The New Logics of Homeless Seclusion:
A Comparative Study of Large-Scale Homeless Encampments in the Western US

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Abstract

Since the late 1990s several American cities have witnessed the re-emergence of large-scale homeless encampments for the first time since the Great Depression. Commonly portrayed as rooted in the national economic downturn and functionally undifferentiated, this paper demonstrates that large-scale encampments are rather products of urban policies and serve varied and even contradictory roles in different localities. Drawing on interviews and observations across twelve encampments in eight municipalities, this article reveals four distinctive socio-spatial functions of large-scale encampments shaped by the administrative strategies of city officials and adaptive strategies of homeless campers. Large-scale encampments are not homologous spaces spurred by the recession, but responses to new punitive policies and paradoxically serve as both administrative tools for containing marginality and preferred safe grounds for homeless campers. The paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of the rise of homeless seclusion for social analysis and policy, arguing that exclusion and seclusion are two sides of the same coin of post-disciplinary tactics of social control aimed at managing *populations* and the regulation of *spaces* rather than the individual.

Introduction: The Comparative Imperative of Homeless Relegation

Homeless camps have long been a part of America's urban landscape. Their ebb and flow followed the booms and busts of business cycles (Roy, 1935) and the seasonal rhythms of farm work (N. Anderson, 1923) until the early 1970s, after which the street homeless and their camps became a permanent fixture in most cities of the United States (Jencks, 1995). Yet, the post-1970s encampments remained relatively small compared to the Hoovervilles and shantytowns of migrant workers in America's past, rarely growing larger than a dozen inhabitants. The limited scale was both externally and internally enforced. Local law enforcement agencies often swept into action once a public space was perceived to be dominated by the homeless, casting the inhabitants as threats to public health and safety (Smith, 1996; Snow and Mulcahy, 2002; Wright, 1997). At the same time, homeless campers tended to limit the size of their camps to avoid public attention, but also because it is easier to enforce reciprocation in a smaller group that frequently pools resources and the smaller the camp, the less potential conflicts between vulnerable individuals (Bourgois and Schonberg, 2009). Yet, during the rapid economic expansion of the 1990s and early 2000s, dozens of US cities experienced the re-emergence of homeless encampments on a scale unseen since the Great Depression, often comprised of fifty or more individuals and in eighteen reported cases across the US, upwards of one hundred (NCH, 2010). These new trends of homeless habitation marked by increasing size and visibility, during a period of economic growth, rather than decline, suggest that a new logic of urban relegation is at work and requires an alternative sociological explanation.

Scholars have long studied various forms of homeless habitation including the streets (Duneier, 1999; Gowan, 2010; Hopper, 2003; Snow and Anderson, 1993), shelters (Desjarlais, 1997; Dordick, 1997; Gounis, 1992; Lyon-Callo, 2008), and squats (Bailey, 1973; Katz and

Mayer, 1985; Maxwell, 1996; Pruijt, 2003). Yet we know very little about homeless camps (exceptions include Rowe and Wolch, 1990; Bourgois and Schonberg, 2009; Gowan, 2010), and little at all on the recently emerging large-scale and sanctioned formations. Three exceptions to this scholarly neglect include sociologists Talmadge Wright's book *Out of Place* on homeless tent cities in Chicago and San Jose (1997), Wagner and Cohen's article on a protest encampment in Portland, Maine (1991), and Snow and Mulcahy's article on the spatial politics of a homeless shantytown in Tucson, Arizona (2002). Wright's as well as Wagner and Cohen's studies detail the development of organized homeless protests supported through advocate alliances. Snow and Mulcahy's work examines the politics of exclusion surrounding an unorganized camp squeezed into a derelict corner of the city. These three studies point to the discontinuity in both the form and functions of these new islands of marginality - creative sites of protest versus blocks of neglected poverty – and the limits of localized research.

Lacking a broader comparative framework and larger number of cases, these earlier studies are unable to explain the extreme variations of the encampments and why they have re-emerged at this historical juncture. This study overcomes these limitations through empirical innovation and theoretical extension. First, by examining twelve encampments in eight municipalities across the west coast within a single analytic framework, this study provides the first comparative examination of variegated forms of homeless encampment in the United States. Second, by deciphering the seclusionary strategies of local state agencies and the homeless campers in large-scale encampment, the study revises and extends existing theories of urban seclusion, exclusion, and regulation of advanced marginality in the modern metropolis. Despite the large number of studies on the policy practices of *exclusion* to keep the homeless out of particular public places, commercial districts, and residential communities (Beckett and Herbert,

2009; Duneier, 1999; Mitchell, 1997; Vitale, 2008), far less attention has been given to the related practices and/or outcomes of homeless *seclusion*, the means and logics by which homeless are quarantined and cordoned off into particular areas of the city, of which the large-scale encampments are perhaps the most extreme cases.

The article unfolds in three parts. I begin by charting the historical emergence of large-scale homeless encampments at the turn of the millennium. Opposed to the camps' portrayal as symptoms of the economic downturn of 2008, I argue that the encampments are first and foremost creatures of urban policy: products of punitive shifts in urban policies of social control. In reaction to the passage and enforcement of anti-homeless laws, all of the camps emerged either through *resistance*, marked by partnerships with local organizations, or *containment*, through a mix of survival strategies by the homeless within penal and welfare constraints. The second section of the article builds on Wacquant's conception of social seclusion (2010) and Snow and Anderson's (1993) theory of homeless agency to analyze the various logics of homeless seclusion shaping the camps, calibrated as they are by *administrative strategies* of the local state and *adaptive strategies* of the homeless campers and their allies. Through this dual conception of spatial practices, I delineate the principles that define four types of *homeless seclusion*, which encompass, differentiate, and explain the various forms of encampment. I conclude by considering the theoretical implications of these peculiar institutions, which I argue function both as new socio-spatial contraptions of homeless containment for the state as well as preferable safe grounds for the homeless.

Parameters of the Study

To understand why and how certain cities came to develop encampments of this scale and what functions they served, I carried out interviews with city officials, non-profit actors, and

homeless campers between 2009-2011 and observations from visits to encampments during the summers of 2009 and 2011. This time-lapse allowed me to trace the ongoing development of homeless containment and adaptation within each of the encampments. The west coast region was selected because it contains the majority of the nation's homeless living outdoors and greatest concentration of encampments. The particular encampments within the region selected for the study were chosen after reviewing a broader census of encampments, with the aim to cover the widest variation of encampment types. However, the trends found in the West, in terms of the periodicity and type, appear to be congruent with encampments elsewhere.[i]

Of those interviewed, fourteen were city officials, twenty-three were affiliated with non-profit service providers or sponsors of the encampments, and thirty-two were homeless campers. In the case of non-profit actors, I interviewed both those in the administrative staff as well as volunteers who provided services or advocacy support. The positions of the city officials interviewed varied across localities, due to the wide-ranging agencies overseeing the encampments in different local contexts. For instance, Fresno and Sacramento had mayoral appointees coordinating homeless services, while the housing authority supervises Ontario's encampment, and the department of economic development's Community Service Manager oversees Ventura's encampment. Homeless management in the United States is an ad-hoc parochial affair, often taking shape around localized emergencies, after which "homeless policy" becomes assigned to a particular agency, or is handled separately by federally funded initiatives that funnel to local departments of public health, housing, economic development, or law enforcement. One result of this policy patchwork is that the officials I spoke with had little, and in most cases, no knowledge of other localities approaches to encampments of this size.

The study also draws on two-months of embedded ethnography in which I lived in the archipelago of homeless encampments in Fresno, California. Although I only touch on the ethnographic data within this broadly comparative article, living in the non-profit sponsored Village of Hope, surrounding illegal encampments, and local shelter offered an important comparative scope to understanding the key differences of homeless seclusion. The experience of living in the encampments under similar material conditions – in a tent or hut, eating donated food, showering at the service center, and spending only money earned from recycling and the equivalent of general assistance – gave me a proximate and visceral understanding of the encampments and their moral life-worlds that remained invisible in the brief visits and selective interviews.

The Re-emergence of Large-Scale Homeless Camps at the Millennium's Turn

In April of 2009, in the wake of the US financial crisis, images of shantytowns and encampments, often filled with hundreds of homeless people, were vividly portrayed in the media as creatures of the recession: re-born Hoovervilles for the laid off and foreclosed. With headlines such as, "From Boom Times to Tent City" (MSNBC), "Tent Cities Arise and Spread in Recession's Grip" (NY Times), and "Economic Casualties Pile into Tent Cities" (USA Today), the United States' homeless tent cities were portrayed as informal and unorganized reservoirs of poverty, rapidly absorbing the social-fallout of the recession. The story quickly caught wind over the Atlantic through the BBC, Le Monde, and Al Jazeera among dozens of other outlets, whose portrayals highlighted the "third-world" conditions of the makeshift slums of Sacramento, Reno, and Fresno. The tent cities of America became powerful symbols of exceptional times. Yet, while this journalistic "discovery" of the tent cities was tied to America's Great Recession, in reality the genesis of the camps had little to do with the economic crisis.

