THESIS

A VISION OF OURSELVES: REGIONAL RHETORIC'S

IMPACT UPON PUBLIC POLICY RELATING TO INDIVIDUALS EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS

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ABSTRACT

A VISION OF OURSELVES: REGIONAL RHETORIC'S

IMPACT UPON PUBLIC POLICY RELATING TO INDIVIDUALS EXPERIENCING HOMELESSNESS

Public policy at all levels, local, state, and national, has a profound, yet seldom, recognized impact upon the lives of citizens unless the policy directly impacts them. In the following thesis, I explore the discourse and debate that a local-level public policy can have upon the construction of space, impact upon already marginalized populations, and the use of regional identity to justify said policy. More specifically, I explore the consideration of a "appropriate-use of public space ordinance" in a mid-sized city, Fort Collins, Colorado. I argue that visions of Fort Collins regional identity are used to justify certain aspects of the ordinance that criminalize individuals experiencing homelessness. In my analysis, I make use of theories of communication and space including critical regionalism, juxtaposition, and spatial trajectories. In application of these theories to understand my text I am performing an analysis of critical rhetoric to reveal potential power struggles at play and the possibility for change.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1: Introduction

The criminalization of marginalized groups, specifically individuals experiencing homelessness, has occurred in a variety of cities across the United States. Prohibited actions typically include sleeping, camping, lying/sitting, restriction of sleeping in vehicles, loitering and vagrancy, begging, and food sharing. The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty has identified 187 cities nation-wide that include some sort of ordinance within their city code that restricts or criminalizes individuals experiencing homelessness.[1] Honolulu, for instance, issued over 16,000 warnings on an ordinance outlawing sitting and lying in public places since the end 2014. Honolulu has also proposed a plan "to relocate homeless people to a separate island that previously served as a garbage dump and former internment camp during WWII," quite literally removing individuals experiencing homelessness from public view.[2] Larger cities, such as Dallas, have also had equally dastardly policies. Dallas has issued over 11,000 citations for sleeping in public between 2012 and 2015, often to individuals experiencing homelessness, creating unaffordable debt and potentially barring, "a person form obtaining official photo identification," if they have unpaid citations.[3] Other cities have prohibited food sharing in public spaces. In 2014, Fort Lauderdale implemented strict laws requiring permits for individuals or charities to distribute food donations.[4] Laws, such as these, are somewhat contradicting the 1996 Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act which protects charities and grocery stores from "civil and criminal liability should the product donated in good faith later cause harm to the recipient."[5] Some other laws have restricted solicitations for food in public space areas and popular thoroughfares. Laws, like those in Fort Lauderdale, impinge the access individuals experiencing homelessness have to food. Specifically, space and action

are limited. The limitation of solicitations in public space push individuals experiencing

homelessness to the periphery.

However, policies criminalizing homelessness, such as the ones mentioned above, have

come under intense scrutiny from civil rights organizations, law interest groups, and citizens.

The arguments levied by these groups in support of people experiencing homelessness are

made on various constitutional grounds such as First Amendment freedom of speech

protections (laws preventing vocal pleas for assistance), Eight Amendment protection against

cruel and unusual punishment (ludicrous citation policies), and Fourteenth Amendment

protection of due process of law (police destruction of personal property when clearing out

homeless encampments).[6] Many of these legal challenges cause public relation nightmares for

city governments. The earliest and most famous case is *Jones v. City of Los Angeles*. In this

case, the Ninth Circuit State Court of Appeals Judge Kim M. Wardlaw ruled in favor of a district

court decision on behalf of people experiencing homelessness. Penning the majority opinion,

she stated that there should be limits "on what can be made criminal and punished;" therefore,

she continued, the rule of the law "do[es] not extend to an ordinance that prohibits the acts of

sleeping, sitting or lying on City streets."[7] In recent years, legal challenges have been on the

rise. Partially, the rise of legal challenges has been due to widespread application of ineffective,

unconstitutional policies across the United States. The National Law Center on Homelessness &

Poverty (NLCHP) have helped facilitate legal strategy to fight unconstitutional city-level policy

and challenge citations. The NLCHP published a litigation manual detailing strategy to oppose

city level policies and their unlawful application.[8] This manual created a comprehensive

process-based approach to assist lawyers in performing quality legal work on these issues in

timely fashion. The litigation manual also tracks the outcomes of legal challenges to various

policies. One hopeful trend that has emerged from the research conducted by the NLCHP is

that favorable results had been received in "100% of cases challenging laws restricting begging

and solicitations."[9] In summation, creating policies that directly or indirectly criminalize the

actions of and ultimately incarcerate individuals experiencing homelessness is woefully

common; however, these laws have been challenged in court and won, signaling that indeed

these policies are often unconstitutional and detrimental to human rights.

Nonetheless, communities nationwide, particularly at the local-level continually

attempted to institute similar policies. Why does this occur? Why do some cities continue to

create inhumane policies? Are city governments across the United States devious in their

intention, as some might suggest? While undoubtedly, some local leaders have a stated

antipathy toward people experiencing homelessness, I tend to believe city governments, and

people in general, are largely compassionate to their citizens. I believe the answer lies not in a

simple expression of ill-will, but a set of complex and competing priorities and values. At times,

priorities of individuals are caught in tension with priorities of their communities and vice versa.

With policies effecting people experiencing homelessness, a tension exists between

communities concerned with the culture of their city and individuals concerned with the human

rights and welfare of individuals. Ultimately, helping individuals experiencing homelessness

may mean sacrificing some aesthetical quality of public space and tax dollars to provide public

support and housing. These tensions are a stark example of our society's contemporary

struggle over our shared public believes around who we are, what we value, how shared spaces

of our cities are used, and the meaning we derive from living in a particular place.

I argue that it is necessary to examine the tensions that underlie local debates over many public policies—including those pertaining to homelessness, space, and regional identity—if we are to understand and ultimately better address these public problems. Publics often have disagreement around public space and regional identity. In part, this is due to individuals having differing imaginations and perspectives around the meaning of space and identity. Public policy discussing space can often trigger debates and conflicts around these meanings. People experiencing homelessness are often implicitly impacted by these discussions, debates, and laws as a significant part of their existence is the use and occupation of public space. Policy related to public space represents a natural locus of regional social dynamics, views of identity, and material constructions of space, that do not work singularly, but in concert to create both intended and unintended affects that marginalize individuals experiencing homelessness.

In this thesis, I focus upon one case study of a city ordinance and its consideration in the city of Fort Collins, Colorado. I argue that the Fort Collins City Council, in weighing a public space ordinance, presented contradictory trajectories of what the roles are of the space of the city, its material construction, and who qualifies as citizens with agency within the city. Many of these trajectories, individually, are supported by aspects of the history of Fort Collins and its regional identity. However, when presented collectively, the contradictory trajectories within documents produced by City Council invite political challenge and opposition. I argue, that the ordinance documents are reflective of a modern-day identity crisis in Fort Collins as the region attempts to negotiate its identity and balance aspects of an individualistic and collective life. Ultimately, debates and discussions of the meaning of identity, space, and actions are all a part

of a larger struggle for power. In the struggle for power there are often intended and unintended consequences. While the region of Fort Collins was negotiating the meaning of public space and appropriate action, individuals experiencing homelessness were often voiceless in this debate and pushed to the periphery.

While a variety of literatures are evoked in this project to contextualize the issues of urban development, public policy, and homelessness, the central theoretical foundations and contributions of this thesis are derived from a Communication Studies lens. Communication Philosopher I.A. Richards theorized it is difficult "to account for understanding and misunderstanding," however, "we have to renounce, for a while, the view that words just have their meanings and that what a discourse does is to be explained as a composition of these meanings."[10] Attempting to realize multiplicitous intentions of collectives of people helps to understand why a collective body, like a city council, may be inclined, either intentionally or unintentionally, to speak to divergent interests within the consideration of a singular law. Ultimately, communities often strive for action on social problems. However, solutions for some communities may well be problems for others. Public space is a limited resource, often becomes contested, and has widely studied in communication because of a multiplicity of ideas and meanings regarding space. For this thesis, the theories of space, and what space communicates, will be explicated through trajectories and critical regionalism. Both of which allow the ability to understand the accumulative effect of histories, practices, and intentions that cities and individuals have regarding the meaning of space. In addition, to work in communication my analysis will also make use of the literatures of imaginaries, public policy, and urban development.

To study these ideas and questions, this thesis takes as its central case study the City of Fort Collins, Colorado. The specific case of Fort Collins represents many of the tensions (both legally and socially) that emerged in the city's consideration of a proposed "sit-lie" ordinance, officially known as Ordinance No. 043. At the outset of 2017, the City of Fort Collins considered many potential new policies in order to address the changes that were occurring in the growing city. The City Council on January 24th, 2017 held an initial work session to gain a barometer of where the council and community stood on issues relating to "disruptive behavior."[11] Generally, this meeting was focused around safety. One of the key goals of the meeting was to consider, "Is Council supportive of bringing forth an Appropriate Use of Public Spaces ordinance?"[12] Later in the year, after additional outreach, contention, and research, on March 7th and March 21st, the Fort Collins City Council considered Ordinance No. 043, 2017, amending article III of chapter 17 of the Code of the City of Fort Collins by adding a new section, 17-46, titled, "Regulating Use of Public Facilities on Sidewalks, Plazas, Public Restrooms and Transit Facilities."[13] This ordinance received significant pushback due to concerns that wording and enforcement of the ordinance had the potential to criminalize the *existence* of individuals experiencing homelessness. There were concerns that "space" and "appropriate actions" were too vaguely defined. Some worried that the vague definitions of action would apply specifically to individuals on the street experiencing homelessness and less so to any other citizens. Opposition efforts were led by American Civil Liberties Union of Colorado (ACLU) and the Fort Collins Community Action Network (FCCAN). The ACLU of Colorado penned an open letter stating, "the proposed 'disruptive behavior' ordinance in Fort Collins is one of the most outrageous, cruel and absurd examples that we have seen yet of a proposed ordinance clearly

targeting unhoused persons."[14] FCCAN organized individuals to vocally oppose the ordinance during various community meetings.[15]

        To analyze Fort Collins as a case study, I will examine two different kinds of artifacts. First, to get at these trajectories and contradictory views within the city's discourse around homelessness, I will begin by treating the spatial and regional imaginations of Fort Collins as a critical text. Treating the city as a critical text will assist in understanding both the space and the people within the space, giving a greater understanding of the context of the ordinance's creation. The theory of trajectories, outlined in the literature review to follow, is important to this analytical process. As we will see, trajectories, in their basic conception, are the multiplicity of meanings a space allows or suggests. Therefore, understanding Fort Collins' historic past, present moment, and future possibilities will be key to understanding the language of the ordinance and its goals. To get at the history of Fort Collins, I examine critical cultural moments in construction of the city, trends of the evolution of the region, and wider global trends suggesting how the city may change moving forward. Specifically, knowing the past nostalgia associated with Fort Collins and future imaginaries of what Fort Collins could be informs the justifications for action in the city.

        Second, I will be analyzing documents presented to and generated by the City of Fort Collins in support of Ordinance No. 034. The ordinance represents a rich locus to analyze how a growing urban area chose to address an issue of such political salience as homelessness and its implications for how the city and its citizens conceive of themselves and space. More specifically, I analyze work session items and two readings of the ordinance, along with supporting documentation, as the primary artifacts of study in Chapter 4. These artifacts

contain both textual and visual aspects that indicate a multiplicity of trajectories of space, both

explicit and implicit. Indeed, communicatively, the documents make use of multiple modes

including, visual representations of space and individuals, discursive explication of the role of

the city and citizens, and suggestions to material constructions to reinforce particular ideas

about space, citizens, and agency. Each document contains a draft of the ordinance proposed

in front of City Council. In addition, they contain supporting documents from key stakeholders

in the affected areas including, a letter from the Downtown Fort Collins Business Association, a

letter from the Downtown Development Authority, a letter from the Fort Collins Human

Relations Commission, Service Area Requests (SARs) from Fort Collins Police Services

demonstrating behavior concerns, survey results of the local community with attached

comments, and educational materials jointly produced by Outreach Fort Collins (a service

provider to individuals experiencing homelessness), Fort Collins Police Services, and the City of

Fort Collins. In addition to the supporting documents, City Council created multiple slide show

presentations used during meetings and work sessions to outline key aspects and intentions of

the ordinance. The slide shows include visual images to support various points made during the

meetings. These artifacts represent many credible voices throughout the community that make

them a rich site to examine the politics of ordinary democracy, challenges of urban

development, and impacts upon individuals experiencing homelessness. It is important to note,

that while the analysis is itself focused on Fort Collins, the findings of this project may have a

wider scope, reaching beyond Fort Collins to speak to other locales experiencing similar

challenges. Ultimately, both the ordinance documents and the context of Fort Collins as a

region present tension around issues in need of consideration.

My method of analysis consists of a particular kind of rhetorical criticism known as critical rhetoric. The critical rhetoric perspective was founded by Raymie McKerrow in 1989 as a critical practice that "seeks to unmask or demystify the discourse power."[16] In other words, the practice of applying critical theories and ideas to particular discourses has the potential to unravel ideological power working to dominate and marginalize other perspectives. In this way, critical rhetoric provides, without displacing other rhetorics, an "avenue-an orientation-toward a postmodern conception of the relationship between discourse and power."[17] While the goal of critical rhetoric analysis is unmasking discourses of power, this goal is achieved by the critic and their critical perspective. In the case of this project, my critical approach will focus on unmasking the discourses of power within public policies relating to homelessness in the city of Fort Collins. This analysis will draw attention to the theories of trajectories and critical regionalism at work in both the city's imagination of itself and how those imaginations emerge in policy documents.

Central to my methodological and critical perspective (though not explicitly used in critical analysis) is my intimate knowledge of Fort Collins and my ongoing, active engagement with and in spaces I am writing about. Greg Dickinson and Giorgia Aiello suggest that it is crucial in this type of work to understand "the historical processes by which a place comes to be as a way to grapple with issues of change over time and to explore the ways the past, present, and future always work together."[18] Additionally, Dickinson and Aiello highlight that physically "being through there matters."[19] Being *through* a space, which is more than simply being at or in a space, includes experiencing its contours, smelling its atmosphere, and basking in its presence. Being *through* a space includes a mindfulness and critical eye informing the

experiences of seeing, smelling, and feeling a place. As such, this practice allows for a deeper

more complete understanding of the past, present, and future of the space. It would be naïve

to ignore the historical and contextual factors influencing communication within, about, and

from Fort Collins. As a transplant to and scholar and citizen of Fort Collins, I have had pleasure

of being through the city, often. Notably, over the summer of 2017, I worked with the Fort

Collins Downtown Business Association as a Hospitality Ambassador. The job required me to

address questions, queries, and concerns of tourists, visitors, and citizens of Fort Collins. During

this experience, I became familiar with the contours of the city, along with its people. I had

interactions with the mayor, City Council members, business owners and employees, tourists,

citizens, individuals experiencing homelessness, and individuals providing services attempting

to address homelessness. This is all to say, after 350+ miles of walking and interacting in the

public space considered in the city ordinance, I have gained very intimate knowledge and

experience being through and in Fort Collins, which powerfully informs this project. However,

as a transplant to the city, I am also not steeped in regional ideologies and imaginations in the

way city natives are, allowing me to maintain a critical eye on and about Fort Collins. These

joint perspectives will both inform my thoughts and analysis.

By the end of this thesis, I will make contributions to several wider discussions of

concern. For one, this study has implications for who is allowed agency in the city and power to

pursue change in the laws and rules. Another contribution examines how democratic societies

negotiate physical and ideological existence. In addition, this project will help uncover the little

investigated role communication upon the public policy process, particularly at the nascent

stages of consideration before an ordinance or policy becomes law. This contribution cannot

be understated, particularly as it may help develop better practices to create a more inclusive democratic society, assist city councils in creating effective policy, and train more citizens in engaging in democratic processes. At a more theoretical level, this thesis contributes a more nuanced understanding of why tensions arise over issues in public space. In addition, this thesis will demonstrate how the combination of trajectories and critical regionalism in Communication scholarship can create a multi-pronged approach that weighs material, discursive, and visual aspects related to space in new and different ways.

