterfront Seattle program, forcing fishers elsewhere. When piers are not outright closed, parks operated by Seattle Parks and Recreation close at dusk and prohibit generators, which can interfere with squid fisher's late-night methods and location options.

I took to documents available on the Waterfront Seattle website, including the Concept Design, Framework Plan, and Operations and Maintenance Report for the Waterfront Seattle program, curious to see if squid jigging was accommodated for during the planning process of the new Seattle waterfront. Additionally, I scoured the Seattle Aquarium's Expansion Plan since they are expanding operations in conjunction with the Waterfront Seattle program. While these documents briefly mention fishing at times, none mention squid jigging. This is surprising, considering the prevalence of squid fishers who flock to the Waterfront every fall.

There is no doubt that the redevelopment of the Central Waterfront will be a positive development for Seattle, offering Seattleites an exciting array of recreation and cultural opportunities to experience the waterfront in a new light. The redevelopment will also bring big economic growth to the City as well. The project is expected to generate a $1.1 billion-dollar impact over its life, including 6,240 jobs, $376 million dollars in wages, and $30 million in sales, use, and business license taxes (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2019). Once completed, the yearly economic impact to the Central Waterfront is equally impressive. Friends of Waterfront Seattle have described the redevelopment project as a "once-in-a-generation opportunity when the community's values, vision, and investment align to achieve lasting economic, social, and environmental value –now, and for the benefit of future generations," (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2020).

But one has to wonder, with the allure of new cultural and economic opportunities, what will happen to the already existing culture on the Waterfront, such as squid jigging? After all, you can see a live concert practically anywhere in Seattle, or

play one of your favorite sports in the many city parks, but you can only fish where water is available.

This thesis is built around two complimentary inquiries. For the first inquiry, I sought to understand *why* squid jigging is important to the anglers who flock to public piers every fall, rain or shine, to catch squid? This thesis demonstrates people do so for a combination of important recreation and cultural reasons—decisions also influenced by place and tradition. Understanding these reasons provides justification for exploring the second question driving the project forward: *How* will the redevelopment of the Central Seattle Waterfront impact angler's access to popular fishing destinations, such as Waterfront Park (Pier 58), the Aquarium Pier (59), and Pier 62/63?

I provide for the reader an in-depth look into the fascinating world of squid jigging in Seattle, ultimately making a case for its long-term survival on the Central Waterfront. The thesis is broken into three parts. The first part explores the genesis of squid jigging in Seattle, and the influences that have shaped the activity's current popularity. This includes the influence of tackle shops and the influence of the Asian community in Seattle. Using tertiary sources and a handful of public health studies regarding the urban fishing community in Seattle, part two of the paper analyzes the reasons people catch squid in order to better understand the activity's importance. Lastly, part three provides for the reader an overview of the Waterfront Seattle program, including a more fine-grain analysis of Waterfront Park's rules, regulations, and public programming that can either hinder or encourage squid jigging in the long run. Interviews with anglers, city officials, and personal journal excerpts are included in each section to draw out themes coursing through the entirety of the project.

Catching inkfish in the Emerald City is a story about people fishing in a changing city.

Methodology

This qualitative research project—a hybrid between a narrative and a case study—relied on a combination of interviews, participation, and observational study, to explore my thesis questions: *Why* is squid jigging an important activity for anglers, and *how* will the activity be impacted by the redevelopment of Seattle's Central Waterfront? Interviews served as the primary form of data collection, providing for a deeper understanding of the importance of squid jigging, as told through the lives of interviewees. Beyond the personal narratives, interviews also served as a way to gain information about fishing access at Waterfront Park (Pier 58), the Aquarium Pier (59) and Pier 62/63. Secondary data collection methods included participation and observational study, both of which facilitated an on-the-ground analysis of the squid jigging community. A detailed overview of each method is listed below.

Interviews

Three Interviews with squid fishers, and two interviews with professionals working in some capacity on the Waterfront Seattle program, took place between December and March, 2019-20. In the beginning of my project, I approached anglers directly while squid jigging at Waterfront Park. I met Ray Chavez, my first interview recipient this way. Other attempts to meet anglers directly at Waterfront Park or the Aquarium Pier weren't as productive. To expedite the interview process, I joined the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group, and posted my research objectives and request for potential interviewees. While the post generated a handful of "likes," no one expressed interest in being interviewed. Seeking a stronger approach, I sent a direct message to Jay Mendoza–moderator of the group–due to his willingness to teach others

how to fish and because he made his own squid jigs, two things I found fascinating. Jay obliged, and he also connected me with the Peranzi brothers, whom I interviewed on January 11, 2020.

In addition, I requested in-person interviews with the Office of Waterfront and Civic Projects, Friends of Waterfront Seattle, and the Seattle Aquarium, in order to learn more about fishing access, prior to and after the redevelopment of the Central Waterfront. The Aquarium was the first to respond. I met with Jesse Phillips-Kress, the Aquarium's Facilities Manager, on January 8, 2020. On the advice of the Office of Waterfront and Civic Projects, I was connected to David Graves, Strategic Advisor for Parks and Recreation, who oversees the renovation of Waterfront Park and Pier 62/63. Friends of Waterfront Seattle declined my interview request on the basis that they couldn't provide any information on squid jigging at the time of the request and suggested getting in touch with Seattle Parks and Recreation.

Interviews followed a set of questions developed as part of my human subject review drafted in November of 2019. Questions were subsequently tailored to include information that I had learned about the interviewee prior to our formal interview. For example, I tailored questions for Ray Chavez based on what I learned about him while we fished together on December 8, 2019. Similarly, my questions for angler Bruno Peranzi were refined based on information I learned about him through direct messages on Facebook. Questions for Jesse Phillips-Kress and David Graves were also tailored based on email correspondence I had with the two.

Technical methodology of the interview process evolved over the course of the project. For example, interviews with Ray Chavez and David Graves were not recorded

because of unexpected technical difficulties. All other interviews were recorded, with permission, using the voice memos application on my iPhone. Once interviews were recorded, I transcribed them in order to pull accurate quotes to use in the thesis. Recorded interviews provided a concrete record of our communication transaction to be referenced easily when needed. All audio files were deleted after transcription.

Limitations of interview methodology

The public fishing piers of Seattle and the Puget Sound are rich cultural hotspots where people learn and exchange a variety of traditions from around the world. The opportunity to experience this learning exchange greatly enhances one's worldliness. Unfortunately for me, this opportunity was often limited by language barriers. Similarly, interviews set up on Facebook were predicated on the English language and access to a computer or mobile device. This is not to say communication was outright barred. Some forms of communication are universal, such as laughter and a shared sense of reverie for nature. Time was also a callous barrier. Time allows for a greater opportunity to build relationships, a challenge given the short timeframe of the project.

Participation and Situ Observational Study

It became obvious early on that the best way to meet people and ask about squid jigging was through the act of fishing. I went squid jigging 12 times between October and December 2019, first at Seacrest Park pier in West Seattle, and later as the project evolved, exclusively at Waterfront Park (Pier 58) and the south apron of the Aquarium Pier (59). Each time I fished, I took notes and documented my observations in a journal. Excerpts from the journal are placed in this paper to frame important themes. For example, the journal documents my personal experience learning how to catch squid,

building new friendships, and being taught by others. These themes demonstrate the importance of squid jigging. During my time fishing, my iPhone became a critical tool because of its secondary function as a camera. Throughout the writing process for this research project, photos and videos helped to stimulate recall, including sights, smells, and more nuanced sensory observations.

Land Acknowledgement

Following guidelines put forth by the Duwamish Tribe of Seattle and the United States Department of Arts and Culture, I recognize that research for this project took place on the ancestral lands of the Coast Salish People; specifically the Duwamish, People of the Inside, who for generations, fished the Waters of Elliott Bay on what is now Seattle's Central Waterfront.

Research Locations

While there are many popular squid jigging destinations in Seattle, I, like many, was first drawn to Waterfront Park because of its proximity to the Great Wheel and the other kitschy tourist attractions close to Miner's Landing. Here, under the wheel's light, I thought, there is no better place where the dichotomy between nature and civilization is so beautifully rejected. In other words, there aren't many places where you can fish for squid under the backdrop of a cityscape and the glow of a Ferris Wheel. I intended for Waterfront Park to be the central location where I would hunker down, observe and interact within the squid jigging community, but this path wasn't linear. My journal indicates that I actually started at Seacrest Park pier and moved between the two places before fishing exclusively at Waterfront Park. Later in the research project, I learned that what I thought was part of Waterfront Park was actually the south apron of the Aquarium

Pier (59). Thus, research for this project took place at the Seacrest Park fishing pier in West Seattle, Waterfront Park, and the south apron of the Aquarium Pier, the latter two piers located on the Central Waterfront.

Figure 5. Aerial view of Seattle's Central Waterfront shows Pier 57 (containing the Great Wheel), Pier 58 (the alcove between Pier 57 and 59), the Aquarium Pier (59), and Pier 62/63. Adapted from digital image © James Corner Field Operations (n.d.).

Waterfront Park (Pier 58)

Waterfront Park sits at the foot of Union Street between Miner's Landing (Pier 57) and the Seattle Aquarium (Pier 59). The park is operated by Seattle Parks and Recreation and is open to the public from 6AM until 10PM. Daytime amenities include benches and picnic tables for sitting, and coin-operated telescopes to view the surrounding city and Elliott Bay (Seattle Parks and Recreation, 2020a). Beyond daytime amenities the park offers ample space to fish into Elliott Bay. Around dusk and at night, from September until January, the waterfront railings of the park are regularly occupied

by squid fishers (Figure 4). The park's close location to Seattle's Great Wheel and the proximity to other downtown attractions make it an iconic fishing destination. The Ferris Wheel is often captured as the centerpiece of newspaper articles and social media posts on squid jigging.

Figure 6. Anglers at Waterfront Park (per 58) jig for squid from Elliott Bay. The Seattle Great Wheel is visible in the background.

Waterfront Park was once Schwabacher's Wharf, owned and operated by an illustrious pair of Jewish brothers, who immigrated from Bavaria in the mid 19th century, and made a fortune selling general goods in the Washington Territory (Jewish Genealogical Society of Washington State, 2015). The wharf also held the distinguished title of being the only wharf on the Seattle waterfront not destroyed by the fire of 1889. Seven years later, the Miike Maru, a steamship owned by the Nippon Yusan Kaisha,

docked at Schwabacher wharf, bringing trade goods and establishing trade relations between Japan and North America (Lang, 1999). And, in a couple of years from this research project, Waterfront Park will become a new waterfront plaza, the most recent iteration in a long series of transformations.

The south apron of the Aquarium Pier (59)

The south apron of the Seattle Aquarium Pier, with its long stretch of waterfront access, is also one of the popular squid jigging destinations on the Central Waterfront (Figure 5). Waterfront Park, and the Aquarium Pier, are next to each other, making their respective boundaries nearly indistinguishable. Because of this, squid fishers traverse the Park and the south apron of the Aquarium Pier interchangeably, and choose a location depending on preference and fishing conditions. Like Waterfront Park, the Aquarium Pier is owned by the Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation and operates under normal park hours.

Figure 7. Although squid jigging takes place primarily after dark, anglers successfully catch squid at all manners of the day. Pictured above, people populate the south apron of the Aquarium Pier (59) around dusk in the fall.

Seacrest Park pier in West Seattle

I ventured first to Seacrest Park in West Seattle because of its close proximity to my home. Beyond this personal convenience, Seacrest Park pier is one of the more popular squid jigging destinations because it offers a 250-foot fishing pier with rod holders in the railing. From September to January you're likely to see the fishing pier filled with squid fishers beginning at dusk. In addition to the fishing pier, Seacrest Park is also the access point for the King County Foot Ferry which transfers passengers daily between West Seattle and Pier 50 on the Central Waterfront (Seattle Parks and Recreation, 2020b). The park is also a popular scuba diving location managed by the Department of Natural Resources, offering divers a protected portion of Elliott Bay (Seattle Parks and Recreation, 2020b).

Like Waterfront Park, Seacrest Park is rich with historical intrigue. The old Seacrest Boathouse, now the popular restaurant Marination Mai Kai, was once a popular boat rental spot for Japanese American fishers participating in the Tengu Derby, an annual salmon fishing derby that began in 1940's wartime, and is still, to this day, held on location (Tahara, 2015). The Tengu Club's history is commemorated by placards that can be found at the entrance of the fishing pier (Figure 6) and on the walls of the restaurant. Marination Mai Kai has a special way of wafting tantalizing smells, only emboldening the anglers to catch more squid as they pass the boathouse to get to the fishing pier.

Figure 8. Seacrest Park fishing pier. A Tengu Club placard is pictured in the lower left.

Positionality

I entered into the fishing world as an adult learner, with a sense of humility and the natural anxiousness of trying something new. I did so with inherent privilege. As a white male, I don't have to worry about walking along the Seattle waterfront at one in the morning. As a white male I don't have to worry as much about getting busted for fishing without the required Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife Shellfish License. Furthermore, my mental and nutritional wellbeing are not contingent on fishing, as they are for some who rely on fish and shellfish as a means of survival. I've tried to keep this in my mind at all times while fishing and writing about others. It is my obligation to do so with a sense of accuracy and respect. Ultimately, I am a guest.

Part 1: Catching inkfish in the Emerald City

"The present moment is history, 500 years from now, a receding light that will eventually cease to exist. Unless you want to put in the time to document it."
-Unknown

"Over the years of using everything from a lantern, to a flashlight, to the dark, nothing beats 1500 halogen watts and a 4-stroke 2025-watt generator."
-Bruno Peranzi

Introduction

To date, there is no scholarly research on the squid jigging community of Seattle. However, over the last twenty years, squid jigging *has* been documented thoroughly thanks to the diligent reporting of Mark Yuasa, who covered fishing and outdoors for the Seattle Times for 25 years. Yuasa may be the first journalist to pay creative homage to the strange, nocturnal fishing pursuit that is squid jigging. "Tasty Tentacles: Squid jigging lets local anglers' taste buds squirm with delight," reads the title of one of Yuasa's write ups from November 2003. As squid jigging's popularity blossomed in the early aughts, other journalists followed suit, and now articles about squid jigging can be found on KUOW, Outside Magazine, and other online media distribution websites. With help from journalists, squid jigging has, at the very least, made its way into the popular imagination of Seattleites. Recently, one journalist even sold squid jigging as a medicine to beat the melancholy imposed by the dreary Pacific Northwest winter. "Finding light in Seattle's winter darkness requires an attitude adjustment," Tyrone Beason wrote for Pacific Northwest Magazine in 2016. "For seasonal squid fishers…the darkness and gloom of winter are necessities rather than nuisances (Beason, 2016, para. 37).

Local news articles are important because they serve as historical records, documenting the experiences of anglers and leaders in the fishing community who helped

to popularize squid jigging. For example, many of Yuasa's article's contain conversations with Jerry Beppu, owner of Linc's Tackle in the International District. Another historical document referenced often in this thesis is the book *Tengu: Tales Told by Fisherman and Women* written by Masaru Tahara, a prominent figure in the Japanese American fishing community of Seattle for over 50 years. Sadly, this book isn't published widely and is only available at Seattle's Central Library for inhouse use. My copy has coffee stains and has seen similar use to a good pair of running shoes. The importance of these historical records only grow stronger with time as Seattle progresses forward.

In part one of this thesis I trace the evolution of squid jigging in Seattle, from meager beginnings on Elliott Bay in the 1970's, to the sport's current popularity fueled by social media platforms. I also analyze the influence Asian Americans and immigrants have had on the development of squid jigging, including the influence of tackle shops. I pay specific attention to Linc's Tackle–whose own story is one of war-time internment and perseverance through fishing. Interviews with anglers Ray Chavez, the Peranzi brothers, and Jay Mendoza are included in this section as a way to extend the historical record begun by the sources mentioned above. I start off by providing the reader with information about squid jigging that may not be common knowledge.

Squid Jigging 101

Urban fishing

Squid jigging is a type of urban pier fishing. Despite urban fishing's prevalence in many coastal cities in the United States—from Seattle, Los Angeles, to New York City—little scholarly research exists studying the activity or the communities of urban fishers. What literature does exist focuses primarily on seafood consumption advisories and

subsistence fishing—specifically the social and economic factors influencing the consumption of toxic seafood from urban waterways (Burger, 2002). Likewise, in Seattle and King County information on urban fishing comes from public health research related to toxic fish consumption by subsistence fishers from the Lower Duwamish Waterway Superfund site.

In mainstream fishing culture, recognition of urban fishing doesn't fare much better, a fact dutifully observed by Wright (2018) in "Going Fishing in New York City": "Urban angling has been around in America as long as there have been cities," said Wright. "But unlike the broader categories of fly fishing, and saltwater angling, it has no recognition as a unique pursuit, no guidebook, or seminal novel" (para. 8). Similarly, in "Notes from an Urban Fishing Pier" Miller (2017), who is the Director of Science Communications for the Nature Conservancy, is equally dismayed to find that urban fishing is often scorned by the mainstream fishing community: "Many colleagues questioned me," Miller expressed in a personal blog. "*You're really going to fish there*? has become a frequent question. I'm used to the quizzical looks as I stroll out of downtown conference hotels with my fishing rod. Indeed, even many anglers look down on piers" (para.14).