The presentation of the encampments as products of the recession obfuscates the chronology of their emergence and naturalizes their political origins. First, although large-scale homeless encampments have indeed taken root since the economic crisis of 2008, none of the encampments featured in the media frenzy or included in this study, save one, emerged after the housing or financial crisis (see table 1).[ii] Second, in spite of the fact that nearly all of the tent city residents featured in the media were formerly middle-class individuals who had only recently lost their homes or jobs, surveys and interviews gathered in the first summer following the crisis indicated that these cases were a clear minority in all of the camps (NCH, 2010). In the crisis' initial wake and during the media frenzy of 2009, Sacramento had the most "new homeless" of the encampments covered by the media, with just over 30% of its total population claiming to be recent recession victims (Loaves & Fishes, 2009; NCH, 2010), and even among these individuals several had experienced homelessness earlier in their life. While Fresno and Reno had similar levels of recession victims to Sacramento, those in other encampments estimated that 80% or more of their campers would be classified as chronically homeless (NCH, 2010).[iii] In sum, the encampments' geneses were not rooted in the recession, nor were the majority of their resident's recession victims.

[Table 1 NEAR HERE]

Instead, the camps arose as responses to punitive shifts in urban governance and the penalization of homelessness. Mitchell describes this legal remedy that seeks to cleanse the streets of the poor as the "annihilation of space by law" (1997: 303), a process by which police are given new roles and responsibilities through legal ordinances to protect particular spaces from the perceived nefarious "underclass," by laws banning sitting or lying on sidewalks, panhandling, possession of shopping carts, and the feeding of homeless. Laws aimed at

regulating homeless populations in public spaces have spread in geographic reach and increased in penal intensity since the 1980s (NCH, 2009; Vitale, 2008), to the point of regulating not only "anti-social behavior," but banishing thousands of individuals from even passing through large swaths of public places (Beckett and Herbert, 2009). All twelve of the encampments emerged either immediately or shortly after the passage of laws banning camping (Kings County, Olympia, Sacramento) or sitting and lying on sidewalks (Seattle, Fresno) or a change in the enforcement of such laws (Ontario, Ventura).

[FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE]

As outlined in figure one, the camps emerged along two pathways. The most common pattern of formation was *containment*, through which exclusionary laws and their increasingly stern and widespread enforcement concentrated a city's homeless onto increasingly limited territories. Officials eventually tolerated certain zones of camping and in some cases officers began instructing or assigning homeless to these particular sites. The other generative response was *resistance*, by which homeless people, always in coordination with advocates or church groups, occupied land in protest of anti-homeless ordinances. Lastly, Fresno and Sacramento's encampments, which first began through gradual containment became further stabilized and expanded after the ACLU won costly lawsuits against the city for destroying homeless property. In these cases, resistance through legal institutions followed the process of containment.

These findings make clear that the presentation of encampments in the media was *economically overdetermined* and *politically underdetermined*. First, the large encampments initially reached critical mass during the economic boom, not the bust. Second, the encampments were inhabited primarily by chronically homeless individuals not recession victims. Third, the encampments were growing in size even in regions where the overall numbers of chronically

homeless were in decline (HUD, 2008; US Conference of Mayors, 2008). [iv] Finally, as this

section has documented, all of the camps included in this study were triggered directly by

punitive policies and practices aimed at rough sleepers. Therefore, the large-scale homeless

encampments are not products of the recession, but are first and foremost socio-spatial symptoms

of the steadily increasing and intensifying exclusion and banishment by city governments.[v] Yet,

despite being all similarly rooted in a nationwide punitive shift against homelessness,

encampments have taken on an array of organizational forms shaped by varying motives,

practices, alliances and struggles between the homeless, governments, and local associations.

The next section dissects these key differences and attempts to explain their variation within a

single analytic framework of homeless seclusion.

Towards a Typology of Homeless Seclusion

The *exclusionary* spatial policies and practices of local governments, which ultimately

led to the formation of large-scale homeless encampments, have been thoroughly studied by

sociologists and geographers of the city, who have examined the "hardening of public space"

(Davis, 1990; Dear, 2000; Soja, 2000), new modes of surveillance (Coleman, 2003; Flusty,

2001), "anti-social behavior laws" (Duneier, 1999; Ellickson, 1996; Mitchell, 1997; Vitale,

2008), and novel techniques of banishment (Beckett and Herbert, 2009). Yet, these studies that

focus on the process by which the homeless are excluded from particular spaces fail to account

for the related *seclusionary* forms of policies and practices, which sustain, sanction, and control

the daily lives of individuals within homeless encampments. In this section, I elaborate an

analytic framework building on the sociological theories of Snow and Anderson (1993) and

Wacquant (2010) to explain the variations of large-scale homeless encampments. After drawing

out the key axes of distinction, I then examine each type of homeless seclusion from the dual

perspectives of local government officials and the homeless campers.

Wacquant defines social seclusion as the process through which "particular social categories and activities are corralled, hemmed in, and isolated in a reserved and restricted quadrant of physical and social space" (2010: 166).   In making the argument against scholars who confusingly collapse the conceptions of the "ghetto" and "ethnic cluster" into a single category of social space, not unlike the one-dimensional perception of the homeless camp, Wacquant draws out a two dimensional analytic grid depicting degrees of high and low social hierarchy and selective and forced isolation, to distinguish numerous modalities of seclusion. I follow a similar method of analytic distinction built on three basic premises of Wacquant's framework. First, in contrast to the predominating Foucauldian approaches of socio-spatial governmentality, which examine the post-disciplinary and pervasive tactics of exclusion (Becket and Herbert, 2009; Merry, 2001; O'Malley, 1992), Wacquant's framework focuses on the ways populations, institutions, and activities are secluded, isolated, shut-off, or confined. Second, this article adopts Wacquant's use of a two dimensional analytic grid to construct a typology of seclusion. This method of presentation is vital for both differentiating and relating disparate forms of socio-spatial relations within a single analytic lens and pushes the analysis to move beyond simply describing the resemblances of encampments, as done in prior studies, to instead analyze the pertinent principles of homeless seclusion which undergird their existence. Third, Wacquant's dual conception of seclusion as both a product of imposed constraints *and* elective choice, eschews the all too frequent trend in the literature of recognizing only the repressive components of confinement, while ignoring its productive aspects (Wacquant, 2007a; 2011a) critical to understanding the co-constitutive roles of homeless people's preference to camp amidst varied administrative constraints.

Below I present a compressed analysis of divergent forms of homeless seclusion, which serves as the guiding map of the paper. In the diagram we have two settings, legal and illegal, and within each we can distribute forms of seclusion along two basic dimensions. The vertical axis of institutionalization and informality gauges the degree to which camps are managed and supported by institutions of the state and/or non-profit service agencies. Encampments that are formally recognized through zoning ordinances and municipal laws and serviced by contracted non-profits would be located near the top of the axis, while those under threat of eviction and without basic services such as water and sanitation would be at the bottom. The horizontal axis describes the extent to which campers are able to independently exercise power within their community outside of state imposition of management or repression. This captures the degree to which campers autonomously organize the admissions process, set and enforce rules and regulations, and decide on the required contributions. These conceptual axes in turn form four quadrants, which each depict what I will go onto elaborate as distinct forms of homeless seclusion: contestation, toleration, accommodation, and co-optation.

[FIGURE 2 NEAR HERE]

Although these forms of homeless seclusion can be minimally parsed out along the two dimensions of autonomy and informality, the purpose of this typology is not simply descriptive, but to offer an analytical lens to explain the distinctive logics and practices of each. To do this I follow Snow and Anderson (1993) who examine the survival strategy of the homeless within four distinctive though overlapping and interacting constraints with which the homeless are confronted. They include organizational, political, moral, and spatial constraints. This article considers the *adaptive strategies* of the homeless and their allies within each of these constraints, but also considers the *administrative strategies* of the local state. In contrast to Snow and

Anderson, this analysis does not take the political constraints as stable and given rules and instead seeks to unpack the logics and strategies of the local state to both explain the constraints in place and consider how they are formed and reformed in interaction with the adaptive strategies of the homeless and their allies.

