

Power and Perception: Homelessness and Soft Policies of Enforcement in the Arcata Community Forest

Nicholas Burdine
Humboldt State University

Abstract

This article examines Arcata residents' attitudes toward homeless people in the Arcata Community Forest and what their perception of homelessness implies about the nature of public space. This article indicates that, although Arcata residents express concern for people considered to be "genuinely homeless," many homeless living in Arcata are thought to have chosen their lifestyle, and therefore are looked down upon as an unwanted "other." This sense of "other" in the community leads to a heightened sense of ownership and the sanitization of public spaces through the use of soft policies of enforcement. The conceptualization of the Arcata Community Forest as a prime space indicates that natural beauty can be consumed as a commodity and that public space is to be consumed by the right people, at the right time, in the right way, as determined by a community in power.

WITH ITS LUSH GREEN FERNS, colossal redwoods, and muddy brown banks, the Arcata Community Forest (ACF) proper totals 793 acres of rolling hills and deep ravines. Its creation in 1955 marked a combination of six privately owned tracts of land, and its use as a municipal water source lasted until 1964 (Van Kirk 1985, 1). In 1974, legislation passed the Forest Management and Parkland Initiative, intending to develop a long-term forest management program to generate income for the city. Today, members of the community use the forest mostly for recreation—more than a dozen well-maintained hiking, biking, and horse trails, along with an extensive disc golf course, make the forest a wonderful location for a day of leisure. The forest is also used for education—its proximity to Humboldt State University allows it to become an ideal lab space for many classes—and timber harvesting, which generates \$500,000–\$700,000 annually (Communities Committee 2008, 5). The ACF also serves as shelter for a large homeless population, where the City of Arcata “cleans up 20–25 abandoned camps a year” (personal interview, 2015).

The ACF serves as shelter to many small encampments for the city's homeless population, but there is one site in particular that has proven to be quite



Figure 1.—Cabin found in the Arcata Community Forest (photo by author).

a rarity. Deep in the forest, off an unmarked trail and hidden in the wild brush, stands a solitary cabin (Figure 1). Solidly built, cleanly designed, and well kept, it is an obvious labor of love for some forest dweller. This cabin stands in stark contrast to the makeshift encampments of scattered detritus typically found in the forest, usually comprised of little more than a tarp, sleeping bag, scattered clothes, and tidbits of food scraps and trash. Upon entering the cabin, one notices the extreme care and attention to detail that went into its construction and maintenance. Floor swept, furniture dusted, food shelved and labeled, books neatly organized, bedding cleaned and kept out of the way, no marks of abuse, no signs of mistreatment, clean, thoughtful, and controlled. This place is more than a mere campsite—it's a home.

A forester scouting the area for timber discovered the cabin in late July, 2015. The following week, the *Mad River Union*, a local newspaper, published an article about the cabin, with the article ultimately becoming its “most popular article of all time” (personal interview, 2015). Soon thereafter, pinned on the front door of the cabin, a notice of nuisance notified the owner that the cabin is to be torn down and the contents removed. By late August, the cabin was completely removed from the forest and in its place was left the universal squatters' symbol, emblazoned in charcoal.

Since the article ran in the *Mad River Union*, the cabin has sparked debate in the community about public rights in the ACF. Many argue that the cabin should have been allowed to stay, since it was out of the way and cleanly managed, while others maintain that the cabin was potentially dangerous and built illegally, and therefore ought to have been removed.

What does the community's perception of homelessness in the Arcata Community Forest say about the nature of public space? In order to answer this question, three interconnected questions must be explored and analyzed: (1) How and why is the ACF used as shelter by the city's homeless population? (2) What is the community's response to homelessness in the ACF? (3) How has this changed over time? This article argues that public space is space to be consumed by the right people, at the right time, in the right way, as determined by the community in power.

The Arcata Community Forest

Arcata, a city of just over 17,000 inhabitants, sits on the northern edge of Humboldt Bay in Humboldt County, California, about 280 miles north of San Francisco (Census 2010). This college town is home to Humboldt State University. Opposite Arcata on the southern edge of Humboldt Bay is Arcata's sister city, the much larger and better known City of Eureka.

