The New Logics of Homeless Seclusion: Homeless Encampments in America's West Coast Cities

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Since the late 1990s, scores of 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 shaped by urban policies and serve varied and even contradictory roles in different localities. Drawing on interviews and observations in 12 encampments in eight municipalities, this study reveals four distinctive socio-spatial functions of encampments shaped by administrative strategies of city officials and adaptive strategies of campers. I demonstrate how large-scale encampments paradoxically serve as both tools of containing homeless populations for the local state and preferred safe grounds for those experiencing homelessness. The paper concludes with a discussion on the implications of homeless seclusion for social analysis and policy, arguing that exclusion and seclusion are two sides of the same coin of the management of marginality in the American city.

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 that, the street homeless and their camps became a permanent fixture in most cities of the United States as the country experienced a period of economic decline, the de-institutionalization of its mental health institutions, and welfare state retrenchment (Jencks 1995). Homeless camps during this period tended to remain smaller and more dispersed than those of the pre-war era, as local law-enforcement agencies would sweep into action when they perceived an area was dominated by the homeless (Snow and Mulcahy 2001). The camps also took the form of short-lived political events in staking "tent-cities" on the steps of city halls, the lawn of the White House, and on contentious parcels of public land to press political demands (Wagner and Gilman 2012).

Yet, during the rapid economic expansion of the 1990s and early 2000s, dozens of U.S. cities experienced the rise of durable homeless encampments on a scale unseen since the

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Great Depression. Several persisted for years, often comprised of 50 or more individuals. In 18 reported cases across the United States, upward of 100 lived in the camps (NCH 2010; NLCHP 2014a). This new trend of homeless encampment, marked by increased size and durability, during a period of economic growth, rather than decline, suggests that a new logic of urban relegation is at work and an alternative sociological explanation.

Social scientists have long studied various forms of homeless habitation on the streets (N. Anderson 1923; Duneier 2000; Hopper 2003; Snow and Anderson 1993), in shelters (Cloke et al. 2010; Desjarlais 1997; Dordick 1997; Lyon-Callo 2008; Sutherland and Locke 1936), and squats (Bailey 1973; Katz and Mayer 1985; Pruijt 2003). Yet we know very little about homeless camps (exceptions include Bourgois and Schonberg 2009; Gowan 2010; Wasserman and Clair 2010), and little at all on the recently emerging large-scale formations. The few studies that do exist on large-scale encampments survey a diverse and limited terrain. On the one hand, there are those that detail the development of encampments by homeless people and their allies as forms of protest against housing and homeless policies, such as the tent city protests in Chicago and San Jose (Wright 1997), the radical politics associated with the Tompkins Square encampment (Smith 1996), and the occupations that mobilized groups of homeless people across a number of U.S. cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Cress and Snow 2000; Wagner and Gilman 2012). On the other hand, there are those who have examined the development of large encampments in terms of homeless people making do with the derelict and under-utilized zones of the city left to them. Examples include the homeless shantytown in Tucson, Arizona, at the center of Snow and Mulcahy's article on the spatial constraints of homeless survival (2001), and the various stories on the "Tunnel People" who inhabited the abandoned Amtrak yards in the bowels of New York City (Toth 1995; Voeten 2010). Describing encampments as politicized sites of protest, on the one hand, and zones of neglected poverty, on the other, the existing studies point to the discontinuity in both the form and functions of these new islands of marginality and the limits of localized case studies.

Lacking a broader comparative framework and larger number of cases, these earlier studies are unable to explain the variations in encampments, and why they have re-emerged most intensely at this historical juncture. This study overcomes these limitations through empirical innovation and theoretical extension. First, by examining 12 encampments in eight municipalities on 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 homeless people in large-scale encampments, the study revises and extends existing theories of urban seclusion, exclusion, and regulation of advanced marginality in the modern metropolis.

This article builds on Wacquant's (2010) conception of social seclusion and Snow and Anderson's (1993) theory of homeless agency to analyze the various logics of homeless seclusion shaping encampments. Through a dual conception of administrative spatial practices of the local state and adaptive spatial practices of homeless people, 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 ground to the dominant institution of homeless seclusion in the United States, namely, the shelter.

PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

To understand why and how certain cities come to develop encampments of this scale and to identify what functions they serve, I carried out interviews with city officials, non-profit actors, and residents of the camps between 2009 and 2011 along with observations from repeated site visits. This time-lapse allowed me to trace the ongoing development of homeless containment and adaptation within each of the encampments. As I was interested only in camps that had maintained a degree of permanence and scale, in distinction to the more common smaller and temporary camps, I completed a thorough review of local media reports through the LexisNexis database to identify currently existing camps in the United States comprised of 50 or more campers that had existed for more than a year. After identifying and reviewing 32 cases that fit this criterion as of August 2009, the west coast region was selected because it contained both the highest concentration of encampments and greatest variety of settlement types. The particular encampments within the region were selected to insure that every type of legal status and management model within the broader census was interrogated in more than a single case. In 2010, my initial empirical findings of the camps were published as a policy report for the National Coalition for the Homeless, which presents the basic attributes of the sample (see Table 1).