Finally, because such ideal-typical constructions inevitably create static characterizations of dynamic social formations it is important to point out that what is being crystalized in this analysis is not a typology of encampments, but rather a typology of homeless seclusion; that is, logics and practices that tend to isolate, bind, and contain groups of homeless people into large-scale encampments. The encampments often experience various forms of seclusion over time. As mentioned in the first section, all of the legalized camps were once governed by the logics and practices of illegal modes of homeless seclusion. Over the two years of this study, some encampments that had been tolerated have since become contested and vice versa. Some simply no longer exist. I attempt to compensate for this analytic loss of historical patterning elsewhere (see ------- , forthcoming), but what is gained by extracting the encampments from their diachronic flows is the ability to crystalize generalized pertinent principles of homeless seclusion that structure the camps and their relation to the more frequently utilized forms of homeless exclusion of which they depend.

I. Contestation

In the summer of 2008, Seattle's mayor Greg Nickels issued police orders to crackdown on rough sleepers. Targeting primarily camping groups, police moved with little warning and dismantle encampments, often confiscating and destroying homeless people's belongings. With inadequate shelters and two tent cities already filled to capacity, the homeless joined together

and formed a protest camp in South Seattle named Nickelsville. The encampment formed after a month of planning, weekly organizing meetings, two rallies, a sit-in, and a car wash with a local homeless advocacy group and continued its political actions through media outreach and homeless advocacy once formed.[vi] All of the camps in the Northwest, like Nickelsville, first formed through activist repertoires as protective strategies against displacement and dispersion. After forming an initial encampment, these groups were evicted en masse, but rather than dispersed, the homeless relocated collectively on new territory. It is this resilience against attempts of dispersal, the explicit political program of the camps, and their emergence through militant struggle with city authorities that distinguishes the process of contestation to other forms of seclusion.

Administrative Strategies

Unlike the other three forms of homeless seclusion, wherein local governments tolerate and often actively support secluded zones for the homeless, seclusion through contestation is spurred by an administrative strategy of *dispersion.* In these cases, local governments utilize police "sweeps" to de-concentrate and make invisible homeless populations, but encampments re-emerge, being merely geographically and/or temporally displaced, consolidating and concentrating to defend against future attacks. Yet, the logic behind continued contestation by the police is not simply the neutral enforcement of legislation, but rather politically incited. Instead the administrative practice of dispersion relies on punitive logics stressing *material*, *symbolic*, and *political* rationales.

The most prevalent reasons for clearing camps from city officials were proximate material concerns: the fears of heightened crime in the area of the camps, concerns of reductions in adjacent property values, retailers' anxieties of the homeless driving away customers, and

complaints of scavengers sorting through trash. These same arguments were also the prime

cause of concern expressed in the city-council hearings on anti-homeless ordinances and

legalization of encampments. However, in Fresno, Seattle, and Sacramento the camps were so

thoroughly marginalized on fallow and abandoned land that evidence of proximate material

effects were difficult to pinpoint, despite these official claims. For instance, Nickelsville's most

frequent site of encampment, located on the ironically, but appropriately named street Marginal

Way, was hidden entirely by bushes off of an industrial service road. Sacramento's Safe Ground

encampment is tucked deep in the woods along the American River, invisible even from the

infrequently traveled trails. In Fresno, a buffer of rail yards and abandoned warehouses guards its

tent city district, and Portland and Ontario's camps are both situated between airports and

landfills.

When pressed on this point in the interviews, city officials in many cases moved to

justifying the dismantling of camps on symbolic rationales; a public perceptions of insecurity

and preservation of their city's or administration's reputation. Even though most residents have

never set eyes on these areas firsthand, the visual spectacle captured through media coverage had

the effect of mobilizing city administrators in fighting perceptions of a crisis of homelessness.

The homeless policy manager of Fresno concisely explains this *politics of visibility*:

> You have to understand Fresno's homeless problem is much bigger than the camps South
> of Ventura, but when people see these large shantytowns growing on TV, even if our
> numbers (of homeless) are declining, they assume the city is tolerating illegalities and we
> get pressure to clean up, even though that area is completely abandoned.

Here we see how the media's gaze simultaneously stokes the insecurity of local residents and

makes visible the social problems unaddressed by city administrations, leading officials to polish

their image by taking action and dispersing the campers into less visible circumstances. Despite

some of the reporter's claimed intentions of ameliorating homelessness by raising awareness of a

growing social problem, officials in both Sacramento and Reno similarly cited the media uproar that drew international attention as the triggering factor to evict the homeless from their campsites. These instances suggest that from the vantage point of urban managers, it is not so much the existence of the homeless as their public visibility, which makes them symbols of incivility and the object of policy action.

The use of the term "illegalities," as opposed to poverty, is also telling – identifying the criminality rather than the economic circumstances of the homeless campers as the primary social problem in the eyes of the local state. It is not poverty that needs solving, but rather their illegal manifestation of encampments that is the ultimate target of the administration. Even when such concerns of homeless welfare were cited to justify sweeps, the practices remained consistently punitive. Sacramento's homeless task force manager argued that the city's order to evict the American River encampment was a policy of social welfare, claiming, "We can do better for our homeless." After the eviction, shelter facilities were expanded for two months then closed. Over two years later, no alternative solutions have been implemented. Similar claims of protecting homeless welfare were deployed to justify the dismantlement of Fresno's encampments in the summer of 2011 when approximately 200 campers were evicted from their camps, of which only 48 were granted housing vouchers or permanent supportive housing. The token housing vouchers allowed the local government to frame the clean-up as part of their 10-year plan to end homelessness by moving a handful of people from tents into housing, ignoring the fact that most of the campers themselves sleeping unprotected on the streets or in overcrowded shelters with what many reported to be a far lower quality of life than they had maintained in their camps. These administrative logics of contestation suggests that the dismantlement of camps are not merely aimed at protecting proximate property values and local

business, but are also part-and-parcel of a broader penal-welfare strategy conceived by Wacquant as "staging sovereignty of the state": a dialogic process between materially instrumental penal practices and symbolically and politically potent actions designed to project governmental competency and authorities in the management of marginality by reinforcing an image of law and order while invisibilizing the failures of the welfare state (Wacquant, 2009: 298-299).

Adaptive Strategies

The homeless in contested encampments utilized tactics and discursive frames that resembled those of nascent social movements (Tilly, 2008). These encampments were not only safe grounds for homeless habitation, but political mobilizations as well. As one Nickelodian (the self-coined term for Nicklesville residents) explained, "We're not simply homeless here, we are activists for the entire population of homeless in this city." A community meeting I attended included discussions about media outreach and city council decisions, writing letters to officials, and political strategizing with the local nonprofit SHARE/WHEEL, an advocacy group comprised of homeless and formerly homeless individuals that provides financial and political support to the camp. As seen in the photo below, donated pink-tents were used to attract media attention; to "make visible Seattle's homeless," as one advocate put it. Similarly, Sacramento's Safe Ground encampment, an offshoot of the American River encampment, holds bi-weekly meetings in a local service provider's boardroom with homeless advocates and legal counsel to discuss not only the needs of the camp, but city politics, fundraisings, and a search for a permanent site.

[Image Set 1 NEAR HERE]

Through this process of contestation one sees how collectivities of campers were brought into existence by the very strategies that sought to disperse them. On the eve of an eviction in

Seattle's Nickelsville encampment, a camper explained to me how the struggle with city authorities both generated the "community" and became a binding glue among its members: "It's just a game of cat and mouse, but this game has built this community." Residents across all forms of encampment stressed the moral resources and sense of purpose that the camps provided them in contrast to the chaotic streets and demeaning shelters, but in the contested camps, this sense of empowerment carried a uniquely political inflection, in which campers viewed themselves as part of a collective struggle and advocates for a cause. These political tactics and discursive frames were not nearly as prominent in the three other forms of seclusion, under which encampments are tolerated or legalized.

Significantly, none of the camps formed through contestation emerged solely or even primarily by the actions of the homeless themselves. In each case, only after city officials placed significant repressive and exclusionary pressure on the homeless were they then organized through local associations of residents. While the question of how to organize the dispossessed into political action remains a perennial one among activists and poverty scholars (Bourdieu, 1998; Cress and Snow, 1996; Wagner and Cohen, 1991, 1992; Wright 1997), encampment has proven to be a uniquely successful, albeit limited strategy. They are successful in that contested camps draw media attention to issues of homelessness, give the homeless a sense of political and social purpose, and win legal recognition for a single site or housing vouchers for a few, yet are limited by their temporality in the journalistic limelight and tendency to provide benefits for only a small number of campers rather than the homeless population at large.