In the 1850s, settlers harvesting the Arcata/Eureka area for timber decimated the forest currently known as the Arcata Community Forest, as described in Wallace Elliot's *History of Humboldt County California* (1882):

No one can contemplate the wholesale destruction of these glorious forests without the saddest feelings. Nothing can be more majestic and impressive than the land clothed with them, nor more naked, desolate, ragged and uncouth than the land after it is stripped of them. It is in the one case peace, beauty, plenty, virginity, and bounty; in the other rags, fire, destruction, rapine, ghastliness, and most unsightly death. There are not, I think, more impressive forests in the world.

Congress, whose goal was to “settle and civilize the land—not to exploit the nation's timber resources,” set aside several tracts of redwood forest, bringing them under municipal control (Van Kirk 1985, 2). These tracts—the Gannon Tract, Burns Tract, Preston Tract I, Preston Tract II, Reclamation Water Co. Tract, and Brizard Tract—were operated privately until 1955, when the City of Arcata bought and combined them to create what is now known as the Arcata Community Forest, the first municipally owned forest in California (Van Kirk 1985, 1). The City of Arcata used the forest as a municipal water source, obtaining its water from Gannon Creek, Preston Creek—formerly known as Jolly Giant Creek—and Janes Creek, shifting resources in the forest toward ecological conservation and watershed management (Van Kirk 1985, 2).

Today, the forest provides educational opportunities for the community—especially students at Humboldt State University—and sustainable timber harvest, generating income for the City of Arcata. It is also a popular destination for recreational activities such as hiking, mountain biking, horseback riding, birding, and disc golf. One City of Arcata employee says, “The forest is an essential fabric of the town...It’s a unique place. It’s the first of its kind and no other city has anything like it” (personal interview, 2015).

Homelessness in Arcata

This ease-of-access and public nature makes it a popular destination for homeless people to create temporary encampments. In 2007, the City of Arcata published the *Homeless Services Plan: 2007–2016*, which outlines the current reasons for homelessness in Arcata, offers solutions to prevent homelessness, and provides estimates of total homeless populations in Arcata as well as estimates of income and education levels of the homeless. This document makes frequent mention of the Arcata Community Forest. According to the Homeless Services Plan, the Arcata Police Department (APD) and the Environmental Services Department clean up approximately fifteen illegal, two- to five-person camps annually in the Community Forest. These encampments are cited as a “public health and safety hazard.” The Homeless Services Plan goes further by stating that:

Police also receive complaints from Arcata City residents who report being harassed or intimidated by homeless that have “staked a claim” to a portion of public or private property. Residents also complain that the aesthetics and overall intrinsic value of the community’s Marsh and Wildlife Sanctuary and Community Forest are degraded by illegal camping (City of Arcata 2007, 6).

Humboldt Housing and Homeless Coalition—a local organization committed to ending homelessness—published a 2005 “point-in-time count” of homeless people in Humboldt County which is used as a prime data source in the Homeless Services Plan. The goal of this count is to get a rough estimate of the number of homeless people living in Humboldt County, and provide basic demographic information including income, age, education level, and where they are currently staying. Humboldt Housing and Homeless Coalition (HHHC) surveyed 755 people out of an estimated 1,000 homeless people in Humboldt County in their 2005 point-in-time count. Of these 755 people, 16 percent live in Arcata. Of the people who live in Arcata, 8.6 percent said they were born in Humboldt County, 26 percent claimed they have lived in Humboldt County for six or more years, 23 percent reported having lived in

Humboldt County for one to five years, and the remaining 42.4 percent have been living in Humboldt County for less than one year (Table 1). Of the total 755 homeless people surveyed, an incredible 74 percent reported currently living in illegal campsites like the ones found in the Community Forest.

Table 1: Number of Years Living in Humboldt County	Homeless in Arcata
Born in Humboldt County	8.6%
Lived in Humboldt ≥ 6 years	26%
Lived in Humboldt 1–5 years	23%
Lived in Humboldt < 1 year	42.4%

HHHC’s survey brings to light three facts: (1) A relatively large percentage (16 percent) of homeless people living in Humboldt County are concentrated in the City of Arcata. (2) A great majority of the homeless people living in Humboldt County are not originally from Humboldt, meaning they have been living in Humboldt County for fewer than five years. (3) Illegal camping is by far the most popular form of shelter among the homeless population. With these three facts in mind, it becomes apparent why the Arcata Community Forest is a popular location for the homeless population to seek shelter, raising questions about who has rights to the forest—a public space open to the community—and what those rights are.