Of those interviewed, 14 were city officials, 23 were affiliated with nonprofit service providers or advocates connected to the encampments, and 32 were camp residents. The study also draws on 3 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 nonprofit sponsored Village of Hope, surrounding illegal encampments, and local shelter offered an important perspective for understanding the key differences of homeless seclusion. The experience of living in the encampments under similar material conditions as those of the homeless—in a tent or hut, eating donated food, showering at the service center, and spending only money earned from recycling—gave me a proximate and visceral understanding of the encampments and their moral life-worlds that remained invisible in the interviews.

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF HOMELESS SECLUSION

The *exclusionary* spatial policies and practices of local governments, which undergird 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" (Dear 2001; Davis 1990; Soja 2000), new modes of surveillance (Coleman 2004; Flusty 2001), "antisocial behavior laws" (Duneier 2000; Johnsen and Fitzpatrick 2010; Mitchell 1997; Vitale 2008), and novel techniques of banishment (Beckett and Herbert 2011). Although the recent intensification of criminalizing homelessness is widespread (NLCHP 2014b), a growing number of commentators argue that the prevailing framework risks obscuring the increasingly varied and complex geographies of urban poverty and its corresponding social control in ignoring the regulation of the homeless beyond the boundaries of redeveloping downtowns (see DeVerteuil et al. 2009; Walby and Lippert 2012; Yarwood 2007). As Stuart (2013) notes in his recent article on policing Los Angeles' skid

TABLE 1. Overview of Pacific Coast Tent Cities

Camp	Location	No. of Residents	Year Est.	Permanent/ Mobile	Legal Status	Sponsorship	Structures
Dignity Village	Portland, OR	60	2000	Permanent site	City ordinance	Self-sponsored nonprofit	Wooden tiny houses
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	100	2008	Mobile	Not sanctioned	Self-sponsored nonprofit	Tents
Camp Quixote	Olympia, WA	50	2007	Permanent Site	Local ordinances	Nonprofit faith network	Tents
American River (Safe Ground)	Sacramento, CA	250 (50)	1930s–(2009)	Permanent Site (Mobile)	Not sanctioned	No formal Sponsorship	Tents
Village of Hope	Fresno, CA	66	2004	Permanent Site	Temporary use permit	Nonprofit service provider	Wooden Sheds
Community of Hope	Fresno, CA	60	2007	Permanent Site	Temporary use permit	Nonprofit service provider	Wooden Sheds
New Jack City & Little Tijuana	Fresno, CA	400	2002	Permanent Site	Not sanctioned	No formal Sponsorship	Tents, Tarps, Wooden Structures
Temporary Homeless Service Area (Camp Hope)	Ontario, CA	70 (450)	2007	Permanent Site	Temporary use permit	City and county government	Tents

An article search through the Lexis Nexus database similar patterns of re-emerging encampments with over 50 inhabitants during the study period in Athens, GA; Gainesville, FL; St. Paul, MN; St. Petersburg, FL; Nashville, TN; Chattanooga, TN; Camden, NJ; Lakewood, NJ; Providence, RI; Champaign, IL; St. Louis, MO; Huntsville, AL; Lowell, MA; Lubbock, TX; Albany, CA; Reno, NV; Las Vegas, NV; San Jose, CA; Los Angeles, CA; Sierra Vista, AZ; Columbus, Ohio; Ann Arbor, MI; Eugene, OR; Dale City, VA; Detroit, MI; New Orleans, LA; Westhaven, CT; Louisville, KY; Fort Worth, TX; La Cruces, NM; Colorado Springs, CO.
Source: Tent Cities in America: Pacific Coast, National Coalition for the Homeless, 2010.

row, recent studies tend to focus on the process by which the homeless are excluded from *prime spaces* (Snow and Anderson 1993)—spaces that are primarily used and valued by mainstream society—and fail to account for the related seclusionary policies and practices, which sustain, sanction, and control the daily lives of individuals within the *marginal spaces* into which homeless are being expelled. Rather than document more examples of the same, this paper examines the practices and outcomes of *homeless seclusion* in the marginal spaces of encampments and attempts to explain their variegated and contradictory functions for the local state and those experiencing homelessness in the U.S. metropolis.

To do this, I draw on Wacquant's conception of social seclusion, which he defines 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, 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 analysis built on the premises of Wacquant's framework to disentangle differences within the one-dimensional conception of the "homeless camp." First, Wacquant focuses on the ways populations, institutions, and activities are secluded, isolated, or confined, that complements the more prevalent studies, which examine the pervasive tactics of exclusion (Beckett and Herbert 2011; Merry 2001; O'Malley 1992). Second, 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 2008, 2011) critical to understanding the co-constitutive roles of homeless people's preference to camp amidst varied administrative constraints.

Figure 1 presents an analysis of divergent forms of homeless seclusion, which serves as the guiding map of the paper. There are two settings, legal and illegal, and within each, forms of seclusion are distributed 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 nonprofit service agencies. Encampments that are formally recognized through zoning ordinances and serviced by contracted nonprofits would be located near the top of the axis, whereas 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 over their encampment outside of state impositions of direct management or repression. These conceptual axes in turn form four quadrants, each of which depicts what I will go on to elaborate as distinct forms of homeless seclusion: contestation, toleration, accommodation, and co-optation.