Moving forward, this thesis proceeds in four chapters. Chapter two reviews relevant literatures in Communication Studies as well as outlines some of the critical theories and perspectives guiding the criticism in this project. This chapter concludes with brief discussion of auxiliary contextual literatures that are relevant in shared content, but not critical analysis, including public policy literature, urban studies literature, and studies relating to homelessness in general. Chapter three provides a critical analysis of Fort Collins as a region. In particular, I trace the history of Fort Collins and the competing forces within the city and its surrounding area which help fuel our current contentious environment for the consideration of public policies. Chapter four provides an in-depth critical analysis of the proposed Fort Collins ordinance and its supporting documents in light of findings in chapter three. I also present an argument for the many trajectories of the ordinance and how they invite political challenge. Finally, chapter five concludes this thesis with a discussion of the implications of this study and takeaways for the wider scholarly and democratic public.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To be able to analyze the competing ways in which space and individuals experiencing homelessness are understood and enacted in contemporary Fort Collins, this project needs to define some key ways for understanding the various literatures at play. In particular, this project will define what Doreen Massey calls "spatial trajectories" and the various factors at work in shaping trajectories of space. In addition, this project requires a more robust understanding of how policy interacts with individuals experiencing homelessness. Once conceptually outlined, this project will proceed to analyzing the prominent trajectories of the City of Fort Collins over the last two centuries (in Chapter 3) and how these prominent trajectories come into tension with contemporary debates about public space, homelessness, and the role of the city today (Chapter 4).

Spatial Trajectories

The communicative power of space is unique in that it affects both bodily actions and ideological thought. One way to begin to understand space's communicative power is through what actions spaces prevent, what actions can be performed, and how actions and bodies are perceived in relation to space as culturally acceptable or inappropriate. The mode through which space communicates is typically material forms and constructions. These materials and constructions are often subjected to rules and regulations, and are maintained or neglected to create particular aesthetics. Geographer Doreen Massey has worked to provide theoretical concepts to understand the construction and the fluidity of spaces. Specifically, in discussing trajectories, Massey suggests space is a "sphere of a multiplicity of trajectories."[20] In this way,

space is a sphere open to discourse and debate can carry a large range of meanings. Massey characterizes the spatial as,

> Integral to the production of history, and thus to the possibility of politics, just as the temporal is to geography. Another way, is to insist on the inseparability of time and space, on their joint constitution through the interrelations between phenomena; on the necessity of thinking in terms of space-time.[21]

Space cannot be separated from politics, history, geography, and time. In other words, we can understand trajectories as *the multiple attempts to pin-down and characterize the spatio-temporal factors at work in a region or location to make sense of the materiality of our world and to discuss space in some way.* Ultimately, space and trajectories end up being both orderly and chaotic: space is orderly in the sense it is planned and can be explained, yet, chaotic in that there are unintended consequences, happenstance juxtapositions, accidental separations, paradoxical arrangements that happen out of causalities.[22] Space and trajectories present difficult to pin-down theories. However, they are practically useful to scholars to interrogate discourse, material, and performances in and about space. Ultimately, scholars should be careful in their characterizations and representations of space. If characterizations are too orderly they limit the reality of the fluidity of space, thus trying to fit everything into a narrow conception of space. If characterizations are too chaotic of space there is a lack of ability to communicate about the spaces, regions, and materials scholars hope to study. There needs to be some respect for the orderly but an open mind to a fluid understanding of space, perspective, and region.

Space, and how we use space, is often weighted in political debate. To Massey, political debates—or considerations of trajectories—have the potential of causing "confrontation between imaginations of the city."[23] Massey suggests that "politics catches trajectories at

different points," meaning that the political process focuses on singular factors of space limiting a wider understanding of the multiplicitous nature of space. This may cause a futile effort to create consensus because the nature of politics is to invite challenge. Specifically, in terms of space, challenges come forth in the limited ways individuals characterize space and related issues concerning space.[24] The practice of attempting to pin down space or place in politics is elusive and often creates frustration and inherent tensions due to varying trajectories. When engaging in political debate all actants (or persons playing an active role in political debate) may have widely varying views of how space should be used and constructed, carrying with them very different competing intentions bound up in power. Uncovering these multiple trajectories, through textual, material, and spatial analysis, may allow for better understanding of the multiplicity of options considered in discourse. Additionally, it may allow us to better explore alternative trajectories not considered and ask various important questions relating to intention and power. Who are we privileging in space? What aspects of space need to be maintained and protected? Are we literally excluding individuals in our community? To begin to address these questions, a deeper consideration of space in its real and imagined forms is necessary to expand how we think of space. To do this, Massey and other scholars consider the concepts of geographical imaginaries and region.

Massey extends her theorization on trajectories in her analysis of world cities, like London and Washington D.C., by explaining a concept called geographical imaginaries. These imaginaries, which may or may not be accurate perceptions of space, are constituted through social interactions and connections where individuals operate on a narrow view of a space or region.[25] Massey notes the following:

Geographical imaginations are also performative. They help to figure the terms of debate and the actions in which they are embedded. They are vital underpinnings of political positions. They mold common sense. But they can also be challenged. Indeed, mounting any kind of challenge to the political positions that they support should mean also taking on these implicit geographies and conceptualizations of space.[26]

Geographical imaginations, what we might also think of as dominant socially constructed trajectories can form the key terms, understandings, political positions that drive a political debate. Understandings of geographical imaginations are "constituted out of social relations" and created for "specific purposes and within particular sets of power relations."[27] Examining how these geographical imaginaries are communicatively reinforced and rearticulated begins to deconstruct and understand the logic of social power relations and space. In increasingly polarized political environments, the narrowing of political choice and control of the debate is a much-coveted position of political power that takes advantage of the social construction of space. The work of Doreen Massey is the study of space and how it is conceptualized in political discourse and its debate. I am not suggesting the encouragement of black and white debate tactics. On the contrary, I am suggesting that understanding these strategies, characterizations and imaginations of space, and material constructions may reveal more realistic solutions to navigate complex issues that take place in space.

This effort is complicated in Fort Collins. This is due to its inbetweeness and increasing urbanization. Urbanization will be explicated in full in chapter 3; however, inbetweeness merits mention here as it tends to theoretically complicate understandings and imaginations of space. Sharon Zukin suggests that inbetweeness in a community in terms of economic institutions and types of neighborhoods can cause rifts and "complicates the effort to construct spatial identity," and take advantage of spatial imaginaries.[28] In part, I will show that Fort Collins

exhibits aspects of urban, suburban, and rural space; in other words, Fort Collins exemplifies

inbetweeness. Within these competing trajectories, along with others that will be explicated in

chapter 3, there is complication in constructing spatial identity. To properly examine

trajectories and imaginaries and deconstruct political debates about space, I will proceed in this

chapter to explicate the various factors at work in shaping public perceptions about spaces,

specifically: material dimensions of space, psychological factors of space, critical regionalism,

and policy and urban studies perspectives.

Material Dimensions of Space

Many scholars throughout the field of communication have interrogated space and

place based off their material constructions. Historically, Communication Studies has had to

wrestle with the material nature of where we communicate.[29] Previously, many scholars

thought of this as the "context" or "scene" in public address or, in the case of Lloyd Bitzer,

"exigence."[30] However, the materiality of space was not always explicitly given central

attention in scholarship. Eventually, the field of Communication Studies underwent both

spatial and material turns to attempt to better fully engage discourse relating to the material

around us and the spaces in which we engage with one another.

Carole Blair suggests that studying materiality has wide reaching implications and

importance. She notes, "rhetoric's materiality constructs communal space, prescribes

pathways, and summons attention, acting on the whole person of the audience."[31] Ultimately,

Blair calls for scholars to engage more with space through material aspects. This examination

of material can help decode power in society. Robert Asen notes on ideology that, "we need to

add a conception of materiality that places discourse in relation to the material conditions from

which it arises and engages."[32] He claims that ideology is complex and constituted through

many forms, including material, that need to be addressed and accounted for. Partially, it is the

work of scholars to make the material an important matter. Blair suggest scholars should make

a concerted effort to translate the communicative aspects of material to print.[33] She notes this

goal can be accomplished in many ways including considering the, "material conditions of

discourse," focusing on the lived-in body as a condition and consequence of rhetoric, and the

understanding that "rhetoric is itself material."[34] From the work of Blair, Asen, McGee, and

many other scholars the material and spatial turns of Communication Studies have taken a

prominent place among scholarship. Many studies and analyses have been made upon the

material aspects of parks, museums, and everyday places such as city streets.[35] This thesis

attempts to build upon the idea that rhetoric is itself material.

The central texts of this thesis are both material and immaterial. In chapter 3, I discuss

the specific material history of Fort Collins. However, the central texts of chapter 4, the

ordinance and supporting document are not material in form. Regardless, the textual

ordinance documents of chapter 4 engage with materiality in consequential ways and suggest

material implications for bodies within Fort Collins. Jean Hillier notes that "words, images, and

texts do not describe or represent a pre-existing world. Rather they perform its bringing into

being."[36] The texts of this thesis discuss the material and spatial future of Fort Collins,

therefore, potentially bringing into being their existence. This thesis takes the approach that

textual and visual factors impact space and materiality. The rhetoric the ordinance brings forth

is material in its performance and the content it discusses. Ultimately, I agree with the

importance of materiality. However, I take great care in considering Hillier's point that,

"performances or enactments do occur in isolation." She suggests that these performances or enactments of space and materiality, "take place in the context of other performances by a host of other actants. Performances are juxtaposed and interconnected, with reaffirming, rupturing and or transformative impacts."[37] Therefore, to get a better sense of the performers, enactors, and creators of space and materiality in Fort Collins, I explore the region more broadly in Chapter 3. I do this by considering theories relating to psychological and social communicative factors in relation to space.

Psychological and Social Communicative Factors in Spatial Trajectories

By psychological and social communicative factors, I am referencing multiple theoretical ideas—including dreamscapes and authenticity—that influence a person's memory or nostalgic conceptualization of space. These theories in practice constitute themselves in many ways including material and textual. They are theories that work to influence how the conscious and subconscious mind interprets stimulus from various types of communication about space. These theories show the different ways space in its many forms attempt to frame an individual's lived experience.

In expanding on geographical imaginations, Greg Dickinson, Brian Ott, and Eric Aoki discuss that spaces can be thought of as dreamscapes. They suggest that the "experience of a particular place comprises not just the tangible materials available in that place but also the full range of memorized images that persons bring with them."[38] In part, Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki acknowledge both tangible, material aspects of and past experiences within a person's memory. For instance, having memories of a space or region will influence some person's lived experience in that space. There is the potential that individual's memories can compromise

considering the future construction of space, privileging nostalgia. The theorizing done by

Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, is in line with Massey's discussion of geographical imaginations, their

potential dominance, and their ability to shape common sense. Geographical imaginations and

dreamscapes are both powerful in that they possess, for every person, an inert nostalgic sense

of what we believe to be true in and about the world. These concepts are created through the

relationships individuals have with materials, discourses, and spaces that they then carry with

them within their memory to other new present interactions. Essentially, individuals' pasts

inform their future interactions. This phenomenon is present within Fort Collins and common

experiences citizens have with individuals experiencing homelessness.

For instance, Ginny Sawyer, a spokesperson for the City of Fort Collins, stated, "we all

have stories from around town, from seeing homeless and wondering what we can do. What

we should do?"[39] Sawyer highlights the experiential nature of moving through the space of Fort

Collins and remembering interactions with homeless individuals. She carries this memory

forward into discussing the ordinances considered in this thesis. She remembers a particular

experience, a particular aspect of Fort Collins, which may or may not be representative of the

whole city and the whole issue of homelessness. While she highlights compassion and what we

can and should do, everyone may not have this reaction. She is envisioning a Fort Collins in an

imagined situation the city faces. In a larger sense, these interactions and imagined visions of

Fort Collins, if not overtly mentioned when considering the public space ordinance, are at the

very least remembered and craft a lens through which we consider the proper ways action

should be taken and the issues in community that should be addressed. This brings into focus

that public policy is a consideration of the present construction of space, future imaginations of space, and weighing past experiences and imaginations of mythologized space.

At times, mythologized ideals and imagined spaces are reinforced by communities, institutions, and cultures in the name of maintaining a central authenticity. Sharon Zukin, sociology scholar, discusses authenticity through its uses in cities, stating, "the appeal of authenticity suggests that we cling to the ideal of a timeless city that never changes."[40] She highlights various examples such as historical factors in creating a Harlem authenticity and the presence of individuals in creative industries gave Brooklyn a sense of authenticity. Authenticity to Zukin acknowledges that cities often cling to their history as a central aspect of their identity. For Fort Collins, the importance of compassion and willingness to act on social issues seems to be an important aspect of authentic identity within Ms. Sawyer's comments. Institutions crave to have authenticity as it can bring forth real social and cultural capital to individuals and institutions within communities. Having control of this capital can be central to garnering various privileges in community including access to power, monetary resources, and social connection.

Regardless of a person's position and role in society communicative psychological factors will impact their position toward space and governance. These psychological factors could easily sway an individual to the status quo or to act. Ultimately, both policy and spatial trajectories are trying to negotiate the "thrown-togetherness" nature of the world, extending that, "we must face up to the (policy) challenge of negotiating the inherent complexity of place(s), and the simple fact of having to get on together."[41] In a democratic society, we should constantly strive to do the greatest amount of good for the greatest amount of our citizens.

The theories discussed to this point help us understand the complexity of how space and individuals in space gain meaning. The view of space and individuals may be a product of nostalgia reinforcing dominant power and social relations. To better grasp how nostalgia is created, this project will attempt to provide a more critical view and understanding of the past's influence on the present and future through how a space came to be. In other words, what in the past formed the buildings, attitudes, and cultural histories of a place. A critical regionalist perspective is used to explicate Fort Collins and Northern Colorado's unique historical foundation.

Critical Regionalism

Critical regionalism allows for analysis to begin to understand the past as a critical context of space and its impact upon politics and discourse. Critical regionalism, characterized by Douglas Reichert Powell, is a perspective that, "self-consciously shapes an understanding of the spatial dimensions of cultural politics in order to support projects of change."[42] Powell's description of critical regionalism highlights the intentional investigation of various artifacts to reveal significant factors shaping regional politics and identity. In summary, critical regionalism is flexible and helps to understand regional identity, challenge hegemonic regional identity, interrogate institutions reinforcement of a region, and examine the existence of multiple types of identity within specific geographic location or region.

Historically, regionalism arose out of literature on architecture. In part, critical regionalism, in its earliest theorization, was concerned about modernization and a universal homogenization of civilization.[43] Some scholars believed, as modernization continued and technology became incorporated in architecture, that the very culture and style that made

21

places, people, and architecture unique would become sterilized and part of the past.[44] Critical

regionalist approaches to architecture became an avenue to identify and maintain individuality

and uniqueness while attempting to move into the 21st century. Generally, the focus was to

maintaining characteristics of the cultural and local aesthetic and the value they represent to

their respective cultures.

In the humanities, including Communication Studies, critical regionalism then became

an avenue to identify artifacts that played significant roles in the construction of regional

identity. Scholars in the humanities began to make the meaning of the term "region" more

fluid. Instead of a region as a tightly bound geographic location, a region came to mean a

shared "culture history" and "the cumulative generative effect of the interplay among the

various, competing definitions of that region."[45] Therefore, the potential artifacts of

examination expanded beyond architecture to include a wider body of discursive and material

discourses that have cultural significance in creating shared identities.

Ideally, analyses of critical regionalism will examine artifacts to reveal "attitudes,

patterns, and beliefs that serve to distinguish spaces and places from other regions."[46] Beyond

the construction of an identity, critical regionalism also explores how regional identity will be,

"articulated within larger networks of spatial, temporal, and political relations."[47] Therefore,

critical regionalism will explore the construction of identity and its influencing factors of how

individuals interact with other spaces and create their personal politics.

However, while critical regionalism can provide a liberatory respite from globalization, it

can simultaneously devolve into reinforcing nostalgic worldviews. Carly Woods, Joshua Ewalt,

and Sarah Baker suggest regional rhetoric often can be an "uncritical defense of specific

geographical sites," and, "can inscribe a sense of place rooted in the 'good ole days' of the past."[48] However, intervention may also take place, Jenny Rice shares, maintaining a "critical" perspective can "disrupt" nostalgic narratives.[49] Rice elaborates that, "such disruption is where critical regionalism meets rhetoric."[50] Therefore, critical regionalism as a perspective should maintain caution of reinforcing the status quo simply for history's sake. A critic must maintain a balanced perspective, not favoring their own worldview, but also be able to recognize nostalgia at work and opportunities to disrupt it. Now, I will examine a few cases studies as exemplars of the usages of critical regionalism to disrupt nostalgic narratives, examine institutional influences on regional identity, and explore the potential for a multiplicity of regional identities.