Conceptual Framework

Five concepts are essential in understanding the analytical framework necessary for this research. First and foremost, the sanitization of public spaces is an instrumental concept in understanding the processes that shape the way members of a community perceive homelessness in public space. As outlined in *Soft Policies of Exclusion: Entrepreneurial Strategies of Ambience and Control of Public Space in Gothenburg, Sweden*, this idea asserts that as city spaces become increasingly privatized, public spaces become places for consumption: places to sell goods and services to paying citizens—i.e., a shopping mall, a series of privately owned spaces designed to sell consumer goods under the guise of a public area (Thörn 2011, 6). These spaces need to be “sanitized” of unwanted individuals who make the city look “dirty” and scare away would-be patrons.

In order to sanitize these spaces of an unwanted “other,” soft policies of enforcement—another essential concept—are introduced. These policies are used as a way to keep specific individuals away from places without imposing outright discriminatory laws (Thörn 2011, 7). This is done by

restricting access through conditional means—limiting where people can be by a certain time of day, for example—instead of restricting it by limiting the use to specific demographics.

Soft policies of enforcement, along with the notion of a revanchist city—the idea that homeless people are beggars who “leech” off the hard-working citizens of the city, and thus city laws should be designed to “take revenge” on people for living a homeless lifestyle—leads to the criminalization of homelessness (Thörn 2011, 7). This is vital in understanding the way homelessness is expressed in public spaces, because it puts into perspective the idea that public city spaces are spaces for individual consumption, and what happens to the individuals who do not have the means to consume. All of this points to larger economic trends that drive people to being homeless.

In terms of understanding economic trends that drive homelessness, understanding the debate between Housing First (HF) and Continuum of Care (CC) are at the forefront of the current discourse. CC asserts that individuals with severe mental health and addiction problems are incapable of living in traditional housing until these problems are addressed, whereas HF emphasizes that chronically homeless people need and have the right to housing, even if they require social services to remain housed (Klodawsky 2009, 5). The logic behind CC is that homeless people cannot care for themselves, and thus should not be put into permanent housing until their respective issues are dealt with, but HF shifts to the notion that regardless of a person’s issues, they need to be put into permanent housing. Klodawsky argues that HF is an outcome of two trends: (1) growing pressure for municipal governments to attract economically productive activities, and (2) disciplinary practices that attempt to reduce the visibility of unattractive populations (2009, 5). HF implies that level of care necessary for a person is determined by visibility—i.e., “If I can’t see them, they’re not my problem.”

Finally, an understanding of prime and marginal space is necessary for conceptualizing the spatial relationship between the marginalization of homeless people and the legitimation of community members in public spaces. Prime spaces are public spaces that community members actively participate in and can receive goods and services from; by contrast, marginal spaces lie in between or around prime spaces, but themselves are not prime (Hodgets et al. 2008, 7). An example of this dichotomy, as described in *A Trip to the Library: Homelessness and Social Inclusion*, can be seen by examining a library: the library itself would be considered a prime space because it is a place where members of a community can go and receive the benefits of the services it

offers; however, the alley behind the library, the street in front of the library, and the hedges to the side of the library would be considered marginal since they do not offer goods or services themselves, but only act as spaces that occupy the area between other prime spaces (Hodgets et al. 2008, 9).

These five concepts, when combined, provide the necessary framework for analyzing homelessness in public spaces as well as reflect the larger economic trends that influence community members’ perceptions of homelessness. With this framework in mind, a data collection system is constructed in order to find how these concepts apply to the Arcata Community Forest.

Methodology

This research utilizes a mixed methodology made up of intensive and extensive methods collecting both qualitative and quantitative data. These methods include interviews with City of Arcata employees, interviews with homeless people living in Arcata, surveys of 100 Arcata residents, and spatial analysis of homeless encampments in the Arcata Community Forest.