Although these forms of homeless seclusion can be minimally parsed out along these two dimensions, the purpose of this typology is not simply descriptive, but also analytic. It offers a lens through which one can explain the distinctive logics and practices of each type. To do this, I follow Snow and Anderson (1993), who examine the survival strategies of homeless people within four distinctive though overlapping and interacting constraints: organizational, political, moral, and spatial constraints. This article considers the *adaptive strategies* of homeless people and their allies within each of these
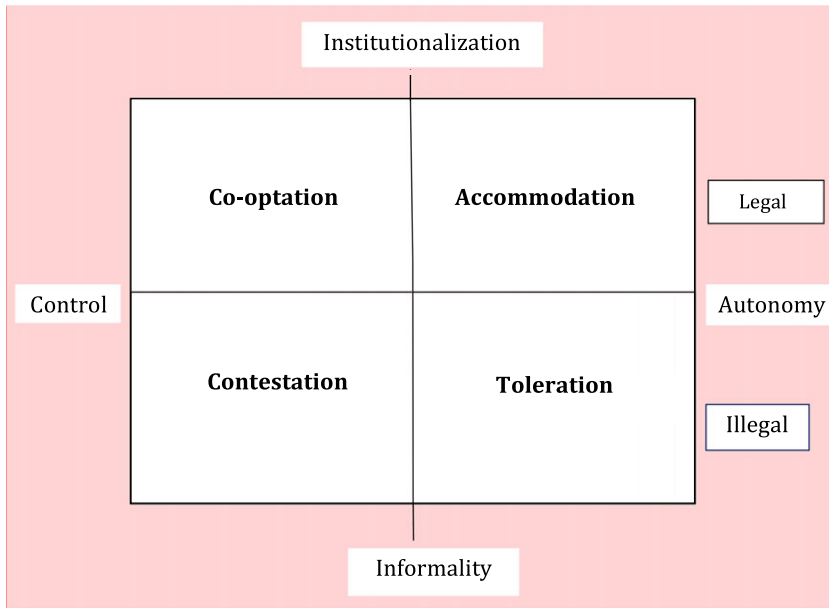
FIG. 1. Typology of Homeless Seclusion.

constraints. Snow and Anderson's concept of adaptive strategies adds a critical component of agency or resistance in distinguishing encampments absent in Wacquant's heavy focus on the administrative strategies of the state. Thus, this analysis combines the local state's *administrative strategies* that constrain the *adaptive strategies* of homeless people.

CONTESTATION

In the summer of 2008, Seattle's Mayor Greg Nickels issued police orders to crack down on rough sleepers. Targeting primarily camping groups, police moved with little warning, often confiscating and destroying residents' belongings. With inadequate shelters and two legal tent cities already filled to capacity, homeless people 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 die-in, and a car wash with a local homeless advocacy group. Like Nickelsville, all of the camps in the Northwest first organized through activist repertoires to protect against displacement and dispersion by local law enforcement. After forming an initial encampment, the authorities evicted the campers *en masse*, but rather than dispersing, they 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 homeless people, seclusion through contestation is a reaction to an administrative strategy of *dispersion*. In these cases, local governments utilize police "sweeps" to deconcentrate and make invisible homeless populations, through a number of city ordinances against street drinking, panhandling, camping, rough sleeping, park use, and broad antisocial behavior (Beckett and Herbert 2011; NLCHP 2014b). Yet the encampments re-emerge. They are merely geographically and/or temporally displaced, reconsolidating to defend against future attacks. However, it would be wrong to interpret the police sweeps as simply the neutral enforcement of legislation. Interviews showed instead that the reasons for dispersing camps were foremost political, depending on *material* and *symbolic* rationales given varying urban conditions.

The most prevalent reasons for clearing camps that city officials gave were proximate material concerns: the fears of heightened crime in the area of the camps, reductions of adjacent property values, retailers' anxieties that homelessness was driving customers away, and resident 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 effects was difficult to pinpoint, despite the official claims. For instance, Nickelsville's most frequent encampment site, located on the ironically named street Marginal Way, was hidden from sight by a forested border off of an industrial service road. Sacramento's Safe Ground encampment was tucked deep in the woods along the American River, invisible even from the traveled trails. In Fresno, a buffer of rail yards and abandoned warehouses guarded its tent city district, and Portland and Ontario's camps were both situated between airports and landfills.

In short, the availability of space to occupy with ample invisibility is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for durable encampments. When I pressed city officials on the evictions from the sites in Fresno, Sacramento, and Seattle, where material threats to property values and profitability were not apparent, they then justified the dismantling of camps on symbolic grounds, citing public perceptions of insecurity and preservation of their city's or administration's reputation. Even though most residents had never set eyes on these areas firsthand, the visual spectacle captured through media had the effect of mobilizing city administrators to fight 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.

The media's gaze simultaneously stokes the insecurity of local residents and reveals the social problems unaddressed by city administration, leading officials to take

action. However, all they do is disperse the campers to less visible circumstances. Despite most journalists' intentions of ameliorating the plight of campers by raising awareness of their plight, officials in both Sacramento and Reno similarly cited the media uproar that drew international attention to their cities as the triggering factor to evict the camps. The use of the term "illegalities," as opposed to poverty, is also telling. It casts criminality rather than economic circumstances as the primary social problem of homelessness.