One use of critical regionalism is to recognize potential instances of intervention and possible disruption of hegemonic nostalgia. Woods, Ewalt, and Baker, for instance, explore two exhibits in the Nebraska History Museum depicting the stories of Brandon Teena and Willa Cather, both of whom have had significant connection to LGBTQ communities. Woods et al. suggest that the exhibits have a high potential to explore Nebraska, "as a space with a particular relationship to the queer memory and politics of the larger nation."[51] However, they conclude the museum treats Brandon Teena's story as an anomaly and assumes that visitors will, "identify with the construction of rural spaces as white, heterosexual, normative, and uncomplicated."[52] For Willa Cather, Woods et al. suggest the focus of the exhibit on her career and impact on the literary world downplays the importance of her queer experiences and status.[53] Downplaying Cather's queerness makes her success less about her sexuality and more about her status as a Nebraskan. The experiences of Teena and Cather exemplify the potential to complicate regional constructed identities around Nebraska and acknowledge queer

identities. However, mediating factors such as, institutional museum forces, preconceived

notions of regional identity, and the stories of Teena and Cather themselves, may have

prevented important discussion and representation of queer Midwestern identities. Woods et

al. conclude that the exhibit chose to reinforce "regional nostalgia against the resources of

public memory that could otherwise potentially serve as a disruptive source for critical

regionalism and LGBT."[54] Ultimately, this critical regionalism analysis shows the deconstruction

of nostalgic identities and suggests alternative rhetorical strategies for addressing regional

identity and cultural artifacts.

Critical regionalism can also examine institutional impact impeding the building of

regional identity. For instance, Christopher Ali examines the definition of "local" within

television regulatory policies in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. He

highlights that "local" can take two definitions: (1) geographically bounded, meaning television

is produced and aired within its location of creation or (2) television as content-based being

both produced and focused in on regional issues.[55] As television stations are required to air a

percentage of "local" television, he argues that this definition has a profound impact on if

locales become educated on their own regional issues.[56] Ali's argument highlights how

institutional policy choices, at the minute level of word choice and definition can have an

impact on a region's identity and education of issues within their particular region.

Finally, critical regionalism can examine the interplay of different identities within a

region. Dave Tell in his analysis of Kansas looks at the different regions of Kansas and their

reception of Truman Capote's book, *In Cold Blood*. Tell's work recalls the differences in

reception of the book, within Kansas, to discuss various issues of importance for individual

sections of the state. He notes, "southwest Kansans articulated *In Cold Blood* to psychiatry and capital punishment; central Kansans articulated it to celebrity and modernity."[57] The fact *In Cold Blood* is set in Kansas may have presupposed a "regional sensibility on Kansans," but, Tell suggests "through the process of rearticulation, it also provided the possibility of counter regions."[58] For Tell, critical regionalism comes from an individual's personal choice to connect to particular themes and issues within a region or text, he suggests, texts are a "repository of meanings to be explained," and that articulation is key to identifying regional identities.[59] In this case, many regionally constituted identities may be in play at once within one geographical body, Kansas. In addition, Tell highlights the important relationship an individual may have to an artifact in constructing the meaning of regional identity. This is especially important in political debates and texts. Politics can offer a repository of meanings of place and issues but also, quite literally, constitutes the formation of space moving forward.

Generally, regionalism's spirit comes from "enriching our understanding, appreciation, and indeed our tolerance and respect for this somewhat benign kind of difference."[60] In doing so, "we may be better able to navigate other more intractable kinds of difference with a similar degree of understanding, appreciation and respect."[61] In many ways, the relational qualities of critical regionalism, with the goal of tolerance, take precedent. However, the goal of tolerance is not always achieved, as in the cases of Brandon Teena and Willa Cather. Understanding regional identities can help us realize who is more likely to succeed or fail in a region. This thesis is engages with issues of belonging, what happens when a community is faced with intractable difference creating tension with its perceived identity, and how tolerance can be cultivated among differing identities. Ultimately, critical regionalism helps this thesis explore

the history of Fort Collins and contradictions it poses in relation to the experience it allows. In

addition, critical regionalism reveals the reasoning of why some regions choose to institute

various laws, build various buildings, and provide resources that may or may not encourage

tolerance and difference. While critical regionalism examines how the past and present

intertwine to create space, trajectories work to unravel these knotted up connections to give a

wider array of options in constructing the future of space.

To this point, I have covered the Communication Studies perspectives on the

importance and power of studying space, and I have suggested that studying space can help us

understand the potential approaches that can be taken to forming the future of space and

policy. Beyond communication, there are many bodies of literature that play into my

understanding of the issues in Fort Collins including political science and urban studies. Now, I

will give a general outline of theories and studies from these literatures that build background

knowledge on policy making and urban space.

Political Science and Urban Studies Literature on Space

Beyond communication focused perspectives on space, other fields have also

contributed to scholarship on this topic. Two fields this thesis may contribute to include

political science and urban studies literature. In specific, political scientists may be interested in

how various factors of communication about space effect the policy making process. In terms

of urban studies literature, this thesis contributes to the conversation on issues relating to

communities transitioning to urban status.

In the past, communication has been studied for its impact on the policy making

process. For instance, Michael Jones and Mark McBeth, public policy experts, highlight the

26

essential role narrative takes in creating successful (passable) policy. They draw the conclusion

that "high salience issues are more likely to be influenced by public opinion," and narrative

carries considerable weight in the formulation of public opinion.[62] Deborah Stone, political

science scholar, would agree with the importance narratives, she suggests, "much of politics of

public policy revolves around stories of power and control."[63] Additionally, she highlights that

public policy discussion, and narratives, can be difficult when societal welfare is involved, such

as homelessness. Specifically, it is difficult because many individuals in a society may have roles

that "conflict with each other" and societal welfare policy, "can't be broken down into discrete

situations of individuals."[64] Issues done in the name of a public good, or welfare, can at times

be challenged because they do not consider the individual situations of all types of people,

rather the generative effect of a law. This is the case with the "appropriate use of public space"

ordinance I am analyzing in Fort Collins. It is a law, that claims to be for the good of the general

public. However, any issue of appropriateness is one that needs to define other actions, and

those committing actions, as inappropriate and against the public good. Major crimes are

clearly against the public good and should be punished. However, should simple actions in

public space such as sitting, lying, or sleeping also be punished? I am not sure, but, use of

narrative is one way that policies of salience create public perception that they are for the

public good.

In general, policy making is often about a process. In relation to making city level policy,

place-making becomes a central factor. Scholar Edward Glaeser warns that, "bad policy puts

place-making above helping people."[65] By place-making, Glaeser means that the maintaining of

spatial aesthetics take priority over human welfare. He further notes that, "urban growth will

be palatable to everyone when cities do a better job of defeating the demons that come with density," including poverty, housing, and influxes of migration to and from cities.[66] One lesson that can be learned is that when creating policy, we should not ignore the needs of marginalized individuals in favor of maintaining a particular aesthetic, perception of a place, or perspectives of individuals in positions of power. Instead, policy should work to address the challenges and opportunities that urbanization present to make a more inclusive and diverse society. As Deborah Stone notes, "politics is one way we help each other see from different perspectives. If we can get outside one viewpoint, we can do a better job of living together solving common problems."[67] This thesis offers an avenue to create discussion. When communities recognize multiple trajectories and meanings of space, including but not limited to place-making practices, they can begin to open multiple perspectives and solutions to various common problems in areas of urbanization that would not be considered in focusing specifically on the process making of place.

Urban studies also outlines the value of studying a city. Formative urban studies and city planning scholar, Lewis Mumford, theorized that the city,

> Is the place where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus, with gains both in social effectiveness and significance . . . Here is where the issues of civilization are focused: here, too, ritual passes on occasion into the active drama of a fully differentiated and self-conscious society.[68]

A city may be a representative unit of many types of people in the world and sets the stage for conflict, drama, and negotiation of the issues that matter in the world. He further notes that the focus on cities is a more inclusive unit to study, than say neighborhoods, because at times neighborhoods may become focused upon race, caste, or income, whereas the city is a holistic unit incorporating all of these elements.[69] Mumford notes, that the most effective form of city

28

planning will maintain central focus on designing, "whole social units." Mumford argued we must design cities around the, "arrangement of the essential social institutes, their adequate provision and servicing, is a key to the rest of the structure."[70] Therefore, in their ideal construction, cities will work to be a fulfillment of the social existence and well-being of its citizens as a base structure from which the community can thrive. The "social" quality extends beyond gathering places, to other institutions, such as schools, community centers, and other services supporting a citizen's well-being. I would argue, "whole social units," might also include supporting all citizens within the city struggling with the darker aspects of life—lack of housing, addiction, assault—being unable to live a fulfilled life.

Beyond construction and planning of cities, suburban life may also be revealing and provide a deeper understanding of the emergent nature of places. Mumford summarized the experience of the living in the suburbs as the following:

> In the suburb, one might live and die without marring the image of an innocent world, except when some shadow of its evil fell over a column in the newspaper. Thus, the suburb served as an asylum for the preservation of illusion. Here domesticity could flourish, forgetful of the exploitation on which so much of it was based. Here individuality could prosper, oblivious of the pervasive regimentation beyond.[71]

In many ways, the suburbs forget the darker side of life. The suburbs may actively work to protect an innocent image of the world through many different forms of sanitizing of culture. Thereby, ignoring exploited individuals and reinforcing exploitation by inaction. In part, the building and planning of some communities has focused upon idealized visions of life, avoiding a more holistic understanding of the negatives and positives of existence. One such case was Levittown, a famous 1950's preplanned and constructed suburban community. The community focused on fostering and depicting the following:

The rural roots of the community, the benevolent builder, the pioneer spirit among residents, the joy of single-family dwellings, the collective activity among homeowners as they worked to impart an individuality through remodeling and landscaping, and the struggle for upward mobility through material goods.[72]

The Levittown community kept an affluent homeowner in mind, allowing only a particular type of individual to prosper and express individuality though capital. A mythologized community, therefore, remains cognizant of its own myth and needs to work to reinforce it. Any challenging to the myth or community construction becomes viewed through a threatening lens. Singular ideals in community, city, and suburban planning can also be problematic. Allan Cochrane note that the, "urban is not a policy area in which outcomes are given in which a single agenda is being or can be forced through. It relies on continuing the construction of different visions of the city, which also turn out to be different visions for a wider society."[73] As more and more places are becoming urban and suburban space is decreasing, or further being pushed outward from the city, fewer idealized communities can survive. In fact, we should value the complexity and multilayer nature of the city as it allows us to glimpse at the ways we have made mistakes privileging aspects of the past. Fort Collins status as transitioning to urbanity from a formerly rural, small-town, even suburban community, is essential to understanding conversations that are taking place in communities across the globe. As scholars and citizens, we should instead work towards understanding the differentiating visions of space to create better, more-inclusive public policies and cities.

Synthesis and Use of Literature

Ultimately, this thesis seeks to understand politics, discourse, and people of a specific city, Fort Collins. In particular, this thesis is concerned with depictions of individuals and political discourse occurring in Fort Collins around an issue of public space. The debate around

appropriateness and public space in Fort Collins often hinges on the politicized bodies and

actions of individuals experience homelessness, even if it is not explicitly stated as such. The

decisions made in the city of what is and is not allowed will influence how the region

conceptualizes bodies, public space, and how they interact in the future. Communication

scholars have worked with explicating space in many ways including the imagined and material.

I argue, policy debate is one realm where scholars and politicians can negotiate the trajectories

of space. I believe that, since rhetoric is material, the place or region in which rhetoric is

created is of crucial importance. Critical regionalism as an approach allows to engage with

historical and current aspects of a region to reveal the cultural powers at play. Trajectories

work to provide future steps for perceived problems. Combining these concepts allows a

holistic consideration of past, present, and future aspects of space and identities in the region.

Considering these factors in the policy making process may allow for a more complex

understanding of the region of Fort Collins and create better inclusive policies and urban living

spaces.

<div align="center">Contextualizing Homelessness in Public Space</div>

This thesis began out of a desire to better understand individuals experiencing

homelessness. Throughout various points of my life, I have felt financial burdens that have at

times been so great that I was close falling into homelessness. In general, I quickly learned

through study and research that many Americans experience financial burden. For instance,

47% of Americans are unsure how they would cover an emergency bill of $400 or more.[74]

However, financial burden and falling into homelessness are not one in the same. I wanted to

understand the variety of circumstances that would cause someone to become homeless. I

quickly learned that this query would require multiple volumes of texts to be written to fully

cover the complexity of the issue of homelessness beyond the purview of a Masters thesis

project. I pivoted to researching how we discuss individuals experiencing homelessness and

how policy works to make them less visible. I found that discussion and protection of space

often justifies various laws that have the effect of making homelessness illegal or less visible in

high density public areas. This fascination with space, identity, and actions became the central

analysis of this thesis. However, throughout my research I found essential to understand

factors that contribute to an individual becoming homeless. Specifically, I find having a deeper

understand of the phenomenon of homelessness gives a greater realization of the ineffective,

convoluted, complex ways we attempt to politicize individuals experiencing homelessness and

indirectly and directly manage their bodies in space through public policy.

General Background on Homelessness

For those that study homelessness, the term itself can often be an ambiguous one. At

times, the usage of the word "homeless" can have many connotative definitions in public

discourse that shape the issue being discussed. Generally, three main usages take the form of

"homeless": as a noun, as an experience, and as a political issue.

As a noun, the term "homeless," tends to refer to any individual who lacks "fixed,

regular, and adequate nighttime residence" which can include individuals who rely on

emergency shelter or temporary living accommodations.[75] This is a highly technical definition

from the Department of Housing and Urban Development. It does capture the nature of the

term as a noun referring to particular individuals. However, other noun type usages in public

discourse are also present and much less technical tending to take a spectrum of connotations.

Some may be positive communicating compassion and a desire to help individuals on the street. However, as a former employee for the Downtown Fort Collins Business Association, I have heard other noun type usages such as, "what are the laws with those homeless?" and "The homeless really ruin this place." While insensitive, and likely in the minority, the individuals making these comments represent the other end of the spectrum of everyday discourse usages of the term, "homeless," as a noun.

While the noun usage of "homeless" tends to exist on a spectrum of connotations; the experiential usage of the term "homeless" tends to be a bit more consistent. Typically, the phrase, "individuals experiencing homelessness," is used within organizations providing social services to support these individuals. The usage of "homeless" as an experience is prevalent within scholarship on social work and public health.[76] Generally, this type of usage is concerned with separating the individual from what the individual's current housing status is. An individual is not defined by their current status and is perceived as going through homelessness. I characterize this type of usage as encouraging being socially conscious and considerate of general human rights. As such, throughout the remainder of this thesis, I will use this terminology in describing these members of our community.

Finally, the term "homeless" can also be thought of as a political issue. At times in public discourse the phrase "homeless issue" is used. In this sense, the term is not about the individual experiencing homelessness, but the juxtaposition they visually pose with the rest of their surroundings. For some, such as business owners in areas of commerce and places that have highlight manicured aesthetical spaces, this can be a serious challenge to their perception of identity ability to move capital. Therefore, the individuals experiencing homelessness

33

become a political problem meriting discussion among politicians and publics to determine if intervention, in the form of public policy, is needed. This aspect of the term "homeless" can be seen through many public documents and meetings in many locales. Some examples include, documents informing litigation strategy for homeless clients, ordinances proposed unequally targeting homeless, and being an issue discussed in electoral debates locally and nationally.[77] In these cases, "homeless" is a place holder for a political problem and less about the experiences of those going through homelessness.

Beyond the semiotics of the term "homeless," the facts merit that this is a problem needing intervention. There are 549,928 individuals that qualify as homeless under the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development's definition.[78] Every individual within that statistic has a personal story. However, there are factors that tend to make one predisposed to potentially experiencing homelessness in their lifetime. A few of these factors include mental illness, drug addiction, and difficulty maintaining employment. These factors are not exhaustive; however, they represent key points to understanding homelessness in Fort Collins and nationally.