II. Toleration

The streets and rail yards surrounding Fresno's rescue mission have long hosted a spattering of small homeless. It was only in 2002, however, that the camps agglomerated into shantytowns and tent cities comprised of dozens and eventually hundreds of campers. It was at this time the city council passed and began enforcing new anti-homeless laws, including a sit-lie law in its downtown park and shopping district in an effort to revitalize its urban core. These laws and their enforcement aligned with the opening of Chukanski Park, a minor league ballpark built in the central business district, after which police officers began preventing sleeping downtown and simultaneously allowed the homeless to camp peacefully a mile away on abandoned industrial lots and their adjacent sidewalks. Marked by the strictly enforced boundary of South Ventura Street, which divides the "tent city" and retail districts of the downtown, the city enforces a two-sided place-based policy as seen in the stark proximate segregation in the images below, formed by an emboldened revanchist approach on one end in the city's higher rent districts, and a hands-off toleration of homeless habitation on the other within the abandoned industrial zone. This double-edged process of exclusion and seclusion led to the initial formations of the large-scale camps in Fresno, Ontario, Sacramento, and Ventura as well as the majority of reported cases not included in this west coast sample.

[Image Set 2 NEAR HERE]

Administrative Strategies

Seclusion through toleration creates encampments that are sanctioned by enforcement, but not by law. These spaces are not exempt from the exclusionary laws that make it illegal to camp, sit, lie down, beg, but such ordinances are simply selectively enforced. Why might a city administration tolerate such an encampment rather than dispersing them as is typically done across the US? Although none of the city managers claimed that the tolerated encampments were

"by design," neither did they speak of the encampments as purely social problems to be battled, nor failures of the administration as in contested contexts. Instead, each official listed a number of pragmatic benefits of tolerating the encampments within the context of limited policy options and political will, in *entrepreneurial*, *administrative*, and *social-welfare* registers.

First, the encampments were viewed as complimentary tools of spatial management in accomplishing the implicit entrepreneurial goals of anti-homeless ordinances. Ontario's housing director noted the drastic fall in complaints by businesses after sanctioning an abandoned field for the homeless' use, Fresno's homeless policy manager claimed the camp had "taken pressure off of the downtown parks and pedestrian mall," and other officials referenced their camp's contribution to downtown revitalization. As documented by several scholars, a primary impetus of exclusionary laws is business and development interests concerned with cleaning the streets for consumption and development (Ewick, 1998; Macleod, 2002; Shearing and Stenning, 1987; Smith, 1996). In particular, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are frequently the primary organizations involved in bringing such ordinances onto the legislative agenda and implementing their enforcement through private security forces (Vitale, 2008; Erie et al., forthcoming). While these special interests are vigilant in the enforcement of the ordinances in their particular commercial territory, they are unconcerned of their application citywide. Once recognizing the entrepreneurial functions and motives of the laws, it no longer seems paradoxical that large-scale encampments should re-emerge at the exact moment of increased criminalization of homelessness, or that city officials justify their toleration as a symbiotic policy in-line with exclusionary tactics.

Second, related to the economic benefits of residents, developers, and retailers were the reduction in law enforcement costs to the city administration - a benefit mentioned by all the city

officials interviewed in cities with tolerated or legal encampments. Ventura's Community Service Manager described the toleration of encampments along the riverbed, prior to legalizing one of the encampments, as an example of "smart, pragmatic, government" that avoided costly expenditures of time and money "chasing homeless all over town, when we all know they have nowhere to go." What was striking about the administrative justifications made on grounds of law enforcement was the lack of any evidence or mention of the reduction in crime. Discussing the enforcement effects without any reference to crime itself, points to what Wacquant (2009) has identified as the extra-penological function of the contemporary penal state, which is not aimed primarily at controlling criminality, but rather at managing the dispossessed (2009). In every case the policing benefits were framed in managerialist terms of cost-driven calculations, a hallmark of the new entrepreneurial form of urban governance, which increasingly translates social and political problems into economic problems of urban management (Harvey, 1989; Hall & Hubbard, 1989; Hackworth, 2007; Peck, 2010).

Third, in every case, city officials justified their policy of toleration in terms of the social-welfare of the homeless. Many portrayed their city's toleration of large encampments as charitable signifiers of sympathy, tolerance, and even a progressive approach to homeless management in acknowledging their rights as local citizens. Yet, these justifications of compassion were always contextualized within the limits of assistance. All of the city officials I spoke with noted that the camps were not "ideal" or "end" solutions to homelessness, but, recognizing their cities' limited shelter capacity, the dangers of the street, and the penal pestering incited by anti-social behavior ordinances saw them as "making do, without making things worse," as Ventura's Community Service Manager put it.

This trio of logics, found in each of the municipalities that tolerated camps, resulted in and justified a general strategy of *flexible enforcement,* in which exclusionary ordinances that legislate behaviors across all places and people became spatially specified and targeted at particular people in their enforcement. The police not only ignored blatant violations of anti-social behavior ordinances in the tolerated encampments, but also turned their back to criminalized activity in general that occurred within the designated homeless zones, unless complaints from non-homeless locals arose.[vii] During my fieldwork in Fresno, the city not only tolerated camping and shopping carts, both criminalized by city ordinances, but an open-air drug market, fires on the sidewalks, and widespread public use of illegal substances even in the presence of officers.

While this liberal lack of enforcement of the encampments proved to be a *pull* for a number of homeless, it was often accompanied by an enforced *push* by police and private security officers who instructed homeless persons in other parts of the city to return to their assigned area of town. Several of the homeless campers in and around downtown Fresno had been told by officers to move "South of Ventura," the road dividing the homeless outcasts from society at large, and similar instances of spatial assignment were reported in Sacramento and Ventura. Unlike the simply exclusionary police patrolling widely documented in the homeless scholarship, wherein the homeless are asked to move on, threatened with fines, or arrested (Beckett and Herbert, 2009; Duneier, 1999; Mitchell, 1997; Vitale, 2008;), this seclusionary patrolling relies on the conceptualization of the camps as an instrumental space to contain homeless, not unlike how downtown districts such as the Tenderloin in San Francisco (Gowan, 2010) or Skid Row in LA (Dear and Wolch, 1987; Erie et al., forthcoming) have been cordoned off as exclusive homeless zones. Tacit in the three rationales behind the toleration of large-scale

encampments and the strategy of flexible enforcement is the acknowledgement that seclusion and exclusion are two sides of the same coin. City officials came to realize the instrumental and beneficial function of the large-scale encampments that had arisen as a strategic means of simultaneously containing their street populations in certain areas while excluding them from others.

Adaptive Strategies

Alongside the punitive pushes that shape this form of seclusion is also an assistential pull. Frequent feedings and easier access to services were primary reasons given by homeless campers for residing in tolerated encampments. Once a critical mass of homeless people concentrated on a single site, church groups and charities would begin serving food within the camps, residents would drive by and drop-off donations, others would stop by to hire day labor. This would then lead to greater numbers of homeless and even greater provision of services. In Fresno's tent-city district it was not uncommon to have five or more feedings by charities on both Saturday and Sunday. In the cases of Sacramento and Fresno, the locations of the encampments were primarily determined by their proximity to the city's homeless service providers, which offered food, showers, and medical assistance among other aid.   These cases can therefore be seen as new encamped forms of what Dear and Wolch termed "service-dependent ghettos" (1987): areas with concentrations of socially marginal people, which once in place, tend to be reinforced as service providers take advantage of service efficiencies due to agglomerations of socially marginal people and as service users are attracted by the services and by the presence of others in their social network.

Without the constant threat of eviction, the stability of these encampments had various effects on the social organization, day-to-day practices and subjectivities of the campers in

contrast to their contested counterparts. As opposed to their disorderly slum-like portrayals in the media, several of the encampments displayed a high degree of social organization, subdividing along lines of ethnicity, criminal records, and previous class backgrounds. In Fresno, African Americans settled the abandoned Pacific Union rail yard first, but as the Latino population grew within a corner of the original camp it splintered off onto an adjacent site of its own and soon grew much larger. The predominantly Latino camp became known as Taco Flats or Little Tijuana, among its residents. It eventually absorbed a growing number of recession victims, including a ring of poor whites that tended toward the outside margins of the site. The camp had a central eating area known as the Cantina that served donated food indiscriminately to the entire community. The encampment drew resources from non-profits, housed family members, and the homeless themselves who often worked in the informal labor market and surrounding agricultural lands. In the later phase of the encampment, Little Tijuana had an elected mayor who settled disputes within the community and served as a spokesperson to the authorities. The predominantly African American camp, referred to by the homeless as New Jack City named after a film about the crack epidemic of the early '90s, contained a much thicker web of family relations and friendships from the economically depressed and racially segregated neighborhoods they grew up in.