These instances suggest that from the view of urban managers, it is not the mere existence of homelessness, but rather its public visibility, which turns the unhoused into symbols of incivility and objects of policy action. This supports Snow and Mulcahy's (2001) finding that the dichotomous conception of space as maintaining both a "use" and "exchange" value (Logan and Molotch 1987) neglects the symbolic dimension, which attributes a political value. However, the cases of Sacramento and Seattle demonstrate that even marginal spaces have political value, something Snow and Mulcahy relate only to prime and transitional spaces. Therefore, the dismantling of camps is not merely aimed at protecting proximate property values and local business, as highlighted by scholars studying the regulation of homelessness in prime spaces (Beckett and Herbert 2011; Duneier 2000; Mitchell 1997; Vitale 2008). They are also part-and-parcel of a broader penal-welfare strategy designed to project governmental competency in poverty management by reinforcing an image of law and order while concealing the failures of the welfare state (Wacquant 2009).

Adaptive Strategies

Unlike the recent experiments in legalized encampments, the tactic of setting up tent cities as protest and civil disobedience by homeless people and their allies in the United States has existed for decades. The erection of tent cities to protest homelessness first spread across the United States in the 1980s (Wagner and Gilman 2012: 56). The community group ACORN staged tent cities in 15 cities, "Reaganvilles" were set up outside of Boston's City Hall and the White House, and protest camps persisted into the 1990s and 2000s as political spectacles in symbolic prime spaces to draw attention to homelessness (Snow and Mulcahy 2001; Wagner and Cohen 1991; Wright 1997). Although there were some camps that had been tolerated and became politicized only when threatened with eviction, as was the case in the radicalization of Tompkins Square Park (Smith 1996), most protest encampments were political events by design demanding affordable housing, the decriminalization of homelessness, and humane shelters. With the exception of "Justiceville" in Los Angeles, which lasted from 1985 to 1993 before it was transformed into transitional housing, the vast majority of these earlier cases lasted only a matter of days and weeks, and only in a small a handful of cases, months. The contested camps in this study follow in this tradition of political protest, but have persisted far longer, and all began from the start with the goal of permanently safeguarding a space for their existence. Both Seattle's Nickelsville and Sacramento's Safe Ground continue to politicize their encampment in the face of inadequate shelters and housing, whereas Camp Quixote, Dignity Village, and Tent Cities 2 and 3 all initially formed through protests before settling into relatively de-politicized forms of seclusion.

Nickelsville, Seattle, Washington
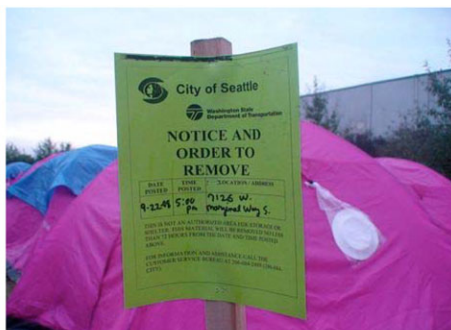
What is distinctive about contested seclusion is that camps come to serve as both safe grounds *and* vehicles of political mobilization, utilizing tactics and discursive frames of nascent social movements (Tilly 2008). As one Nickelodian (the self-coined term for Nicklesville residents) explained, "We're 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. 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 biweekly meetings with homeless advocates and legal counsel in a local service provider's boardroom to discuss not only the needs of the camp, but how to support campaigns around homeless issues in the city. Central to both of these camps and other encampments that began as protests is the role of housed allies in advocacy groups. All the durable encampments featured in this study faced high turnover of residents, with most campers staying a number of months and only a small, though often active and committed group staying for more than a year. Because of this turnover, the role of advocacy groups in all the camps under contestation proved instrumental to their emergence and survival.

Through this process of contestation, collectivities of campers were brought into existence by the very strategies that sought to disperse them. On the eve of an eviction in Nickelsville, a camper described how the struggle with city authorities both generated the "community" and became a binding glue among its members, explaining, "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. However, in the contested camps this sense of empowerment carried a uniquely political inflection, as campers viewed themselves as part of a collective struggle and advocates for a cause.

Although the question of how to organize the dispossessed for political action remains a perennial one among activists and poverty scholars, encampment has proven to be a uniquely successful, albeit limited strategy. Contested camps succeed in drawing media

attention to issues of homelessness, provide homeless people with moral resources of political and social purpose, and win legal recognition for a single site or housing vouchers for a few. Yet they remain limited by their temporary journalistic limelight and their tendency to provide benefits for only a small number of campers, rather than the homeless population at large.

TOLERATION

The streets and rail yards surrounding Fresno's rescue mission have long hosted a spattering of small homeless camps. It was only in 2002, however, that the camps agglomerated into semi-permanent shantytowns and tent cities comprised of dozens and eventually hundreds of campers. It was at this time that the city council passed and began enforcing new anti-homeless laws, including a sit-lie law and a no shopping cart law, in an effort to revitalize its urban core with the opening of Chukanski Park, a minor league ballpark built in the central business district. Marked by the strictly policed boundary of South Ventura Street, which divides the "tent city" and commercial district, as depicted in the photos, the city enforces a two-sided place-based policy of stark proximate segregation. In the higher rent districts of the downtown, police carry out an emboldened punitive approach, while simultaneously taking an unprecedented hands-off toleration of homeless habitation within the abandoned industrial zone. This double-edged process of exclusion and seclusion led to the initial formations of large-scale camps in Fresno, Ontario, Sacramento, and Ventura as well as the majority of reported cases not included in this west coast sample (NLCHP 2014a).