In the 1960's, the United States moved toward deinstitutionalizing government run mental hospitals. This decision had significant impact upon patients who were often released from these hospitals "without receiving decent alternative care in the community."[79] The release of these patients often placed them in tenuous housing situations without access to proper care. Multiple studies have highlighted that the rate of individuals experiencing homelessness who have also had mental episodes requiring treatment is about 25% compared to general adult population, which is about 5%.[80] In this sense, a move away from long-term

care facilities to short-term treatment has caused more individuals experiencing mental illness

to have episodes in public. This is fine. There exists a lack of tools and resources to address this

public-facing dimension of mental health. Often, this may cause some individuals to struggle to

maintain housing and employment. This phenomenon is reflected in mental illness

discrepancies between the general population and individuals experiencing homelessness since

the 1960's.

Another factor is that of addiction and drug usage. The relationship between drug

usage and potential homelessness is complicated. However, it has been found that factors such

as family disputes, abuse, experience of prison, lack of social support, and mental health play a

role in pushing both individuals experiencing homelessness and drug users to both use

substances, "as a means of coping or 'self-medicating.'"[81] For some people, drug use eventually

causes them to become homeless; for others, the experience of homelessness, along with other

factors, induces a need to self-medicate that can exasperate or create a drug problem. This is a

"cyclical pattern with each reinforcing the other."[82]

Another key factor contributing to homelessness is challenges around finding

employment. Homelessness impacts employment in multifaceted ways. For example, some

people experiencing homelessness do so with a physical or mental disability making it more

difficult to seek out, maintain or travel to gainful employment. For others, experiencing

homelessness, but having an able body and mind, there may be a lack of access to general

hygiene and health resources.[83] This can exacerbate the job search process if most of one's day

is maintaining some semblance of health and normalcy. In addition, some people experiencing

homelessness may find difficulty gaining employment due to a criminal record, presenting

obvious challenges.[84] However, studies have found correlations of mental health disorders in

jailed populations, giving rise to the metaphor of jails as "the largest mental health hospital"

available to those who have serious mental episodes.[85] This shows the interrelated nature of a

many of these factors.

These factors have merited intense study and scholarship from multiple fields including,

psychology, criminology, public health, communication, and social work. Other factors such as

race, social relations with family, and economic status are present. I explicate these factors to

highlight what Peter Rossi calls, "The Accumulation of Troubles."[86] I relay these various

accumulations to complicate the issue of homelessness in this project and to show that there is

not one issue or one "magic solution" to this problem.[87] Rather, there is a constellation of

issues that impact the processes by which individuals may experience homelessness in their

lifetime. In addition, these factors and multiple social problems can influence where individuals

believe public funds and public policy should be deployed.

While a myriad of issues factor into causing someone to experience homelessness, there

are also a myriad of ways in which public policy makers and localities attempt to address

homelessness as a political issue. Generally, policy makers and key stakeholders have viewed

the issue from a few perspectives including, homelessness as a human rights concern,

homelessness as a part of urban renewal and expansion, and homelessness as an issue needing

additional support resources.

Individuals concerned with homelessness, in terms of human rights concerns, maintain

that public policy should foster supporting resources in line with facilitating human rights. Key

to this perspective is the United Nations recognition of adequate housing as a human right in

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Office of the High Council on Human Rights

later articulated that this right includes:

1. Protection against forced evictions and the arbitrary destruction and demolition of one's home;
2. The right to be free from arbitrary interference with one's home, privacy and family; and
3. The right to choose one's residence, to determine where to live and to freedom of movement.[88]

Recognition of these rights places an agreed responsibility on nations to put into place

legislative and procedural structures in place to ensure said rights. There has been a

widespread recognition from many national law groups, non-profits, and politicians of the

expansion of criminalizing homelessness through city-level policies and ordinances as a human

rights violation.[89]

In terms of urban development, the connection to homelessness is implicit. Specifically,

it is bound up in ideas about capitalism, development, and regionalism. Urban studies scholars,

Kevin Ward and Andrew Jonas, characterize the development of urban space through

competitive city regionalism. They conceptualize city regionalism as, "an ongoing struggle for

the control of space."[90] In his article on race and urban renewal, George Lipsitz, explicates

through case studies and government statistical evidence that, "urban renewal projects

subsidized the development of downtown office centers on land previously used for residences,

and they frequently created buffer zones of empty blocks dividing poor neighborhoods from

new shopping centers designed for affluent commuters."[91] It should be noted historically the

policy making process has contributed racial and ethnic segregation of cities placing the least

privileged in particular areas to silence their voices on issues of spaces they live in.[92] Discourse

along poverty and homelessness cannot completely be separated from race and ethnicity.

Often, poor communities are often communities of color and communities that feel the impact of urban development most immediately as they are priced out of their neighborhood. In this idea of competitive regionalism, we have the framework to understand homelessness as an issue of development. Those who can lay a better capitalistic claim to an area have right of first refusal to acquire space. As urbanities develop there is competition around the control of space and a tendency to push out poor neighborhoods and, quite literally, centralize the needs of the affluent. Largely, this means centralization of services, consumer spaces, and work spaces at the cost of pushing housing, especially affordable housing towards the margins. Homelessness plays a role in this. Specifically, this is seen through the institution of policies focused upon prevention of loitering, prevention of begging in public, prohibition of sharing food, and regulating the use(s) of public space such as camping, sleeping, sitting, and living in vehicles.[93] The justification of these policies tends to fall under either safety or growth. To some, these policies are in violation of human rights and criminalizing homelessness, however, they also are policies that are shaping spaces and actions that take place within spaces creating an aesthetic that many view as growth and development.

Finally, policies involving homelessness can also come in the form of positive support of investing in services to address needs of the population. Historically, public welfare services, such as unemployment insurance, Social Security Disability Insurance, Medicaid, Medicare, and the United States Department of Veterans Affairs, have all been resources and programs to assist individuals experiencing homelessness to get resources for living and obtaining housing.[94] However, other philosophies and strategies have been effective, such as, housing first, which focuses on getting housing for individuals first and addressing other needs and obtaining other

social services second. The model has been adopted state-wide in Utah to a significant degree

of success.[95] While programs in Utah have had success, it still should be noted that shelters

often are at compacity indicating that fewer people are on the street on a nightly basis, but

there is still work to be done.[96]

Scholarly Work on Issues of Homelessness and Poverty

Ultimately, Communication Studies plays a key role in understanding these issues. In

part, the value of communication is it can work to uncover implicit definitions of space, place,

identity, perceived social problems, and suggested solutions. In addition, communication can

work to remove blockades within the communication process and policy process preventing

remedies and solutions to social issues such as homelessness and poverty. Understanding

policy, human rights, and urban issues through communication lens can help identify critical

moments of communicative tension.

There is a wide range of scholarship in communication relating to poverty and

homelessness. Many prominent communication scholars (Asen, Finnegan, Zarefsky) have taken

up the subject of poverty and welfare often within scholarship.[97] Fewer have taken a focus on

homelessness as a topic of study in terms of public policy. Studies that have been conducted

on homelessness have been focused upon media representations of individuals experiencing

homeless and examples of individuals experiencing homelessness exercising agency. For

instance, Melanie Loehwing analyzes homeless subjects depicted in documentaries and movies,

concluding that often, "homeless become scapegoats for insecurity of public space," and they

are painted as, "incapable and unsuited for the future-oriented collective life of a democratic

society."[98] When communication scholars shift from focusing on media depictions, often the

focus becomes around best practices of interacting with the homeless and being a proper

advocate. Timothy Huffman notes that often every day interactions with individuals

experiencing homelessness creates a, "systematic, ongoing, and nearly ubiquitous practice of

denying embodied aboutness constitutes a powerful enactment of marginalization that

relegates people living in homelessness to the literal periphery of society's collective senses."[99]

He concludes that advocates and citizens should spend more time communicating compassion

through large and small acts when interacting with individuals experiencing homelessness.

Specifically, he suggests a personal commitment to showing care, or at least acknowledging the

person's existence is a better practice than walking past pretending that homeless individuals

do not exist. Finally, Whitney Gent has done work analyzing vernacular public discourse

surrounding discussion of issues such as housing, which are central to addressing homelessness.

Often neutrality as a concept becomes a central tool, she argues, "neutrality's particular

mobilization of democratic values like equality and fairness perpetuates inequality by allegedly

trying to prevent it," in reality, "assuring rights requires attending to difference."[100] Gent's

work at uncovering the importance of public discourse and its implicit nature perpetuating

inequality is revealing. The major difference between these studies and this thesis lies in

textual and methodological choice.

This thesis chooses to work with public policy documents as they most directly construct

the existence of homeless individuals and laws they may be subject to. Additionally, this thesis

investigates space, partially because space impacts a wider population beyond those

experiencing homelessness. Space is highly fluid and contains multiple meanings (and

potentially solutions) which can be explored through negotiating and communicating about

space and bodies in space. Generally, policy challenges in Fort Collins can be understood as a clash between perspectives on policy and homelessness. Some individuals disagreed with the ordinance due to their potential to be interpreted as a "sit-lie" ban that would unfairly target and criminalize individuals experiencing homelessness. These individuals interpret the role of policy to defend human rights. However, others in the community viewed the Fort Collins City Council as attempting to address safety concerns within the major downtown economic and cultural hub of the City of Fort Collins. These individuals support the idea that urban development, safety, and growth are all positive aspects of a thriving community that should be nurtured and protected. Here in lies a major communicative tension and problem requiring reconciliation.

Moving Forward

In conclusion, I have outlined some of the major thinkers in communication in relation to the material and spatial turns. I have explicated some key factors in imagining the principal place of this study, the region of northern Colorado and Fort Collins, including nostalgia, authenticity, and dreamscapes. I have outlined the ways in which urban studies and political science have contributions to studying city policy, including the role of city planning, development of suburban and urban spaces, the role of narrative in policy. Finally, I have concluded with comments on how others concerned with issues relating to homelessness and poverty have approached the salience and sensitivity of this topic.

In specific terms of analysis, the concepts critical regionalism and spatial trajectories will be central. Critical regionalism is used to critically treat Fort Collins as a region that needs to be understood in depth to understand the policy considered impacting the city and region. Spatial

trajectories are used to analyze what is being considered explicitly and implicitly in the policy

making process. In conclusion, I show that policy making is no simple task and can cause

identity crises to citizens and communities. To begin this journey into the city and public policy,

I argue some of the key facets of the region of Fort Collins both contemporary and historically

set the stage for conflict.

Chapter 3: Imagining Fort Collins As a Region

Matthew Gandy, Professor of Geography at Cambridge, has explored the role of the imagination in space. He writes, "different worlds originate within the human imagination before their concrete realization, whether as a poem, an engineering solution, or a designed landscape."[101] Throughout the two years I have lived in Fort Collins, and three months working closely with its citizens, I have seen the differing worlds that originate within the human mind. Citizens, regarding the politics of space, often have differing views of what the public good looks like in spatial constructions. These imaginations become represented through multiple forms. Some imaginations become constructed through material means and development projects. Other imaginations are expressed through discourse, whether it be written or spoken. Other perspectives are likely left unstated or silenced. When these representations, or imaginations, of space are discussed concurrently they may seem "ironic" or "unexpected."[102] The contradictory nature of differing imaginations of space can birth a crisis in regional identity challenging a sense of community and self.

In relation to public policy, I posit that the differing worlds that exist in the human imagination play an impactful role on the policy making process. In Fort Collins, a long, complex, history of region created the felt need to create a public space ordinance. This chapter unravels aspects of the history of Fort Collins and lays out prominent trajectories that have competed to shape and dominant the material and imagined vision of the region. I argue that myths told in and about the community, historical moments, cultural idiosyncrasies, shifts in industry and culture, and competition within the state have all played a role in changing how citizens and visitors make sense of Fort Collins and themselves. Particularly, these factors have

created an identity crisis that is constantly negotiated as Fort Collins becomes more global, urban, and technological.

Ultimately, this chapter is about understanding Fort Collins, as a setting for political conflict, intimately. Understanding the history of Fort Collins will provide the background needed to understand the exigence seen by City Council to propose a public space ordinance and the exigence detractors in the city felt to vocally oppose the ordinance. Essentially, the in-depth knowledge of region provides a repository of tools for a multiplicity of opinions to be articulate for and against public policy. The tools provided by the idealized, real, and imagined versions of region will become essential factors in showing various logics, both implicit and explicit, in and surrounding the public space ordinance documents.

First, a brief formalized history of Fort Collins will be given to represent a base of common knowledge within the region. Following this, five prominent trajectories, or aspects of the spatial city, are explicated as the tools for which people in the region work to shape the future of the region. I will begin with an outline of Fort Collins connection to ideas of the western frontier will solidify the prominence of the "Frontier Myth" in the city. Next, the importance of the Overland Trail and Colorado Central Railroad is discussed in characterizing Fort Collins more as a point of transition and less so a community for settlement. Thirdly, Fort Collins as a thriving small-town is discussed through its connection to a bastion of Americana, Disney's Main Street U.S.A. Fourthly, the present-day status of the community as a growing metropolitan area will suggests new tensions are arising. Finally, Fort Collin's will be juxtaposed with another similar sized Colorado community, Boulder, Colorado. To conclude the chapter, a

few ideas will be explicated on how the various trajectories of region will be used to engage

with the ordinance documents in the following chapter.

Key to understanding the development of a regional identity that shapes contemporary

debates about space and inclusion in the city is providing a brief history of the City of Fort

Collins. Fort Collins began as Camp Collins in the mid-1800's. In 1862, Camp Collins was a

small, "unfenced encampment," that was created in "an effort to contain the native population

and protect settlers traveling West."[103] The Camp was established along the *Cache la Poudre*

River, which was named after fur traders who were caught in a snow storm and buried

gunpowder (*poudre* in French) in a hiding place (*cache* in French) to lighten their load. Camp

Collins was largely abandoned a decade after it was established; however, settlers built

permanent institutions such as a hotel, general store, post office, mill, brickyard, and school in

the surrounding area.[104] These institutions were incorporated as the city of Fort Collins in 1873.

In 1879, the Colorado Agricultural College, later named Colorado State University, welcomed its

first students and became a staple of Fort Collins culture.[105]

In the coming years, Fort Collins developed further through the construction of the

Overland Trail, Colorado Central Railroad, and Colorado State University, which will be

discussed in depth later in this chapter. Another key moment in the development of the city is

the restructuring of Old Town Square. In 1981, voters created the Downtown Development

Authority which was charged with developing the wider area.[106] The Downtown Development

Authority was responsible for renovating many historic buildings near the Cache la Poudre River

including over "200,000 square feet of business space."[107] The work of the Downtown

Development Authority further pushed the Fort Collins region into a consumer and tourist area

while revitalizing Old Town Square as cultural focal point of the city. Further significant

moments of development occurred as the city moved into the 21st century. In particular, on

July 28th, 1997, after 10 to 14 inches of rain, the city and Colorado State University recorded

over $140 million in damage which destroyed much of Morgan Library, the university's central

library, and damaged other areas of the city.[108] This event marked a prominent moment in

Colorado State University's history and required substantial community support. Throughout

the history of Fort Collins and Colorado State University, both institutions often worked

together to assist each other in creating a thriving environment. The flood further solidified

this connection between the two institutions. Further historical factors of Fort Collins will be

explicated in the following trajectories. However, the above events represent some key

touchstone moments of the city.

     While the brief history provided highlights many key moments, the following

trajectories begin to dig into specific aspects of the region that influence ideology. I highlight

five trajectories that have profoundly shaped ideas of individual and collective life in the

Northern Colorado region. The themes discussed from the 1800's to modern day around the

space of Fort Collins and identity of its citizens still bare relevance as their influence can be seen

in the current day material construction of the city. In the following section, I outline various

material and ideological factors in Fort Collins that contextualize and influence the identity of

the citizens and permeate ongoing political discussion of what is best for Fort Collins as a

community. To begin, I look the ideology of the Frontier Myth and rugged individualism that

caused many settlers to begin to travel westward in search for prosperity and a better life for

their families.