Market squid

The animal of interest to anglers is the opalescent inshore squid, *Dorytuethis opalescens*, or commonly known as the market squid. Market squid are cephalopods, sharing a family with octopi and the ancient nautilus (Boyle & Rodhouse, 2005; Jereb, Vecchione, & Roper, 2010). Unlike the mythical giant squid, *Architeuthis dux,* known to spar with sperm whales, market squid are comparatively smaller in stature, measuring

five to seven inches long. Nonetheless the market squid is a formidable predator, able to overwhelm crustaceans and smaller fish using intelligence and speed, and consuming prey with a powerful bird-like beak (Jereb et. al., 2010; Zeidberg, 2014).

In addition to humans, market squid are also prey for other animals, including salmon, tuna, sharks, seabirds, and marine mammals (Zeidberg, 2014). The squid make a yearly southward journey through the Strait of Juan Defuca and the Puget Sound to prey, mate, and then die. According to the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW) (2020a), the location of squid in the Puget Sound is, "likely a combination of an ocean-to-South Sound migration of adult squid and resident populations that yield new generations as site conditions become favorable," (para.1).

Locations, technique, and gear used

Requiring little skill, and inexpensive equipment, jigging is a sport that can be enjoyed by just about anyone for around $50 to $200—and if you're creative, nothing at all. All you need is a fishing pole, a couple of squid jigs, a Washington State shellfish license ($17.40), and access to a public fishing pier. Yuasa (2019) writes "unlike many other sport fisheries, it doesn't take a lot of skill to catch squid and usually a simple trout-style fishing set-up will get the job done," (para.13).

In Seattle, squid jigging takes place at a number of public locations, most prominently on the numbered piers dotting the Central Waterfront, and fishing piers in West Seattle and Centennial Park. In the greater Puget Sound, squid jigging takes place at 28 public piers in Island, Snohomish, Clallam, Jefferson, King, Kitsap, and Pierce County (WDFW, 2020b). Popular fishing locations include the Edmonds fishing Pier in

Snohomish County, Redondo and Seacrest Park Pier in King County, and Illahee State Park Pier further South in Kitsap County (WDFW, 2020b).

Squid jigging occurs at night, preferably under the cover of clouds, with rain and a high tide, but anglers also successfully catch squid at any time of the day. According to WDFW (2020a), "these conditions give the nearshore water the depth that squid prefer plus a setting in which the artificial light will be most noticeable" (Fishing Techniques section, para.1). Like many cephalopods, squid are attracted to light (Hanlon, Hixon, Forsythe, & Hendrix, 1979), so anglers utilize a variety of light-sources, ranging from the pier's lampposts to homemade setups that include hi-watt bulbs powered by a car battery, or gas generator.

Catching squid requires the use of a jig; a two to four-inch lure equipped with a halo of sharp barbs (Figure 8). The squid jig is an art in and of itself, with many anglers making and selling handmade jigs at popular fishing destinations as well as on social media platforms, such as the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group. The luminous lure is designed to attract squid, and it can be charged by an external light source to make it glow in the dark water—single or multiple lures can be used (WDFW, 2020a.; Yuasa, 2003, 2011, 2019). Depth of the lure is a critical factor—the squid jigging technique involves moving the fishing pole up and down in an infrequent motion, owing to the namesake of the lure (WDFW, 2020a; Yuasa, 2019). Mistaking the jig for a prey animal, the squid wraps its arms and tentacles around the lure's halo of razor-sharp barbs, and then the fisher reels in the squid (Yuasa 2003, 2019). Once caught, the squid is usually placed in a bucket with netted lining to separate water and ink from the animal.

Figure 9. Handmade squid jigs crafted by fisherman Jay Mendoza.

Greenhorn's journal, October 15, 2019: You have to start somewhere!

I Went to Big 5 Sporting Goods in West Seattle to get a Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife shellfish license and a fishing pole. I was helped by a person who was kind and knowledgeable. She told me the best spots her family goes to jig and suggested buying better gear at the Outdoor Emporium. "Pink lures, you have to get pink lures!" she exclaimed. I'm official now. On her suggestion I drove to Outdoor Emporium on 4th Ave in SODO Seattle. I was helped by someone, kind and knowledgeable, and willing to teach me about the gear needed to start squid fishing. He offered to spool my spinning reel. On his advice I bought:

1. Skinny squid jig, 1 1/8": $4.49
2. Natural glow squid jig. 7/8": $3.99

3. Neon green fishing line
4. Evergreen tide guide
5. Okuma Celilo Salmon & Steelhead Spinning Rod *ultra-light*: $36.99
6. Okuma ROX spinning reel size 20: $19.99
7. Handheld UV black light: $6.49

After he set up my spinning reel he taught me how to tie an improved clinch knot. "Oh yeah, one more thing, remember to wash out the spinning reel when you're done because the saltwater will mess up the reel's bearings," he told me as I left.

Greenhorn's journal, October 16, 2019: Tying the knot

The improved clinch knot is preferred among fishers for its ease of use and reliability. Before leaving Outdoor Emporium, the man who helped me demonstrated the knot, his thick fingers delicately looped the neon green fishing line into the eye of my squid jig. He made it look easy. At home, I attempted it, fumbling multiple times, but the internet is my friend. A couple of how-to YouTube videos later, and I'd done it. *The fishing line moves through the eye of the lure, back out again to wrap around itself five times. The end of the fishing line then passes through the first loop and is pulled.*

Greenhorn's journal, October 23, 2019: Cut my thumb

Had too much coffee. I Cut my thumb trying to unpack a rechargeable LED light to attract squid. Couldn't stop the bleeding so I went to an urgent care in West Seattle. I told the doc what I was researching (why I cut my thumb), and he explained the nurse that fixed me up was an avid fisher. Talked with the nurse about the best times to fish for squid and the technique of moving the pole. "I learned from watching other people," he

told me. He also said the other night he saw the warden bust a guy for catching a ton of squid without a license.

Greenhorn's journal, November 5, 2019: Patience

Seacrest Park fishing pier, 10:30PM.

Worked up the courage to go to Seacrest Park pier on Alki in West Seattle. 20 people portioned into their own groups with multiple lights fixed on the water. It's windy. I struggle at first to attach my light to the dock. I'm disappointed to find that it doesn't penetrate the water the way other lights do. Instead, it sits weightless on top of it, in an unsatisfying way. Five minutes in a man asks, "did you catch anything?" I reply, "not yet." Him talking to me cuts the ice. It's windy. I feel more relaxed this time around but I'm impatient. An hour in and I haven't caught anything. The head of a harbor seal bobs in the water. Somewhere on the dock a woman laughs. She makes her way closer to show the angler next to me all the squid she's caught. I take advantage of the moment to ask her one thousand questions: "how far down do you cast your line? How often do you charge your jig? What is the netted lining inside your bucket for?" She tells me "fishing takes patience," with a whole-hearted laugh and complains about all the men smoking on the dock as she walks away.

Greenhorn's journal, November 10, 2019: Caught my first squid!

Seacrest Park fishing pier, 5:22PM

And immediately bungled the operation and dropped it in the water.

Greenhorn's journal, November 17, 2019: Caught my second squid

Seacrest Park fishing pier, 8:22PM

I wish I could say this was achieved by some level of skill, but I believe it was a measure of blind, beginners' luck that I hauled this thing over the railing. And from there, what to do with the animal once caught? The first thing I really notice is a large, lidless eye, staring expressionlessly at the alien environment it has found itself in. Once in the bucket, the animal seems to take in one last full-bodied breath and expels a pathetic squirting sound, and the game is over. I honestly feel nauseous. How did I expect to feel? It writhes in the bucket for quite some time making squirting sounds. I don't think I'm going to have much of a career as a squid fisher. In lieu of a bucket, the younger couple next to me place their catch directly in a hot pot. Macabre. At the end of the night, with just one squid in my bucket, I give my catch to another angler before exiting the fishing pier.

Greenhorn's journal, November 21, 2019: Media event

South apron of the Aquarium Pier, 7:30PM

When the local news-level excitement dies down on the Aquarium Pier, Rory O'Rourke and I decide to do some fishing outside of the limelight of the cameras. Rory is one of the authors of the 2016 Elliott Bay Market Squid Tissue Monitoring Sampling and Analysis Plan; whose findings are the reason we are all here tonight. Rory is a more-than friendly person and we automatically hit it off and it feels relaxing to just fish with someone under the calm glow of the city to our left. Someone on the pier lights a swisher and the wafty grape smell travels fast. We take turns sharing my fishing pole. On Rory's first go, the pole heaves and he reels in a squid and I hold my white bucket high up over my shoulders to catch it with a big smile cracking my face. Rory tangles his fishing line with the guy next to him, but the guy doesn't seem to mind. He looks at the slack of the

line and tells us we're cast too deep. 20 minutes later we have three squid in my bucket, writhing to death, colors changing from a burst of angry burgundy to pale ivory. It is 7:30 on a fall night. 20 people on the pier and we are all having a great evening.

Beginnings: An Interview with Ray Chavez

On December 8th, 2019, the first time I met Ray Chavez, Waterfront Park was buzzing with squid fishers, maybe 40 people all together—including two little girls, bundled up in pink, fishing with an adult. Out in the bay, a guy jigged from a kayak just close enough to draw ire from the pier-side anglers. It was 4pm, not quite dark, and the Ferris Wheel was illuminated. I decided to offer my meager catch to the older gentlemen next to me in exchange for a couple of questions. While we talked his jig snagged on the bottom of the bay, and in a friendly enough way, his buddy gave him a hard time, and our interview was cut short. I gave him my lone squid, and he patted me on the back and said, "good luck," as he left. The guy to take his place next to me quickly racked up 12 squid, and instead of placing them in a bucket, he unhooked them directly onto the pier between us (Figure 8).

Figure 10. An angler drops market squid directly onto the dock, forgoing the normal procedure of placing them in a bucket.

To my left, a pair of younger guys leisurely cast their lines and enjoyed the mild and timeless evening together—Ray Chavez and his brother, and it was their first time jigging for squid. “Catch anything?” is a polite enough way to strike up a conversation, and Ray is kind enough to oblige. I look down to see that their bucket is filled with inky gray water. Like me, Ray and his brother are learning how to catch squid. After a couple of hours fishing together, Ray agreed to do a more in-depth interview. We exchanged numbers, and parted ways to meet at a later date.

Later in the month Ray meets me at a Starbucks in Dupont, Washington to talk about his first-time squid jigging. “My little brother wanted to keep them alive, but they were all dead,” he laughs as he explains the uncustomary inky-water approach. On that

day, Ray and his brother started fishing around 8:30 in the morning and stayed at Waterfront Park until 6pm. “We caught 17 squid in total,” he tells me.

Ray is a Utilities and Equipment repairer in 91 Charlie, a branch of the United States Army that is responsible for the maintenance of utilities equipment in vehicles, including AC repair and refrigerant maintenance. “Basically, making sure the vehicles have heat and anything that has to do with HVAC,” he explains. HVAC stands for heating, ventilation, and air conditioning.

Ray has the kind of life under his belt that makes you mature at an early age, yet he is only 23-years old. He grew up in a small town in Idaho, the same place where he met his wife in middle school. Eventually they would have a daughter together. The army and his family have shaped his journey to Washington State. After working at a job with less than ideal benefits, Ray decided to pursue better prospects for his new family. “Boot camp was also a great way to get in shape,” he laughs. Ray was influenced by his two younger brothers, also military men. Basic Training led him to South Carolina, and then on to Virginia for Advanced Individual Training. He then started a tour in the Middle East.

The fishing trip to Waterfront Park was important for Ray. He had only been back to Washington for a week after serving a nine-month tour in the Middle East. And, his younger brother was visiting him from Kansas before being sent to Camp Humphreys in South Korea.

I ask Ray, out of all the places in Washington State, how he ended up at Waterfront Park jigging for squid. “The newcomer’s brief at JBLM” he explains. “It’s a way for people to learn about things to do in the area.” He was drawn to the waterfront by

the Great Wheel. “On the Facebook pages we’d see the Ferris Wheel in the background and figured it was a good place to start.”

That day at Waterfront Park, Ray and his brother met up with a young guy who specializes in making squid jigs. After seeing his advertisement on Facebook, Ray explains that he had originally agreed to pick up this jig maker from Port Orchard and drive together to the Seattle waterfront. However, Ray missed the opportunity because he had been up all night with his daughter and was running late that day. They still managed to meet separately at Waterfront Park. “He seemed nice and gave us a military discount, so that’s appreciative.”

The young jig maker accompanied Ray, his brother, and I for most of the evening, after making his rounds along the south apron of the Aquarium Pier selling his handmade lures. The jig maker showed me a photo of a coveted triple catch he performed earlier in the month. A triple catch is where you snag three squid with one lure. Sold at the prospect of increasing my odds, I bought two jigs from him for $15 bucks. Ray had also been sold, saying to me, “My brother laughed because I lost eight out of the 20 jigs we bought from him, and he didn’t lose any.”

At one point I asked the young jig maker how he gutted squid. Eager to teach us, the jig maker pulled a squid from his bucket, effortlessly gutted it with a pocketknife, and tossed the guts into the water. Easy enough. “That was really helpful,” Ray explains.

I ask Ray what he did with the 17 squid he brought home, since I didn’t have much experience catching more than three. “My wife was really fascinated,” he explains. “We called our family and showed them.” Then he fried the squid in panko. “We wanted

to try the squid by themselves, but later got some Thai-sweet chili sauce to go with them." He froze what they couldn't eat.

Reflecting on the experience of that day at Waterfront Park, I ask Ray *why* squid jigging was important to him. "It's hard for my brothers and I to find the time to do stuff together." Fishing was a great way to spend some quality time before his little brother was redeployed. "It was special because we had no idea what we were doing," he explains. "It was a learning experience, so we just had a really good time."

Greenhorn's Journal, December 10, 2019: The silver lining, somewhere at the bottom of Elliott Bay

Waterfront Park (Pier 58), 9PM

At 9PM the waterfront is absent of activity, save for a group of younger, college-aged friends taking selfies in front of Miner's Landing. I cross Union Street in front of them on my way to Waterfront Park, my fishing pole bobbing with my step. After raining heavily all evening, the sky is now cloudless. Past the concrete façade of Waterfront Park, which absorbs no light, rain has collected on the Park's wooden basin, reflecting a mirrored world of Pier 57, pink and green neon signs ablaze.

Close to the entrance of the Great Wheel a group of four fishermen lean against the park's railing, lines cast in the water below. Two younger guys, and an older one with a beard.

"Don't worry. You'll catch something eventually. It's low tide," the bearded one tells the others. One of the younger fishermen wears a tan mask covering everything but his eyes. Curiously, no one is using a light.

The bearded one tells stories, and everyone laughs. “I have a buddy who can’t jig worth shit, but he can catch salmon!” He curses often. Two other fishermen show up and join the conversation. It’s clear they all know each other. I set up shop close to them and unpack my dinky LED light, a pair of scissors, tide guide, and three jigs. I use my U.V. black light, strung around my neck, to charge the jig and cast it into the black water. Behind us, Wings Over Washington plays adventurous music, the kind used to flood out stillness at theme parks while people wait in endless lines. The bearded one tells a vulgar story now, using ample profanity. I watch as my jig pierces the water and then disappears into the darkness. After an hour, none of us catch anything, and it’s time to move on.

At the south apron of the Aquarium Pier, 20 people are gathered around two high-powered lights that illuminate the water so much so that you can see bait fish four feet into the water column. For the most part, everyone is silent. I’ve come to understand squid jigging is a meditative process, one that involves a lot of nothingness punctuated by moments of frenzied activity. My mind wonders, taking in the serenity of the night city. A ferry crosses Elliott Bay out in the water in front me.

When the action does start, people reel in squid left and right. The process reminds me of a conveyor belt carrying squid vertically from the water to the pier. I cast my line and follow the jig, but as it hits the water, the fishing line follows the lure into the deep. I have no idea what happened. I’m going to have to tie an improved clinch knot to the line, something I’ve yet to accomplish without an instructional video. I tie the jig and cast the line again, wait for a couple of seconds, and it hits the bottom, snagged. I’ve lost the two jigs I bought from Outdoor Emporium in one night! My last jig is handmade, bought from the young jig maker while fishing with Ray Chavez. I’m not sure if I want to

gamble with this, but I also don't want to go home empty handed. I concentrate, tie the third jig to the line, cast it. The jig is noticeably heavier than the other two and immediately hits the bottom. Cautiously, I reel up and wait. My fishing pole bows under a phantom weight. With a burst of serotonin, a reel in my first squid. Then another and another. My lucky jig.