The encampments were also divided along penal lines. Forty sex offenders under special parole conditions and regulated by GPS monitors shackled to their ankles were assigned to live under a bridge by their parole officers a mile away from the primary group of homeless campers in Little T and New Jack City, wherein roughly half had spent time in prison or jail. In this way the segregation on the street mirrored the segregation between California's special needs prisons, which contain sex offenders and other special categories of criminals, and the State's mainline

prisons, which hold the rest. Lastly, the camps were sub-divided along self-defined community standards of behavior. There were drug and alcohol free areas, family friendly zones where children could safely visit, and various groupings based on drugs of choice.

These social subdivisions, which formed through the stability denied in contested seclusion and lack of institutional regulation applied in accommodative and co-opted forms of seclusion, reveal most vividly the broader social functions of encampment that are elided by the popular and generic label of "homeless camp." New Jack City served as the receptacle for the social fallout of Fresno's crumbling ghettos, Little T, a migrant labor camp for the agricultural county's reserve army, and all of the camps, a primary drop-off point and holding ground for unemployed ex-cons from California's hyperactive carceral system. While all the forms of homeless seclusion and the encampments they condition perform similar instrumental functions for the bloated penal-state, meager welfare state, and predatory low-wage employers, their division of labor in the production of marginality are most clearly delineated in the spaces of toleration, wherein their functional and social differentiation is inscribed in the spatial segregation of encampment. Thus the encampments must be recognized as way stations between the jails and hospitals in which the campers frequent (Wacquant, 2011b) produced by state institutions propping up low-wage labor contracts (Peck, 2001; Purser, 2006), winding down affordable housing (NLHC, 2005), and reducing rehabilitative assistance for thousands of prisoners re-entering society each year (Petersilia, 2009).

III. Accommodation

Portland's Dignity Village began as a contested collection of tents under a bridge in the winter of 2000. Today it is a well-developed eco-village with its own 501c3 non-profit headed by

a democratically elected board of campers, which governs itself on a contracted piece of public property. With wooden cottages, raised community gardens, a library, kitchen, and electricity, it is far from a tent city. The camp also sells donated goods and firewood on-site and asks campers to contribute small amounts of money each month to pay the camp's utility bills. Self-managed, self-funded, and legally recognized, the campers maintain their dignity through their autonomy and self-reliance. As one villager explained: "We're not like those on the streets or in the shelter. We're not a burden to anyone." With legal sanctions through zoning or city ordinances, Accommodated encampments like Dignity Village distinguish themselves from tolerated encampments with their legal recognition and non-profit status, and distinct to co-optation in their preservation of the campers' autonomy in decision-making and collective participation in the maintenance of the camp. Along with Portland's Dignity Village, the first of its kind, Kings County's Tent City 4, Seattle's Tent City 3, Olympia's Camp Quixote, and Fresno's Village of Hope are all durable instances of this form of self-maintained homeless seclusion.

Administrative Strategies

To account for this form of seclusion as an administrative strategy it is necessary to ask why and how certain municipalities and counties have formally recognized these camps through law. In the case of toleration, city officials justified tolerance as a best practice amidst limited alternatives but refused to formally legitimate them on the grounds of increased liability and expenditures and challenges to health and zoning codes.[viii] However, after pressing the officials on the solutions utilized in other municipalities to overcome these concerns it was revealed that underneath these technical barriers were a variety of political reservations in officially legitimating the camps. Seattle's homeless policy manager expressed the bipartisan unpopularity of sanctioning encampments that was similarly found in other administrations:

> The thing is camps aren't popular with the right or the left. Liberals criticize the camps as inadequate welfare and see the city failing to provide adequate shelter, while the conservatives see the camps as a sort of magnet for the region's homeless and a sign that the government is being too soft.

These political barriers to legalization were only overcome when a church or non-profit presented city officials with a proposal that included a plan for the provision and management of the camp. This allowed city officials to divert the issues of technical responsibilities and criticisms of governmental neglect to a third party. In Fresno and Ventura there was relatively little resistance to legalized encampment. In each case, unused city-owned land was simply rezoned as temporary campsites or special permits were granted to service providers to use their own land for camps. However, in Seattle, Kings County, and Olympia the political battles were contentious and centered on legal issues of church rights rather than homeless rights. Church groups claimed that the state could not evict the poor from their property under the Federal Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Acts (RLUIPA) designed to allow religious institutions to avoid burdensome zoning restrictions on their property use. This legal argument, shifting the contention from the rights of the poor to the rights of the church, moved local governments into negotiations. What resulted were local ordinances that allow for encampments, but place restrictions on their populations and length of stay at any given location and apply various health and safety standards. The homeless in these encampments are no longer perceived as "out of place" as in Talmadge Wright's (1997) or Snow and Mulcahy's (2002) cases, but rather in a proper place, as state officials subsume what had formerly been a spatial tactic of resistance into an official state strategy of poverty management.

Adaptive Strategies

The administrative strategy of legalization is accompanied by the adaptive strategy of institutionalization negotiated between the homeless campers and their non-profit partners.

Portland's Dignity Village is unique in that its camp is a non-profit in and of itself, while the other encampments under accommodative seclusion are instead adopted or managed by churches or external nonprofits. The dominant model, which is operative in Seattle, Kings County, and Olympia, is one in which encampments migrate to different church properties every ninety days as seen in the image of tent city 4 below. Because the primary political barrier to legalizing a permanent camp proved to be NIMBYISM (Not in my backyard) complaints, the regulated rotation of encampment diffused most public opposition. The churches cover the cost of utilities and provide volunteer labor during the camps' stay, while local non-profits serve as the camps' fiscal agents, and provide food and administrative support. Campers share chores, follow mutually agreed upon standards of behavior, and meet weekly to discuss camp business and make collective decisions.

Besides offering greater material benefits and comforts compared to their illegal counterparts, these encampments also provide a far greater degree of security than the streets or the shelter. Each of the encampments in this category provided around the clock security administered by the homeless campers with a consensus that violators would be banished. During the summer I lived in the encampments of Fresno, violence was pervasive in the illegal camps, where three murders and almost daily instances of domestic abuse occurred. No one would stray far from his or her tents without leaving a lookout, from fear of being robbed. During the same time there was only one incidence of robbery and domestic abuse within the Village of Hope, the legal and non-profit sponsored encampment. One camper, who had been homeless on the streets and shelters in Fresno for two years explained: "It's sad, but you can't trust anyone on the streets or in the shelters, even the staff. This is the only place I've felt like I can leave my spot without worrying that my stuff will still be here the next day."

[Image Set 3 NEAR HERE]

This form of seclusion provided particularly important subjective resources for the homeless in maintaining a sense of self-worth. Encampments of accommodation provide this sense in the most basic ways, by allowing individuals to live in a safe and clean environment, maintain and organize a personal space, and contribute to a larger community. As Dignity Village's mission statement expresses: "Dignity functions as a dynamic self-help environment that provides a participatory framework for supporting each other, while simultaneously encouraging individual residents to more effectively help themselves at a personal level." As the names of the encampments under accommodation reflect – "the Village of Hope" "Dignity Village" "Camp Quixote" – the maintenance of self-worth is a much more central and conscious goal in this form of seclusion than in its illegal counterparts.

Moreover, this sense of self-worth is maintained through the distinction the accommodative space provides through "social distancing" (Snow and Anderson, 1987; 1993). A sense of socially significant spatial distinction was frequently expressed in Fresno's Village of Hope, a legal community comprised of 60 homeless campers living in garden sheds within a gated fence surrounded by the hundreds of illegal campers of New Jack City and Little Tijuana. Many "villagers," a name adopted by the residents, spoke of working security as "paying rent" and referred to themselves as "residents," viewing their membership to the camp as a marker of self-worth. As one long-time villager explained:

> We in the village are a different class of homeless. I mean we're not 'street homeless.' Those other homeless could be in here if they wanted to, but they're just lazy bums. They don't want to follow a few rules and help out in the community.

Just as ethnographic studies have found sharp judgments within poor neighborhoods between "street" and "decent" or "upstanding" cultures (E. Anderson, 1991; Hannerz; 1969; Pattillo,

2007; Small, 2004), the legal camps are both a spatial reflection and symbolic means to solidify this social distinction among the homeless.