Trajectory #1: The Western Frontier Myth

One of the most influential stories told in relation to the founding of the United States is the Frontier Myth. The Frontier Myth's core aspects inherently highlight tensions and duality, particularly between opposing ideals such as, "savagery and civilization, individualism and community, progress and regression, masculinity and femininity—that compel people to strive for equilibrium."[109] The pervasiveness of the Frontier Myth is that it paints a society in which good and evil exist together and clear roles are drawn for each. Partially, the Frontier Myth was birthed out of uncertainty around Western expansion. "The Frontier in American History," an 1800's book by Frederick Jackson Turner, solidified many tropes about the Frontier including the need to conquer the west and counter the evil "Indians."[110]

Richard Slotkin notes, the construction of the Frontier Myth casts Native Americans as inhuman, "instigators of a war," which made the interaction of settlers and natives only possible through "subjugation."[111] In particular, Native American's are preventing the social individualism and independence that settlers are seeking in traveling west. The work of history to paint Native Americans as victimizing settlers is a key aspect of the myth. This aspect can be seen through the creation of Camp Collins, the precursor to the establishment of Fort Collins, to protect settlers from natives in the Northern Colorado region.[112] Therefore, the Frontier Myth is woven into the creation of Fort Collins. In addition, Fort Collins location on the front range of the Rocky Mountains and proximity to Wyoming provide the proper setting for Western cowboy stories popularly reinforcing the Frontier Myth. The advent of the Frontier Myth was propagated by creation of trails and railroads which facilitated western expansion and settlement.

Ultimately, what does the Frontier Myth have to do with public policy and modern-day discussions of public space? The key factor is the ideology of the individualism. In the Frontier Myth, the west was a place to be conquered and prosperity was something to be seized at all cost. Even though settlers were often stealing land from Native Americans, if any natives were fighting back it was viewed as an impingement on settlers right to take land, and by extension potential prosperity, by any means necessary. It is an individual's responsibility to pursue his or her hope for prosperity, even if it means stepping on some toes along the way. Similarly, that rugged individualistic spirit lives on today in slightly different variations. Particularly, in a neoliberal society an individual's right to pursue the accumulation of capital is valued. This has many implications for homelessness and modern governments. Often, the government is viewed as something that should not meddle in the process of capital accumulation, except through the protection of free markets.

This rugged individualistic spirit extends to issues of societal welfare. For instance, individuals experiencing homelessness would be viewed by rugged individualists as a nuisance and failures. They would be a nuisance because they constantly require charity to survive and rely on the capital and kindness of others. They would be considered failures because they have not fully realized a pull yourself up by your bootstraps, do-it yourself attitude required to thrive in the frontier. Additionally, in a capitalistic world, individuals experiencing homelessness present a juxtaposition with the accumulation of capital. Giving someone a free meal or a donation in spaces largely focused on commerce and profit would seem contradictory to the ideals of the area. This could potentially distract from the accumulation of profit. In the logic of the Frontier Myth and rugged individualism individuals experiencing homelessness

would be instigating conflict, much like Native Americans did to the settlers of the region. In part, the role of the government would then be to protect capital and its accumulation, specifically through addressing the presence of individuals experiencing homelessness asking for donations in spaces of commerce. This is where the logic of the Frontier Myth is implicitly influencing the perceived need for laws and regulations in Fort Collins.

Trajectory #2: The Overland Trail and Colorado Central Railroad

The Overland Trail, previously the Cherokee Trail, began to see increased usage throughout the 1840's and 1850's as a "shortcut to the gold fields of California (the Cherokee Trail was 150 miles shorter than the Oregon Trail)."[113] The initial Overland Trail routes practically avoided Colorado all together and provided a straight shot from Fort Kearny in Nebraska to Fort Laramie in Wyoming.[114] However, during the 1860's, due to hostilities with Native Americans, Colonel John M. Chivington directed the creation of a "cut-off route" that would pass through Fort Collins.[115] Fort Collins inclusion on the Overland Trail was essentially to avoid danger and work to make connections between Denver and Fort Laramie as more prominent locations along the trail and travel west. Fort Collins was an area of transit and rest in this period, not necessarily an area of settlement. This was reinforced through creation of the railroad.

The construction of railroads through Fort Collins can largely be attributed to the work of W.A.H. Loveland who helped organized and direct the Clear Creek Railroad Company to create the Colorado Central Railroad[116]. The main impetus of this action was to connect Colorado trade, largely mining, to areas such Cheyenne, Wyoming, which connected with other railways such as the Kansas Pacific[117]. At this point in history, Colorado trade locations were

centralized in Golden, Denver, and Boulder. Fort Collins simply represented a natural middle

point between Colorado and significant transportation resources in Wyoming, both westward

and eastward. This further painted Fort Collins as a convenient spatial location and

afterthought of primary economic players.

However, with the inclusion of the railroad in Fort Collins city fabric there were tangible

benefits to the growth of the community. The completion of the railroad in 1877 led to the

region surrounding Fort Collins to expand. Partially, the railroad allowed for greater settlement

and accessibility to the region, which previously was hindered by roads that were "passable

only during good weather."[118] The ability for settlers to now travel to Fort Collins and take

better advantage of the land for farming and have key transportation and shipping resources

began the first of many periods of expansion in Fort Collins. In addition, the railroad facilitated

other infrastructure to be built including more housing and eventually a university. Instead of

an area to transition through, Fort Collins became a viable area for settlement.

Ultimately, both the Overland Trail and the Colorado Central Railroad connected Fort

Collins to larger communities within the region including Laramie, Denver, Cheyenne, Golden,

and Boulder. Fort Collins had very few resources, beyond its close location to larger

communities and farmland, to convince settlers focused on obtaining wealth during the gold

rush to stay in Fort Collins and settle. However, the growth and ability to travel eventually

made it a viable community, but, historically speaking, it was often an area for many to *travel*

through from the 1840's to 1880's. In part, the community of Fort Collins has often needed to

develop infrastructure and resources to convince people to settle in the region. This logic of

convincing individuals to stay in the region can be seen in the modern-day practices of

development and maintaining a clean, pleasant, welcoming aesthetic to the overall community

setting.

Trajectory #3: Small Town Americana

Once many of the growing pains of western expansion had subsided, Fort Collins began

to thrive as community around the turn of century. In addition to the Frontier Myth and role of

travel, the thriving images of Fort Collins played a significant role of imagining the town and

Americana for decades to come. Visions of the west, including images of Fort Collins, became

common throughout the rest of the United States. In particular, The Walt Disney Company

drew upon images of Fort Collins in creating one of its most recognizable products: the

"ultimate urban fantasy: Disneyland's Main Street U.S.A."[119]

Much of the architecture in Fort Collins, characterized by Victorian style store fronts,

colorful pastel brickwork, wide pedestrian-friendly sidewalks, and big glass window panels,

encouraged individuals to interact, experience, and live through the Main Street aesthetic and

engage in commerce. This architecture in Fort Collins, along with Disney's experience living in

Marceline, MO, were replicated to "invoke the true grit and boisterous optimism of the turn of

the century America."[120] The thriving historical moment of turn of the century America was

captured by Disney, creating an experience that has "nearly universal appeal."[121] While Walt

Disney never stepped foot in Fort Collins, he became enthralled with the "vivid tales told by

Harper Goff, the son of a local newspaper editor."[122] Beyond architecture, Disney worked to

shape the types of experiences to be expected from Main Street U.S.A. Highlighted in the Main

Street U.S.A experience are attractions such as trolley cars, horse drawn carriages, live music

entertainment, boutique shopping, a variety of dining options, and experiencing the history of

Walt Disney's illustrious life.[123] Ultimately, this vision became attractive because it allowed for

a serene, comfortable, and safe environment for individuals to interact in. This environment,

and safety, is important as it allows for individuals (and families) to let their guard down and

enjoy the wholesome pleasures of life. Entering this type of environment allows people to

enjoy and engage in commerce and having childlike experiences and optimism. Strikingly, but

perhaps unsurprisingly, due to the economic success and popularity of Disney, the experiences

presented in modern day Fort Collins closely mirror experiences in Main Street U.S.A.

The rearticulation of the imagined small-town Disney created in Fort Collins presents

itself throughout the fabric of and experiences which the city allows. For instance, you can

enjoy boutique shopping at Larimer Country Farmers' Market and French Nest Open-Air

Market.[124] You can wander Old Town Square and come across many small-businesses, such as

Old Firehouse Books, that are housed in buildings that were present during Harper Goff's

youth. [125] You can even find trolley and carriage companies that offer historic tours of Fort

Collins and provide a quaint history lesson on the Fort Collins community and its connection to

Walt Disney. [126] The experiences in Fort Collins today are eerily like those outlined in Disney's

Main Street U.S.A. Certainly, in places throughout Fort Collins you can easily see the Disney

connection and feel the similar safe, family-friendly atmosphere. It should be noted; these

experiences are not unique to Fort Collins or Disney and could seemingly be found in many

middle-class American small-towns and cities. However, Disney's popularization of a Main

Street aesthetic has permeated a large part of American culture.

Articulation of small-town Americana can be seen beyond the city of Fort Collins in

scholarship and media products. For instance, some scholars have studied *The Andy Griffith*

show's town Mayberry, North Carolina as similar to Disney in that it contains strong aspects of individualism and contains a "structure and sense of community," where no problem is too big to solve in 30 minutes.[127] Some have studied the use of the words "utopia" and "Disney" in the planning constructions of cities and communities in the United States and abroad.[128] Another scholar notes the similarity between Disney's Main Street U.S.A. aesthetic and the setting of the 2005 movie, *The Truman Show.*[129] The reticulation and reformation of a type of Disney Main Street U.S.A. begins to show the pervasiveness and power of a Main Street aesthetic as a cultural product, both upon the imagination and actual construction of space. The aesthetic familiarity allows identification and comparisons to be made to many locales. This familiarity, and appeal, is significant as it draws business and overall positive community building. The ability for Disney to define what an idealized American community looks like, and its repetition, can both implicitly and explicitly have an impact upon our construction of identity and community.

Ultimately, the towns that inspired Main Street U.S.A, Marceline, MO and Fort Collins, CO, are not literally Main Street U.S.A.; rather they are composite parts woven together to create an abstract imagined whole. Importantly, Fort Collins finds itself articulating historically and in modern day a small-town Americana trajectory that has specifically been shaped by the popularity and economic success of Disney's Main Street U.S.A. Some suggest, what is the problem with that? Why not attempt to conceive our towns and communities in the idealized downtown of Disney? Would the results of such an effort be positive? In some respects, yes, there are positive outcomes of having a downtown that exemplifies turn of the century America. Notable benefits would include the building of a sense of community, perceived wide

spread economic prosperity, and encouragement of thriving commerce along Main Street. However, there are drawbacks as well.

Historians Richard Francaviglia and Wayne Franklin note, "what concerns, even infuriates, historians and scholars most about Walt Disney is that he created an abstracted image that is so tempting to confuse with reality."[130] In other words, the imagined view of Main Street U.S.A. is so pervasive that it has been adopted as the ideal goal of how to construct reality. Francaviglia and Franklin further explain the downfalls of this model, "Disney's Main Street does not feature the inevitable services that indicate the other, or darker side of life."[131] Ultimately, Fort Collins connection and reinforcing of an idyllic aesthetic formed by Disney's Main Street U.S.A. may predispose the regional identity and trajectory of the city Fort Collins and its citizens to be less astute when it comes to addressing the darker sides of their community. The region may in fact work towards reinforcing its Main Street aesthetic that brings in consumers and ignore or neglect marginalized individuals requiring social services such as addiction treatment, housing, or other forms of assistance.

In the end, Fort Collins citizens are faced with a few options. One option, could be to reinforce the small-town Americana trajectory and its positives that it presents in community building and commerce. Another option is to recognize tensions that are present and work towards addressing the realities of life both positive and negative that impact the health of a community. Ultimately, there needs to be understanding of the many factors material and discursive that shape our living spaces and identities. Greg Dickinson and Brian Ott suggest that, "past, present, and future are always intertwined as future anticipation remakes understandings of the present and remakes embodied pasts."[132] There is likely a middle ground

54

bridging the idealistic downtown while simultaneously addressing social issues of human welfare. However, through examining the trajectories small town Americana in Fort Collins, it is clear an imagined vision of society has taken hold in both practices and material constructions of the city. Ultimately, Fort Collins past has influenced its present construction. However, what has been the influence of present changes and considerations of the future? Now, I will examine other temporal situations and imaginations of Fort Collins, beyond its storied past, and engage with the city's current identity, population, and organization.

Trajectory #4: A Rural Metropolitan Area.

I use the term "rural metropolitan area" to reflect the multiplicitous aspects of the city's current construction, which reflects investment in both rural agrarian institutions and urban development. While the Fort Collins is deeply steeped in its imagined small-town mythology; it remains connected to rural roots. In the heart of city lies one of its most important industrial and cultural organizations, Colorado State University. The history of Fort Collins is linked to the history of Colorado State University and rurality. In 1870, territory Gov. Edward McCook signed a bill "establishing the State Agricultural College in Fort Collins," which would later become Colorado State University, the State of Colorado's premier land-grant university.[133] Eight years later, in 1878, construction begins on Main College Building, the first central building that permanently established Colorado State University as an institution. The history of land-grant colleges and universities and rurality comes through in the central focus on agriculture. The funds from the Morrill Act of 1862 were distributed by the federal government to states and were often were used to establish "new agricultural and mechanical arts colleges," that worked to educate America's expansive agriculture industry.[134] Today many land-grant universities

maintain little connection to their agricultural and rural missions. However, Colorado State University has worked diligently to reinforce and remember this legacy. For instance, as I write this thesis I am in Colorado State University's Behavioral Science Building. Across the road, I can hear the slight buzz of construction on the Animal Science Building. The building, a part of the College of Agricultural Sciences, is expanding an on-campus butchery and non-profit venture, named Ram Country Meats, that is ran by students and faculty to provide hands-on education on the meat industry.[135] In part, this construction is a dedication to Fort Collins rural students that it attracts from surrounding regions, many coming from the cattle industry. In many ways, Fort Collins and Colorado State University have worked to maintain, at least in part, the memory of rurality in material ways. Spatially and materially, Fort Collins is in a liminal state. There is significant investment in maintaining and expanding material aspects of a rural trajectory. However, Fort Collins is in the process of becoming urban outlined in the shifting demographics of the city.

In terms of population, Fort Collins is no longer the rural community of Harper Goff's youth. In general, the city is attempting to balance a growing population and navigate urban, suburban, and rural divides. Historically, Fort Collins has only recently started to become an "urban" area. The Fort Collins of Goff's youth, that has been famously memorialized through memory projects and Disney, was only 8,755 people when Goff lived in Fort Collins and 14,937 when he returned to take photographs that would be used as a model for Disney's Main Street.[136] Since, Fort Collins has experienced considerable growth in population rising to an estimated population 164,207.[137] This trend is expected to continue as Fort Collins has been identified as one of the ten fastest growing metro areas in the United States.[138] As growth

continues, challenges related to residence, employment, and resources are factors that must continue to be acknowledged.

Partially, the shift towards urbanity can be seen in the economic fabric of the cities businesses. For instance, tourism businesses in Fort Collins, such as breweries, events, and restaurants, have expanded and taken greater importance in the local economy compared to agriculture. However, at times the rural and small-town trajectories are in direct juxtaposition with changing areas of economic focus. One prime example of this is Ginger and Baker, a locale café, market, bakery, and teaching kitchen, all thrown into one building. Uniquely, the building is a structure that has been around since 1905 and has primarily been a mill, "where farmers and rangers bought grain, drank coffee and talked about crops and the weather."[139] This business is a prominent example of the historic agricultural roots of Fort Collins being used as a sort of locale charm to provide authenticity for new businesses targeted towards more affluent families with suburban and urban backgrounds while acknowledging the background and history of the city's population.

Furthermore, the shift away from the rural can be seen through aspects of the city's planning strategy. For instance, the Downtown Development Plan notes that, "though the Downtown area comprises less than two percent of the City's total land area, it generated approximately 15% City-wide of sales tax revenues in 2016."[140] It should not be surprising, due to economic significance, that the Downtown area is a space in which the city and local organizations wish to manage the space, what can be done in the space, and its aesthetics. This management of space is protecting the atmosphere and product Fort Collins promotes towards tourists. Upon visiting Fort Collins main website for visitors, visitftcollins.com, it becomes clear

57

that central to the city identity is its status as "craft beer capital of Colorado," that has an

abundance in foodie culture, local craftsmanship, hospitality, and attractions.[141] Maintaining

space and this aesthetic is essentially maintaining the monetary value it brings to the city's

income.