A Brief History of Squid Jigging in Seattle

Fishers tell the best tales. When and where squid jigging began in the Puget Sound is likely to change based on the angler you talk to, with each adding their own unique flourish to the story. However, there are traceable events that occurred in the 1970's helping to establish what the sport is today. One unwavering fact is the influence Asian Americans have had on the development of the sport over the years.

Masaru Tahara, author of *Tengu: Tales Told by Fishermen & Women of the Tengu Club of Seattle*, traces squid jigging's genesis to salmon rearing pens in Seacrest Marina in 1973. According to Tahara (2015), shoals of market squid were attracted to the feed given to the Coho and Chinook "fingerings" by Tengu club members (p.46). Shortly thereafter, club members unsuccessfully attempted to catch the squid with spinning lures, but to no avail. Eventually a club member introduced a squid jig brought home from Japan, and the others caught on. The newfound squid fishers expanded their pursuit to the neighboring shoreline of Elliott Bay, including Vigor Shipyard, formally Todd Shipyard. In his book, using bold, italicized, and underlined type, Tahara happily exclaims, "so we, the Tengu Club members, can claim that we started the recreational squid jigging in the State of Washington right here in Elliott Bay!" (p.47).

It's likely the popularity of squid jigging in the greater Puget Sound spread with the creation of public fishing piers installed by Washington Department of Fisheries in the late 1970's (Yuasa, 2003). The piers, built in Edmonds, Seattle, and Tacoma, were largely the response to national and local sentiment for improved recreational fishing opportunities in major US cities at the time (Buckley, 1982). Buckley adds that the decline of Pacific Salmon, new fishing restrictions under the 1974 Boldt decision, and rising fuel costs, contributed to a desire for fishing spots closer to major urban centers in Washington State.

Seattle Times food writer Tan Vinh (2012) argues that squid jigging was also heavily influenced by Southeast Asian refugees fleeing war-torn Vietnam for Washington State in 1975. Refugees may have relied on squid as an inexpensive, nutrient-rich source of protein that could easily be added to traditional dishes (Vinh, 2012). Vinh's argument is corroborated by Washington's refugee resettlement program which began in Washington State in 1975 after the fall of Saigon. Under the popular program devised by Governor Daniel J. Evans, some 500 South Vietnamese refugees relocated to Washington from Camp Pendleton in Southern California beginning in May of 1975 (Seattle Times Editorial Board, 2016). "The state of Washington, alone among the 50 states, has developed a Vietnamese refugee resettlement program," reads a New York Times article from June 9th, 1975, "that ranges from recruiting the new settlers at Camp Pendleton to finding them homes, jobs and friends," (Malcom, 1975). Indeed, Evans was keen to establish a strong social network for Vietnamese refugees by hosting them with Washington State families, while also encouraging employers to provide new job opportunities for them (Seattle Times Editorial Board, 2016).

The influence of Linc's Tackle

The tackle shops of Seattle also helped to propel squid jigging to the forefront of fishing culture in the Puget Sound in the 1970s. In the 20th century there were numerous tackle shops in the city, enough to "make Starbucks jealous with envy," according to Yuasa (2017a, para. 1). Most shops proliferated, and then disappeared with the rising popularity of salmon sports fishing between the 1930's and 1970's (Yuasa, 2017a). Eight of these shops were owned and operated by Japanese Americans, dutifully documented by Tahara (2015) in his book. These included, but are not limited to, Seattle Fishing Tackle, owned by Masumi Hamamoto; Tokyo Fishing Tackle, owned by Seizaburo Mukai; and Tashiro Hardware, owned by Kanjiro Tashiro (Tahara, 2015).

Arguably the most beloved was Linc's Tackle, owned by Linc Beppu, and operated from Rainier Street in the International District of Seattle. According to Tahara (2015), once Tengu club members caught on to Japanese squid jigs, Linc capitalized on the opportunity and imported more of the lures from Japan in the early 1980s. "His tackle shop was always the place to go for anything and everything you needed for fishing and the place to hang around, exchanging the very latest fishing news" (Tahara, 2015, p.60).

The origin of Linc's Tackle reflects the U.S. government's complicated history of interning Japanese Americans during the Second World War. The tackle shop was originally owned by Linc Beppu, short for Lincoln. Linc's parents and siblings emigrated from Japan to Seattle in the early 1900s (Yuasa, 2017a). "Grandma was very patriotic," reflects Jerry Beppu, Linc's son, in a Seattle Times documentary. "She named all the sons after presidents: Taft, Lincoln, Grant, Monroe. Linc was my father" (Frohne, 2017). Linc originally owned Togo's Tackle, which was passed on to him from another

fisherman. According to Westneat (2016), in the 1930's Linc had to place a sign on his shop saying, "Operated by Americans," reflecting the war-time xenophobia against Japanese at the time (para. 14). In 1942, Linc and his family were forced to relocate to Camp Minidoka, an internment camp located in southeastern Idaho, where they lived for two years (Frohne, 2017; Yuasa, 2017a). Once released from Minidoka, and after working a number of jobs and saving money, Linc moved his family back to Seattle where he opened his tackle shop in 1950 (Yuasa, 2017a). His son Jerry Beppu and daughter in law Marie took over in the late 1980's when his dad retired. (Yuasa, 2017a).

Linc's was a community stronghold, revered by dignitaries and fishers alike, making it more than just a one-stop shop (Westneat, 2016). Stepping into Linc's meant participating in a transfer of fishing knowledge that spanned multiple generations and continents. It was a place to learn, make new acquaintances, and exchange fishing lore. Seattle Times columnist Danny Westneat (2016) aptly referred to Linc's as the "third place for fishing people" (para. 18). The third place was first defined by urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg in the 1980's as a communal space between work and home, whose purpose was to release the pressure and isolation of the working class (Oldenburg & Brissett, 1982). The third place was a space to have fun and cut loose. It was a place to form spiritual bonds, and its egalitarian and democratic nature bred diversity. For Seattleites, Linc's Tackle hit all of the marks.

An era ended when Linc's closed in 2017. Gone were the days when you could walk into a tackle shop in South Seattle and talk to an old timer about fishing. "…This one tackle shop has schooled tens of thousands of Seattleites, maybe a couple of hundred thousand all told, in how and where to fish, to crab, to squid — to supplement their diets

directly from city waters," wrote Danny Westneat on the closure. "I know one of my most recent columns was about vanishing Seattle as well. Sorry, but this is what we're doing in this city right now. And this one hurts" (2016, para. 6).

In a way, the closure of Linc's Tackle also symbolized the end of an era for Mark Yuasa. As his career with the Seattle Times came to a close in 2017, Yuasa wrote: "My first sports section cover story was a feature on Linc Beppu, owner of Linc's Tackle Shop in Seattle, which closed this past month. Ironically, this small family-owned tackle shop eventually became the book end of my writing career as I recently wrote about their closure after 67 years in operation" (2017b, para. 22). According to Westneat (2016) Linc's will be torn down and the property at the corner of Rainier and King Street will feature a four-story office complex (Figure). The old Linc's Tackle sign can now be seen at the Wing Luke Museum in the International District.

Nothing Wrong with a Little Civil Disobedience for the Greater Good: An Interview with Bruno and Joseph Peranzi

In January of 2019, not far from where Linc's Tackle used to be, I met with Bruno and Joseph Peranzi, two brothers who grew up squid jigging in Seattle. My first conversation with the brothers began with Bruno on Facebook where he first shared with me his family's history in Seattle, and their long tradition of squid jigging that began with their dad. I tailored my subsequent interview questions around this initial conversation. Over the course of our near two-hour interview we talked about everything from the public trust doctrine, to spirituality, to the best way to cook squid (the answer: in red sauce served over polenta). But most importantly, the brothers provided a rich, first account history of squid jigging in Seattle over the last thirty years, and with this

history including all of its the sport's wonderful nuances. These details, and many more, are included below in my conversation with the Peranzi brothers.

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When the Peranzi brothers meet me at a deli on Occidental and Jackson Street in Pioneer Square, Bruno has a stack of papers under his arm. I would soon learn that the papers are lease agreements between Central Waterfront pier owners and the State of Washington. Bruno and Joseph are passionate fishers, who know a lot about the legalese surrounding public access to Seattle's downtown piers. A week prior to our interview, the brothers and I were connected through Jay Mendoza, based on our shared interest of squid jigging in Seattle—another subject the two brothers know a lot about.

Once in the deli, Bruno places the stack of leases on the table, and the brothers waste no time explaining what is dearly important to them—freely fishing the waters of Seattle and Washington State, and defending this activity as a public right guaranteed by law. The brothers believe public fishing rights on the Central Waterfront and other areas in Seattle, like Seacrest Park, are being infringed upon. Fishers are targeted.

"You guys mind if I ask you a couple of background questions?" I ask.

"We do real-estate. That's our main thing," Bruno laughs.

The two are unassuming. Bruno is dressed like he just painted a house, and Joseph wears a black Bass Pro Shop hoodie. Although I don't ask, I would guess they are close in age. Among their similar face structure, the brothers often complete each other's sentences, a telepathy forged by shared experiences over the years. In the coming month, when I transcribe our near two-hour interview, I'll get to know the similarities and subtle differences between the two brother's voices.

"How long have you guys lived in Seattle for?" I ask.

"I'm born and raised here," Bruno says.

"We're both born and raised here," Joseph adds.

John and Joseph, of proud Italian lineage, grew up in Seattle. "Our family has been living in the same part of the Central District since 1912. Italians don't move much," Bruno jokes. It's not every day you meet someone who has lived in Seattle for more than ten years. It's also not every day you meet siblings from a cohesive, multi-generation family unit.

Italians, like the Japanese, made a community in Seattle well before the Second World War. Bruno reminds me that "in the old days," Rainier Valley was known as the "Garlic Gulch," named for the prolific vegetable gardens Italian and Japanese families grew in the early 1900's. Some vestiges of the Italian-owned businesses can still be seen along Rainier Avenue South; Think Gai's Bakery or the Oberto Sausage Company.

The brother's love for fishing was influenced by family and the history of the neighborhood they grew up in. They first learned to fish from their dad—who started in the 1950's when he was a teenager, and then later learned how to jig for squid from a Japanese buddy, and others in the Italian community. "Our fishing heritage has been passed along from pre-World War Two methods learned from Japanese folks to Italians," Bruno explains. In the old days, his dad used a hand line, modern bamboo pole, or a fiberglass spun rod, to fish.

The brothers started squid jigging in the early 1990's, a time before the sport hit the mainstream. "It was a good Friday night activity, but I wouldn't share it with my Kindergarten buddies back then because they probably would think you were a weirdo,"

Bruno laughs. In the beginning they didn't use a generator, and instead relied on the high-pressure sodium lights from the crabbing boats headed to Alaska. A Colman lantern, or a fluorescent flashlight and a rope also did the trick.

Back then, they made their own squid jigs from found objects, using reflective green tape fastened to the barrel of a syringe with the needle broken off, or a piece of lead. Bruno brought a bag of squid jigs to show me. Some are new, and some are very old. "These are the ones that we made ourselves," he says. "My dad made this one back in the 1980's."

Bruno tells me Miner's Landing, or "57" as he calls it, was one of the original places along the Central Waterfront where people started to jig for squid. "Before, we used to be able to squid where the Ferris Wheel is," referring to Pier 57.

"That's where people started," Joseph adds. "It wasn't really Pier 70 or 69. People would go where the Ferris Wheel was."

"Because they spawned there. Before this whole Viaduct thing it was all sandy," Bruno says. "All those piers along the waterfront were all sandy. Minimal rock bottoms, and the squid like to lay their eggs on a sandy bottom."

Using old black and white photos, the brothers paint a vivid portrait of a Seattle long gone–one most of us never experienced and never will. The exchange of old photographs adds to the brothers' anachronistic qualities.

They explain there was a time when boathouses dotted the waterfront of West Seattle and downtown. For example, Ray's Boathouse in Ballard and Lloyd's Boathouse on Alki were places where anyone could rent a boat and fish for Salmon in Elliott Bay. Loyd's Boathouse was also home to the Tengu Derby.

And for every boathouse, there existed a complimentary tackle shop providing everything you needed for fishing. Even department stores and drugstores had a tackle section—places like Rite Aid, Walgreens, Pay 'n Save, Woolworth, and Warshal's Sporting Goods, now long gone. Many of the tackle shops were located in the International District. Joseph points in the direction of Jackson Street, "So, if you go about three blocks from here on Second and Yesler, you'll see the Tashiro building. That's what housed Tashiro Hardware."

"And then there's Linc's," Bruno adds.

"I've been dying to know; did you ever shop at Linc's Tackle?" I ask.

Bruno responds with an emphatic "Oh yeah. We'll tell you the whole story."

The brothers explain that Linc's Tackle maintained a close and committed relationship with their customer base—everyone was treated like family, and were given a full-service fishing experience, including tackle selection, to outboard motor maintenance. Linc's was also a Honda dealer.

"These guys sold used tackle and you'd see them on the water when you were fishing, and they would be asking you, 'how is the tackle working?'" Bruno explains.

"They were more full service. [Linc and Tashiro's] were fixing outboards, fishing rods, anything you'd need to fish for, he would take care of it," Joseph adds. Before Linc's closed in 2017, Joseph paid the shop a visit. At that point Jerry and Maria Beppu were liquidating products, including vintage, fiberglass rods from the 1940's. "He had one with his dad's name on it and he wanted to give it to me because he said none of his grandkids fish anyhow," he explains. "I said no I can't take that one. You can just put it in a case."

"What did he do with it?" I ask.

"He kept it. His wife wanted him to keep it," Joseph responds.

"They should put that stuff in a museum."

"You should keep that stuff for your grandkids."

For Bruno and Joseph, catching squid is more than just putting a jig in the water. For them, fishing is akin to a spiritual experience—an opportunity to connect with the land and water in a meaningful way. The Central Waterfront is the place for this connection, one Bruno frequents often while walking his dog at night. Joseph reminds me that fishing and hunting foster a deep sense of responsibility and conservation for the land.

"Why is fishing so important to you?" I ask the two.

"For one, I like being out in a place where you can just connect with the water and being able to harvest something," Bruno says. "We're Catholic, so outside with something that God created. To just be there and share it with your family and friends or anybody. It's a great way to also connect with strangers, because you have people from two different avenues."

"I think that's the biggest thing. Fishing is a great way for people to meet each other and to learn from each other and everybody gets a nice experience out of it," Joseph says.

Bruno explains, that when they were little, *it was all about the catch*, but as they've grown older it's become more about the *experience* of fishing and the opportunity to teach others. The experience becomes a rhythm, "I'm learning and I'm putting the puzzle together and seeing how it actually works—" Joseph completes his

brother's thought: "and understanding the ties and the bottom seafloor formation and the different factors."

The brothers have noticed a change in fishing access on the downtown piers since the 1990s, when they began squid jigging—rules are unevenly enforced by pier security guards and police, or piers are outright closed, and at worst, fishers are targeted.

"They started kicking people off of pier 70 right around the mid-90's," Bruno says. "That's the first pier we saw that they were really slamming the hammer and spray painting no fishing on the asphalt and on the walkway that surrounds the pier. We didn't go get the leases yet, we just backed down."

"We were younger, and we didn't know how it all worked," Joseph adds.

For the lay fisher, understanding the difference between private property and publicly available space along the Central Waterfront can be overwhelming. Bruno and Joseph school me on who owns what pier downtown, and who has access—private owners, the Port of Seattle, Parks and Recreation, Washington State tribes, the public, or the federal government. My head is spinning. To make access issues more complicated, when fishers don't know the rules of each pier, they can be easy targets for security guards or police, especially when using generators at night.

This is where the stack of leases on the interview table comes into play. You see, Bruno and Joseph are not the two fishers you want to indiscriminately hassle. The brothers are incredibly knowledgeable about everything from real-estate law, to public access laws. Driven by their passion for fishing, these two aren't likely to back down from an unwarranted confrontation. After run-ins with security guards and the police over

the years, the brothers bring lease agreements with them, to remind weary authority figures of their rights.

The brothers see room for improvement regarding the future of fishing from Seattle's downtown piers. They support the development of rules agreed upon and followed by both fishers and pier owners, so long as those rules are not restrictive and fishers aren't inordinately targeted for larger issues, such as trash accumulation. However, generators have to stay. The brothers use the success of similar park rules in Bainbridge Island and Edmonds as examples—these parks work primarily on an honor system. Docks don't close overnight, and generators are allowed as long as fishers keep the peace.

"Part of the problem is that they don't have trash bins," Joseph adds, referring to the Central Waterfront. "That would help them go a long way if they put a bin or two."

"Put a pay station activated outlet so you can plug your lights in," Bruno adds as another suggestion.

"Put a charging station where you can use money or your card and plug in," Joseph says.

"Or if you have a generator, make sure it's four-stroke and you fuel it off site," Bruno says. "If you fuel it before coming down, there's no need for fuel containers aloud on the dock. It must already be fueled."