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

Administrative Strategies

Seclusion through toleration creates encampments that are sanctioned by the lack of enforcement, but not by law. These spaces are not exempt from the exclusionary laws that make it illegal to camp, sit, lie down, or beg, but such ordinances are selectively enforced. Why might a city administration tolerate such an encampment rather than dispersing homeless campers as done in most U.S. cities? 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 as failures of the administration in addressing homelessness, as in contested contexts. Instead, interviewed officials pointed to a number of pragmatic benefits of tolerating the encampments within the context of limited policy options and political will, in *entrepreneurial, managerialist,* and *social-welfare* registers.

First, the encampments were viewed as complementary tools to the exclusionary ordinances in accomplishing the goals of anti-homeless ordinances. Ontario's housing director noted the drastic fall in complaints by businesses after sanctioning an abandoned field for the use of homeless people, and Fresno's homeless policy manager claimed the camp had "taken pressure off of the downtown parks and pedestrian mall." A primary impetus for exclusionary laws comes from business and development interests. In particular, Business Improvement Districts are frequently the primary organizations involved in bringing such ordinances onto the legislative agenda and implementing their enforcement through private security forces (Deener et al. 2013; Duneier 2000; Vitale 2008). In the cities featured in this study, these special interests were vigilant in the enforcement of ordinances within the prime spaces of their own commercial territory, but were unconcerned about their application in marginal spaces of the city.

Second, and related to the economic benefits of homeless policy, is 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 before 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 justifications of camps in lowering enforcement costs was the lack of any evidence or mention of crime reduction. In every case, the policing benefits were framed in managerialist terms of cost-savings in policing, a hallmark of the new entrepreneurial form of urban governance that increasingly translates social and political problems into economic problems of management (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Hackworth 2006; Harvey 1989).

Third, in every case, city officials justified their policy of toleration in terms of the social welfare of homeless people. 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 the rights of the homeless 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 city's limited shelter capacity, the dangers of the street, and antisocial 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-homeless ordinances in the tolerated encampments, but also turned their back

on criminalized activity that occurred within the designated homeless zones, unless complaints from non-homeless locals arose. During my fieldwork in Fresno, the city not only tolerated camping and shopping carts, both criminalized by city ordinances, but also actively ignored an open-air drug market and fires on the sidewalks even in the presence of officers. This liberal lack of enforcement in tolerated encampments proves to be a *pull* for a number of homeless, as it is often accompanied by an enforced *push* by police and private security officers who instruct homeless persons to return to their assigned area of town. Officers told several of the campers interviewed in Fresno to move "South of Ventura," the road dividing the "tent-city district" and CBD. Similar instances of spatial assignment were reported in Sacramento before the American River eviction and in Ventura. This flexible enforcement of rules in encampments demonstrates that exclusion and seclusion are two sides of the same coin, as city officials' toleration of encampments in marginal spaces is complementary, rather than contradictory to the exclusionary tactics of homeless criminalization in prime spaces.

Adaptive Strategies

Alongside the punitive pushes and pulls that shape this form of seclusion is also the pull of assistance. Those residing in tolerated encampments realized that congregation improved access to food, services, and jobs. Once reaching a critical mass, church groups and charities would begin serving food within the camps, people would drop off donations, and others would stop by to hire day labor. This would then lead to greater numbers of campers and even greater provision of services. In Fresno's tent-city district, it was not uncommon to have 10 or more feedings by charities on weekends. In the cases of Sacramento and Fresno, the location of the encampments was primarily determined by their proximity to the city's homeless service providers, which offered food, showers, and medical assistance. Therefore, camps organized through toleration often create or extend pre-existing "service-dependent ghettos" (Wolch and Dear 1987): areas with concentrations of socially marginal people, which, once in place, tend to be reinforced. Service providers take advantage of efficiencies due to agglomerations of socially marginal people, and service users are attracted by the services and by the presence of others in their social network.

Besides the external pull of NGOs is the internal pull of what many campers described as a more dependable and stable community than that of a nomadic existence. One important finding from the initial surveys carried out in the summer of 2009 (NCH 2010) was that, in all 12 encampments, a majority of residents would be classified as "chronically homeless," which the U.S. government defines as a person with a disability who has been homeless for over a year or experienced at least four episodes of homelessness in the past 4 years (HUD 2013). In the cities featured in this study, the "chronically homeless" comprised between 10% and 20% of the total homeless population. However, in stark contrast to the media frenzy surrounding tent cities in 2009 that presented these encampments as products of the financial crisis filled with middle class recent recession victims, all of the camps featured in this study contained a disproportionate number of "chronically homeless" as compared to the streets or shelters. Although there was still relatively high turnover within each of the encampments—more had been in a particular camp for months, rather than years (at least continuously)—the encampments served those who had been without a home far longer than most who

experience homelessness. These people desired a more permanent place on their own terms.