Ultimately, Fort Collins is straddling lines between rural, suburban, and urban. It is

working to maintain and bolster attractive education opportunities for rural students. The

city's connection to and articulation of Disney shows that it recognizes clear value in a small-

town suburban narrative in expanding the city and its economic capital. However, Fort Collins

still pales in comparison to clear urban places, like Denver, Colorado, in terms of gross domestic

product in a recent 2016 study (Denver, $205.4 billion, Fort Collins, $16.2 billion).[142] Fort

Collins is minor compared to Denver, but it shows no signs of reducing its growth and will

eventually become more and more of a city. Ultimately, should Fort Collins still work towards

expansion? Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift would say, emphatically, "yes!" They note in their book,

Seeing Like a City, that, "the top-ranking cities, or, more accurately, their central business

districts, are massive collections of knowledge, creativity and innovation, political and elite

power, cultural and symbolic influence, and financial and infrastructural might."[143] The shifting

power sectors toward urban areas solidifies and justifies further development. It is also

important to note the experience of Fort Collins transformation into an urbanity is not unique.

In a study on the expansion of urbanities the United Nations noted, "there has been a

phenomenal shift towards urbanization, with 6 out of every 10 people in the world expected to

reside in urban areas by 2030."[144] However, this shift is not without tension and political

competition causing real implications for citizens in Fort Collins. The tension is partially from

the positions and ideologies of the citizens from within the city. However, the material

diversity of the city to facilitate and welcome individuals that prefer a rural, suburban, and

urban existence suggest that the material space and history of the city, or trajectories, has at

the very least implicitly welcomed this tension. This will be explicated in greater detail in the

next chapter's analysis of the ordinance documents presented in Fort Collins and their

subsequent debate.

<center>Trajectory #5: Competing with Boulder</center>

A final trajectory in how the city of Fort Collins sees itself is through direct comparison

with another major city and region in the state: Boulder, Colorado. There is a phenomenon in

both Fort Collins and Boulder to talk about the political action and city trends in comparison to

each other. This is not uncommon considering that both cities are of comparable size.

However, there is a resistance in both cities to be too much like the other. Largely, Fort Collins

has a strong aversion to becoming like Boulder because of Boulder's perceived status. This odd

phenomenon occurs in everyday vague discussion of the attitudes of both cities and cost of

living. In describing the city, a Fort Collins business owner stated, "basically it's gone from an

aggie, cowboy town to something of a hipster, bike-and-beer town. It's great, but there have

been some complaints that we're becoming *too Boulder.*"[145]

What is the exact idea behind the sentiment, "too Boulder?" In part, the idea of

Boulder has become associated with an elite class of wealthy individuals attracted to the

aesthetic charms of Boulder's scale, nature, and lifestyle. With a clear view of the breath-taking

Flat Iron mountains, surge in technology industry, abundance of quality restaurants, and

general fit and happy culture it becomes clear that there are many positives to living in

<center>59</center>

Boulder.[146] However, due to many restrictive development policies such as, limiting building height to 55 feet, preventing four unrelated roommates from living together, and limiting the number of development and residential building permits issued by the city, growth of the city has been maintained around a population of about 100,000 citizens.[147] This has resulted in a competitive housing market that has a median home value of $635,000 and pushed much of the working class out of the city forcing almost 60,000 individuals to commute daily to Boulder for work.[148] This trend in Boulder has caused Fort Collins planners to work to "counteract" housing inflation and avoid becoming "unattainable" to the average "suburban family."[149] This largely would be accomplished through more liberal housing policy and more zeal towards development and expansion. Ultimately, Fort Collins hopes to maintain a more accessible family based lifestyle, and Boulder seems to actively maintain an exclusive, smaller, yet more expensive family oriented experience. The similarity of the two towns offers apt reasoning to measure the communities against each other. Fort Collins seems to want to maintain a middle-class "slice of Americana" aesthetic that has been priced out of Boulder.

In addition to lifestyle and housing, the comparisons of the two communities extend to policies established related to home the city treats individuals experiencing homelessness. Boulder has issued a restrictive camping ban which has yielded over 1,600 tickets in a four-year span, many of which have been issued to the homeless.[150] With Fort Collins experiencing a rise in individuals experiencing homelessness, there has been a call to "do something."[151] This call for action, and tendency for the two communities be judged in concert, puts an intense focus upon what the City of Fort Collins will do on this issue. In the next chapter, the city ordinance documents will show Fort Collins as a perceived "compassionate" small-town community open

to all, unlike Boulder. Implicitly, the community wishes to avoid association with harsh

dehumanization and criminalization of homeless population but feels the innate need to "do

something" and address the issue. This is the beginning of a community identity crisis.

Homelessness, a largely perceived urban problem in a town that characterizes itself as a

suburban dreamscape sets the stage for political debate and challenge around how to manage

the city and its identity.

<div align="center">Summary of Trajectories & Concluding Thoughts</div>

In summation, there are several major conflicting trajectories at work in contemporary

Fort Collins as the city implicitly and explicitly works to determine its status as a rural,

suburban, or urban area. Fort Collin's frontier roots, connection to Walt Disney's Mainstreet

U.S.A., and focus on agriculture points towards a nostalgic mythos of turn of the century

Americana. In contrast, global and local trends in urbanization suggest that Fort Collins will

never go back to this historic mythos, nor should it want to with economic power turning

towards creative industries such as higher education, technology and information industries,

and entrepreneurship. The differing trajectories create an implicit tension woven within the

structural building of and use of space in Fort Collins that brings forth the potential for political

challenge asking, how do we manage public space, the people who inhabit them, and what

does this mean?

Finally, I have argued that the history of a region, explored through critical regionalism

and spatial trajectories, is a fecund repository of understanding for the identity and actions of

individuals in an area. Fort Collins has both an imagined, constructed, and, at times, convoluted

sense of self. The history of Fort Collins is deep and complex, and it has evolved and changed

over multiple generations of citizens and cultures. In the past, there was connection to rurality and small-town America. In the present, the city is working to find its identity while dealing with urban development. Ultimately, the past and present both play a significant role in shaping and thinking about the future. Therefore, as these five trajectories compete for dominance they all will play a role at guiding and informing individuals opinions. Partially, the City Council works as an interpreter of the city's citizens; however, the city's changing population and wide range of viewpoints—and more specifically—imaginings of what the city has been and should be—creates tensions. The challenge then for government is in accurately representing the citizenry's viewpoints and values. The next chapter will begin to tease out the material, visual, and spatial impacts the ordinance will have upon the city and how these changes relate to the trajectories of Fort Collins. I argue that multiple contradictory claims are made in regards what should be done regarding public space in the city. These claims are justified through the tensions, anxieties, and logics presented in the trajectories of Fort Collins.

Chapter 4: Contradictory Futures of the City in Public Policy

At the corner of Linden and Jefferson streets in Fort Collins, Colorado lies a sign including the text, "Welcome to the Old Town Fort Collins Historic District." The sign depicts a map that outlines the area known by many Fort Collins citizens as Old Town Square—a central consumer, retail, business, community, and residential mixed-use space. The sign is a material definition of a space to orient individuals that will soon inhabit it. Simultaneously, the sign goes beyond defining space and extends values and associations the space may have. The term "historic" connotes that there is something worth remembering and appreciating within the space. The map suggests routes to follow to experience the historic infrastructure of the city. The material, spatial, and textual elements of the city are bound together in this example. The material presence of the sign on the perimeter of Old Town suggests a type of barrier that is about to be crossed, the space constructs the exact meaning of "historic" through the experiences it allows for when moving through Fort Collins, and the term "historic" primes individual's expectations of space while informing the experience of their bodies as they move through the city.

Similarly, the main analysis texts of this chapter, Ordinance No. 043 of the Fort Collins City Code and attached supporting documents, use material, spatial, visual, and textual aspects to inform the future spatial and regional identity in Fort Collins. The documents cover a variety of topics including defining public space, placing protections for sidewalks and public fixtures, defining the legality and appropriateness of bodily actions, and proposes new material constructions for the community. This chapter examines these topics and suggests, often, individuals experiencing homelessness are pushed to the periphery. Specifically, the subjection

63

of individuals experiencing homelessness is accomplished through rephrasing and articulating trajectories woven into the history of Fort Collins—at times in contradictory ways—often ignoring their existence.

This chapter unfolds in a three-part analysis. First, I argue that the mythos of the Frontier Myth is articulated through positioning capitalistic spaces as centrally important to the city and goals of the ordinance. Secondly, the capitalistic spaces of the ordinance are protected through modes of surveillance and punishment. These material aspects of the ordinance are a result of urban problems and the advancement of technology; however, they ironically challenge aspects of the Frontier Myth, but are in line with practices of The Walt Disney Corporation. Finally, the ordinance refuses to acknowledge it is directly trying to address the actions of individuals experiencing homelessness. Instead, the ordinance attempts to paint Fort Collins as a compassionate place, that is socially aware, and actively assisting individuals in the community that are struggling. Ultimately, this articulation relates to the perceived oppressive practices Boulder has instituted in relation to individuals experiencing homelessness. The compassionate narrative paints Fort Collins as both progressive, and more importantly, not elitist Boulder. The compassion narrative also falls within the purview of the Main Street U.S.A. aesthetic, where no problem is too big to fix. The accumulative effect of these items suggests that the safety and capitalistic functions of Fort Collins are central and protected. This chapter will conclude with a general overview of the future visions of Fort Collins and how public policy can work to better consider marginalized bodies in the community. Ultimately, this is analysis and argument for where Fort Collins is currently at and projected to go in terms of space and identity. Space is fluid and change can come quickly if it is desired.

The Logic of the Frontier Myth in Defense of Capitalism

To many, the Frontier Myth and neoliberalism may at times seem contradictory. The Frontier myth can be thought of as "an evocative combination of economic, geographical and historical advances" that was created widely in the values "social individualism."[152] The myth is driven by pioneers, rugged individualists, and homesteaders as they expanded the nation west in search of a better life, often through the opportunity to access new forms of capital, such as agrarian harvesting of land or the gold rush. Key to the entire story is the values and drive of individuals to search out a better life without impingement of barriers beyond their own devices. Fast-forward to the 20th and 21st century and it can be argued that a new form of social individualism has been articulated through capitalistic values and neoliberalism. As David Harvey, author of *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, notes, to live under neoliberalism is to accept that "the inalienable rights of individuals to private property and the profit rate trump any other conception of inalienable rights."[153] Central to both the Frontier Myth and neoliberalism are the rights, actions, and expectations of individuals. In the Frontier Myth, individuals acted with regard to only their own familial and personal needs to succeed and thrive, anything standing in their way limited their individualistic right to fight for life. In neoliberalism, individualism means the right to the accumulation of private property and profit as inalienable rights for every individual is key. To allow citizens to achieve their most individualistic self, the government should remove any barriers to becoming a thriving capitalist. Many industries, capitalists, and businesses may perceive government regulation as impinging upon individualistic rights, in the logic of neoliberalism the government plays the role of protector of

socio-capitalistic individualism. The success of the individual means the success of the collective.

In Fort Collins, one of the more prominent themes in considering Ordinance No. 034 is the role of a thriving Downtown area. Bound up in the concept of a "thriving Downtown area" is the perspective of business owners and logic that an economically thriving downtown leads to a thriving community. Therefore, the articulation of capital within the ordinance merits attention as it connects the region to its historic Frontier Myth values system. Capitalism is shown, first, through defining the space the ordinance would apply to and how it would be implemented. Secondly, capitalism and the neoliberal agenda is articulated through outreach conducted by Fort Collins City Council to see if business owners would support the ordinance's passage.

To begin, the space in which this ordinance would be applied is a highly capitalistic space. The language found throughout all drafts of the ordinance note the law would primarily apply to the "downtown area."[154] The ordinance states that it would adopt the same definition of "downtown area" that was previously defined in a smoking ban that was instituted to protect employers, employees, businesses, visitors, and residents from second hand smoke (See Figure 1). [155] In part, the use of the previously defined "downtown area" space suggests that smoking and sitting, lying, or leaving property unattended (which are the main targeted actions of Ordinance No 043) are issues of equal importance to maintaining public space and an adequate environment in which capital can flow. In addition, in the first draft of the ordinance, when defining what will be considered "unlawful," subtle references to consumeristic spaces are present. The ordinance states:
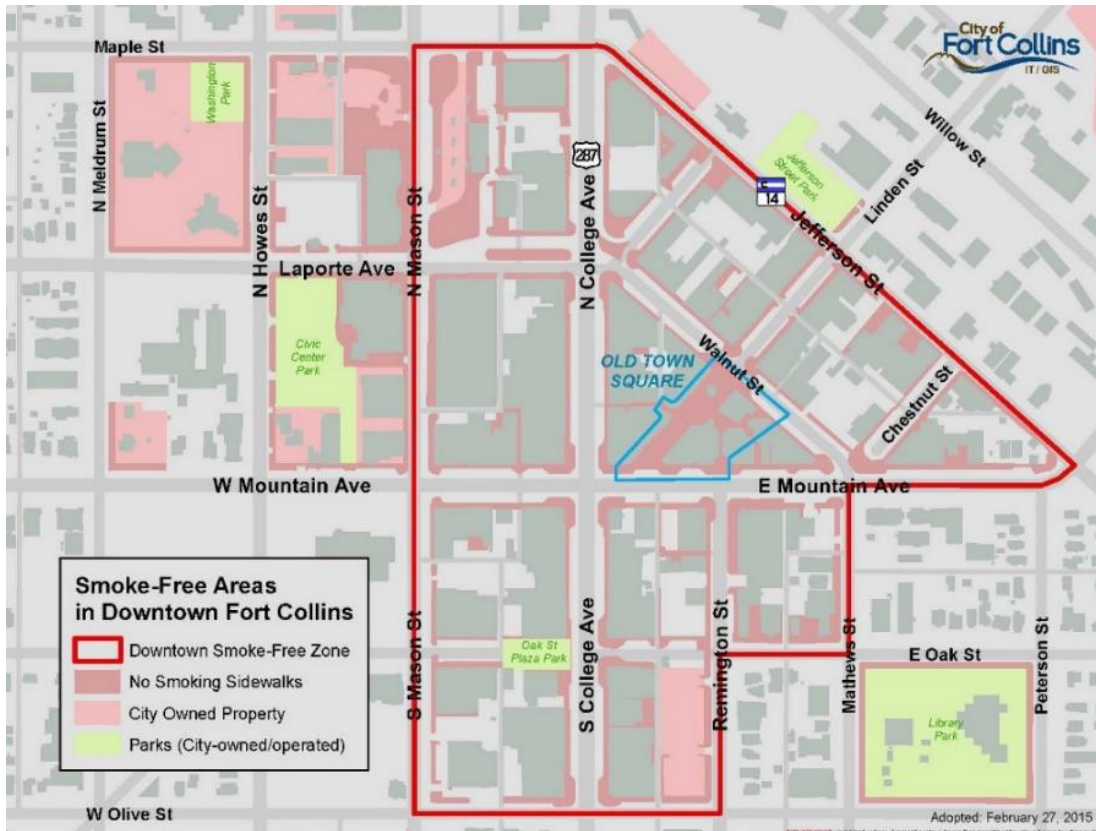
Figure 1: Fort Collins "Smoke-Free Areas" Map

> It shall be unlawful for any person to sit, kneel, or lie down upon the public sidewalk, in any public plaza, or upon any other object, including, but not limited to, a personal cloth or pad, or a chair not provided by a public agency or pursuant to a City-issued or Authority-issued permit or license, placed upon the public sidewalk *within [20] feet of any commercial property or pedestrian walkway.*[156]

Key to this aspect of the law is identifying "commercial property," or any property that serves the function of generating capital. At times, this can be tricky in Fort Collins due to the prevalence of mixed-use development projects, or projects that serve many functions including commercial business, residential, or governmental. The presence of mixed-use development leaves the spatial aspect of the law largely open to interpretation. This could allow application of the law to the entirety of the downtown space. In addition, the twenty feet restriction pushes individuals sitting or lying on sidewalks for rest away from commercial spaces that generate capital. The focus on protecting commercial space and applying this law at a pivotal

point of commerce reinforces capitalistic space. Under the logic outlined by David Harvey, it becomes clear that this ordinance to some degree works toward the benefit of business owners by removing barriers to generating capital, such as individuals that may aesthetically disrupt the space. The true work of the government is to assist individuals who help themselves such as capitalists and rugged individuals. Those that do not fit within these populations, such as individuals experiencing homelessness, may require the help and good will of others. This explicitly contradicts the spatial and ideological construction of the downtown area of Fort Collins. Individuals experiencing homelessness are visual examples of what we should work to avoid. They are unsuccessful rugged individualists and capitalists and should not be helped and should be shown tough love by pushing them out of the visual landscape of the downtown area and trajectory of Fort Collins.