The brothers stress that they don't think the City of Seattle wants fishing gone, however keeping it around will take a coordinated effort by those who care for it.

"If you want fishing to take place even in this new development [referring to the Seattle Waterfront Program] the people interested in fishing have to band together and push the legal envelope," Bruno says.

"And from that hopefully morph it into a voice and a set of rules that can be there," Joseph adds "There has to be some parameters set because at the moment it's kind of open ended. The State doesn't know where their rights start and finish, and the private property owners don't know where their rights start and finish."

Before our interview concludes, Bruno arranges his squid jigs in chronological order on the table for me to take a photo of (Figure 9). Seven jigs varying by age, color, and shape. The older ones encrusted with the gunk of who knows how many squid. He cracks a big smile and says, "as you can see, the squid are getting pickier, like my apartment dwellers, they want more amenities." I guess he's referring to how the jigs have become more specialized over the years. Each squid jig tells a story.

Figure 11. Squid jigs are laid out from left to right in chronological order based on age.

On the way home, something Bruno said sticks with me. Referring to the "old-timers," Bruno told me, "they had to tie their own fly's and tie their own leaders by hand, and I think there's always a little intrinsic fishing spirit from that person. If you're always using that person's tackle, I think their soul is kept in it. Nowadays there's none of that soul and culture left."

The *New* Third Place for "Fish People"

Despite changes over time, the popularity of squid jigging in Seattle shows no signs of slowing down. From humble beginnings in the waters of Elliott Bay, to the pages of the Seattle Times, squid jigging has caught nationwide attention, thanks in part, to the internet. In 2015, Munchies—Vice Magazine's online food channel—featured squid jigging as part of their tour of Washington's strangest foods. In the video, host Tarik Abdullah fishes with other anglers from Pier 57. Abdullah is also an esteemed local chef who grew up in the city. "Seattle is a port city, so of course we have some awesome seafood," he says to viewers. "But I'm not just talking about salmon, scallops, shrimp…I'm talking about some weird ass shit that you can't find at the grocery store." The video tallied an impressive 592 thousand views and counting, and the channel has reached 3.5 million subscribers.

Another video posted to YouTube by Seattle Channel in 2017, documented the diversity at public piers as Seattle's racial and ethnic demographics evolve. In the video a woman wearing a niqab happily reels her catch into a bucket. "In the late 1990s, the chatter along piers among squid jiggers was mostly in Tagalog, Vietnamese or Laotian," writes Tan Vinh (2012) for the Seattle Times. "Now, you're likely to see people of any ethnicity standing shoulder to shoulder with the Asian Americans and Asian immigrants

along Elliott Bay, or farther south in Redondo Beach, or up north along the Edmonds waterfront" (para. 9).

Once relegated to the bygone tackle shops that dotted Seattle, fishing communication is now swapped in the digital realm. Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube, have become the new third place for "fish people" to exchange information about popular fishing spots, gear, and technique. The Washington Squid Fishing Facebook Group is one of a handful of these digital venues, existing within the larger social network of fishing fanatics and conservationists in Seattle and the Puget Sound.

For example, the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group maintains over five thousand members, with five admin and one moderator, who post to the group's page daily. Watching the group's feed can be an educational experience for any weary newcomer. Members regularly post photos of their catch, selfies, and the occasional culinary spread accompanied by a tasty recipe. The page also serves as a digital marketplace for people to sell their homemade squid jigs. The content of the page is for the most part, superb. Recently, a group of scuba divers posted a video of their expedition 35 feet to the bottom of Elliott Bay to retrieve vandalized e-bikes, just outside the boundary of Pier 58. The video offers a rare glimpse into the hidden world of the market squid, complete with barnacle-laden yellow chairs thrown from the pier, wayfaring crabs, and squid egg casings with paralarvae developing inside. Back on the pier a diver pulls out a mass of derelict squid jigs, lost to Elliot Bay by the thousands of anglers who have fished the Central Waterfront over the years.

The Jig Maker: An Interview with Fisherman Jay Mendoza

A month after meeting the Peranzi brothers, I reconnected with Jay Mendoza, moderator for the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group. As the moderator, Jay has his finger on the pulse of the squid jigging community, both in Seattle and the Puget Sound. We met at Marination Ma Kai, originally the beloved Seacrest Boathouse, home of the Tengu Derby, and according to Mas Tahara, the place where squid jigging began in Seattle. Like my other interviews with fishers, Jay has his own story that adds to the larger narrative of squid jigging in Seattle. Although Jay lives in Everett, he makes frequent trips down south, from the Edmonds fishing pier, to the Point Defiance Marina in Tacoma to sell his squid jigs. Profit isn't his motive. I consider Jay a community leader, although he would humbly decline the title. Like the Peranzi brothers, Jay is deeply passionate about fishing and is willing to teach any newcomer, simply because he loves it so much.

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It was audibly pouring rain in the hours proceeding my interview with Jay Mendoza. The kind of rain that keeps you inside—January rain in the Pacific Northwest. I prepare myself for the possibility that tonight might be the first time I jig for squid in a truly iconic fashion. But instead of fishing, Jay and I settle on an indoor conversation. We meet at Marination Ma Kai, a popular Hawaiian-Korean restaurant, adjacent to Seacrest Park Pier on Alki. It's a prime eating spot for the King County foot ferry passengers, fishers, and scuba divers who use Seacrest pier for business.

The weather seems to calm as I walk to meet Jay. The evening air feels uncharacteristically warm, in a refreshing way. The city across Elliott Bay is brilliantly magnified in the night, larger, and more beautiful than I have ever imagined.

"Are you Musashi?" I ask as we shake hands.

"You can call me Jay. Musashi is just my Facebook name," he says. "Do you know who Musashi Miyamoto is? He's a famous Japanese Ronin that I look up to." My embarrassment subsides.

Inside I offer to buy Jay a beer, but he politely declines. As I pick up a couple of sodas, I look behind me to see that Jay has chosen a seat close to the Tengu Club winners' placard—a red-faced Tengu stairs back at us with glowing eyes. Marination Ma Kai is not just a delicious restaurant with a nice bar. The building was once the beloved Seacrest Boathouse, home to North America's longest running salmon fishing derby, the Tengu Fishing Club.

The Tengu Club still holds their annual derby from Seacrest Park pier every winter. Beginning in 1937, the club provided a way for Japanese to fish since they were restricted from mainstream fishing events due to discrimination faced by the community during World War Two. Mas Tahara explains the Tengu derby happened in the winter time because Japanese couldn't rent fishing boats during the prime summer and fall months of the King and Coho season. The club's namesake–the Tengu–is a mythical creature featured in Japanese folklore, whose most prominent attribute is an elongated red nose. According to Mas Tahara, the "connection between the Tengu and the name of [the Tengu fishing club] comes from a Japanese proverb, "Ha-na o taka-ku-su-ru" or "enlarge one's nose," meaning to boast" (p.1). In other words, fishermen tend to playfully

exaggerate their prowess and catch. According to a blog post by Tim Lewis, the old fishing pier 86 contained a sign reading: “Thru these portals pass the world’s best liars — our fishermen. Welcome” (n.d., para.1).

However, the man who sits next to me isn’t one to boast. What I know of Jay so far is that he’s one of the moderators on the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group, he makes his own squid jigs, and he is an admired figure among the squid jigging community. Once I sit down with Jay, I learn that he drove to this meeting all the way from Bellingham, where he works and lives. This is a trip he makes regularly to fish and sell jigs from public fishing piers. Oh right, Jay is an avid fisherman.

Jay has been squid jigging for six seasons, but his fishing career began in the Philippines. “Oh god man. I was pretty young. Maybe 10 or 11 years old.” The Philippines are where he first learned to handline, a fishing technique that is best comparable to bare-back horse riding. “No fishing pole,” Jay explains. “You just take a can and wrap it around, or whatever you can wrap your fishing line on. I guess back then I refused to buy a fishing pole,” he laughs. He explains that you have to be careful or you may lose a couple of fingers.

When I ask him how he became a moderator on a public Facebook group Jay is modest, saying simply that the other moderators asked him. I get the idea that they asked Jay because he’s personable and knows a thing or two about fishing. Jay is cool with the gig as long as he doesn’t have to deal too much with trolling. Conversations are bound to get heated on the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group, where conservative and progressive thoughts blend together, and sometimes clash. For the most part things remain civil—people post photos of their catch and newcomers ask questions. However,

on occasion things can get ugly—people put other people down, or at worst, post racist content. “There are some people who you’re like ‘why would you do that? Why would you even say that?’ Pretty mean things,” Jay explains.

Jay is inspired by his role as moderator because of the opportunity to connect with others and teach them about fishing—especially kids. This is a similar sentiment expressed by the Peranzi brothers. “It gives the younger generations something to learn, something to do. Get them out there instead of playing PS4 and Xbox,” Jay says. If you want to learn how to catch squid, Jay is your guy. He often teaches newcomers to fish at Edmonds Pier. “It’s like a class sometimes,” he laughs. “It’s free though, you don’t have to pay any money,” Jay says. He was even asked by the Point Defiance Marina to help teach a class about squid jigging, and he happily obliged, “Because I knew there were going to be kids involved and I don’t mind that at all.”

Jay is part of a small group of anglers who make high-quality, artisan squid jigs. As much as the boathouse we converse in, Jay’s stories are tinged with magic and intrigue. A while back, Jay was approached by an “old timer”—fisher’s nomenclature for the older generations of anglers. “The famous Red Adams of the Puget Sound,” he proclaims lovingly. Red is a mentor to Jay. “For me, at first it was a hobby. Red just doesn’t teach anyone, and for some reason, I don’t know why, he picked me out.” Red has been making jigs for more than 30 years, a body of knowledge intentionally passed from his aging hands to Jay. “I told him ‘hey, I’ll continue what you started.’ For future generations, I guess,” Jay says.

It comes as no surprise then that Jay’s jigs are sought after. People travel all around the Puget Sound, from Edmonds to Point Defiance, to meet Jay. News about his

products spread via word-of-mouth, old fashioned, without rush. Recently, someone as far as Maine placed on order. You can also buy Jay's jigs at Ted's Sports Center, another beloved tackle shop in Lynwood, which sadly, Jay reports is struggling to stay in business. "Ted's is closing down too. It's because of how the salmon fishing is doing in the Puget Sound which is not really good." Jay even thought about selling his jigs at Seattle's Antique Market, strategically located across from Pier 58. I imagine his jigs would complement the other historical trinkets in the store nicely.

Lately, Jay is especially interested in bringing back what he refers to as "the old-school jigs." I show him the photo I took of Bruno Peranzi's chronologically ordered jigs. He looks at the photo and snickers, "oh yeah man…I recognize one of those. That one looks like mine." I ask him what the difference is between newer jigs and the old ones, and he explains, "it's just the older generation of squid fishermen who look for those." One night while fishing, Jay happened upon an older Korean woman catching squid with a jig that he estimated to be at least 25 years old. She explained that she bought it from a defunct tackle shop in Tacoma called G.I. Joes. When she asked why Jay wanted to know, he told her that he was trying to bring back old-style jigs. "I showed her my jig box, and her eyes just got really big," he laughs.

Sometimes jig business is so good that Jay doesn't have time to fish. "I was at Pier 70 for two hours and I only got to squid for ten minutes," he laughs. Jay is humble and sells his jigs for five dollars, because for Jay, making jigs is about community over profit. A dollar for each day it takes him to make one jig—*Five days!* I joke that I feel guilty about buying his jigs, knowing they'll end up on the bottom of Elliott Bay. "That's the thing. I make each jig as if I was the one who was going to lose it," he tells me. "If

it's not good enough for me, then it's not good enough for my customer. And that's the way it is."

Over the course of our conversation Jay describes fishing as "an addiction," a healthy one that can be passed on to other people. He tells me a story about a night he introduced a friend to squid jigging. "I met him at Edmonds Pier and brought jigs and showed him the know-how as much as I could, and the next thing you know, he texts me a message that says 'I got my own light coming and generator' and I thought this guy is addicted," he laughs. I tell Jay about my dinky LED light, and he tempers my insecurities. "It'll work man. You can fish without a light." It's safe to say there is no consensus on the light situation, an opinion that changes based on the angler you talk to. Though, it is true that the light attracts bait fish, which squid prey on.

Jay and I walk out onto Seacrest pier as we conclude the formal interview. At this point we might as well be old friends. On the pier, a couple takes pictures of the city, but there are no squid fishers. This location's history is easily taken for granted if you miss the stone monument at the entrance of the pier—an homage to the Tengu Club of Seattle, and the old timers who started their own salmon fishing club when Japanese Americans and immigrants were denied entry into the mainstream fishing culture of Seattle. The same older timers, like Mas Tahara, who fought for sport fishing in this very place during the 1970s, culminating in the creation of this fishing pier. "How could you not want to fish here. Look at that view," Jay says. Come September, this place will be filled with squid fishers, some smoking cigarettes and giving each other playful grief while other times fishing stoic in the pouring rain.

After we talk about family for some time and the follies of looking younger than you are (Jay's 49, I'm 34) we walk to his truck where he pulls out a tackle box. Jay presses a button and a black light illuminates an array of neon-colored jigs. Maybe this is what the squid see. I choose two. The body of one is made up of a glass swirl that sparkles and catches my eye. "Ah, that one's a prototype." Jay says. I'm not sure that I'm ready to lose these to Elliott Bay just yet.

Greenhorn's journal, December 17, 2019: White light

Waterfront Park (Per 58), 10PM

I walk in past a couple who have erected a tent next to one of the park tables. They're cooking something using a butane lighter. Not a bad place to set up a camp. Serene, right on the water and it doesn't feel too cold. During this time of the year the spokes of the Great Wheel are lit up to look like giant candy canes, red and white, but soon after I cast my line the Ferris Wheel goes dark and my eyes need a couple of seconds to adjust to the white light cast onto the water below us. Usually it's an emerald green but tonight it's a blueish white, almost cloudy or milky. I can't tell if the color of the water is caused by the intensity of the light or the result of what's in it? Debris on the surface; little splinters of driftwood and some trash. Off in the distance a head is bobbing in the water, spying on us and then the head is gone.

There aren't many anglers tonight, maybe nine or ten (Figure 10) The guy next to me is solitary, fishing alone. He has a professional looking set up, something fancier than a fluorescent strip light rigged up with bungee cords. He leaves for a moment to smoke a cigarette and rests his pole so that his jigs charge in the light. Time passes. The anglers to my left talk casually in a language I unfortunately don't understand. Regardless, it's clear

they’re good friends having a good time. Their conversation doesn’t pause as one of them casually reels in a squid and effortlessly unhooks it into his bucket strapped to the outside of the railing. Squirting sounds and laughter.

Figure 12. At Waterfront Park (Pier 58) a small group of anglers wait patiently for squid to ambush their glowing lures. Anglers spend anywhere from two to eight hours fishing, and some can easily spend all night.

For every squid I catch, the guy to my left catches six. I’ve grown to like the rewarding bow of the rod when a squid is snagged and the anticipation of seeing it shoot up through the water column. My amateur status is revealed by the awkwardness in which I try to position the squid in the bucket without dropping it. I still don’t care to see the animal struggle once in the bucket with arms and tentacles fanned out and feeling, gasping for air.

Eerily, one of the anglers reels up a blue Washington Mutual checkbook cover. We all ooh and ahh and then everyone laughs. Laughter is a good universal language. The checkbook cover breaks free and falls in slow motion back into the darkness like a zigzagging leaf.

The expression ‘a fish out of water’ is apt and a squid out of water is much the same. Just eyes staring up at you from the bucket. An animal designed for the sea and suddenly robbed of mobility. Paralyzed but still taking in sensory information from its surroundings. A slightly worse fate for those in the other buckets piled high with their comrades. So, to witness a school of them cruise in together in unison is a sight to see. Little UFOs in the night that stop-on-the-dime and seem to peer up at us. The splendor of the moment is observed and then we’re back to coercing them toward our lures. And then a burst of energy and mottled white and black fur and canine teeth. Enter harbor seal and a mad dash for life or death. It’s all exhilarating to watch. As soon as it started every animal is suddenly gone. Except one squid, plainly visible in the glowing water, contemplating my jig. I can see its translucent fins fanning. I catch five total, and instead of giving them away I decide to take them home to eat.

Part Two: For Community, Recreation, and Food

"Social relationships are also formed around interactions involving reciprocity. Rides are shared, information passed along about good places to fish, and catches are shared if one fisher has had more luck than others on a particular day."

—Excerpt from the Lower Duwamish Waterway Fishers Study

Introduction

In part one of the thesis I provided an analysis of the influences that shaped the popularity of squid jigging in Seattle over the last forty-plus years. Building from this historical context, part two of the thesis seeks to understand, in greater detail, *why* anglers catch squid. The categories are time spent with family and friends, recreation, and food. Given the absence of professional or academic research conducted on the squid jigging community, I have arrived at the three categories based on information gathered from tertiary sources (such as Seattle Times articles) while also drawing comparisons from a handful of public health studies analyzing the seafood consumption habits of urban fishers in Seattle and King County. It's important to note that the reasons for fishing overlap in complex ways and are not easily reduced to a single category without intersecting the other. Food is the best example; reasons for eating squid are complex, differ from angler to angler, and are influenced by tradition, culture, and in the case of immigrants, country of origin. The themes of community, recreation, and food explored here, combined with the historic and cultural context provided in part one, form a strong argument for the preservation of squid jigging activities at the Central Waterfront well after its redevelopment.