Without the constant threat of eviction, the stability of these encampments had various effects on the social organization of the tolerated camps in contrast to their contested counterparts. As opposed to their disorderly slum-like portrayals in the media, several encampments displayed a high degree of social organization, subdividing along lines of ethnicity, criminal records, and lifestyles. In Fresno, African Americans settled the abandoned Pacific Union rail yard first, but as the Latino population grew within a corner of the camp, it splintered off onto an adjacent site of its own and soon grew much larger. This 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 edge 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 housed family members and the camp residents who worked in the informal labor market and on the surrounding agricultural lands. The predominantly African American camp, referred to by its residents as New Jack City, named after Van Peebles' film about the crack epidemic of the early 1990s, contained a much thicker web of family relations and friendships from the economically depressed and racially segregated neighborhoods they grew up in.

The encampments also divided along penal lines. Forty sex offenders under special parole conditions and regulated by GPS monitors shackled to their ankles camped under a bridge one mile away from the larger camps of Little T and New Jack City, wherein roughly half the residents had also spent time in prison or jail. This division was initially enforced by parole officers who dropped off and required parolees to be back at the camp by curfew or be returned to jail. However, the division was reinforced by the campers themselves, as the stigma associated with sex crimes raised fears among the sex offenders of being found out and violently abused. In this way, the segregation on the street mirrored the segregation between California's special needs prisons—which contain sex offenders, gang dropouts, and other categories of criminals who are threatened within the general prison population—and the State's mainline prisons, which hold the rest. Finally, the camps were subdivided by 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 thanks to the stability absent in contested seclusion and allowed by the lack of institutional regulation applied in accommodative and co-opted forms of seclusion, reveal the broader social functions of encampments. These differences are elided under 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 was a migrant labor camp for an agricultural county's reserve army, and all of the camps were the primary drop-off point and holding ground for unemployed ex-cons from California's hyperactive prison system. Although all the encampments 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 is most clearly delineated in the spaces of toleration, wherein their functional and social differentiation is inscribed in the spatial segregation of encampment.

ACCOMMODATION

Portland's Dignity Village began in the winter of 2000 as a contested protest camp under a bridge. Today it is a well-developed eco-village that governs itself on a contracted piece of public property through its own 501c3 nonprofit headed by a democratically elected board of campers. With wooden cottages, 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. With legal sanctions through zoning and city ordinances, accommodated encampments like Dignity Village distinguish themselves from tolerated encampments with their legal recognition and non-profit status. They are distinct from co-opted camps in their preservation of campers' autonomy in decision-making and participation in the camp. Along with Dignity Village, the first of its kind, Tent City 4 and Tent City 3, Camp Quixote, and the Village of Hope are all durable instances of this form of homeless seclusion.

Administrative Strategies

Why and how have certain municipalities and counties formally recognized these camps through law? In the case of toleration, city officials justified tolerance as a best practice among limited alternatives, but refused to formally legitimate the camps on the grounds of increased liability, expenditures, and conflicts with health and zoning codes. However, after pressing 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 legalizing camps. Fresno's homeless policy manager expressed the bipartisan unpopularity of sanctioning encampments that was similarly found in other administrations:

> Camps aren't popular with the right or left. Liberals criticize them as inadequate welfare and see the city failing to provide adequate shelter. 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 encampments. 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 private land for camps (see Loftus-Farren 2011). However, in Seattle, Kings County, and Olympia, the political battles for legalization were contentious and ended up becoming centered on 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 Act designed to allow religious institutions to avoid burdensome zoning restrictions. 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 ordinances that allowed for encampments, but placed restrictions on their populations, the length of stay at any given location, and applied various health and safety standards. The homeless people in these encampments are no longer perceived as "out of place," but rather in a proper place, as local governments 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 camp residents and nonprofit partners. Portland's Dignity Village is unique in that its camp comprises its own nonprofit, whereas the other encampments under accommodative seclusion are instead adopted or managed by churches or external nonprofits. The dominant model, operating in Seattle, Kings County, and Olympia, is one in which encampments migrate to different church properties every 90 days, as seen in the image of Tent City 4. Because the primary political barrier to legalizing a permanent camp proved to be NIMBY (Not in my backyard) complaints, as it is with the siting of shelters (see Wolch and Dear 1987), the regulated rotation of encampment diffused most public opposition. The churches cover the cost of utilities and provide volunteer labor during the camps' stay, whereas local nonprofits 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.

Tent City 4, Redmond, WA

Dignity Village, Portland, OR

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 residents with a consensus that violators would be expelled. 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 her tent without leaving a lookout for fear of being robbed.

During the same time, within the Village of Hope, the legal and nonprofit sponsored encampment, there was only one reported incident of robbery and domestic abuse. One camper, who had been homeless on the streets and shelters in Fresno for 2 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."

This form of seclusion also provided particularly important subjective resources in maintaining a sense of self-worth among the campers. 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 opposed to the politically charged names of "Hooverville," "Nickelsville," "Reaganville," and "Justiceville," the names of the encampments under accommodation—"the Village of Hope," "Dignity Village," and "Camp Quixote"—instead reflect the maintenance of self-worth as the explicit goal of this form of seclusion. Although each of these camps was initially organized through contested seclusion as highly political demonstrations, once accommodated through legalization and institutionalization politicization of the camps were largely blunted and transformed their missions from political change to personal transformation.