In addition to space, the time when the ordinance would be applied suggests that it is attempting defending capitalism and business hours. The ordinance, in its first draft, would be enforced in the downtown area between 9:00am and 2:00am or, "any time when ordered to move by any City employee or contractor to accomplish any City function."[157] Ultimately, the law could be applied at any time deemed necessary. However, identifying the time markers of 9:00am to 2:00am is indicative of critical businesses, restaurants, and bar hours. The time markers, along with the defining of "downtown area," indicate that this ordinance is about protecting the capitalistic functions in public space. In part, that protection needs to take place through disciplining actions within space.

As stated previously, the twenty feet restriction around commercial property gives a heightened perception of businesses.[158] The space around businesses require protection and

special treatment because of the central importance of commercial businesses in Fort Collins.

This privileges spaces, actions, and individuals with central functional and valued roles within a

capitalist (or frontier) trajectory of space. These businesses and owners are also given explicit

voice in the ordinance. Self-identified business owners in the community shared their opinions

during city run outreach events on potentially instituting a public space ordinance. A few

opinions that stood out include one business owner suggesting "I would like to see more

funding for mental health services rather than legislation of this type."[159] Another owner

shared that, "we must treat human beings with the greater needs than our own with dignity

and apply logical solutions rather than knee-jerk reactions to 'erase' their presence."[160] Here is

a seeming contradiction between the City Council's perception of the needs of business owners

and the voiced opinions of owners themselves. Those who are supposedly being protected,

businesses and owners, have to some degree vehemently denied the sentiment that they are

being burdened by the actions of others. On the contrary, they identify a need to have better

funding for social services and that the ordinance being proposed is not a "logical solution."

Ultimately, this tension will be discussed further through expression of a compassionate

narrative that contains a "logical solution" that takes into consideration the needs of individuals

experiencing homelessness.

However, the take away from this section is that in spatial and discursive discourse, the

voices of business owners are given central importance. This expresses that successful

individualist/capitalist voices should be taken into consideration on public policy and their

interests should be protected by government. In the end, City Council has the power, to some

degree, to dictate an agenda, hopefully on behalf of the views of the citizenry. However, in the

case of Ordinance No. 043, the City Council is attempting to protect a spatio-temporal

capitalistic space. Anything that visually or ideologically challenges or juxtaposes the functions

of capitalistic space is perceived as a challenge. Some business owners believe this ordinance is

superfluous and a waste of time and money. However, the City Council still believes it needs to

protect these capitalistic spaces from challenge and continued to pursue the passage of this

ordinance. Therefore, questions remain: Who is the City Council protecting the citizenry from?

What is the central threat causing anxieties and debates between capitalistic and government

identities? How will City Council go about controlling actions in space? How will those that

break the law be punished? The next two sections will begin to explore these questions, the

maintaining of capitalistic space, and contradictory trajectories of urbanity in tension with

Frontier Myth trajectories.

<div align="center">Urban Problems and Tensions</div>

Before beginning to look for who is targeted in the Fort Collins City Council ordinance, it

is essential to understand homelessness as an issue of particular importance to urban spaces. I

should note, rural homeless populations do exist; however, many rural homeless have "a long

tradition of preferring self-help and reliance on relatives, friends, and neighbors, which has

effectively disguised the magnitude of the problem of rural homelessness."[161] In contrast,

urban homeless tend to lack these resources, may be disconnected from family, and often will

rely on forms of public assistance from social services, the good will of strangers, and other

networks of friends, both homeless and housed. Partially, homelessness is an urban issue due

to pressures of areas and neighborhoods to gentrify to increase their livability for growing

numbers of urban dwellers. This increase often causes affordable housing buildings to be

<div align="center">70</div>

demolished or converted to condos, apartments, town houses, or other resources critical to

attracting wealthier and younger populations.[162] Ironically, as cities decrease the number of

affordable housing units available, they often still maintain the majority of individuals

experiencing homelessness. In 2017, 473,650 individuals experiencing homelessness lived in

cities compared to 74,662 individuals in the rest of the United States.[163] Therefore, the visible

presence of homelessness in the city of Fort Collins suggests it may be gaining a more transient

population, developing similar demographics to other urban areas, and may be lacking the

social service resources, as many urban areas are, in being able to deal with the critical mass of

individuals struggling with mental health crises, addiction, or lack of housing. Specifically, Fort

Collins has roughly 150 shelter beds to accommodate a homeless population consistently

hovering around 400 individuals.[164] This discrepancy in particular suggests that individuals

experiencing homelessness in Fort Collins are visible and in the community to some degree, and

not singularly restricted to shelters. Homelessness and urban spaces are bound together both

in and beyond Fort Collins. However, Fort Collins multi-faceted dimensions of identity and

space cause difficulty in negotiating this decidedly urban issue of homelessness. Ultimately, the

urban quality of visible homelessness challenges the Frontier and Capitalistic narrative that

individuals should be able to succeed out of their own will and hard work. The ability of Fort

Collins to maintain the multi-faceted nature of its inclusive small-town identity to take care of

everyone in the community is disrupted by the visual nature of individuals experiencing

homelessness, interrupting commerce, and juxtaposing certain trajectories within the fabric of

the city.

When beginning to look for who is the target of the ordinance in Fort Collins, two phrases in the ordinance itself become crucial. One of these phrases is, "community expectations," which begins to position who has agency in the community and who is subservient in the community. In particular, "community expectations" defines the inappropriate behaviors in the community that the ordinance hopes to address. Secondly, the term "those" works to explicitly target who violates community expectations and deserves punishment. I argue that the discussion around these terms is a result of urban problems and attempting to find solutions. However, in the process of trying to solve these problems aspects of the small-town Americana trajectory are violated while Fort Collins status as an urbanizing area is solidified.

In justifying the ordinance, the City Council stated that they believe they need to, "impose fair consequences when individuals of any background seek to disrupt our community through continued acts of aggressive behavior."[165] The ordinance documents outline frustrating and aggressive behaviors through the inclusion of Fort Collins Police Service Area Requests (SARs), where community members call police for various issues seen through Downtown Fort Collins that may not merit a 9-1-1 call. The types of actions police were called to address included, concerns over individuals sleeping in public, uncomfortable feeling being verbally engaged with individuals on sidewalks, and various paraphernalia left unattended. Additionally, other actions highlighted in the SARs included, public urination, public intoxication, littering, and destruction of public property. Many of these actions can be addressed through other laws already within the city code. However, the City Council attempts to address the vaguer aspects of the SARs including, an "unsafe feel," "disheartening

72

conditions," or "verbal accosting," through Ordinance No. 034.[166] The SARs begin to outline

violations of community expectations generally.

Specific disruptive actions addressed by Ordinance No. 034 are defined by survey

evidence and visual images presented during Fort Collins City Council meetings considering the

passage of the ordinance. The survey conducted by City Council was distributed during multiple

outreach meetings with organizations such as the Fort Collins Downtown Business Association

member meetings, the Downtown Development Authority's board meeting, the Super Issue

Joint Boards and Commissions meeting, the Chamber of Commerce's Local Legislative Affairs

Committee, and an open meeting at the Northside Atzlan Community Center. The survey

identifies that the top three disruptive behaviors in downtown were "panhandling, groups or

individuals sitting or lying on sidewalks, and intimidating behavior."[167] Interestingly, multiple

actions that this ordinance labels as disruptive are a common part of the existence of people

experiencing homelessness. Actions, such as panhandling and individuals sitting/lying on

sidewalks, are a common part of the day to day live of many homeless individuals in order to

obtain food, shelter, and rest. While the ordinance does not explicitly state it is targeting

individuals experiencing homelessness, essentially, it is implicitly targeting this population

through the type of actions the ordinance is addressing. The ordinance also notes that the law

will only significantly impact "individuals who *consistently fail* to meet *community*

expectations."[168] Only certain citizens within Fort Collins, mainly individuals experiencing

homelessness, will consistently be performing these actions in public space and therefore

subject to the purview of the ordinance, specifically, individuals experiencing homelessness.

Clearly, individuals experiencing homelessness are the targets of this ordinance due to their

inability to consistently meet community expectations. The violation of community

expectations with individuals experiencing homelessness is also related to the transient nature

of homelessness. Individuals experiencing homelessness are often transient and moving

through various areas in search of a better life and resources to survive. In particular, the

presence of individuals passing through Fort Collins is a reminder of the city's status as a place

of transition. The history of Fort Collins to attempt to move past a trajectory of transition

suggests that individuals experiencing homelessness are a reminder of our failures and short

comings. Particularly, it also suggests that those passing through the City of Fort Collins should

not be granted agency. The ordinance document further targets individuals experiencing

homelessness through visual elements. Individuals experiencing homelessness are a visual

disruption of the functions of a small-town main street.

On March 7th, 2017, City Council conducted a meeting that included the first of two

votes to pass Ordinance No 034. During this meeting, city officials used a PowerPoint to

explicate and contextualize the ordinance. Images are used in the PowerPoint to envision

various positive and negative uses of space in the city. One slide titled, "Challenges Remain,"

included three images (Figure 2). One image was of two men lying on the sidewalk, both

Figure 2: "Challenges Remain"

perceived homeless, who are seemingly urinating themselves. The other two images depict

unattended items seemingly left behind by individuals experiencing homelessness (Figure 2).[169]

The connection of individuals perceived as homeless with the language of "challenges remain"

indicates that they are the perpetrators of undesirable actions and making space threatening

and uninhabitable. The imaging of "challenges" is juxtaposed with a slide that clarifies what the

ordinance would not apply to. The slide entitled, "This Ordinance is Not," depicts an image of

two elderly, affluently dressed white-males sitting on a bench conversing and an image of

children playing in a local park (Figure 3).[170] These images suggest the ideal function of public

Figure 3: "This Ordinance Is Not…"

space is for conversing and play. It assures members of the city that this ordinance is not

impacting familial or capitalistic uses of space. The presence of affluent individuals in areas of

business and public space makes sense; they are likely trying to enjoy leisure time, shop, or

have a meal. However, the presence of bodies thought of as homeless, or performing actions

thought of as inappropriate or disregarding of space, are viewed as "challenges" to the wider

public and space. The juxtaposition between affluent individuals properly performing actions of

leisure and the actions perpetrated by individuals experiencing homelessness perceived as

dirtying space suggest that there is something significant happening that needs to be addressed. The inappropriate actions of individuals experiencing homelessness are a violation of the safe, serene performance of small town Americana and main street trajectories that are valued in Fort Collins.

<p style="text-align:center">Maintaining a Capitalistic Space: Modes of Surveillance and Punishment</p>

Now that there is clearer view on the types of bodies and actions this ordinance is targeting, the next question to address is, how and through what means with this ordinance applied and punishment served? Largely, the ordinance documents suggest that accomplishing these two elements will be done through material means, specifically: the reservation of prison space and installment of surveillance cameras in public space. These elements ultimately conflict with and oddly, reinforce trajectories within Fort Collins. Important here is the term "those," which works as a connective thread linking individuals experiencing homelessness, to "those" worthy of punishment, and the form the punishment takes.

The work session item states, "All are welcome in our city and *we* provide resources to charitable organizations and the housing authority which are designed to help *those struggling* with various mental health disorders, homelessness, or other challenges."[171] The above passage positions all citizens as equal in that "all" take part in ownership of the city. The ordinance documents suggest that the city is inclusive and democratically constructed. However, it takes a subtle shift stating that "we," assuming the same group as the "all," are responsible and have provided enough resources to help "those struggling." Additionally, in the work session of the ordinance, the Fort Collins City Council outlined a tentative agreement with the Larimer County Jail to reserve a few additional prison cells to hold consistent offenders of

this ordinance. The work session summary document states, "staff is excited about this agreement, as they believe that this will give *the city* a tool to impose consequences on *those* individuals who *consistently* fail to meet *community* expectations and follow *our* laws."[172] In the two passages, "those" acts as a term that pivots attention from individuals perceived as a part of "the city" toward "those" that violate "community expectations." The connection to Larimer County Jail is telling, it suggests that consistent offenders will not just get a slap on the wrist but will be seriously punished. The connection with individuals experiencing homelessness and their perceived disruption of capitalism is something that needs to be eliminated from public space and will be done so through placing individuals in jail. The urban problem of homelessness is in part solved through pushing the problem out of sight and maintaining the aesthetic of public space and protecting capitalistic flows. The jail space suggests materially that violation of individualistic trajectories require serious protection. It also suggests, anything that violates the dominant trajectory of the city of Fort Collins dictates community expectations and future material constructions of the city. Ultimately, it seems no matter what trajectory is dominant, individuals experiencing homelessness will be subjugated.

Furthermore, cameras are a central aspect in the hopes of implementing this ordinance. In particular, the City Council staff believes that cameras are effective at deterring crimes in many areas of the city and give the city another tool to utilize "retroactively to help with criminal investigations."[173] Particularly, the city hopes to cover other "hot spots" of activity within the city where "crime" may occur.[174] When interpreting the idea of "hot spots" concurrently with the rest of the logic of the ordinance, it is clear that public space near commercial property are the main types of areas where cameras would be placed. The

function of both reserved jail space and cameras act as an avenue to identify where punishment is deserved and works to provide an avenue to punish those that consistently violate laws and expectations of the community. Part of the issue in the logic of the ordinance is it works to protect aspects of individualistic generation of capital; however, it also protects this through government interaction and surveillance which is interjecting and monitoring individuals. Here, there is a rupturing of the original rugged individualism articulated in the Frontier Myth because the government is intervening and surveilling the actions of individuals. However, there is also a protection of the ability of capitalist identities, or the ultimate success stories of individualism, to accumulate capital and maintain there success as individuals. Therefore, jail space and cameras act as a material defense of individualism but a symbolic rejection of it as well.

Specifically, what do these material elements mean for the trajectory of the city of Fort Collins? In terms of the Frontier Myth, the interaction of the government is troubling but necessary to protect a new form of individualism associated with capitalistic spaces. However, the surveillance and imprisonment of individuals for disruptive actions restricts the spirit of a rugged individualist. This restriction is inherently troubling to the Frontier and Western identity. However, it is ultimately accepted in the urban and capitalistic logic which has articulated individualism as being a successful capitalist. Part of defending the ultimate individualist is through repression of others that may prevent the actualization of an individual's accumulation of capital. Therefore, the cameras, jail, and intervention of government is justified through the protection of capitalistic spaces. All of this is birthed out of problems that urbanity and a collective life pose.

The impetus for action is also built out of juxtaposition of ideas associated with trajectories of transition and small-town Americana. Living in a city, in a collective of individuals, inherently we are asked to set aside individual interests to some degree. Therefore, the articulation of Frontier Myth logic in a city is particularly difficult through its setting. When the myth is woven into the fabric of a city's history, there is an attempt to make sense of both an individual and collective life together. This process of making sense at times lifts up certain individuals (capitalists) and represses others, individuals experiencing homelessness. Central to this process is the articulation of the "problem" that City Council and the community views that needs to be addressed.

Another wrinkle in the fabric of Fort Collins trajectory is Disney. Famously, Disney is a bastion of Americana, but it also places a high value on security and surveillance technology to protect the experiences it. The Walt Disney Corporation has recently invested in new surveillance technology from devices that can track guests' movements via their footwear and use of biometric scanners.[175] Mostly, the application of these technologies would be utilized in Disney theme parks such as Main Street U.S.A. While Fort Collins does not go to the extent of Disney, they likewise believe it valuable to surveil their meticulously designed and constructed public space that provides cultural and capital value to the fabric of the city. The Main Street U.S.A. connection to Fort Collins and surveillance practices is further tying together of historical trajectories to themes within the ordinance documents.

To this point, it has been made clear that through implicit language and visuals the targets of this ordinance are individuals experiencing homelessness. In part, they are the target because they, through their presences, disrupt aspects of the Frontier Myth which has been

79

articulated in the logic of capitalism and neoliberalism. However, yet to be discussed fully in

depth is the Main Street U.S.A. aesthetic and Fort Collins competition with Boulder. In the next

section, these items will be articulated in relation to convincing local identities that they are

compassionate. A key assumption here is that if the ordinance is perceived as criminalizing

individuals experiencing homelessness, then the ordinance would wildly be challenged by the

community and rejected. To make this ordinance passable, Fort Collins City Council needs to

convince the community, and themselves, that they are compassionate towards individuals

experiencing homelessness in a way that Boulder is not. This narrative of a compassionate

citizenry fits within the logic of small-town Americana where no problem is too big to solve and

individuals help and support their fellow neighbors in the community.