Four semi-structured interviews with city workers illuminate current policies on homelessness within Arcata. Along with these four individuals, six homeless people—whose names shall remain anonymous—were interviewed in a semi-structured setting. These six individuals were chosen at random from the Arcata Plaza. These interviews help explore what it means to be homeless in Arcata, and examine from a humanistic perspective the five concepts outlined in the “conceptual framework” section of this research. A small sample size was collected due to time restraints involving the publication of this article, however, conducting further research in order to gather from a larger sample size could potentially yield previously overlooked data.

In contrast to the intensive nature of these interviews, surveys of 100 Arcata residents are administered door-to-door in order to measure the community’s perception of homelessness—especially homelessness within the ACF. In order to collect these 100 surveys, Arcata is divided into 14 sample districts (Figure 2), with seven houses surveyed from each district—district 3 and district 10 have eight houses surveyed in order to bring the total number of houses surveyed to an even 100. Discussions arise while surveying residents, and often turn into unstructured interviews.

In addition to these methods, spatial analysis of homeless encampments in the ACF is conducted in order to put into perspective the spatial distribution of homeless people within the forest. Data is collected by hiking through

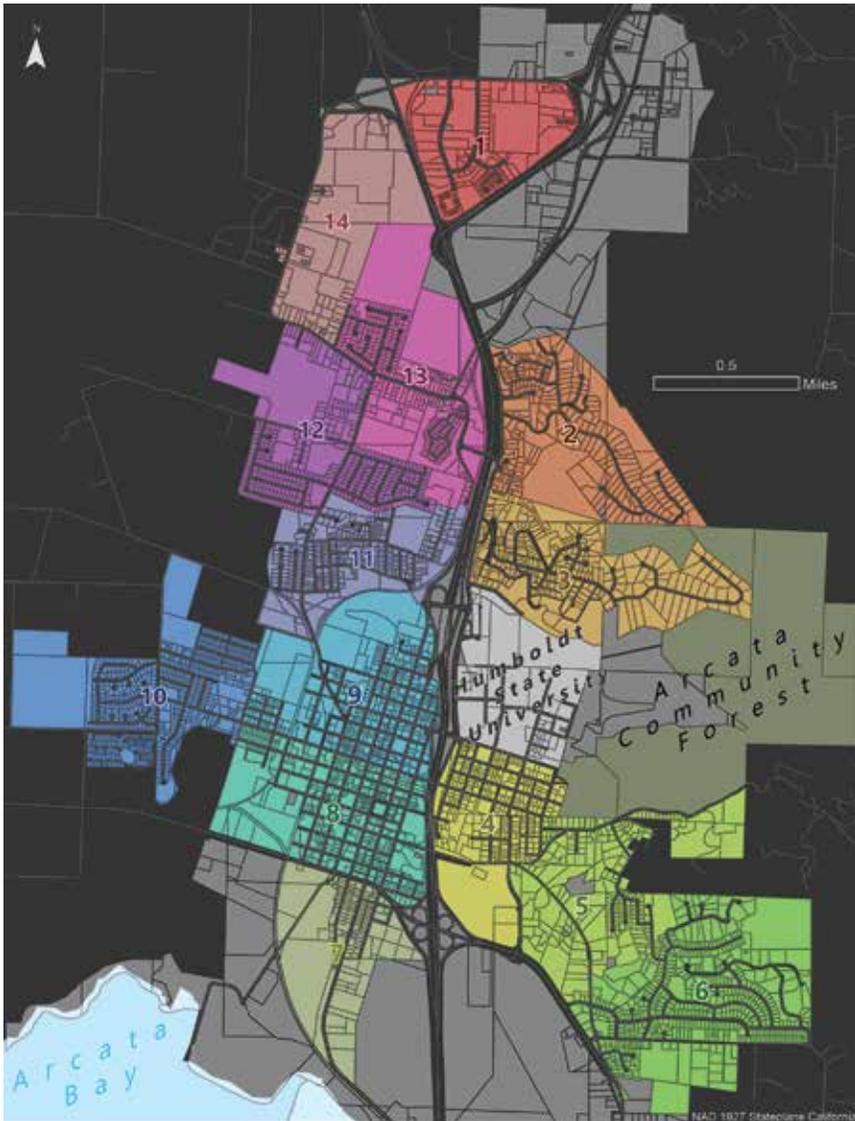


Figure 2.—Arcata divided into 14 districts (map by author).

the forest and marking encampments as waypoints on Garmin mobile GPS units. For the purpose of this research, an encampment is defined as any site that clearly shows recent human use such as compacted ground, lack of vegetation, trash, graffiti, sleeping bags, clothing, etc.