Cut from the Same Cloth: Learning about Squid Jigging from the Greater Urban Fishing Community of Seattle and King County

What little is known about the urban fishing community in Seattle and King County comes from a handful of public health studies analyzing the seafood consumption habits of fishers who use the Lower Duwamish Waterway (LDW) superfund site to catch and eat fish. Eating non-anadromous, resident fish and shellfish[1] from the LDW poses a serious health risk for humans, particularly for developing children and pregnant women (Lee, Tippens, & Ho, 2019). This is because chemicals, such as polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) and arsenic have been found at unsafe levels in resident fish living in the LDW (Environmental Protection Agency, 2016). The risk of exposure to toxic fish consumption by fishers spurred seafood consumption studies to better educate the fishing community about these dangers—particularly people of color, and those with limited English proficiency—who face disproportionate health impacts from exposure to contaminated seafood (Gould, Ho, & Lee, 2018).[2] The most significant of these reports is the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) Fishers Study released in 2016 in partnership with the Washington State Department of Ecology and the Environmental Coalition of South Seattle. Two similar reports referenced in this section include a Health Impact Assessment of the non-tribal, subsistence fishers of the LDW, conducted by Lenhart, Daniel, Gould, Cummings, & Childers (2013) and an Asian and Pacific Islander seafood consumption study performed by Sechena et. al. (1999).

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[1] Resident fish and shellfish spend their entire life cycle in the LDW, making them more susceptible to the bioaccumulation of chemicals harmful to human health. Salmon are considered safer to catch and eat from the LDW because they migrate to the open ocean, only returning to the LDW on their way to spawn.

[2] A common institutional control are the seafood consumption advisory signs found at popular fishing destinations along the LDW.

The public health studies findings are valuable because they reveal insight into squid fishers' motives, even if squid fishers were not the focal point of the research. Some motives for fishing are universal, regardless of what animal is caught. For example, reasons for fishing (e.g. relaxation or time spent with family and friends) may be similar across different fishing groups. Additionally, based on what evidence is available, it's logical to assume overlap between the fishers of the LDW and those who catch squid from Elliott Bay. In other words, squid fishers don't exclusively catch squid, and are likely to partake in other seasonal fishing activities. For example, a small percentage of survey respondents from the EPA's Fishers Study said they caught squid in addition to other seafood caught from local waterways (EPA, 2016). Likewise, Lenhart et al. (2013) notes that anglers who fish from the LDW also fish at Seward Park, Green Lake, Alki Beach, and Elliott Bay.

Fishers represent a diverse group

The urban fishers of Seattle and King County represent a diverse group of people who fish for a variety of reasons. Public health studies indicate that fishing and eating seafood from local waterways, including the LDW and Elliott Bay, are important activities among immigrant communities (EPA, 2016; Lenhart et. al., 2013; Sechena et al., 1999). This is particularly true of Asian and Pacific Islanders (API) (Sechena et al., 1999). For example, survey respondents from the EPA's Fishers Study represented over 25 different ethnicities, most prominently from API groups (EPA, 2016).

Asian ethnicities included Cambodian, Khmer, Vietnamese, and Chinese. Pacific Islander ethnicities included Filipino, Hawaiian, Samoan, and Tongan (EPA, 2016). Survey respondents were not exclusive to the API community, however. In addition,

prominent ethnic groups included white/caucasion, black/African American, Latino, and American Indian/Alaskan Native. A small percentage of the 328 fishers surveyed identified as Eastern European, including Bosnian, Romanian, Russian, and Ukrainian (EPA, 2016).

In addition to the fishers that represent places from around the world, tribal members also fish for and eat seafood caught from waterways in Seattle and King County. Of the 37 Native American Tribes in Washington, these include the Duwamish[3], Muckleshoot, and Suquamish (Gould, Daniell, Cummings, Childers, & Lenhart, 2013).

According to Gould et. al. (2013) tribal fishers are more likely to experience increased poverty and unemployment than the general population, combined with increased physical and mental health disparities. Furthermore, tribal fishers rely on fishing access to the LDW for a combination of important cultural, health, and economic reasons (Gould et. al., 2013). As such, the industrial contamination of the LDW poses serious health risks and jeopardizes long-held traditions practiced by tribal community members. In addition to exposure to harmful chemicals, Gould et. al. (2013) note health effects also include a "constellation of mental, emotional, and spiritual effects related to temporary and permanent changes in the land, ecosystems, and [Tribal] interactions with culture and community" (p.6).

More than just the catch: Reasons for fishing

For immigrants, fishing may provide a familiar tradition carried over from an individual's country of origin. For example, Sechena et. al. (1999) note, "API immigrants

[3] Since 1978, The Duwamish Tribal community has fought for federal recognition but was denied so by the Bush Administration in 2002. More about the Duwamish Tribe can be found at: https://www.duwamishtribe.org/

and refugees consider seafood collection and consumption as healthy activities that reflect a homelike lifestyle" (p.13). A similar homelike theme emerged from the Health Impact Assessment conducted by Lenhart et al. (2013) noting, "consistent with national and local studies, community advisor interviews and focus group discussions have also suggested that fishing and fish consumption are important traditionally and culturally for many local API populations" (p.9).

Findings from both the EPA's Fishers Study and the Health Impact Assessment performed by Lenhart et. al. (2013) indicate that for many people, fishing provides an opportunity to relieve stress by enjoying the holistic benefits of being outdoors (EPA, 2016; Lenhart et. al., 2013). For example, according to the Fishers Study, the majority of the 328 fishers surveyed on the Duwamish River expressed fun and recreation as the primary reason for fishing (p. ES3) People also described fishing as "an enjoyable leisure-time activity," and a "good way to get outdoors and relieve stress" (pg.56). Similar findings were reported in the Health Impact Assessment, with Lenhart et. al. (2013) noting fishers "valued the act of fishing over actually catching a fish" (pg. 26).

Findings from both the EPA's Fishers Study and the Health Impact Assessment by Lenhart et. al. (2013) also indicates people enjoy fishing for the social benefits, including time spent with friends and family, the opportunity to establish new friendships, and an opportunity to teach others. On this, the EPA (2016) note "fishers generally return to favorite fishing locations and build relationships on the water. These relationships, which can traverse ethnic lines, are based on an enjoyment of fishing and the skill the fisher acquires over time" (p.58).

Eating Inkfish in the Emerald City

Beyond the joy of spending time with friends and family outside in nature, squid jigging provides access to a cheap and nutritious food source and Seattleites love to eat squid. For example, at the end of *Tengu*, Mas Tahara (2015) offers detailed recipes for squid sashimi, squid nuta, and squid teriyaki. In the "Munchies Guide to Washington: Going Deep" host Tarik Abdullah quips "grab yourself a pound or so, go home and grill it up with a little lemon and then call it a day." Even the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife is on the food game, providing recipes for stuffed calamari and squid spread (WDFW, 2020a). Indeed, Seattleites eat squid raw, they eat squid whole, they eat squid baked, dried, fried, and boiled.

How people cook squid in Seattle reflects influences from around the world, such as Japan, China, Southeast Asia, Italy, Central America, and the Philippines. The global-to-local connection is depicted exquisitely in Langdon Cook's culinary book *Fat of the Land: Adventures of a 21st Century Forager*, with Cook (2009) dedicating a whole chapter to squid jigging and the end goal of making risotto nero con calamari, a traditional Italian dish relying on squid ink for its distinguished color. In *Fat of the Land* Langdon recounts venturing to fishing pier 86, where he shares the dock with Cambodian, Taiwanese, and Ukrainian anglers. He meets Victor, a teenager from Nicaragua who plans to make fresh squid ceviche with "a lot of fresh-squeezed lime" (p.35).

Virtually all local news articles about squid jigging contain a reference to a food dish. Mark Yuasa's write-ups in the Seattle Times were often accompanied by seafood recipes from esteemed local chefs, demonstrating the inseparableness between food and

fishing. For example, a 2016 article by Yuasa features an interview with chef Taichi Kitamura, co-owner of Sushi Kappo Tamura in the Eastlake neighborhood of Seattle. Kitamura offers a recipe for calamari and scallion salad with sumiso dressing (Yuasa, 2016a). In another Seattle Times article from 2018, food writer Bethany Jean-Clement accompanies Seattle chef Shota Nakajima, owner of Adana restaurant, to the Central Seattle Waterfront to catch squid. The article contains a photo of him fishing from the Aquarium's south apron—the Great Wheel glowing in the background. Nakajima explains his catch will be brought back to the restaurant to be cooked for the staff meal—a simple sauté in garlic and butter (Jean-Clement, 2018).

Culinary fortitude is not strictly relegated to master chefs though. Meet any squid fisher on a Seattle pier and they're likely to tell you, with impassioned gusto, what they plan to cook with their catch. For example, on a visit to the Des Moines Fishing Pier in 2012, Seattle Times food writer Tan Vinh meets a Filipino American from Beacon Hill who plans to make adobo with his squid. Another fisherman Vinh meets plans to flash fry his catch (Vinh, 2012). Venture into the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group and you're likely to find photos of mouth-watering dishes posted by proud anglers. Fisherman Bruno Peranzi advises to "buy a deep fryer—It's way better than in the pan," or stew squid in a tomato sauce and serve over polenta (B. Peranzi, personal communication, January 11, 2020).

Nutritional value of market squid

In addition to taste, market squid are also highly nutritious. A single serving of fresh squid (at 100 grams) packs 15 grams of protein (Fish Choice, n.d.b). Cephalopods in general are high in minerals and omega-3 fatty acids, including essential nutrients such

as selenium, copper, and zinc (Mouritsen & Styrbaek, 2018; Storelli, Garofalo, Giungato, & Giacominelli-Stuffler, 2010). Cephalopods are also low in fat content with a single serving of fresh market squid containing just 1.38 grams of fat (Fish Choice, n.d.b). Additionally, Mouritsen and Styrbaek (2018) note cephalopods contain a similar amount of protein to beef and are comparatively low in fat content.

Safety

Market squid, like other bonefish, can collect heavy metals in their tissue, but health risks associated with eating them are comparatively low. This is because of the squid's short lifespan, meaning contaminants do not accumulate in the tissue as much as other predatory fish and mammals that are higher up the food chain (Mouritsen, & Styrbæk, 2018). According to Public Health—Seattle and King County (n.d.), market squid are "healthy to eat" with a suggested monthly intake of 8 to 12 meals.

The safety of market squid consumption has been a recent interest of the science unit of King County Water and Land Resources Division (WLRD) and Public Health—Seattle and King County. As part of routine water quality analysis of Elliott Bay, King County Department of Natural Resources scientists performed a tissue analysis on samples of market squid in order to test for the presence of PCBs, mercury, and other heavy metals and the results were encouraging. According to Saffa Bardaro, communications lead for WLRD, "the study showed that squid is low in PCBs and none of the chemicals tested for exceeded the Washington State Department of Health screening levels for metals of concern to high consumers and the general population" (King County, 2019, p.3). Based on the findings, WLRD held a demonstration event in November of 2019, offering a demo on squid jigging in order to teach pier fishing to

prospective anglers. The event also provided a chance for the public to interact with seafood consumption experts from the Washington State Department of Health and scientists from King County Department of Natural Resources.

Greenhorn's Journal, December 17, 2020: Killing

I strategically place the white bucket in the passenger seat of my dumpy '02 Honda Civic, the way someone would prepare a comfortable space for a pet on the way home from the veterinarian. But the five animals in the bucket are not my pets. Either dead or dying, I am taking them home to eat them.

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In the "Moral dilemma of a Buddhist on a squid jigging trip" poet Shin Yu Pai recounts her experience fishing for market squid from a boat on Elliott Bay: "These romantic images filled my imagination when I agreed to produce the event and chartered a private boat," Shin recounts. "But I came too late to realizing the horror of what we were actually planning: A hunting expedition where kinship with nature would mean taking a life" (Martin & Morgan, 2019, para. 8). Having reneged on her Buddhist commitments (if only temporary) Shin experiences a profound sadness. "I was blinded by the tears filling my eyes and walked towards the back of the boat, where I could quietly weep unnoticed, as the biologist continued lecturing on cephalopod biology. I'd dreaded this moment the entire night and quietly prayed that we'd fail at our expedition" (para. 16).

Shin's compassion is admirable. I wonder what she thought was going to happen when the expedition eventually caught squid? Or if her reaction would change over time if she'd fished with others more often. Even as we're aware of death we still have a

wonderful way of abstracting it, similar to the way we abstract the death of a family member or beloved pet. The first time I caught a squid and placed it in a bucket on the dock of Seacrest Pier in West Seattle, the game was over. The animal took in a large gasp of air like it got the wind knocked out of it. It continued to gasp for some time, until I put a lid on the bucket. Even then, muted squirts of death were still audible. The way I interpreted the gasping demonstrated my separation from what the animal was actually experiencing.

I can't afford myself the same introspection as Shin though. For me it would be hypocritical and even pretentious. If my initial experience was grim, and all subsequent experiences were at the least uncomfortable, I was OK enough to take pictures of the animals as they died. Experiences are never as neatly black and white as we would like them to be. Maybe fishing is the antithesis of mindless killing though, providing for a direct experience made obsolete by the industrial methods that have made eating a convenience. Still, this interpretation is overly romantic.

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At home, the five squid are prostrate on a black cutting board (Figure 11). I've only done this on one other occasion with my partner and a friend watching. "Congratulations, you've caught an alien," my friend had said. There is no definitive way to know if they're dead or not, or what level of dead is dead. Three out of the five look more dead than dead. They are pale and their mantles appear collapsed by the waterless environment. But the other two, caught within the hour, have color and lively flesh.

Figure 13. In stark juxtaposition to their supreme maneuverability in water, the squid pictured above are motionless—but not entirely lifeless. In the foreground, chromatophores are visible in the flesh of the squid, which appear as tiny pieces of gold shavings.

In a pinch, most anything can be learned from YouTube—especially how to gut and clean a squid. I settle on a video by Howdini with chef and author Becky Selengut at the helm. “The way I do it is I usually grab right by the eye, hold the mantle and then pull in one smooth motion,” Selengut instructs (Howdini, 2012). I attempt this, applying pressure to the two eyes and then pull. What comes next is not as clean as Selengut’s demonstration. One head, and then five later, the cutting board is a mess of viscera and atrament.

I surely burst one or two of the coveted ink sacs in the process. Ink is everywhere—all over the kitchen counter, all over the keys of my laptop, and highlighting the friction ridges of my fingers. Squid heads are in a pile now, separate

from the mantles. Unfortunately, the question of alive or dead is still up for debate. On closer examination I notice chromatophores firing off in two of the heads—a brilliant display of expanding and contracting cells that undulate in a wave. Some of the guts pulsate and bubble white foam.

"And then there's something in there called the cuttlebone or cartilage. You want to just reach in there with your fingers and pull this piece out," Selengut says as the chef expertly pulls out the cartilage. (Howdini, 2012). Except it's actually called a gladius or pen. The most straightforward way to describe reaching "in there": Gooey, Slimy, and sticky. The pen looks like a long piece of brittle feather-shaped plastic. "Now I'm going to take my knife and cut the tentacles right at the top here."

The next order of business is to take the beak out. To me, the beak of the squid is not unlike that of a bird. Toss the beaks and save the arms to cook. When all is said and done, after the rigorous and unnecessary sanitation of everything I touch, what's left are five ivory-colored tubes and a pile of arms. I want to bury the parts I don't use in the ground. This feels more ceremonious than the compost bin, but then again, I don't bury chicken bones in the ground, do I? Even in the compost bin, I imagine the squid's eyes staring and still alive. It's not until the next morning I settle that they are finally dead.

Part 3: The Redevelopment of Seattle's Central Waterfront

"Time and time again, grand infrastructure projects have proven their ability to capture people's imaginations and help them collectively envision the future of their cities."

—Seattle's Game-changing Waterfront Plan, Courtney Ferris

"Seattle's Alaskan Way Viaduct, emblem of the age of happy motoring, closed forever Friday Night."

—Mike Lindblom, Seattle Times

Introduction

In the final part of this thesis, I analyze elements of the Waterfront Seattle program in order to better understand how fishing access to Pier 58, Pier 59, and Pier 62/63 may be impacted by the redevelopment of Seattle's Central Waterfront. I provide a broad overview of the Waterfront Seattle program, and then focus on specific elements pertinent to fishing access. This includes an in-depth analysis of the Seattle Aquarium's expansion plan and parameters of the new Waterfront Park, such as park rules, and public programming. The section also includes interviews with Jesse Phillips-Kress, Seattle Aquarium's Facilities Manager, and David Graves, who is a Strategic Advisor for Parks and Recreation, and is actively involved in the renovations of Pier 58 and Pier 62/63.