IV. Co-optation

Flying into Ontario's International Airport, in the heart of California's inland empire, one can spot less than a mile from the tarmac what could easily be mistaken as a military refugee or disaster relief camp. Enclosed by a perimeter chain-link fence, a settlement of seventy identical army tents in ordered rows sticks out of the never-ending suburban landscape. Located in an old neighborhood marked by aging buildings and abandoned orchards, what used to be one of California's largest squatting settlements commonly referred to by its campers as "Camp Hope" was turned into a secured holding ground for the region's homeless who have been evicted from all other public places. Renamed the Temporary Housing Services Area (THSA) by officials, a nominal turn mirroring the camp's bureaucratic refashioning, the "area" is now supervised by a private security force around the clock while campers are required to carry special state-issued ID cards and prohibited from bringing visitors within the gates. This form of seclusion occurs when pre-existing encampments are taken over by the local state. It is the rarest form of seclusion and the three camps that have resulted from this process - Ontario's THSA, Ventura's River Haven Community, and Fresno's Community of Hope – all vary dramatically. Nonetheless, the camps share two key traits that define this form of seclusion. First, the government initiatives were designed to formalize, institutionalize, and give order to what were seen as unruly, dangerous, and unclean homeless settlements. Second, unlike the camps governed by the homeless themselves, the co-opted camps have rule regimes that reflect similarly existing state-run institutions such as the shelter and jails, as in the case of Ontario's

THSA and Fresno's Community of Hope, or transitional housing, as in the case of Ventura's River Haven Community.

Administrative Strategies

The government-led programs of camp reform were premised on three interconnected administrative goals, according to officials. First, was to upgrade the health and sanitation services on the sites, providing amenities such as fresh water, toilets, and garbage disposal. Second, was to rid the encampments of illegal activities. Third was to re-gear the camps function towards moving people out of homelessness. As Ontario's director of Housing Services explained:

> Rather than actively solving our own community's homeless problem, we're simply sustaining the region's homelessness. Once our agency stepped in, we were able to provide a healthier and safer environment for those who actually wanted to do something about their homeless situation, and for those who are actually from our community.

These encampments were no longer simply available for the down-and-out who needed a place to rest, but rather exclusively for the "deserving poor," willing to submit themselves to various behavioral requirements and actively work towards moving out of homelessness, mimicking the managerialist and authoritarian trends within the shelters that increasingly attach work and behavioral requirements to their beds (Lyon-Callo, 2008; Gowan, 2010).

"Camp Hope," as its residents referred to it, had become the sanctuary for some 450 homeless people from the region, as a result of the city tolerating the occupation of an empty city-owned lot near. Although the encampment was located far from residences and businesses, the sheer scale of the settlement eventually raised public complaints, and the city responded by gating the property, upgrading the site, and hiring a service provider to manage the site under the government's supervision, expense, and regulation. In return for these improvements, the city only allowed back those who could prove an earlier residential connection to the city and follow

a set of stringent requirements including rehabilitation or work. These stipulations sought to make clear that camping was not a right, but a privilege, and only a temporary one at that, as a time limit was applied to an individual's length of stay. As a result, the city was able to better assist certain individuals, the 120 who returned after the eviction, while the other 300 were banished from the site at the exact moment the city began cracking down on rough sleeping around the downtown.

Ventura's River Haven Community did not initially begin as an informal illegal encampment as Camp Hope, but as a government-recognized encampment under democratic management of campers. However, as drug and alcohol issues on the site continued and the homeless showed no signs of moving on, city officials began questioning the goals of the partnership and decided on a plan of "improvement" that evicted all of the former residents and set-up in its place a transitional housing program. Like Ontario's THSA, the camp is now managed by a city appointed service provider and is comprised of twenty U-Domes (see image below), rented by its residents for $300-$500 a month. The encampment has set time limits on residencies and requires its residents to utilize a case-manager to seek employment. As seen in the images below, both Ventura's River Haven and Ontario's THSA reflect an institutionalized order, devoid of the personal touches of Dignity's cottages, or the illegal encampments bricolage of structures.

In sum, co-opted seclusion is a double-edged sword: a strategy of repressive exclusion masked by its simultaneous productive seclusion. The strategy has proved to be a useful socio-spatial tool for local governments in its ability to disperse the perceived "undeserving" homeless, clean out the environmentally degraded sites, and stage encampment reforms as a positive and progressive government action in tandem. Legitimating its actions through the aesthetic

improvements to the encampments and assistential benefits provided for the lucky few allowed to remain, the state veils the banishment of the vast majority of campers and their increased vulnerability caused by the reforms, and invisibilizes the persistence of poverty in their jurisdiction. If one were to look at these policies effects purely in terms of numbers, we would recognize that they are in fact primarily strategies of dispersion rather than seclusion. Therefore, co-optation, like contestation, is similarly a space of seclusion marked by intense social control that utilizes dispersion as a key spatial strategy in managing marginality. Only co-optation does so alongside a highly controlled form of containment. In this way, co-optation follows in the tradition of urban renewal, "slum removal," and the poverty deconcentration programs of federally funded HOPE VI projects, which aim to beautify and enhance the living conditions within a particular urban area by providing enhanced provisions for a select few, while often evicting a greater number of residents in the process, all of which are targeted at the sites of poverty rather than poverty itself (Crump, 2002; Goetz, 2003; Popkin et. al, 2004).

[Image Set 4 NEAR HERE]

Adaptive Strategies

Unlike the other forms of encampments, the state's imposition of social control robs the homeless of their autonomy in the organization of their space, acceptance and rejection of residents, and decisions of rules and regulation. Therefore, the question of adaptive strategies under co-optation is one of compliance. Both Ventura's River Haven and Ontario's THSA filled a niche in the cities' continuum of care, the federal model of connecting people from street, to shelter, to housing. These camps were perceived by most of their current residents as improvements. During my visit to River Haven, all of the residents I spoke with were extremely thankful for this mezzanine option of housing in the high rent county, claiming that if it were not

for the encampment they would be back in a tent by the riverbed or stuck in a shelter. Similarly, many of those in Ontario's THSA were happy that the county cleaned up the area and were glad that they no longer had to compete with "outsiders" for low-wage work and limited supported housing.

However, Ontario and Ventura's encampments must also be recognized as a form of spatial domination, primarily designed to disperse the informal encampments of which they replaced and exclude the "undeserving poor." Several campers who returned to Ontario's revamped camp left shortly after, explaining that they felt as if they were going back into a shelter and referred to the new highly securitized environment as "degrading" "prison-like" and even "a concentration camp." Many refused to forfeit their dogs and their ability to host friends, or were simply unable to comply with the strict codes of behavior that excluded some because of mental health issues or addiction. In converting the encampment into a cheaper form of outdoor shelter or sub-standard temporary housing, the state merely duplicates the shelter itself, the seclusionary institution most homeless were trying to escape through camping in the first place, neutralizing the empowering and morally redemptive adaptive actions reviewed in the previous forms.

Synthesis

To crystalize the pertinent principles distinguishing the forms of homeless seclusion, I delineate the key external constraints (administrative strategies) and internal components (adaptive strategies) of each form of homeless seclusion in the table below.

[Table 2 NEAR HERE]

In drawing this typological tour to a close, we can now return to the stenographic sketch of homeless seclusion featured at the beginning of the section and more fully explain the location of encampments within a generalized space of homeless seclusion and understand how these axes relate. The logics determining the trajectories of encampments on the horizontal axis are dependent on their vertical positions. There is much more fluidity between the horizontal poles in the lower social space of illegal and informal encampments, wherein city governments will oscillate between periods of tolerance and crackdowns depending on sea-changes of popular sentiment, elections, and crises, based primarily on the politics of visibility earlier discussed. However, in the institutionalized space encampments have remained more stable. A camp once institutionalized has never lost its license, although a few have been pushed towards the axis of increased control through which the state co-opts a legalized sanctuary or non-profit managed encampment. It also becomes clear that the forms of control vary according to an encampments position along the vertical axis: when encampments are illegal, state control is exerted through *repression and dispersion*, whereas in the legal cases, this is exerted through regulation and *management of containment*.

In sketching these patterns of seclusionary spaces, the paper has clarified a central paradox in the vision and division of large-scale homeless encampments; *they are both tools and targets in the management of marginality*, in some cases vilified, in others valorized. It was found that the key factor pushing encampments towards the institutionalized pole was in every case a combination of an adaptive strategy by which non-profit or charitable organizations brought forward legal threats and/or offered political, fiscal, and organizational support for a permanent encampment, which succeeded only when successfully aligning their cause with administrative logics of reducing costs in the enforcement of anti-social behavior laws, staging

governmental competency, and shedding welfare responsibilities to private third-parties. When these strategic alliances and governmental logics were lacking, encampments remained merely tolerated or contested, vulnerable to the upsurge of public agitation and swings of political sentiments.