Analysis

Figure 3 shows the spatial distribution of homeless encampments in the ACF. Encampments tend to be close to entrances to the forest, tend to be very close to a trail—practically on the trail in many cases—and clustered near Redwood Park. Why are the majority of encampments built this way? Initial speculation suggests that a homeless population living illegally in the forest would prefer to build encampments inconspicuously, deep in the forest, far away from any trail, so as to remain hidden from hikers, park rangers, and police officers.

The spatial distribution of encampments in the forest points to a homeless population that desires ease of access, maneuverability, and convenience—not stability or permanent settlement. When asked where homeless people are most commonly found in Arcata, one City of Arcata employee states that they tend to congregate around the Arcata Plaza and near Highway 101 on and off ramps, then become fewer and farther apart from those places. “Why do we see squatters in the (ACF), but not the Bayside or Janes Creek forests? There hasn’t been a single encampment in either of those forests for thirty years” (personal interview, 2015). The ACF is located very close to the

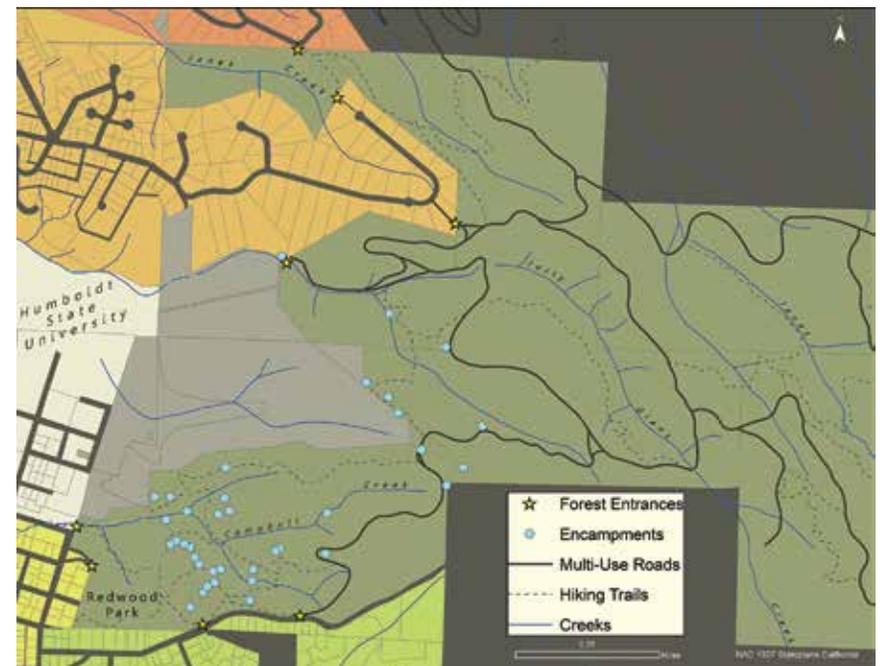


Figure 3.—Homeless encampments in the Arcata Community Forest (map by author).

Arcata Plaza—a mere fifteen-minute walk—suggesting that the homeless camp in the ACF due to its close proximity to and ease of access from a centrally located hub. The need for easily accessible and convenient spaces to build encampments near a central hub and along a major travel corridor suggests the existence of a highly mobile, transient, homeless population.

The idea of a transient homeless population being distinct from the city’s chronically homeless population is prevalent in just about every single person interviewed and surveyed. This transient homeless population is generally looked down upon by members of the community. Many community members surveyed express concern for the “genuinely homeless” but frustration toward “lazy transients,” or feel “taken advantage of” when asked for handouts, because they are not sure whether the person is “really homeless” or “just a transient.” This sentiment is captured perfectly when one Arcata resident states: “I want to help someone who is needy, but not someone who chooses to be needy” (Arcata resident, 2015).