The Waterfront Seattle Program

The Waterfront Seattle program began, in earnest, in 2001, when the 6.8 magnitude Nisqually Earthquake struck the Puget Sound region, damaging the Alaskan Way Viaduct, and exposing the freeway's vulnerabilities to seismic activity (Barnett, 2019; Lester, 2015). Soon after, the City of Seattle began planning for the freeway's replacement and the rebuild of the aging Alaskan Way Seawall (Lester 2015). After

nearly a decade of painstaking deliberation between Washington State lawmakers in the early aughts, it was decided that State Route 99 would be diverted underground through a tunnel, liberating a wealth of new and exciting possibilities for Seattle's Central Waterfront (Barnett, 2019). What will become of the new space is an ambitious, $728M infrastructure project designed to reconnect Seattle's neighborhoods and urban core back to the Central Waterfront.

The Waterfront Seattle program is the collective name for a series of 18 individual infrastructure projects taking shape along the Central Waterfront in different time phases. The program builds off of the Alaskan Way Seawall rebuild which started in 2013 and was completed in 2017 (Waterfront Seattle, 2020). Each project serves the collective goal of transforming the waterfront from a car-congested freeway, to a vibrant, interconnected urban district, complete with ample greenspace for new retail opportunities and public use. The scope of the Waterfront Seattle program is immense, often described in promotional material as a "once-in-a-generation opportunity when the community's values, vision, and investment align to achieve lasting economic, social, and environmental value" (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2020a, para 1).

Prominent projects include the redesign of Alaskan Way from South King to Pike Street, and the creation of a new surface street called Elliott Way, which spans from Pike to Bell Street (Seattle Design Commission, 2017). On the west, Alaskan Way will be flanked by the Park Promenade, a linear park and bike path connecting Pioneer Square to the Seattle Aquarium. And from Pikes Place Market, pedestrians will have direct access

to the Central Waterfront via an elevated park called Overlook Walk (Waterfront Seattle, 2020).[4] All projects are set for completion in 2024.

Bringing the Waterfront Seattle program to life requires a highly coordinated effort between local government, the public, tribal leadership, and a number of nonprofits (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018). The program is led by the City's Office of Waterfront and Civic Projects, in partnership with a number of other prominent institutions, including Seattle Parks and Recreation, Washington State Department of Transportation, Port of Seattle, King County Metro, and the Seattle Aquarium.

In 2010, the City of Seattle selected James Corner Field Operations to oversee the Framework Plan and design for the Waterfront Seattle program (City of Seattle, 2010; James Corner Field Operations 2012b). The global design firm is most notable for the High Line in New York City, an elevated public park that stretches 23 blocks along Manhattan's West Side, but the firm's reach is global. Additional projects by Field Operations include the Battersea Roof Gardens in London, UK, and the Qianhai Water City in Shenzhen, China (James Corner Field Operations, 2020). The design firm is a self-described champion of urban space *for* and *by* the people, whose work is shaped heavily by input from the community. When asked by Gray Magazine in 2017 what excited him most about the Waterfront Seattle program, James Corner replied: "The socialization that will occur here. You'll see mixtures of people from all cultures, all ages, and all economic groups out sharing, enjoying, and participating in life at the water's edge—ultimately, that's what it is all about" (Ferris, 2017, p. 44).

[4] For more specifications about each project visit https://waterfrontseattle.org/

Indeed, public involvement has been paramount to the Waterfront Seattle program's conception and continued development over time. This partnership began in 2004 with the creation of guiding principles designed to inform how the new waterfront space will be used. The principles[5] were created by the public in collaboration with Seattle's City Council (Lester, 2015) and in 2011 were finalized under Resolution 31264 (James Corner Field Operations, 2012a; Lester, 2015). In addition, between 2011 and 2012, the public provided input on the program's development through a combination of meetings attended by thousands of participants. This included five community forums with attendees speaking on everything from mobility and access, to arts and entertainment (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2016; James Corner Field Operations, 2012a, 2012b).

The New Waterfront Park[6]

The heart of the Waterfront Seattle program will be an ambitious new public park spanning the length of 26 blocks from Pioneer Square to Belltown along the Central Waterfront. Waterfront Park can be thought of as the playing board on which all pieces of the Waterfront Seattle program are positioned. For example, park boundaries will encompass the Park Promenade, the Seattle Aquarium's new Ocean Pavilion, Overlook Walk, and historic piers 58, 59, and 62/63. In total, the park will include 20 acres of public space, complete with 140 thousand native plants and 500 trees—all to enhance the

[5] The final guiding principles are: *Create a Waterfront for all; put the shoreline and innovative sustainable design at the forefront; reconnect the city to its waterfront; embrace and celebrate Seattle's past, present, and future; improve access and mobility for people and goods; create a bold vision that is adaptable over time; develop consistent leadership from concept to operations* (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2020).

[6] The new, 26-block park and Pier 58 share the same name (for now) which can lead to confusion.

human health benefits of biophilia the park was designed for (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018c, 2020a).

The new park will be accessible from a multi-modal transit system, including all manners of foot, bike, car, ferry, bridge, and crossway. The first part of the park to open to the public in 2020 will be the newly renovated Pier 62. The pier is designed to be a flexible public space for year-round activities, including live concerts, sports, and recreation opportunities (James Corner Field Operations, 2016). The pier will also feature a new floating dock for direct water access to Elliott Bay (Waterfront Seattle, 2020).

"You think about the great cities of the world and they all have a wonderful waterfront," said Heidi Hughes, Executive Director of Friends of Waterfront Seattle in a promotional video for the new park. "This is the first time we've had the opportunity to really think about what our waterfront says to the world" (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018d). Friends of the Waterfront is the City's non-profit partner responsible for the long-term success of the new Waterfront Park.[7] The nonprofit's mission is to "make the Central Waterfront a vibrant public mixing ground where all communities can share cultural, recreational, and civic experiences in a beautiful environment" (2020a). To achieve this mission, Friends will execute a combination of public engagement, fundraising, and dynamic park programming—all built around public input and participation.

[7] Friends is also a member of the Highline Network, a group of visionaries transforming underutilized infrastructure spaces for improved public use. For more about the Highline Network see: https://network.thehighline.org/

Won't Let Fallow: Public programming and safety are paramount to Waterfront Park's long-term success

With Seattle facing a homelessness crisis it's logical to wonder if the new Waterfront Park will quickly become occupied by tents, and others seeking shelter. The answer, according to Friends of Waterfront Seattle, will be an "activated spaces" approach. In order to ensure that criminal activity is minimized and people in need are connected with social services, Waterfront Park will feature year-round public programming, general rules of conduct, and enhanced park security (ETM Associates, 2018; Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018a, 2020b). In other words, the park will constantly be occupied with people, promoting a safe environment. "The presence of people is what will ultimately make the Waterfront safe," states ETM Associates, the public space management firm responsible for drafting the park's Operations and Maintenance Report. "Activated spaces in which people are present year-round effectively promote the perception of safety in public spaces and this in turn promotes more use" (ETM Associates, 2018, p.46).

Speaking with Seattle Magazine in 2019, Heidi Hughes stressed the importance of public programming as a way to keep space active and minimize more stringent policing efforts in the park. "Rather than thinking about the central waterfront as a fallow space where events pop up, there will be all sizes of programming of various scopes and scales" (Barnett, 2019, para. 12). Programs will include everything from live concerts, to pop-up markets, and seasonal events. Planned future events also hold a seasonal flair, designed to tap into the history and culture of Seattle's waterfront. In the past these events have included everything from trick-or-treating in the fall, to KEXP's wintertime, family-

friendly dance party, “Deck the Dock” (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018b). Friends began testing their activated space model in 2015 by offering live music at Pier 58, and kayak tours along the new Elliott Bay Seawall in 2018 (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018a, 2018b). Results were promising. According to the Friend’s Waterfront Programming Report for 2018, the pilot projects demonstrated that, “well-programmed public spaces with adequate infrastructure, amenities, and security create active, accessible places for people” (p.6).

Security and safety at the park are also paramount to its long-term success. Similar to all city parks, general rules of conduct will be enforced, including overnight closure, and the prohibition of camping and smoking (ETM Associates, 2018; Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2020). A combination of security personnel will serve as watchful eyes and ensure that rules are being followed. Personnel will likely include Metropolitan Improvement District (MIS) Park Ambassadors, off-duty SPD officers, and operations and maintenance staff (ETM Associates, 2018; Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018a).

Since 2015, the Seattle Police Department has also worked with Friends and other waterfront organizations to implement the Law Enforcement Assisted Diversion (LEAD) program, aimed at connecting those in need with social services, including substance abuse treatment and supported housing (Friends of the Waterfront, 2020b). With help from the LEAD program, Friends reported a 30% decrease in citations and arrests on the waterfront and a 40% increase of event attendance during the pilot phase of their public programming (Friends of Waterfront, 2020).

The Seattle Aquarium Expansion and the new Ocean Pavilion

The redevelopment of the Central Waterfront is also an opportunity for the Seattle Aquarium—already a well-loved waterfront institution—to expand operations and promote their ocean conservation mission (Seattle Aquarium, 2020). The expansion will include the new Ocean Pavilion, a 50,000 square foot community space with pedestrian access directly from Pikes Place Market via the Overlook Walk, as well as the Park Promenade to the south (LMN Architects, 2020; Waterfront Seattle, 2020).

The most ambitious part of the new Ocean Pavilion will be a 325,000-gallon warm water, coral reef tank housing sharks and rays from the South Pacific. The pavilion will also feature a gathering space for larger events able to accommodate 200 people, and smaller spaces to facilitate "hands-on education activities and guided interpretations" (LMN Architects, 2020). In addition to the new Ocean Pavilion, the Aquarium also plans to renovate Pier 59 and expand upon exhibits offered at Pier 60 (Seattle Aquarium, 2015).

The Aquarium explains the expansion is intended to bring global ocean health issues such as climate change, overfishing, and ocean acidification to the local level (Seattle Aquarium, 2015, 2020). "The vision of the new, expanded aquarium has at its core an 'ocean ethic,' or a declaration about our role in what's at stake as the Earth warms and the world's ocean sours," wrote two spokeswomen for the Aquarium in a Seattle Times op-ed published in January 2020. "It will be rooted in our home waters but will encompass the whole Pacific Ocean" (Kongsgaard & Mager, para. 7). Projected for completion in 2023, the Ocean Pavilion will cost an estimated $113M and is anticipated to garner a 40 percent increase in Aquarium attendance, up from an average of 600,000 visitors per year (Beekman, 2019; Seattle Aquarium, 2015).

The Seattle Aquarium Pier (59) is also one of the more popular squid jigging destinations on the Central Waterfront, evidenced by the hundreds of people who use the south side of the Aquarium during fall and early winter to catch squid. Given this popularity, I contacted the Aquarium early in my project curious what the Aquarium's relationship has been like with the fishing community over the years. This question came about after I noticed a sign at the pier reading: Pier closed for fishing 10pm—6am. Is the Aquarium's relationship with fishers amicable? How does it function? What rules must fishers adhere to? In addition to these questions, I also wanted to know if the Aquarium's expansion plan could potentially impact fishing access at the pier.

The Seattle Aquarium responded promptly to my interview request and on a predictably gray and rainy morning in January 2020 I sat down with Jesse Phillips-Kress, the Aquarium's Facilities Manager. I was given the opportunity to learn about the Aquarium's perspective on urban fishing at Pier 59—not one many fishers get to hear. In a nutshell, Jesse explained to me that the Aquarium's relationship with fishers is for the most part, an amicable one, save for occasional issues of trash and generator use (a tricky topic). We also discussed details about the Aquarium's expansion and new Ocean Pavilion. At the end of our conversation, Jesse expressed that he was open to suggestions in order to better communicate the Aquarium's needs with the fishing community. Our conversation is below.

"Everything Ends Up in the Water Down Here": An interview with Jesse Phillips-Kress, Seattle Aquarium Facilities Manager

At 9AM, Jesse and I sit in the empty Aquarium cafeteria. The Aquarium is not yet open. Jesse is a recent transplant to the Pacific Northwest, who moved here in 2016 with

his wife and son to take a job as the facilities manager, which by all accounts, seems like a great first gig. “So, my role here is, I’m the facilitates manager,” he explains. “I oversee safety and security for the Aquarium, so that’s building engineering, life-support system engineering and also just general facilities, so maintenance and custodial, things like that.”

We focus our conversation on the 500-foot stretch of concrete walkway along the south side of the Aquarium Pier, and Jesse tells me it is called the “south apron.” On first glance, the apron is indistinguishable from Waterfront Park, but it’s actually part of the Aquarium Pier. Here, squid fishers occupy the space at all times during the day and night taking advantage of the apron’s access to Elliott Bay.

Satisfying my own curiosity, I ask Jesse if he knows how long people have been fishing from the south apron. “I have no idea, but I think antidotally it’s been forever,” he says. “I don’t think there’s a policy against it necessarily, not that I’m aware of anyway. As long as I’ve known about it, it’s been happening.”

Fishing is clearly an activity that the Aquarium allows, but at what capacity? At all manners of day and night people utilize the south apron to jig for squid. Inside, the aquarium has south facing windows, most likely designed to open up the space to the surrounding water views. However, during fall and winter, the windows frame less of the scenic vistas, and more of the fishing activity taking place on the pier. Once, while late night fishing from the apron, a security guard approached me and the other anglers. I was sure he was going to tell us to leave. Instead, he leaned over the pier railing and asked us, “is anything biting tonight?” and then casually walked away. At that moment the aquarium allowed fishing, but what was the official policy?

"We don't have a formal policy on fishing," Jesse explains. This fact is based on who owns the Aquarium pier, versus who occupies and manages the space—Jesse refers to this as a tenant and landlord situation. "Everything you see here in the building belongs to the city of Seattle, but we manage it," he says. "So that includes the aprons on the exterior, with the understanding that those are public places where people go and fish." So, Aquarium staff follow general guidelines set in place by the Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife, Seattle Parks and Recreation, and the Seattle Police Department. In other words, fishing is encouraged, as long as park goers follow a set of rules enforced at all Seattle parks. This includes both Waterfront Park and the Seattle Aquarium Pier, both owned by the City of Seattle.

One night while fishing from the south apron around 11pm, I noticed the space was cordoned off by a waste-high gate, with a sign reading: NO FISHING BETWEEN 10pm to 6am. Despite the warning, the apron was full of happy anglers and the rack was easily removable, making it, almost, more of a suggestion. "The reason we put up the signs, in accordance with City policy, is because we were seeing the use of a lot of generators and the accumulation of garbage," he explains. Jesse tells me the trash cans put in place by the City often end up in the water, along with a slew of other objects, such as rideshare bikes. "Everything ends up in the water down here," Jesse remarks. Keep in mind generators are used to power the high intensity light, which is ideal for attracting squid. Most often they are gas operated. Generators and smoking are occasionally commonplace for squid fishing, both of which are prohibited in City parks.

The Aquarium's concern about generator use and smoking are both warranted though. This is because on the other side of the south apron, the Aquarium quarantines

and cares for sickly marine animals. “Our issue with [the generators and smoking] is right on the other side of the wall there…we actually do animal care,” Jesse says. “We have a quarantine tank for fish and we also sometimes use that tank for sea turtle rehab and these fumes are potentially dangerous to the animals there.”

The scenario underscores the Aquarium’s challenging position to be “good neighbors” as Jesse says, while also maintaining order and an obligation towards the Aquarium’s own mission. While fishing is informally allowed, even encouraged, the Aquarium does not have the capacity, or desire, to police the grounds—signs are a soft reminder to adhere to the rules for the greater good of both parties involved. “The best-case scenario is that we’d have personal relationships with everybody,” Jesse explains. “They would understand our viewpoint and we would understand theirs and we could all just get along. That’s where we want to be.” At one point the Aquarium offered the use of their electrical outlets along the south apron to encourage the use of electric generators, versus the more noxious, gas operated ones. “We just noticed some people were like ‘no, this is how I do it.’ Don’t tell me what to do.’ So, it just didn’t work and I’m not willing to be out there 24/7 so you kind of feel like your hands are tied where you have to draw hard lines.”

Jesse stresses that most anglers who use the south apron respect the space, but it’s the “few bad actors” who ruin the experience of fishing for everyone. “It’s the tragedy of the commons,” he tells me. Aquarium staff often clean up broken whiskey bottles and even human feces. “Nothing is easy right? We’ve tried these strategies of working collaboratively, and they’ve been hit or miss. I think they would be successful with a personal connection, honestly, I do think they would be. If we really made the effort to

personally connect with people out there and you know checked in and asked 'hey, how's the fishing going?' and that kind of stuff, but we just don't have the capacity to do it. So, you try and do it in these other ways, the signage is a reminder."