Conclusion: Seclusionary and Exclusionary Symbiosis

Breaking with the popular conception of tent cities as products of the Great Recession and the analytic limitations of earlier scientific studies, this paper has both identified the shared roots of these recent socio-spatial formations and explained their diverging, and at times opposing, logics and practices of seclusion. The first part of the paper demonstrated that the media's presentation of the encampments was economically overdetermined and politically underdetermined, the reverse of their actual formation. In surveying the camps' demographic make-up and tracing their historical emergence it was shown that the encampments were not natural outcomes of the economic downturn. Instead, all of the encampments initially formed in reaction to punitive urban policies aimed at managing marginality during an era of economic expansion.

The second part revealed that, despite the common punitive trigger, there was no singular logic ands strategy that determined the encampments persistence or existence. In contrast to the one-dimensional and functionally undifferentiated portrayals of encampments in journalistic and academic accounts, large-scale homeless encampments are shaped by the interplay of four distinct, though interrelated, modes of homeless seclusion. As opposed to earlier research on homeless encampments, which only considered their illegal and contentious forms, this study demonstrates that in the situations of toleration, accommodation, and co-optation, seclusionary

encampments are state-supported spatial strategies of homeless management. Encampments cannot be reduced to zones of containment for homeless people to exist in the revanchist city (Bourgois and Schoenberg, 2009; Smith, 1996; Snow and Mulcahy, 2002), nor are they merely modes of "resistance" to neoliberal governance (Wagner and Cohen, 1991;Wright, 1997). Instead, this analysis has demonstrated the existence of a variety of encampments shaped by diverging forms of homeless seclusion that are nonetheless all rooted in the intensification of punitive approaches to managing marginality. In this concluding section I consider these new forms of urban relegation in relation to the existing strategies of poverty exclusion and seclusion, and their implications for theories and policies of managing marginality.

First, this study has shown that exclusion and seclusion are two sides of the same coin of post-disciplinary tactics of social control aimed at managing *populations* and the regulation of *spaces* rather than the individual (O'Malley, 1992; Merry, 2001). The first section demonstrated how exclusion spurs seclusion, while the second displayed how the wedding of exclusionary and seclusionary policing served the common goal of neutralizing the "homeless threat." Therefore, the historical caricature put forward by scholars that modernist institutions contain, while post-disciplinary mechanisms of control exclude (Simon, 1993; Ewick, 1998), oversimplifies the matter and fails to consider how exclusion and seclusion interact in managing marginal populations. The popular fixation in both empirical research and theories of social control that increasingly emphasize new tactics of exclusion and banishment in the punitive city too often ignore the seclusionary dimension embedded in every exclusionary act. Future research should take heed by examining both the seclusionary moments of exclusionary policies, as should policymakers, whose conversion of poverty to a spatial problem has rendered place-based

solutions that ignore not only the deeper roots of poverty, but also the new spatial dilemmas they create outside their targeted purview.

Second, encampments can only be fully accounted for in relation to their seclusionary sibling designed to manage marginality: the shelter. While scholarship and policy discussions on encampments and shelters tend to be confined within the perimeters of the seclusionary institution under examination, each are inextricably conditioned by the other. The most common statistic that circulates among activists and politicians who challenge anti-homeless laws or support the toleration of encampments is the mismatch between shelter capacity and homeless counts. They claim that there are simply not enough beds for all of the homeless and therefore it is absurd to criminalize them. However, this ignores the fact that shelters are frequently unfilled, particularly in the warmer seasons, as was the case in Fresno, Ventura, Portland, and Seattle, thus converting an issue of quality into one of pure quantity. When asked why they "chose" to camp as opposed to other alternatives, the homeless campers referred to the shelter in nearly every case, but not its inaccessibility. In fact, *not a single homeless camper* interviewed across the wide variety of encampments said they were camping due to the inability to access shelter. Instead they claimed to be camping because they found the shelters' constraints, treatments, and dangers to be de-humanizing and infantilizing. Campers complained of spending large portions of their days waiting in lines, strict curfews, an inability to stay with their significant other, demeaning treatment by staff, the inability to store their belongings, and restrictions on pets, as similarly found by others scholars (Desjarlais, 1997; Dordick, 1997; Gounis, 1992; Williams, 1996.)

The most basic practices of self-maintenance and autonomy, denied by the market, and doubly denied on the street and in the shelter, were the most frequent reasons given by homeless for residing in an encampment. As was shown across the typology of seclusion, encampments

allowed the homeless to maintain a greater sense of dignity despite their situation. Snow and Anderson found the most salient identity statement among the homeless to be those disassociating with homeless as a general social category or a specific group of homeless individuals (1987, 1993). Although they raise the possibility that the homeless might show their moral worth through the "procurement or arrangement of physical setting or props" (1987:1349), they do not develop how material and spatial distinctions between the homeless serve as markers of self-worth, instead focusing on verbal statements and the construction of selective social groups. Although many in the encampments expressed the sense of "territorial stigmatization" (Wacquant, 2007b) as documented in public housing projects, ghettos, banlieus, and other sites of urban relegation, the encampments in their various forms of seclusion nonetheless served as socio-spatial markers in distinction to the far more stigmatized and vilified shelter. Therefore, encampments are by no means the product of inadequate shelter capacity; a form of homeless habitation that would simply disappear if more beds were made available indoors. They are rather preferred safe grounds that offer various moral and material benefits denied in the shelter.

The paradoxical function of homeless seclusion, serving as a spatial tool of containment for the local state and a preferred safe ground for the homeless, reveals the new repressive and productive logics of urban relegation at the root of contemporary homeless encampments. Although this paper has only considered the more durable forms of encampments with fifty or more homeless campers, they merely accentuate the dual logics of seclusion and exclusion that increasingly control the movement and habitation of America's homeless. The criminalization of homelessness, politics of visibility, flexible enforcement, and disciplinary shelters examined in this paper with regards to large-scale encampments are similarly implicated in the form and function of the smaller camps that are pervasive throughout nearly every American municipality.

Across American cities, exclusionary techniques of banishment and seclusionary programs of shelterization continue to work in consort and continually fail to solve the homeless problem, but instead merely move it around, resulting in the further spread and growth of encampments. A robust analytic concept of homeless seclusion as an organizational device for spatial enclosure and control of a stigmatized group *and* as a preferred alternative to state-funded shelters offers a way out of the semantic morass and empirical confusion created through the political, journalistic, and folk notions of the "homeless camp." By spotlighting the nexus of administrative and adaptive logics and practices of homeless seclusion allows us not only to describe, differentiate, and explain the diverse forms of encampments developed by homeless populations, but also the means to grasp the structural and functional relations between the punitive policies of social exclusion and the assistential responses of shelter that are increasingly applied to addressing homelessness in American society.

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Camp	Location	# of Residents	Year Est.	Stable/ Mobile	Legal Status	Type of Sponsorship	Types of Structures
Dignity Village	Portland, OR	60	2000	Permanent Site	City Ordinance	Self-Sponsored Nonprofit	Wooden Structures
Tent City 3	Seattle, WA	100	2000	Mobile	City Ordinance	Nonprofit Faith Network	Tents
Tent City 4	Seattle Metro Area	100	2006	Mobile	Local Ordinances	Nonprofit Faith Network	Tents
Nickelsville	Seattle, WA	55	2008	Mobile	Not sanctioned	Self-Sponsored	Tents
Camp Quixote	Thurston County, WA	50	2007	Mobile	Local Ordinances	Nonprofit Faith Network	Tents
Safe Ground	Sacramento, CA	150-200	1930s-2009	Stable until Dismantled	Not sanctioned Dismantled	No formal sponsorship	Tents
Village of Hope	Fresno, CA	66	2004	Permanent Site	Zoned for Camping	Nonprofit	Wooden Sheds
Community of Hope	Fresno, CA	60	2007	Permanent Site	Zoned for Camping	Nonprofit	Wooden Sheds
New Jack City & Little Tijuana	Fresno, CA	400	2002-2009	Stable until Dismantled	Not sanctioned Dismantled	No formal sponsorship	Tents, Tarps Wooden Structures
Temporary Homeless Service Area	Ontario, CA	70 / 450 (Camp Hope)	2007	Permanent Site	Temporary City Approval	City and County Government	Tents
River Haven Community	Ventura, CA	21 / 50 (Prior to Reform)	2005	Permanent Site	City Conditional Use Permit	City of Ventura	U-Domes

Table 1: Overview of Pacific Coast Tent Cities
Source: Tent Cities in America: Pacific Coast, National Coalition for the Homeless, 2010