A transient population existing among the city’s chronically homeless population is often considered part of a recent trend. In particular, the past five years are associated with a large increase in homelessness across all of Humboldt County, most likely connected to Humboldt County’s illegal marijuana production. Many of these transient homeless people moved to Humboldt County in search of “trim” jobs on marijuana farms. HHHC’s point-in-time count estimates that 67.4 percent of homeless people living in Humboldt County have lived in the county for five years or less (City of Arcata 2007, 6). Also, five of the six homeless people interviewed admitted to not originally being from Humboldt County and having lived in the county for less than five years. Each of these five people reported having lived in many cities throughout the past ten years, the most common cities being in California, Washington, and Oregon—cities along the Highway 101 corridor—and all six homeless people interviewed admitted to being connected to Humboldt County’s marijuana production (personal interview, 2015). Reflecting on the recent influx of homeless people, a City of Arcata employee claims that encampments in the forest have gotten much worse in the past five years, citing that encampments are often filthy and bereft of any effort to remain hidden or out of the way: “It’s like they just don’t care anymore” (personal interview, 2015).

The survey of 100 Arcata residents reflects a change in perception of homelessness in the past five years as well. When prompted with the statement, “Homeless people have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest,” 69

percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for five or more years report they either slightly disagree or strongly disagree; however, only 37 percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for less than five years say they either slightly or strongly disagree (Table 2).

Table 2: “Homeless people have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest.”	Lived in Arcata ≥ 5 years	Lived in Arcata < 5 years
Strongly Disagree	47%	21%
Slightly Disagree	22%	16%
Indifferent	18%	26%
Slightly Agree	8%	26%
Strongly Agree	5%	11%

When asked the question, “Have you noticed a change in homelessness since you’ve lived in Arcata?” 87 percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for five or more years report they have noticed either a slight increase or large increase in homelessness since they’ve lived in Arcata; by contrast, only 42 percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for less than five years report they have noticed either a slight increase or large increase since they’ve lived in Arcata. In fact, 55 percent report they have noticed no change at all (Table 3).

Table 3: “Have you noticed a change in homelessness since you’ve lived in Arcata?”	Lived in Arcata ≥ 5 years	Lived in Arcata < 5 years
Large Increase	50%	8%
Slight Increase	37%	34%
No Change	11%	55%
Slight Decrease	0%	3%
Large Decrease	2%	0%

When asked the question, “What feeling most often comes to mind when you see a homeless person?” 27 percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for five or more years report feeling either frustration or disgust most often, whereas only 16 percent of Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for less than five years report feeling either frustration or disgust most often (Table 4).

Table 4: "What feeling most often comes to mind when you see a homeless person?"	Lived in Arcata ≥ 5 years	Lived in Arcata < 5 years
Disgust	3%	3%
Frustration	24%	13%
Concern	32%	37%
Sadness	23%	16%
Pity	8%	13%
Indifference	10%	18%
Joy	0%	0%

Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for five or more years have seen a greater increase in homelessness, are far more likely to respond negatively to homeless people living in the ACF, and are more likely to have feelings of either frustration or disgust when seeing a homeless person. Arcata residents who have lived in Arcata for five or more years have become skeptical and mistrusting of the homeless population, as they associate them with a growing transient population creating a deeper sense of "other" in the community, as the transient population, for the most part, are seen as a dirty, lazy, unwanted people who aren't a part of the community.

The growing homeless population is seen more and more as a nuisance that needs to be sanitized from public space. As one City of Arcata employee put it, "The City's cost to clean up the abandoned camps is astronomical; therefore, prevention of illegal camping is essential" (personal interview, 2015). Another City of Arcata employee claims, "We're spending time and resources cleaning up after people instead of something more permanent like trail or stream management and maintenance," and that the forest is paid for by the people and that money should be used to make the park more enjoyable for these people (personal interview, 2015). This implies that if someone doesn't live in the community and pay taxes in the city, then the park is not for them. They are not a part of the "community" in the "Arcata Community Forest."

This idea of ownership is reflected in the survey of 100 Arcata residents. Ninety-nine percent of Arcata residents consider homelessness an issue in Arcata, and 69 percent considering it a "large issue" (Table 5). And when prompted with the statement, "Homeless people have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest," 57 percent of Arcata residents report they either slightly disagree or strongly disagree (Table 6).