Our conversation shifts to the new Ocean Pavilion. Jesse explains that he is actively working on the project. The night before this interview, I came across beautiful conceptual renditions of the new space created by LMN, the architecture firm working on the Pavilion. The photo includes the Aquarium Pier, with neighboring Pier 62/63 and the Pavilion behind. The photo shows plenty of space for fishing. I ask Jesse if the new waterfront space was planned with fishing in mind. "I can't really speak to that," he replies. "We're not going to have more water-based access because we're not increasing our waterfront footage. Our change is land-based. I do know that Pier 62 is going to be a park. I don't know if anything is going to be planned for fishing, but it's going to be publicly available."

Despite the challenges of finding common ground with the anglers who use the south apron, Jesse is optimistic. He reminds me that their relationship is not contentious. Like any public space, finding a balance between supervision and autonomy is tricky, especially under limited resources. When the interview concludes, Jesse does something any student would love—he asks me for my advice, "If you're ever like 'hey this might be a good idea' don't hesitate to email or contact." I offer that If there is no clear consensus on whose responsibility it is to maintain the space, then the space probably won't get taken care of. "Exactly, that's kind of the rock in the hard place, right?"

The Big Crux: An Interview with David Graves

In March of 2020, I had the pleasure of speaking with David Graves, Strategic Advisor for Seattle Parks and Recreation. According to David, he works specifically as a liaison/representative to the Office of Waterfront and Civic Projects on the "planning, design, and construction of Central Waterfront improvements." The interview was a critical juncture in my research, providing an opportunity to speak with someone from a leadership position within the Waterfront Seattle project about fishing access at Pier 58 and Pier 62/63. Specifically, I wanted to know if fishing, or squid jigging, was taken into consideration during the planning stage for the new Waterfront Park. I also wanted to know if Waterfront Park's general rules of conduct and other security measures could unintentionally prohibit squid jigging. David politely challenged this assertion, stating that the City of Seattle and Parks and Recreation does not have the intention of precluding people from fishing, or barring access to the water. Our interview is below.

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My conversation with David Graves is one that I've been looking forward to for a while. At this point in the research project I've amassed a good amount of knowledge on squid jigging, and I'm excited to utilize it in a productive conversation with someone who has clout at the city level. David responded to my email request fast and included an article on squid jigging that appeared in a 2002 printed issue of Outside Magazine. I hadn't found this article during my own research, but reading it was reassuring, because the writer, Steven Rinella, covers much of the same ground I have for this project—

Rinella describes the joy of night fishing in Seattle and even makes a stop at Linc's Tackle before heading out to catch squid at Pier 57.

The Parks and Recreation building is situated on Denny Park (Seattle's oldest park), and today, as winter thaws, the greenspace is active with people. Despite a cloak of fear that has gripped the city over the coronavirus, people walk their dogs and converse leisurely. The receptionist at the Seattle Parks and Recreation building gives me a quizzical look when I explain I have a meeting with David Graves. It turns out he works at a different building. Dejected, I walk back to my car thinking of a plan B.

I won't be able to make it to the other building in time, so I'll have to call David from my car. The same cramped mobile space, that not too long ago, housed a fishing pole, squid jigs, and tentacled riders. Luckily, I'm no stranger to staging important phone calls from the comfort of my old reliable 2002 Honda Civic. He picks up.

Phone conversations are all *voice*, muting any assessments I would have made based on our body language and physical proximity to one another. David sounds calm, friendly, and diplomatic, an efficiency of language built by a tight schedule—the voice of someone experienced in working with the public.

Conversely, I ramble about my graduate research project on squid jigging—the history, the people, and what will happen once the Central Waterfront is redeveloped. I explain that I have questions and intend to take notes. First, I want to know about David's background with Seattle Parks and Recreation and the responsibilities his department has regarding the Waterfront Seattle program.

Thinking it might be complicated, I ask what space Seattle Parks and Recreation owns on the waterfront. David explains it's actually quite simple, Seattle Park owns Pier

58 and Pier 62/63. David works closely on the renovation projects for both Pier 58 and Pier 62/63. Seattle Parks and Recreation bought the pier in 1989, and from 2001 until 2004 Pier 62/63 hosted live music under the Summer Nights at the Pier Concert Series. It's also historically been a very popular squid fishing destination.

Pier 62 is the first portion of the new Waterfront Park that will open to the public in the spring of 2020. When complete, live music will return to the Pier, as well as a host of other activities. V*ersatility* best describes the new Pier 62 space. A planning document released by James Corner Field Operations in 2016 offers a veritable smorgasbord of possibilities for the pier—everything from soccer and roller hockey, to a farm boat market and seafood sales. All manners of socially acceptable idleness are welcomed—sitting, lounging, viewing, and even fishing. Pier 62 will also sport a floating dock, for enhanced and direct access to the Water.

David brings up the Outside Magazine article he sent me prior to our interview. He explains that he showed the article to designers during the early redesign phase for Pier 62/63, in order to demonstrate the cool fishing culture taking place on the waterfront. David says that at one point, rod holders for fishing poles—influenced by the beloved fishing Pier 86—were considered in the pier redesign. However, that design didn't make it into the final iteration of the new pier railing. A bummer, but definitely not a prerequisite for fishing, I think to myself.

I ask David what Seattle Parks and Recreation's relationship with squid fishers has been like over the years. He explains that the group is peaceful, and doesn't cause any ruckus, which means little involvement by Seattle Parks. In other words, fishers go unnoticed for the most part. Furthermore, Seattle Parks and Recreation is cognizant that

people use Seattle's water systems to fish, but they have no interest in policing the activity; they're much more concerned about homelessness.

I shift the conversation to access and the nocturnal nature of squid jigging by asking David whether there is an easy set of Seattle Park's rules for fishers to abide by. He explains that Seattle parks are technically closed from dusk until dawn but aren't *physically* closed. People can still access park space, so long as they're not partaking in illegal activities. Official signs notifying people of overnight closures allow the Seattle Police Department to have, what David refers to as, additional enforcement authority, should individuals partake in illegal activities, such as overnight camping. People do good and bad things in Seattle's Parks, he explains, but he had never heard anything bad about squid fishers.

And then the big question, the one I've been waiting to speak with someone about: will the redevelopment of the Central Seattle Waterfront impact, in any way, the popular squid jigging activity that has historically taken place along the waterfront? Does he anticipate in any way that the general rules of conduct, including overnight closure, will adversely affect squid jigging? I explain that these questions arose after reading planning documents for the Waterfront Seattle program—such as the Framework plan released by James Corner Field Operations, public programming material released by Friends of Waterfront Seattle, and the new Waterfront Park's Operations and Maintenance Report—none of which mention squid jigging.

David politely challenges my questions and tells me it has never been the interest of Seattle Parks and Recreation to preclude fishing activities, and that people should always have access to the water. On the subject of general rules of conduct for the new

Waterfront Park, he reiterates the suggestive nature of signs and the authority of the Seattle Police Department. At the end of the day, he tells me, civility in the parks is the main goal. And with that, our interview seems to conclude. Sensing a missed opportunity, I reiterate the importance of public piers as cultural hotspots—places where people from all around the world, and all walks of life, come together to fish, build friendships, and catch food. David agrees with me. I float the idea of offering squid jigging classes at the new Waterfront Park and David's ears perk and I have his attention.

Conclusion

After my conversation with David Graves, I decided to reread the 2002 Outside Magazine article on squid jigging he had sent me before our interview. To my amusement, the author Steven Rinella covers much of the same ground that I explored while doing this research project. Visiting from Montana, where fishing is "nauseating in its predictability," Rinella explains that he revels in the novelty of catching squid in the Emerald City (para. 3). He describes his experience of the Central Waterfront, and its motley crew of characters: "Skate punks, panhandlers, yuppies, cops, drunk students, random passerby, and tired tourist dragging their crabby kids" (para. 1). He does his best to articulate what it's like to catch a squid for the first time: "The squid gurgled and changed colors from white to red to brown, like a chameleon wired on speed. At the top of its body a round head with two large eyes formed the base for eight arms and two spindly tentacles. The body, a fleshy cylinder called the mantle, resembled an occupied condom" (para. 25).

Rinella also encounters familiar characters and fishing haunts along the way. He pays a visit to Linc's Tackle on advice given from dock fishers. At Linc's, he first notices a sign that reads: LETS GO SQUID JIGGING: COME IN FOR ADVICE AND TACKLE, and according to Rinella, when he leaves the store, Jerry Beppu's parting wisdom is "patience and luck!" (para. 11). He and his fishing partner test their luck at Pier 57 (this would have been pre-Ferris Wheel Seattle) and then onto Pier 62, where they experience a lively atmosphere of squid fishers sharing the glow of a high-powered, gas-generated light. He meets an old Korean man who clandestinely operates the generator and admits that he supplies the lights so his friends can have a good time. He meets a

middle-aged man who learned how to catch squid in Cambodia before fleeing the Khmer Rouge regime. And, he meets a Filipino man who makes his own squid jigs and learned to catch squid in the Philippines by throwing dynamite in the water. He describes an atmosphere of mutual comradery, antithetical to the pier-fishing possessiveness he's experienced in the past. "The collective goal was for everyone to get something," Rinella writes. "Rudy was lending out his homemade jigs left and right. One guy with a hot spot next to a pylon kept waving everyone over. When a woman's jig got caught on the pylon, all activity in her area stopped until it was freed" (para. 36).

It's encouraging to know that squid jigging has remained a constant since Rinella wrote his article in December of 2002. You can still go to the historic piers of the Central Waterfront and experience the joyous comradery of fishing. In some ways this corroborates what David Graves expressed to me on the phone—People, fishers, have access to the water, they always have, and the City has no interest to preclude access. Maybe this is why he sent me the article to read.

Yet, since Rinella visited Seattle, nearly twenty years ago the city has undoubtedly changed, and some of the characters he encountered are now gone, for better and for worse. For one, the Alaskan Way Viaduct was torn down—the freeway's fate sealed by the Nisqually Earthquake. And, gone now too, Linc's Tackle, the last of a long lineage of tackle shops once prevalent in Seattle. My conversation with Bruno and Joseph Peranzi about fishing is a reminder of the swift passage of time, and with time the receding influence of cultures, eras, experienced now only in retrospect.

This is not to say that change is a negative thing—change manifests opportunity and progress. "Seattle's waterfront has been, and always will be, a place of dynamic

change," reads promotional material for the new Waterfront Park released by Friends of Waterfront Seattle. "It has a long history of innovation, industry, connection, and culture that define who we are today, having undergone many transformations over the last 150 years (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2016, p.1). After all, the removal of the Viaduct has made way for the possibility of prosperous growth and new cultural enrichment on the waterfront, with the idea that more people will have access to it than ever before. On the closure of Linc's Tackle, Maria Beppu even offered pragmatic wisdom to Seattleites struggling with their transforming city. "You can't stop progress," she told Seattle Times columnist Danny Westneat in 2017. "I look at all the change going on in Seattle, and I say that the key is that if you have an appreciation for what's here *while* it's here, and you savor that, then that's its own reward," (para. 23).

Indeed, you can't stop progress, but you can cautiously question it, with the hope of making progress more inclusive. With entire neighborhoods changing in Seattle at a blistering speed, and with those neighborhoods, beloved landmarks disappearing, it's entirely logical to grieve the cultural hotspots we've lost, and to express concern for the ones we may lose in the future. The list is robust, and not exclusive to the fishing community: 15th Ave Video on Capitol Hill, the Harvard Exit Theater, or the beloved Promenade Red Apple in the Central District, to name just a few. The list is bound to change based on the Seattleite you talk to and can be anything as subjective as a tree or a ramshackle diner haunt.

These losses feel more profound in the age of Covid-19, with many more cultural hubs—restaurants and music venues included—hard pressed to survive the economic fallout of the pandemic. In an article published to Crosscut news as recently as May 11,

2020, environmental journalist Maria Dolan posed an uncomfortable question: What will happen to the fishing community in the wake of Covid 19, who are already reeling from the loss of popular fishing spots—such as Pier 86? The same question was posed to me recently while speaking with fisherman Bruno Peranzi. Only time will tell.

With Pier 62 to be the first part of the new Waterfront Park set to open to the public in the next couple of years, it's not a matter of *if* urban anglers will use the new space but *how*. Veteran fishers who have relied on the pier in the past will be happy to return to it, and both the old timers and novice fishers are sure to utilize the new floating dock, attached to the renovated pier. The same can be said for the newly renovated Pier 58 space. While the City of Seattle and its partners have expressed no interest in precluding urban fishing activities, they have an opportunity, and arguable responsibility, to do more to protect pier fishing for the people who rely on it to spend time with friends and family, relieve stress, and catch food. The recent and indefinite closure of fishing pier 86 reminds us of what is at stake, and what can easily be lost. Protection should be something more concrete than a brief mention of fishing activities in the Framework Plan, Concept Design, and other promotional material for the new Waterfront Park. Pier fishing—squid jigging included—deserves the same formal recognition as the rest of the public programming that is planned for the new park.

The great news is the Seattle Waterfront program has, from the beginning, been shaped by input from the public, a relationship of feedback written directly into Waterfront Seattle's Guiding Principles—namely the goal to *create a waterfront for all*. Friends of Waterfront Seattle has been vocal in their public relations campaign to remind

people that what becomes of the new waterfront is not static, but an ever-evolving process based on continuous input from the public.

In order to ensure that Waterfront Seattle's guiding principles are met, Friends operates a brick-and-mortar community gathering place called Waterfront Space, where inquiring minds can learn about the Waterfront Seattle program and most importantly, provide feedback on its development. The walls of the community space are adorned with hundreds of colorful sticky notes offering up new ideas from the public for the Waterfront. Comments range from dog parks, food trucks, to swimming pools—demonstrating the immense challenge to accommodate everyone's needs.

One day in December 2019, while visiting Waterfront Space, a particular poster caught my eye. Friends of Waterfront Seattle were soliciting ideas for future events to take place at pier 48. Among dog shampooing and Russian folk dancing, one sticky note read: Fishing Pier, underlined for emphasis (Figure 12). Ultimately it seems, the longevity of urban pier fishing on the Central Waterfront is contingent on people willing to rally for it.

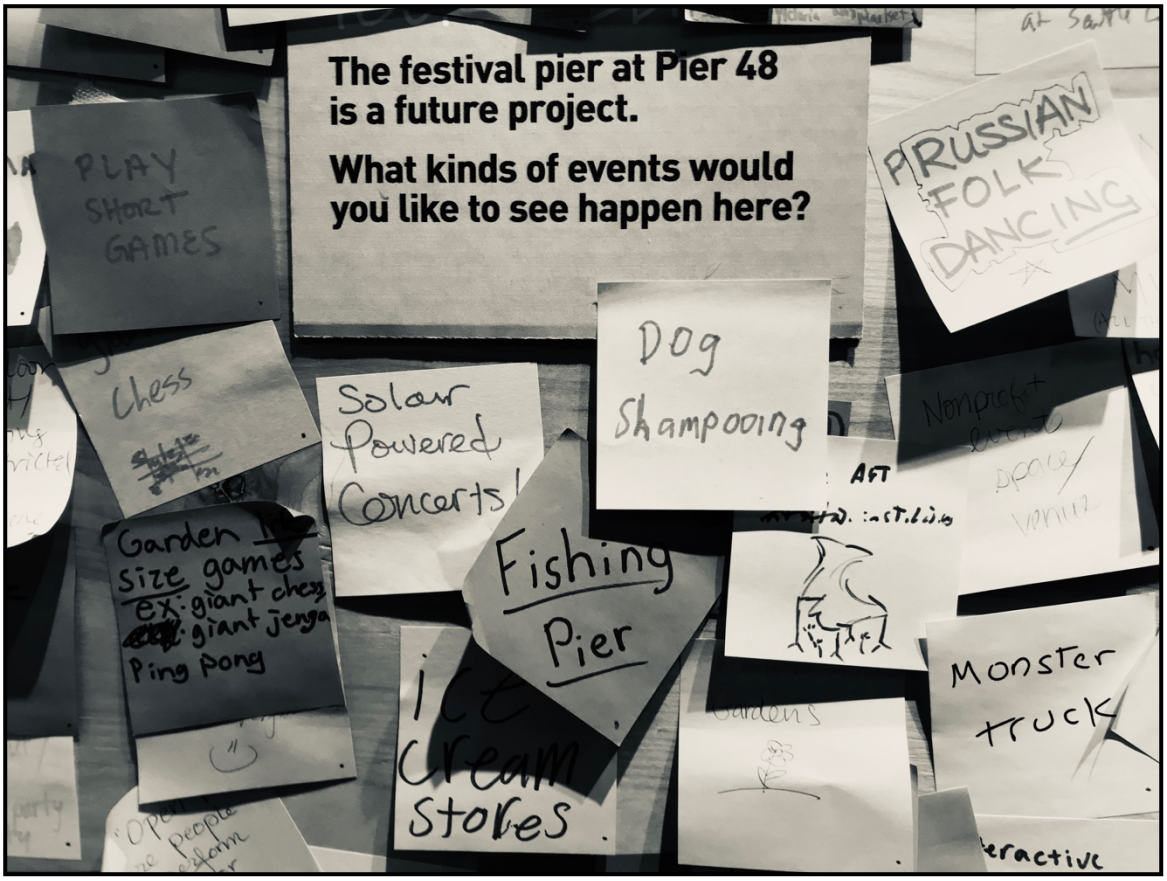

Figure 11. As demonstrated above, Friends of Waterfront Seattle offers the public many opportunities to provide feedback about *how* the Central Waterfront should best be used.