This sense of self-worth was not only preserved through the participatory and autonomous relations provided in this form of seclusion, but was also gained through a sense of social distinction that the spatial confines of the camp conferred on its residents. Snow and Anderson's (1987) classic study of homeless identity found that a substantial proportion of identity talk was consciously focused on homeless people distancing themselves from other homeless individuals and the institutions serving them, which implied a social identity inconsistent with their desired self-conceptions. In a number of interviews, encampments were used to distinguish and distance those in the camps from those on the streets and in the shelters with whom they associated the typical negative stereotypes of homelessness. The 100 residents of Fresno's Village of Hope lived in garden sheds surrounded by a gated fence marked with a "no loitering" sign. Many "Villagers," a name adopted by the residents, spoke of working security as "paying rent" and referred to themselves as "residents." 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.

A similar distinction was made from those in the shelter, who were frequently characterized as dependent and institutionalized. Just as ethnographic studies have found sharp judgments within poor neighborhoods between "street" and "decent" or "upstanding" cultures (E. Anderson, 1990; Hannerz; 1969; Patillo-McCoy, 2000; Small, 2004), the legal camps symbolically solidify social distinctions among the homeless.

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 70 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 referred to by its campers as "Camp Hope" was turned into a secured holding ground for the region's homeless who had been evicted from all other public places. Officially renamed the Temporary Housing Services Area (THSA), a nominal turn mirroring the camp's bureaucratic refashioning, the "area" is now supervised by a private security force while campers are required to carry special state-issued ID cards and are prohibited from bringing visitors within the gates. This form of seclusion occurs when the local state takes over preexisting encampments. It is the rarest form of seclusion and the three camps in this study that have resulted from this process—Ontario's THSA, Ventura's River Haven Community, and Fresno's Community of Hope—vary dramatically. Nonetheless, the camps share two key traits. 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 jail or transitional housing.

Administrative Strategies

According to officials, the government-led programs of camp reform were premised on three interconnected goals. The first was to upgrade the health and sanitation services on the sites, providing amenities such as fresh water, toilets, and garbage disposal. The second was to rid the encampments of illegal activities. A third goal was to re-gear the camp's function toward 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 homeless. 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 to various behavioral requirements, mimicking the authoritarian trends within the shelters that attach work and behavioral requirements to their beds (Gowan 2010; Lyon-Callo 2008).

"Camp Hope," as its residents referred to it, comprised some 450 homeless people from the region. It arose as a result of the city tolerating the occupation of an empty city-owned lot. 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 camp under government 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 would 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 better able to assist certain individuals, the 120 who returned after the eviction, whereas the other 300 were banished from the site at the exact moment the city began cracking down on rough sleeping around the downtown.

Another instance of co-optation that emerged under different circumstances, but followed a similar process, was Ventura's River Haven Community. River Haven did not initially begin as an informal illegal encampment as Camp Hope did, but as a government-recognized encampment under democratic management of campers. However, as the camp 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, rented by its residents for $300–$500 a month. The encampment has set limits on lengths of stay and requires its residents to utilize a case manager. As seen in the images, 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 encampment's bricolage of structures.

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

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 a useful socio-spatial tool of local government in dispersing the perceived "undeserving" homeless, cleaning out environmentally degraded sites, and staging camp reforms as a progressive government action in tandem. Legitimating its actions through aesthetic improvements and enhanced services for the lucky few allowed to remain, the local governments veiled the banishment of the vast majority of campers and hid the persistence of poverty in their jurisdictions. 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. Following in the tradition of urban renewal and poverty deconcentration programs like HOPE VI, co-optation aims to beautify and enhance living conditions within a particular urban area by providing improvements for a select few, while evicting a greater number of residents in the process, targeting sites of poverty rather than poverty itself (Goetz 2003; Popkin et al. 2004).

Adaptive Strategies

Unlike the other forms of seclusion, the internal organization of camps is directly regulated by the local state. There was no participation required in the maintenance of the camps outside their personal space, and none of the residents described their camp as a "community." At River Haven, all of the residents interviewed expressed gratitude 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. 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 control, primarily designed to disperse the informal encampments they replaced and exclude the particular groups of homeless. 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 Camp Hope into a cheaper form of outdoor shelter, the state largely duplicated 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 found in the other forms of homeless seclusion.

Synthesis

In sketching these processes of homeless seclusion, this 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 toward the institutionalized pole was a combination of an adaptive strategy by which advocacy and faith groups brought legal threats and/or offered political, fiscal, and organizational support for a permanent encampment. This succeeded only when such causes aligned with administrative logics of reducing costs in the enforcement of anti-social behavior laws, staging governmental competency, and shedding welfare responsibilities to 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. In Table 2, I delineate the key external constraints (administrative strategies) and internal components (adaptive strategies) of each form of homeless seclusion.