Punitive Triggers

Proliferation of Anti-Homeless Ordinances
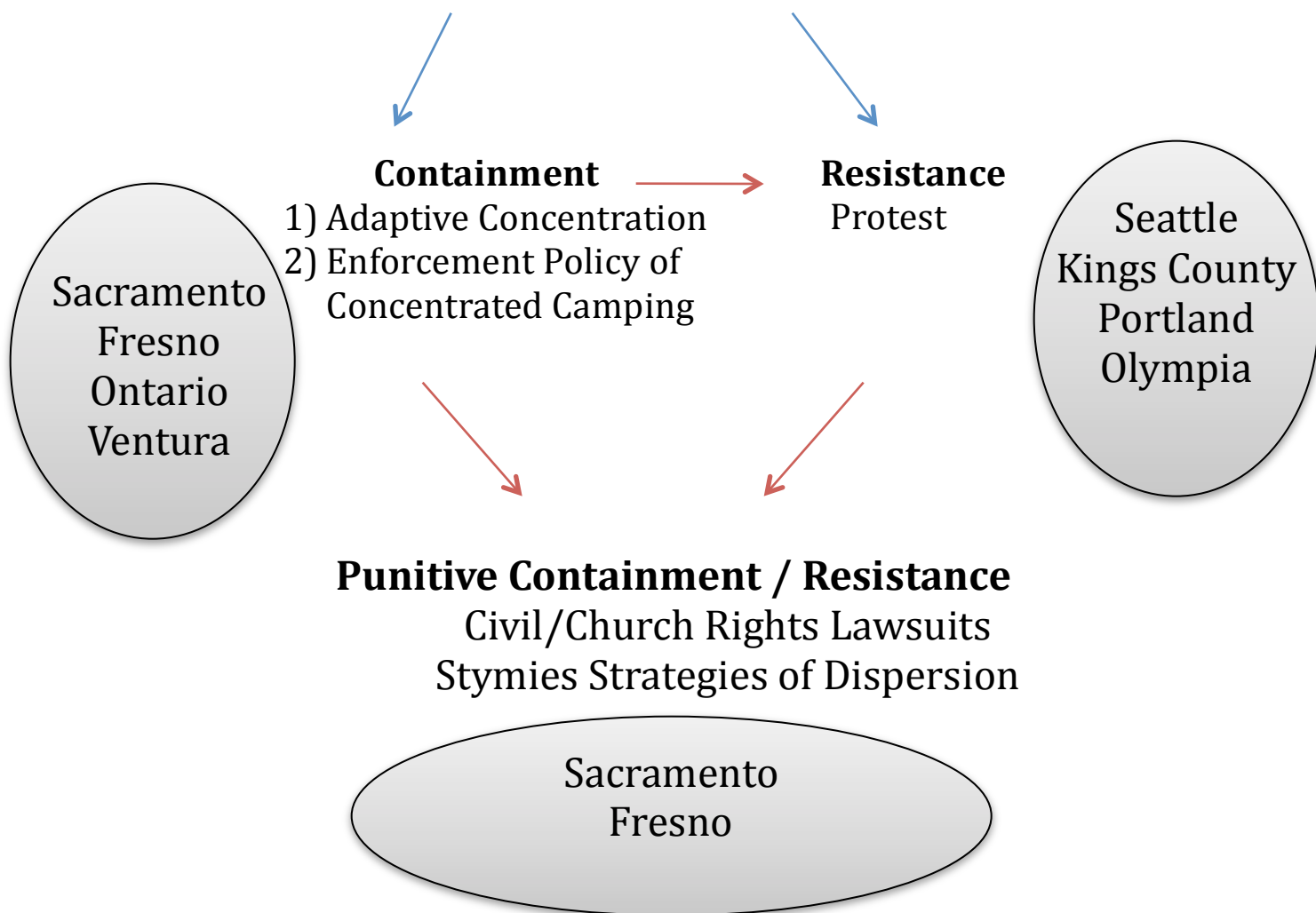Leading to Homeless Banishment

Containment

1) Adaptive Concentration
2) Enforcement Policy of
   Concentrated Camping

Resistance

Protest

Sacramento
Fresno
Ontario
Ventura

Seattle
Kings County
Portland
Olympia

Punitive Containment / Resistance

Civil/Church Rights Lawsuits
Stymies Strategies of Dispersion

Sacramento
Fresno

Figure 1: The Genesis of Homeless Encampments

Institutionalization

Co-optation   **Accommodation**   Legal

Control   Autonomy

Contestation   **Toleration**

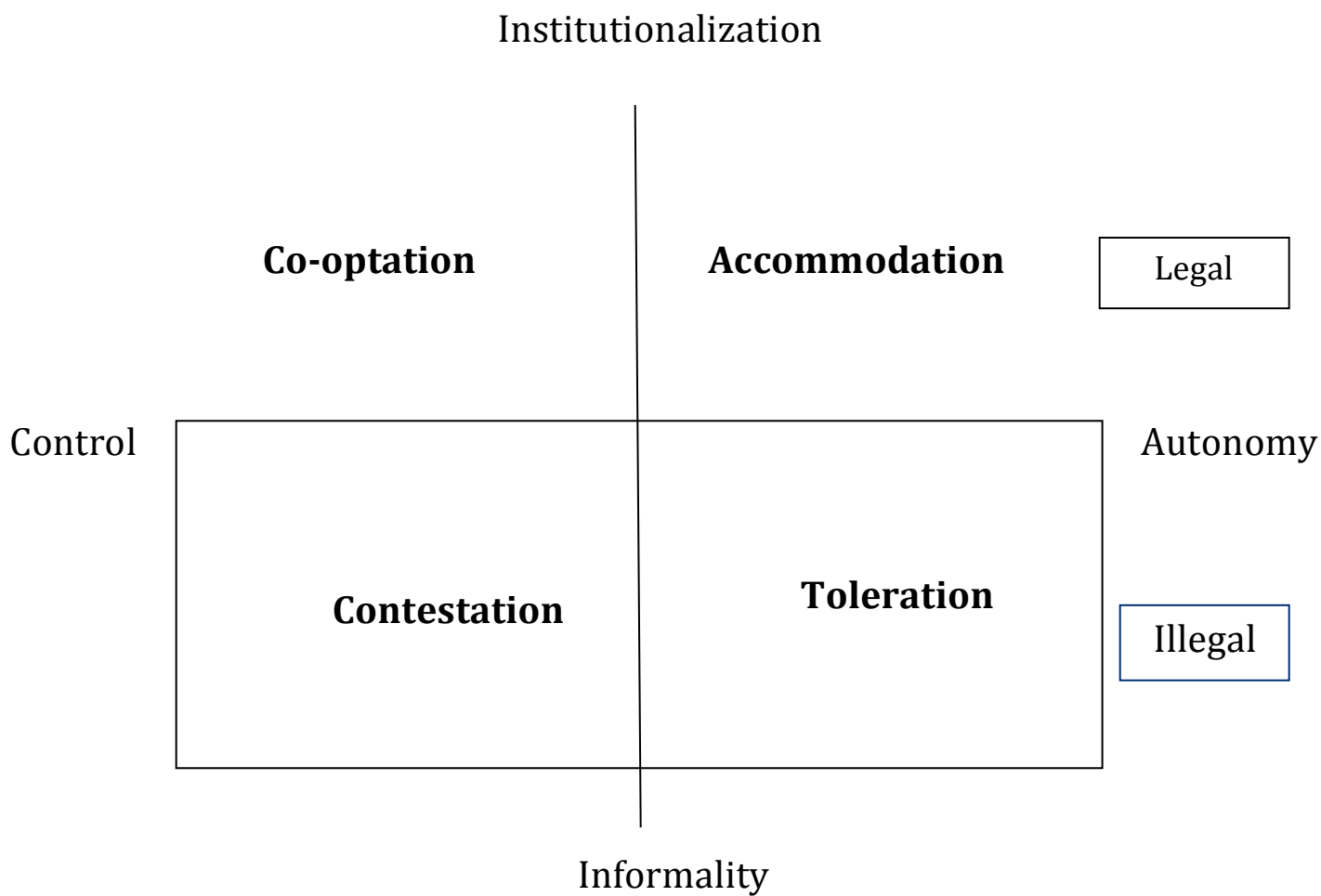   Illegal

Informality

Figure 2: Typology of Homeless Seclusion

IMAGE SET 1

Nickelsville, Seattle, Washington

IMAGE SET 2

American River Encampment, Sacramento, CA   New Jack City, Fresno, CA

IMAGE SET 3

Tent City 4, Redmond, WA   Dignity Village, Portland, OR

IMAGE SET 4

Temporary Homeless Service Area, Ontario, CA   **River Haven, Ventura, CA**