Recommendations

At the risk of coming off as uncool to the hardened, seasonal squid fishers out there, who believe the pastime is better left to its unregulated devices, I've listed a set of recommendations influenced partially by the fishers I interviewed over the course of this thesis project. The recommendations are listed in order of importance, including; how to maintain access at Pier 58, 59, and 62/63 once the Waterfront redevelopment project is complete, introducing fishing-friendly public programming, and creating a voluntary community outreach liaison among the squid jigging community to communicate with both Friends of Waterfront Seattle and the Seattle Aquarium.

Maintain Access

The easiest way to ensure the longevity of squid jigging, and similar fishing related activities, is to maintain fishing access at Pier 58, 59, and 62/63 once the waterfront redevelopment project is complete—a no-brainer, considering past access hasn't been much of an issue at these particular locations. However, recent history demonstrates that popular fishing locations can close for a long period of time or indefinitely, forcing anglers elsewhere, as seen with Pier 62/63 and the fishing pier 86 respectively. Interviews with Jesse Phillips and David Graves suggests, for the most part, the relationship between the squid fishing community and Seattle Parks and Recreation, and the Aquarium, has been mutually uneventful—so long as anglers abide by park rules and maintain the peace, squid jigging is an acceptable, even encouraged, activity.

However, without formal recognition and allowance of fishing activities by the City, or Friends of Waterfront Seattle, urban fishing is unlikely to receive the same protections as other sanctioned programming. Furthermore, without any clear set of rules

or guidelines, fishing activity is open to interpretation to the MID safety outreach Ambassadors, SPD officers, and Operations and Maintenance staff who will patrol the new park.

One easy solution is to provide fishing education to security personnel. This, in a way, is suggested in the Operations and Maintenance report for the new Waterfront Park, which states clearly, "all entities who will have some level of involvement in the Waterfront should be knowledgeable with regards to rules and regulations so that they may confidently inform non-compliant park users" (ETM Associates, 2018, p.48). Training security personnel about legal fishing activity would avoid any unnecessary conflict that could result in citation or further escalation to SPD.

Another simple solution is to post signage within close proximity to fishing spots that clearly state fishing rules and regulations. This idea was first brought to my attention by Bruno and Joseph Peranzi during our interview and is also suggested under the Public Safety Strategies Recommendations section of Waterfront Park's Operations and Maintenance Report. The report says "focused implementation of signs clearly stating the rules and regulations will effectively inform the public of what they can and cannot do. Most importantly, clearly posted rules and regulations allow security personnel to effectively enforce" (ETM Associates, 2018, p.52). The success of signage would ultimately be predicated on a clearly defined set of fishing rules based on fishers input in an open and communicative dialogue with both Parks and Recreation and the Seattle Aquarium. Given the diversity of anglers who use Pier 58, 59, and 62/63 to catch squid, signage would have to include multiple languages.

Fishing-Friendly Public Programming

An excellent way to encourage squid jigging is to integrate it directly into the public programming for the new Waterfront Park. Fishing activities could take place directly at the newly renovated Pier 58 and Pier 62/63, ranging from fishing lessons, an annual derby, to pop-up seafood demos.

Most importantly, fishing-friendly public programming satisfies prerequisites of Friends of Waterfront Seattle's Access and Inclusivity goals intended to promote equity through community enrichment, culture, education, and recreation. According to the Waterfront Seattle's Benefits Study, free public programming is intended to enrich culture and recreation opportunities for Seattle's neighboring communities, which tend to be "less affluent and more diverse than Seattle on average" (HR&A Advisors, 2019). Officializing fishing activities at the new Waterfront Park would help to establish a central location in Seattle fishers can rely on among a network of fishing communities, including Edmonds fishing pier, and the Point Defiance Marina in Tacoma. Furthermore, the seasonality and nature of squid jigging is unlikely to interfere with the programming already planned for the new park.

Squid jigging lessons and an annual derby

Squid jigging classes, paired with an annual squid jigging derby, are simple, effective ways to encourage fishing at the waterfront, while attracting new interest to the sport. These activities could take place at Pier 58, 59, or 62/63. As we've learned from Mas Tahara, and the Tengu Club of Seattle, fishing derbies are nothing new to the City, and are an excellent way to both showcase and celebrate Seattle's rich fishing history.

Similar programming was introduced by Metro Parks in Tacoma, who've hosted squid jigging classes and a derby at the Point Defiance Marina in the past. These events were first brought to my attention by Jay Mendoza, who has taught classes and sponsored his squid jigs at marina events. The squid jigging derby at the Point Defiance Marina is a partnership between the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife and the Joint Base Lewis-McChord: Morale, Welfare, and Recreation Program of the United States Army (JBLM MWR). According to the Fish and Wildlife Facebook page, the derby is designed specifically for military families and veterans (WDFW, 2017). Fish and Wildlife staff teach participants how to jig for squid and winning participants receive marina gift cards.

Metro Parks Tacoma provides a great example of how fishing activities can be integrated directly into the larger family-friendly framework that make public parks desirable. For example, in addition to offering a squid jigging class and derby, the Point Defiance Marina also hosts a boater's education course and a spring swap meet for fishers to buy and sell fishing gear. These fishing activities fit into other activities Metro Parks offers which include family nature programs, fitness and yoga classes, and holiday themed events (Metro Parks Tacoma, 2020). Based on the success of Metro Parks Tacoma and the Point Defiance Marina, it's logical to assume that similar activities could integrate public programming at the new Waterfront Park.

Food truck

Another engaging programming opportunity is a food truck to serve market squid and other seafood caught directly from the waters of Elliott Bay. The food truck can be stationed directly at pier 58 or Pier 62 for easy access to the water. An example of a similar program comes from Eating with the Ecosystem, a non-profit based out of New England,

whose mission is to educate New Englanders about the seafood they eat using a place-based approach. Part of their education platform includes the Scales and Tales Food Boat program, which utilizes the expertise of local fishermen and scientists to teach consumers about the seafood they eat. Eating with the ecosystem explains, "through the Scales & Tales Food Boat program, [we offer] FREE, fun, educational events to teach consumers about our local seafood, fisheries, and ecosystems. These events raise awareness for and promote local lesser known seafood species and include seafood cooking demonstrations, free samples of local seafood, and storytelling by fishermen and scientists" (n.d.).

A food truck would also provide a great way to promote the multicultural cuisines associated with squid jigging. One needs only to look as far as the Washington Squid Fishing Facebook group to see the full spectrum of culinary possibilities, representing popular dishes from around the world. The idea of a food truck first came to me while developing the Squid Situation Communication Plan for the Water and Land Resources Division of King County. While planning for this, I read a Seattle Times article where food writer Bethany Jean Clement accompanies chef Shota Nakajima to the Waterfront to catch squid for an employee meal. One of the ideas for the media event was to ask Nakajima to do a squid cooking demo, but the opportunity never came to fruition.

Serving freshly caught, local seafood directly from the waters of a port city is nothing new. In fact, a planning document for Pier 62, released by James Corner Field Operations in 2016, suggests a farm boat market, mobile vending carts, and seafood sales, among many other prospective activities the flexible space is built to accommodate.

Environmental education

Urban fishing—squid jigging included—provides a wonderful environmental education opportunity. Building off of Eating with the Ecosystem's education model, the chance to catch and eat squid directly from Elliott Bay, fosters a deeper appreciation for the food that we eat, an opportunity consumers can't experience when we buy prepackaged, frozen seafood from the grocery store. Fishing also creates awareness about larger ocean health issues, such as climate change, ocean acidification, and species conservation. And, in this regard, fishing fits into the environmental education programming that Friends of Waterfront Seattle plans to offer at the new Waterfront Park, which the non-profit anticipates, "will be greatly enhanced" by the Seattle Aquarium's expansion and ocean conservation mission (Friends of Waterfront Seattle, 2018a, pg. 36). Whether by design or happenstance, fishing is already part of the Aquarium's educational programming. During the fall and winter months, visible from large windows opening out onto the south apron of the Aquarium Pier, attendees are bound to see squid fishers happily reeling in squid, provoking visitor curiosity. The view would be greatly enhanced by an educational placard, sharing about the interconnectedness between the fishers and the squid. Similarly, a placard placed somewhere on the south apron of the Aquarium pier could remind fishers that squid are more than just the food we eat, but animals deeply integrated into a larger, interconnected food web.

Community Outreach

In our interview, Jesse Phillips-Kress expressed that a closer relationship with the squid jigging community would improve some of the minor problems (e.g.: generator use, smoking, garbage accumulation) that occur on the south apron of the Aquarium Pier.

Unfortunately, the Aquarium doesn't have the time, nor manpower to make this effort a regular occurrence. One solution is to create a voluntary outreach position, bringing in someone from the squid jigging community who can communicate the Aquarium's concerns to the rest of the group. The person's responsibilities could include digital communication via popular social media channels such as the many public fishing groups on Facebook. However, given the diversity of anglers who frequent the south apron to catch squid, the Aquarium's interests may be best served using direct outreach at the Aquarium pier.

A great model is Public Health—Seattle and King County's Fun to Catch, Toxic to Eat program. As part of the program, Community Health Advocates (CHAs) educate urban fishers and their families about the dangers of eating resident fish from the Lower Duwamish Waterway superfund site (Gould, Ho, & Lee, 2018; Lee, Tippens & Ho, 2019). CHAs are trained using a "community participatory approach," empowering individuals to take part in the public health decision making process from within their own community. The program utilizes environmental justice principles such as capacity building, meaningful involvement, and empowerment to achieve education and stronger public health outcomes surrounding safe seafood consumption (Lee et. al., 2019, p.8). Gould et. al. (2018) explains:

> Because [Community Health Advocates] come from the community, they can credibly relay insights about the community and make culturally appropriate recommendations to health providers and agency decision-makers. They often understand how social, political, economic, and environmental forces impact their community. As a result, they engage their communities, while also advocating for policies that address the root causes of a health problem in their community (p.20).

Community Health Advocates are currently active in the Cambodian, Vietnamese, and Latino immigrant communities, performing "living room chats, community kitchen

cooking demos, and youth group discussion," all designed to educate people about toxic fish consumption (Public Health–Seattle & King County, 2020).

Granted, a similar community partnership would look much different at the Aquarium Pier, considering that the whole point of Community Health Advocates is to educate fishers about the dangers of eating toxic fish. Conversely, there is no public health issue to address at the historic pies, and as prefaced in part two of the thesis, squid are safe to eat—so much so Washington State Department of Health promoted eating market squid as a safe addition to other locally caught seafood. With the public health angle aside, the Fun to Catch, Toxic to Eat program can influence new programming. Namely, an incentive to get fishers involved in the decision-making process regarding issues concerning their community spaces—such as public fishing piers—who are usually underrepresented or absent from the conversation. In a synergistic way, greater communication between the Seattle Aquarium and the squid fishing community, could also enhance Public Health's "fishing club strategy" which aims to provide fishers with culturally appropriate and safe fishing locations, alternative to the Lower Duwamish Waterway.

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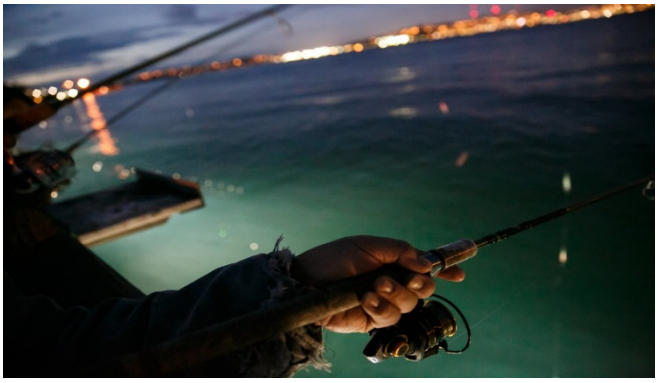
Appendix A: Draft Communication Plan for the "Squid Situation"

The Squid Situation: Communication Plan

King County

Summary

Market squid are safer to eat (low in PCBs), easy and fun to catch, and for the price of a fishing license and some equipment, it provides a healthier source of food for subsistence fishers – current fish consumption advice is 8-12 meals per month.



Squid fishing takes place under the cover of darkness. Anglers use generated light to attract squid. Photo: Erica Schultz for the Seattle Times.

Background

In 2016, the Science and Technical Support team of King County Water and Land Resources Division performed a tissue analysis of Market squid, *Doryteuthis opalescens*, in order to asses chemical contaminants (2016 Squid Contaminant Data Report and 2016 Elliott Bay Market Squid Tissue Monitoring Sampling and Analysis Plan).

The report's results were positive, demonstrating market squid as a potential heatlhier alternative to other locally caught seafood. This is because squid retain lower amounts of chemicals, such as PCBs, which are harmful to human health. With the report's findings, market squid can be marketed as a food alternative for immigrant subsistence fishers who rely on catching fish from the Lower Duwamish Estuary.

Squid fishing is nothing new to the Seattle area and a has strong cultural and historical connection to the Puget Sound region, specifically for Asian Americans. The squid fishing season in Washington State begins in September and ends in January.

Demonstration Event

The following squid jigging demonstration event is proposed in downtown Seattle as a backdrop to discussing the science behind fish consumption guides.

- **Thursday, November 21, 2019**

6 p.m.

- Seattle Aquarium Pier
- Subject matter expert Dave McBride, Washington State Dept. of Health will speak to seafood consumption and safety.
- Jenee Colton, study author, DNRP, Science Section.
- Tim O'Leary will shoot video of squid jigging, fishers, and interview SMEs and maybe the public at large.
- Doug Williams, DNRP PIO
- Saffa Bardaro, WLRD Comms.
- Gavin Tiemeyer, researcher and squid jigger.

News Media to Pitch

Doug, can you fill this in with a few folks you may have in mind? Do you want me to draft a media advisory?

Social Media

- A 3-minute 30 second video will be made demonstrating how to jig for squid as well as any other relevant background information.
- A blogpost containing all information covered in this communication plan will accompany the media event.

- @KingCountyWA
    - Twitter: Warrenn Kagarise and Cameron Satterfield
- @KingCountyWA
    - Facebook: Warren Kagarise and Cameron Satterfield
- @CondadodeKing
    - Facebook: Warren Kagarise and Marie Tweedy
- Water and Land Resources Division
    - Facebook: Saffa Bardaro
    - Wordpress: Saffa Bardaro
- Por una Familia Sana y Segura
    - Facebook: Marie Tweedy
- King County Parks
    - Facebook: Marie Tweedy

1. The King County's Dept. of Natural Resources and Parks scientists routinely study marine life in Puget Sound to monitor water quality.
2. Specifically, our Tissue Monitoring Program works to understand how fish and shellfish health may be harmed by exposure to chemicals.
3. Scientists measure chemical contaminants in species consumed by local fishers and evaluate changes over time as water quality improvements are made.
4. Squid tissue was studied for the first time since 1997 to assess potential human health risks from squid consumption.
5. Scientists tested squid tissue for 15 metals, including mercury, and phthalates, PCBs and several other chemicals.[i]
6. The study showed that squid is low in PCBs and none of the chemicals tested for exceeded the Washington State Department of Health screening levels for metals of concern to high consumer or general populations.
7. We believe that squid retain lower amounts of chemicals because of their shorter life span and the lack of fat to store chemicals.
8. The Dept. of Natural Resources and Parks routinely shares data with public health agencies for use in determining safe levels of consumption.
9. Squid caught in Elliott Bay and Puget Sound in King County are healthy to eat for 8-12 meals a month, according to the Public Health – Seattle & King County guide, "Go Fishing in King County: Seafood Safe to Catch and Eat."
10. This is good news for sustenance fishing, where fishers eat what they catch.
11. Because a boat is not needed and jigging equipment and a fishing license is affordable to many, squid-jigging is one of the most inexpensive and popular ways to catch squid, providing access to a low-cost food for a diversity of anglers.
12. The fishing guide was created to help fishers identify healthy seafood to eat locally and it is available in four languages: Vietnamese, Khmer, English and Spanish at kingcounty.gov/Duwamish-fishing.
13. More good news is that squid are abundant in Puget Sound right now and may become increasingly so as climate change facilitates their migration northword.

[i] Samples were analyzed for 15 metals (including mercury), butyltins, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) as Aroclors, and a large list of semi-volatile organic chemicals (SVOCs) including polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs) and phthalates.