Table 5: "Is homelessness an issue in Arcata?"	All Residents
Large Issue	69%
Slight Issue	30%
Not an Issue	1%

Table 6: "Homeless people have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest."	All Residents
Strongly Disagree	37%
Slightly Disagree	20%
Indifferent	21%
Slightly Agree	15%
Strongly Agree	7%

Almost all Arcata residents consider homelessness an issue in Arcata, and a majority of Arcata residents believe that homeless people do not have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest. Many community members cite the same reasons for not wanting homeless people to build encampments in the forest: the encampments contribute to environmental degradation, the people who build the encampments are potentially dangerous, trespassing in the forest is illegal, and the encampments are unsightly. All of this, again, points to the idea of an "other" that is unsightly, hazardous to health, and potentially dangerous.

In the face of this "other," many Arcata residents feel a heightened sense of ownership over public spaces such as the Arcata Community Forest. One Arcata resident brilliantly outlines this. When prompted with the statement, "Homeless people have a right to live in the Arcata Community Forest," this individual exclaims, "Not in my backyard!" (Arcata resident, 2015). This heightened sense of ownership is also seen in marginal spaces that are perceived to be connected to a prime location, as explained by one homeless person describing his or her encounter with a local business owner after trying to sleep on the sidewalk in front of the business owner's store: "This guy (the business owner) came out and starts yelling at me 'Hey! You can't sleep there! You have to move!' And I was like, 'Hey man, I'm on the sidewalk, this is public property!'" (personal interview, 2015).

This sense of fear and frustration toward a dirty and unwanted "other" manifests itself in soft policies of enforcement. These policies include anti-smoking laws on the Arcata Plaza and anti-camping laws in the ACF. For

example, anti-smoking laws could be used to bar homeless people from being on the Arcata Plaza without creating laws that are outright discriminatory, because, seeing as how most of a homeless person's life is loitering, homeless people end up being uniquely excluded by anti-loitering policies such as anti-smoking laws. These policies are enacted to keep the wrong types of people out of prime spaces, and to keep these spaces clean for consumption by a community.

Soft policies of enforcement can be seen in effect as one homeless person explains the three rules for being on the Arcata Plaza: "No dogs, no smokes, and no booze." This person states further, "Cops will hang out in the café and watch people. The moment you light up a cigarette, they'll come out and bust you, or they'll hang out for a while and bust you for a cigarette you smoked an hour ago" (personal interview, 2015).

Community members use soft policies of enforcement as a primary tool in an effort to sanitize an unwanted "other" from public spaces of consumption—which, according to Thörn, has all the markings of a revanchist city—but there is something that makes the Arcata Community Forest a unique place: the conceptualization of prime and marginal space. Thörn asserts that sanitization of public space occurs as a result of the increasing privatization of public space, that these are spaces that need to be cleaned of unattractive populations in order to maximize economic productivity (Thörn 2011, 7). These spaces would have to be prime spaces because they are places where community members can go to receive the benefits of goods and services—a space of consumption (Hodgets et al 2008, 8). If this is true, then why is there an effort to sanitize an unwanted "other" from the Arcata Community Forest? Why are soft policies of enforcement enacted in the forest, when there are no goods to consume and no services from which to benefit?

There is something else that distinguishes the forest as a prime space: natural beauty. This implies that natural beauty is a commodity that functions as a consumable good for members of a community. Homeless people are sanitized from the Arcata Community Forest because they interrupt community members' ability to consume the natural beauty of the forest. Partly because of the recent influx of transient homeless, the homeless population is considered a separate entity from the community, and their tendency to create unsightly encampments interferes with community members'—tax-paying residents of the city—ability to consume a specific good; thus the homeless population is cleansed from the forest.

Conclusion

The ACF is a popular location for homeless people to build encampments, due to its ease of access and convenience. These encampments tend to be filthy, close to entrances, and easily spotted from a trail, pointing to the idea that encampments in the forest are most likely built for maneuverability and temporary residence in the forest, not privacy, stability, and permanent settlement, as originally speculated. This practice implies the existence of a large transient homeless population in Arcata.