TABLE 2. Typology of Homeless Seclusion

	Legality	Regulation	Support	Organization
Contestation +Control −Autonomy +Informality institutionalized	Illegal	Challenged through dispersion Officials do not support	Advocacy supported	Mobilized as political action Sweeps and evictions prevent institutionalization and stable autonomy Mutually enforced community standards of behavior
Toleration −Control +Autonomy +Informal institutionalized	Illegal	Flexible enforcement (combination of dispersion/concentration) Officials do not publicly support	Charitable and NGO supported	Concentrated by enforcement and proximity to services Subdivided and organized micro-communities within encampment Mutually enforced community standards of behavior
Accommodation −Control +Autonomy −Informal +Institutionalized	Legal	Light regulation through ordinances and public private partnerships Officials publicly support	Charitable and NGO administered	Formal procedures of application and acceptance Centrally organized Self-managed security and maintenance Democratically chosen and mutually enforced community standards of behavior
Co-optation +Control −Autonomy −Informal +Institutionalized	Legal	Managed and administered by city/county	City/county administered	Client/provider relationship: internal organization mirrors shelter or supportive housing Imposed rules and city provided services

CONCLUSION: SECLUSIONARY AND EXCLUSIONARY SYMBIOSIS

This paper has demonstrated the diverging logics and practices of homeless seclusion. In contrast to the one-dimensional and functionally undifferentiated portrayals of encampments in journalistic and academic accounts, encampments cannot be reduced to zones of containment for homeless people to exist in the revanchist city (Bourgois and Schoenberg 2009; Smith 1996) or to mere 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 four distinct, though interrelated, forms of homeless seclusion. Building from the earlier research on homeless encampments, which only considered their illegal and contentious forms, this study demonstrates how in the situations of toleration, accommodation, and co-optation, seclusionary encampments become a spatial strategy of the local state in managing homelessness. Although the structural dilemmas in U.S. cities of affordable housing, mental health treatment, and incarceration undergird the persistence of homelessness, this paper suggests that the existence and form of large-scale encampments are not a general phenomena of poverty concentration, but are rather co-structured by policies of the state and adaptive strategies of homeless people and their allies in particular urban contexts. 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 tactics of social control aimed at managing *populations* and the regulation of *spaces* rather than the individual (Merry 2001; O'Malley 1992). Adding to the scores of studies on exclusion and policing in prime spaces of the city, the case of homeless encampments shows how the wedding of exclusionary and seclusionary policing served the common goal of neutralizing the "homeless threat" within marginal spaces of the city. The popular fixation in both empirical research and theories of social control that increasingly emphasize new tactics of exclusion and banishment in the prime areas of the city too often ignores the seclusionary dimension embedded in every exclusionary act. So too do policymakers, whose conversion of poverty to a spatial problem has precluded place-based solutions that address the deeper roots of poverty and the new spatial dilemmas they create.

Second, encampments can only be fully accounted for in relation to their seclusionary sibling designed to manage marginality: the shelter. Scholarship and policy discussions on encampments and shelters tend to be confined to the institution under examination, although each is inextricably conditioned by the other. This paper has highlighted the ways shelters structured both the regulation and adaptation of encampments. A central demand of the protest camps was expanded and reformed shelters, although local governments took the shelter as the model for co-opted encampments. In encampments of toleration and adaptation, the residents 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 other scholars (Desjarlais 1997; Dordick 1997; Gounis 1992).

Although many in the encampments expressed the sense of "territorial stigmatization" (Wacquant 2007) as documented in public housing projects, ghettos, and other sites of urban relegation, the encampments nonetheless served as socio-spatial markers of distinction to what they perceived as the more stigmatized shelter.

The most common statistic that circulates among activists and politicians who 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, these arguments too often conveniently ignore 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 camp residents referred to the shelter in nearly every case, but rarely ever to its inaccessibility. Instead, they referred to the material and moral benefits of the camps over the shelters. Therefore, encampments are not simply 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 homeless people, 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 and larger forms of encampments, the administrative and adaptive strategies are similarly implicated in the form and functioning of the pervasive smaller camps throughout the United States. Across U.S. cities, exclusionary techniques of banishment and seclusionary programs of shelter continue to work in consort and continually fail to solve the homeless problem, but instead merely move it around. 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, but also the means to grasp the structural and functional relations between the punitive policies of social exclusion and welfare assistance that are increasingly applied to addressing homelessness in American society.

Acknowledgments

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La Nueva Lógica de Reclusión de los Campamentos de Personas Sin Techo: Un Estudio Comparativo de Campamentos a Gran Escala de Personas Sin Techo en el Oeste de Estados Unidos.

Resumen
Desde los finales de los 90, algunas ciudades norteamericanas han sido testigo por primera vez desde La Gran Depresión del resurgimiento de campamentos a gran escala de personas sin techo. Comúnmente retratados como enraizados en la recesión económica nacional y como indiferenciados funcionalmente, este artículo demuestra que estos campamentos a gran escala son formados por políticas urbanas y que cumplen roles variados e incluso contradictorios en lugares distintos. En base a entrevistas y observación en doce campamentos en ocho municipalidades, este estudio revela cuatro funciones socio-espaciales típicas de campamentos formados por estrategias administrativas de oficiales de la ciudad y estrategias adaptativas de los acampadores. Demuestro cómo campamentos a gran escala paradójicamente sirven tanto como instrumentos para contener a personas sin techo para el gobierno local y como lugares seguros para los que experimentan el no tener hogar. El artículo concluye con una discusión sobre las implicancias del auge de la reclusión de las personas sin techo para el análisis social y las políticas públicas, y se argumenta que la exclusión y reclusión son dos caras de la misma moneda de las tácticas disciplinarias de control social.