The perception of a large, transient homeless population being distinct from the city's chronically homeless population is prevalent in most Arcata residents, who tend to view the transient homeless population as lazy and dirty. The past five years are associated with a large increase in homelessness in all of Humboldt County, a large portion of this population most likely being transient homeless connected to Humboldt County's illegal marijuana production. This influx of transient homeless has made Arcata residents suspicious and mistrusting of the city's homeless population.

Due to an increasing unwanted "other," Arcata residents feel a heightened sense of ownership over public spaces. This heightened sense of ownership manifests itself in soft policies of enforcement, which in turn begin to sanitize the homeless population from public spaces.

The sanitization of public space through the use of soft policies of enforcement defines Arcata as a classic example of a revanchist city, but the distinction of the Arcata Community Forest as a prime space makes Arcata a unique example. The existence of soft policies of enforcement in the ACF implies that natural beauty is a commodity that can be consumed by a community, as if it were food from a restaurant, groceries from a supermarket, or clothes from a retail store. The homeless population, being seen as an entity separate from the community, and being seen as something that interferes with the community's ability to consume the forest's natural beauty, is cleansed from the forest. This is because public space is space to be consumed by the right people, at the right time, in the right way, as determined by the community in power.

References

- Arcata Residents. Survey. 12/1/15–12/11/15.
- Baillergeau, Evelyne. 2014. Governing public nuisance: Collaboration and conflict regarding the presence of homeless people in public spaces of Montreal. *Critical Social Policy* 34 (3):354–373.

- City of Arcata. 2007. *Homeless Services Plan: 2007–2016*.
- City of Arcata Employees. 2015. Interview by Nick Burdine. Semi-Structured. City Hall, 8/21/15–11/10/15.
- Communities Committee. 2008. *Acquiring and Managing a Community-Owned Forest: A Manual for Communities*.
- Hoch, C. 2000. Sheltering the homeless in the US: Social improvement and the continuum of care. *Housing Studies* 15 (6):865–876.
- Hodgetts, et al. 2008. A trip to the library: Homelessness and social inclusion. *Social and Cultural Geography* 9 (8):933–953.
- Homeless People. 2015. Interview by Nick Burdine. Semi-Structured. Arcata Plaza, 11/16/15–11/20/15.
- Kitabatake, Takuya, Nao Kasai, and Masato Dohi. 2014. The protocol for homeless people in public places and its implementation in Sydney. *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan* 49 (3):1089–109.
- Klodawsky, Fran. 2009. Home spaces and rights to the city: Thinking social justice for chronically homeless women. *Urban Geography* 30 (6):591–610.
- Mitchell, D. 1997. The annihilation of space by law: the roots and implications of anti-homeless laws in United States. *Antipode* 29 (3):303–355.
- . 1998. Anti-homeless laws and public space I: Begging and the first amendment. *Urban Geography* 19 (1):6–11.
- . 1998. Anti-homeless laws and public space II: Further constitutional issues. *Urban Geography* 19 (2):98–104.
- Plane, Jocelyn, and Fran Klodawsky. 2013. Neighbourhood amenities and health: Examining the significance of a local park. *Social Science and Medicine* 99:1–8.
- Ryan, Tiffany, and Sanna J. Thompson. 2013. Perspectives on housing among homeless emerging adults. *Evaluation and Program Planning* 36 (1):107–114.
- Shaw, Jeffery S. Attitudes Toward the Homeless in Two New York City Metropolitan Samples. *Nonprofit and voluntary sector quarterly*.
- Sheehan, Rebecca. 2010. ‘I’m protective of this yard’: Long-term homeless persons’ construction of home place and workplace in a historical public space. *Social and Cultural Geography* 11 (6):539–558.
- Soden, Tabitha. 2015. “Arcata residents voicing concern about homeless encampments.” <http://www.times-standard.com/article/NJ/20150423/NEWS/150429926>
- Thörn, Catharina. 2011. Soft policies of exclusion: Entrepreneurial strategies of ambience and control of public space in Gothenburg, Sweden. *Urban Geography* 32 (7):989–1008.
- Van Kirk, Susie. 1985. *A History of the Arcata Community Forest*. City of Arcata, California. <http://www.cityofarcata.org/DocumentCenter/View/266>