A Compassionate Fort Collins: Small-Town American and Not Boulder-ness

The spaces unique to Fort Collins and Boulder are both important to each community

and their particular identities; as such, both communities have taken action in recent years to

maintain their individual aesthetics and experiences of their spaces. However, in enacting

these policy actions, both communities have sought to use the other's actions in evaluating

what they should do. As such, Fort Collins desire to avoid becoming too much like Boulder is a

primary factor in shaping its policies and imaginations about homelessness even as these

policies criminalize individuals experiencing homelessness. I argue that Boulder's highly

critiqued policies criminalizing homelessness have shaped how Fort Collins City Council has

attempted to contextualize their own public policy.

Boulder, in many ways, has been an exemplar of negative policy in terms of

homelessness. For instance, Boulder's anti-camping ordinance, which is often perceived as

80

criminalizing homelessness, has been on the books since the 1980's and "successfully defended

in court."[176] This law has drawn much scrutiny from the American Civil Liberties Union of

Colorado (ACLU) and University of Denver's Sturm College of Law. Research by the Strum

College of Law has revealed, over a five-year period, that eighty-seven percent of citations

relating to this ordinance were issued to individuals experiencing homelessness.[177] In addition,

the ACLU has deemed this ordinance "absurd" and "cruel."[178] The ACLU has also challenged the

legality of the ordinance and its application as recently as 2016.[179] Fort Collins has many

reasons to want to avoid public backlash that it has been received in Boulder. Particularly,

public backlash related to inclusivity of a community that claims it is "open to all" is a troubling

contradiction in local identity. However, both cities are dealing with the visible urban problem

of homelessness that requires some action. Ultimately, Fort Collins City Council attempted to

articulate the public space ordinance as a fair law and punishment from a largely

compassionate and caring community.

The work session item, titled "Compassion and Consequences," was released for public

viewing January 24th, 2017. The document suggested many platitudes highlighting positives of

the city. The ordinance argues that "all are welcome in our city," that the city provides

"resources to charitable organizations" that help homeless individuals, and the city has

provided partial funding to Outreach Fort Collins, an organization that assists individuals

experiencing homelessness with connecting to social service resources.[180] While these

elements are positive, the language of the ordinance and its negative components did not go

unnoticed. The ACLU of Colorado penned a letter for consideration of the Fort Collins mayor

and City Council during a following meeting debating the ordinance. The ACLU noted the following of the ordinance:

> The proposed Fort Collins ordinance is clearly designed to give police tools to harass, arrest, and remove people who are homeless from the downtown area. It cruelly denies rest to people who need it, subjects unhoused persons to penalties of up to 6 months in jail and $2,650 in fines just for sitting in the wrong place or for sitting too long. It assumes that people who don't have a place to live have no right to own more possessions than they can carry in their hands.[181]

Due to this critique, along with critical voices being raised by members of the community, it was clear that there would be changes needed to make the ordinance passable. The accusations of cruelty directly contradicted the framing of the city's compassion. To maintain a community identity of a compassionate understanding population, City Council proposed a few material changes to the city to keep both inclusivity and the ordinance in place.

In the first vote for the ordinance's passage, after initial criticism by the ACLU, the city decided to include language discussing the utilization of lockers in the city's possession to provide storage space. This storage space would hypothetically be available to the public and placed throughout the city. The document specifically states that they are attempting to address "concerns" that some in the public believe the law will "negatively impact some individuals."[182] While, "some individuals," is highly vague language, it is clear that they are referencing concerns that were levied related to the potential for the ordinance to criminalize homelessness. Therefore, the lockers are a material manifestation attempting to reinforce the compassionate and understanding narrative towards the issues that individuals experiencing homelessness face. This compassion narrative, while it does show a willingness to be flexible, feels quite odd while the ordinance also discusses cameras for surveillance and prison space for those that violate the ordinance. In part, it is indicative of contradictory views of the city space.

82

The law, cameras, and jail space all work to protect capitalistic ventures whereas the lockers are a representation of the city's ability to be inclusive. The lockers are a theoretical way to prove that the city is compassionate and recognizes that individuals experiencing homelessness need a place to store their items if they are going to be subject to aspects of this ordinance. The use of these material elements attempts to keep the space safe but violates the compassionate narrative that the City Council attempts to articulate to defend public policy that criminalizes individuals experiencing homelessness.

This compassion can be thought of as an articulation of both the small-town Americana and not-Boulder trajectory. Fort Collins is exceeding Boulder in its ability to address the issues of individuals experiencing homelessness. Furthermore, the city is attempting to be understanding and inclusive of all in the city, thereby avoiding elitist labels. In terms of the small-town Americana trajectory, it shows that the Main Street aesthetic can be kept clean and picturesque by hiding away the more personal possessions of individuals experiencing homelessness. In addition, a solution to any problem, including ones of more complexity, can be simple and take into consideration the needs of every type of individual. Looking at the material manifestations of space suggested, lockers, cameras, and jail space, the trajectory of Fort Collins suggested is somewhat understanding but highly disciplinary in its formation.

<div align="center">Where is Fort Collins Headed?</div>

Ultimately, both the history of Fort Collins and the considerations around Ordinance No 034 leave many tensions, contradictions, and questions left unanswered, the largest question being: where is Fort Collins headed? Before I provide some semblance of an answer, I recognize that Doreen Massey's theory of trajectories is meant to show that space is constantly

being negotiated and open to a multiplicity of meanings. Scholars considering Massey, like David Featherstone and Joe Painter, summarize trajectories well, they state, "space and politics are co-constitutive, they are built together as the outcomes of different ongoing processes."[183] No matter what, this thesis cannot capture the entirety of the spatial fabric of the city or the ideological positions of its citizens. However, I hope that this thesis has captured the contradictory nature of trajectories in the City of Fort Collins. In part, these trajectories are given greater juxtaposition because of the history of the region and Fort Collins undergoing transition toward being an urban space.

To return to the future of Fort Collins: in the end, I circle back to population. By 2040, Fort Collin's population is expected to be 235,000+, whereas Boulder's population is expected to be 123,000+.[184] Population and expansion can drastically change a place. The influx of new individuals, identities, and ideas can challenge local and regional logic. The population growth Fort Collins has experienced in the past century has caused many difficult to navigate spatial and political trajectories. I do not claim that any trajectory, such as the Frontier Myth or Fort Collin's small-town Americana connection, will be eliminated. However, as population and development start to take hold, they will most certainly be challenged in shaping regional identity. In the public space ordinance considered in Fort Collins, not enough was done to address marginalized individuals in the community and the root cause of their marginalization. Instead, much of the law attempted to be articulated through community logics to give the city tools to aesthetically manage space. The troubling contradictions in the public space ordinance are bound to resurface in future political discussions regarding public space, law, and development projects throughout the city.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the ordinance works to convince the public, through various value systems supported through spatial trajectories in the city, that a public space ordinance is needed to manage space and urban "challenges." The discourse throughout the city at times privileges trajectories of space, bodies, and materials that maintain the capitalistic functions of the city. Scholar Anthony Marcus notes that the creation of policy around vague or contradictory terms can be fraught with problems. Specifically, he argues, "Without a clear definition of the target group or problem, designing policy becomes something like looking at a set of clouds floating through the sky: the angle from which they are regarded and the amount of sky in the field of vision determine the shape that is seen."[185] Similarly, I have shown in this chapter, regardless if we are talking about policies directly or indirectly related to individuals experiencing homelessness, vague descriptions of space, actions, and individuals can create difficult to enforce policy. Without a clear understanding of the history of space, the intentions of communities, and the people in a community you cannot completely understand rational of policy efforts at the local level. Beyond this, local cultural logics can work to justify actions that, to outsiders, may seem incongruent with best practices or use inconsistent logics.

For instance, in Fort Collins the centrality of individualism is deeply imbedded in its history. To maintain individualism, in shift toward urbanization, the City Council has fallen into practices of defending the accumulation of capital. In response to this defense, the community has been called out and the actions of this idealized community have been drawn into question. Ultimately, Fort Collins is a community that recognized the flaws in the initial purposed policy and worked to make amends that would create a more inclusive law. The overall result of the

policy making process took advantage of multiple trajectories of space to make sense of the

future regional identities of Fort Collins. Public discourse, especially when discussing the

trajectories and futures of space, materiality, and people need balance from all sides and

perspectives. Throughout this process, contradictions and flaws in logic should be expected.

City Council may benefit from expanded outreach effort that takes in a wider range of

community stake holders. Including voices from marginalized or minority community groups,

such as individuals experiencing homelessness, may result in better policy formation. The

voices of those that may be the most marginalized and forgotten in communities, often, are

lost among the crowd. Stories must be heard from a diversity of firsthand accounts to better

understand each other and build a more just communal life for all.

Chapter 5: Concluding Thoughts on Space and Public Policy

Throughout much of this thesis, issues of policy, space, and bodies are discussed

separately and in concert; ultimately, they all have consequential effects upon each other.

These consequences can be seen clearly the case of Richard Demes. Richard, a Fort Collins

man, fell into homelessness after being the victim of a stolen wallet, nothing more than a petty

robbery. Many factors led up to this point in Richard's life. Richard enlisted in the Air Force at

17 and for much of his life was a master electrician with a career that spanned three decades.

He remembers, "I pretty much had a stress-free life."[186] The lifestyle Richard lived was in many

ways everyday and commonplace for a man of his age and experience. Ultimately, this would

change. One day in 2010, Richard experienced a stroke and fall that caused him cognitive

delays and to rupture two discs in his back.[187] This experience ultimately caused Richard to be

admitted to multiple nursing homes and hospitals over the next several years. Unable to work,

with medical bills piling up, Richard began to rely on the United States Department of Veterans

Affairs to provide him with a wheelchair and housing vouchers to make rent. Out of the blue,

Richard's wallet was stolen containing his housing voucher. Unable to pay rent and without

financial reserves, he was wheel-chair bound and pushed out on to the street. Throughout

most of Richard's life he was far from homelessness; but as his resources diminished and his

need for care increased he was pushed to the point where the only thing that prevented him

from being on the street was a slip of paper: the housing voucher.

Richard was homeless for 13 months. After 130 meetings with Outreach Fort Collins

and engaging with 23 different agencies, to obtain everything from legal counsel to housing,

Richard eventually acquired adequate resources to transition off the streets.[188] Members of

Outreach Fort Collins staff have seen a noticeable difference in Richard, noting in their annual newsletter that he, "now talks about goals instead of fears, thriving instead of surviving."[189]

Richard's story exemplifies that homelessness is a product of accumulation of struggles. However, Richard's story also intersects with how competing trajectories of space create poor policy that have problematic effects on individuals within a community. Once homeless, Richard was confined to his wheel-chair where he relied upon public space and power outlets to charge his chair. In his estimate, for about every 10 minutes of charging he gained 5 minutes of wheel chair mobility. Richard relied on public space and the material fabric of the City of Fort Collins to maintain his existence during the time he was struggling most in life. To put it another way: city policies on public space that do not take into consideration the needs of the most marginalized in a community can further marginalize members of the community who are trying to get *off* the street. In its public space ordinance, the city did state that the ordinance would not apply to individuals sitting and lying for long periods of time due to disability, utilization of a "wheelchair," or due to a "medical emergency." [190] The city of Fort Collins took careful consideration of language to not unduly add struggles to those struggling with visible disability or medical crisis. Richard would ultimately be exempt. However, what about individuals struggling with mental health issues and addiction? What if an officer of the law only vaguely understands the ordinance and issues a citation to individuals like Richard? There still exists the potentially for unlawful application of the law. This issue becomes exasperated when poor policy, such as Ordinance No. 034, is passed with convoluted intentions. I have argued that these intentions come from contradictory understandings of the space and regional identity of Fort Collins.

Unfortunately, while Richard was ultimately able to escape homelessness, for many people in Fort Collins, that escape continues to be stymied by the competing trajectories of space that drive competition for public space. Ultimately, marginalized groups are often forgotten or placed low on the priority list when making considerations for public policy. This allows for potential criminalization of individuals experiencing homelessness, along with other marginalized groups, to become more likely. In culminating this thesis, we need to consider these kind of implications, which become visible in this project. As such, in the following pages, I will give a brief overview of what I have written, rearticulate the major argumentative themes, give implications of this study for various audiences, position significant contributions of this thesis, and suggest future areas of research.

Key Thesis Summary and Arguments

This thesis focused upon space and its influence upon regional identity within Fort Collins. I have explicated how past, present, and future ideas surrounding space can be a factor in identity and how we come to engage in discourse, particularly, around public policy. To engage with the past, present, and future, I have suggested that the communication theories of critical regionalism and spatial trajectories provide a fecund base from which to engage with many types of texts including historical documents, policy documents, news reports, and the very material fabric that may make up a city. Critical regionalism can help engage with how past nostalgia and culturally significant artifacts or institutions can influence regional identity constructions. Simultaneously, spatial trajectories help imagine and project how space can be constructed in future. An essential element to both of these theories is that space and how you engage with it influences people's identity and politics. Together, spatial trajectories and

critical regionalism can begin to examine a wider temporal understanding of place and people within a place.

On multiple levels, I show that various trajectories and histories of Fort Collins can find themselves rephrased and articulated within the public space ordinance. Particularly, aspects of the Frontier Myth are articulated in discussing capitalist spaces and individuals, urban trajectories are articulated through the challenges the city is facing in the future, and small-town Americana is articulated through a narrative of Fort Collins as a safe and "compassionate community," among others. Ultimately, I argue the public space ordinance carries a set of perceptions about space that can be hypocritical but still be consistent within the logical of aspects of regional identity. However, the accumulative result of discourse surrounding and within the ordinance is that it opens a door to criminalization of individuals experiencing homelessness. This is done through no explicit terms, but through generally favoring the maintaining of a spatial aesthetic instead of considering the needs of all citizens, beyond citizens with an investment in capitalism. The visible presence of individuals experiencing homelessness is a rupture in many of the spatial trajectories and aesthetic qualities of Fort Collins and causes City Council to feel that they need to do something to maintain their common spaces and identities.

Implications

Implications for this study impact Fort Collins, cities in general, and individuals experiencing homelessness. For Fort Collins, it seems clear that outreach efforts need to expand beyond business owners. City officials need to work to acknowledge a wider cross-section of the population. When conducting outreach efforts, city governments should seek

90

the input beyond individuals and populations with central power. The inclusion of the perspectives of those that have direct connection to marginalized individuals may reveal negative aspects of public policy that might otherwise be ignored. For instance, discussing the public space ordinance with social workers and individuals experiencing homelessness may have provided a more in depth understanding of the issues in the community of Fort Collins. Ultimately, there was some favoritism in terms of the voices included and taken into consideration in the ordinance documents.

In addition, the first draft of the ordinance made available to the public was "pending legal review."[191] Perhaps, the city would benefit from a more reserved approach to crafting policy and try to more explicitly address incongruities in phrasing and logic before seeking public feedback. In general, this implication extends more broadly to cities. Consistent logic should be present within a law in order to create a clear argument of the intent of the law and hopeful effect. Other cities can take note that the Fort Collins public space ordinance struggled and received criticism in part because its vague language regarding space and contradictory logics of being compassionate but feeling a need to impose more consequences towards individuals struggling in the community.

A final implication unique to Fort Collins is that the city would be well served to consider their diverse spatial trajectories in a more conscious way as they consider future public policy debates. As we have seen, Fort Collins is very likely to continue to grow, to become more urban, and to therefore face more challenges as it relates to the usage of public space. Recognizing that Fort Collins contains multiple spatial trajectories and identities can help reveal logics underlying action. The city could benefit from determining if their attentions are driven

from a nostalgic historical sense of self that no longer practically exists or from the actual social

and political challenges that face a growing community. Public space is the battle ground upon

which cities negotiate their identity and decisions that are made from institutions of power

determine what populations belong and what populations are rejected. For cities claiming

compassion and inclusivity, like Fort Collins, it is essential to address inconsistencies in the form

of poor policy.

When creating laws regarding public space, cities should meticulously consider potential

implications and application of the law for marginalized populations. In addition, it is important

to conduct a self-assessment of localized identity. For cities with larger populations there is a

higher likelihood to have wide variety of viewpoints within the community. These viewpoints, if

not properly understood, can cause conflict relating to many forms of policy. If a place does

not perceive itself as a "city" it will approach issues very differently compared to decidedly

urban area. As the rising amount of urban spaces continues, seeing like a city, and

understanding space and policy like a city matters more and more. By understanding and

seeing like a city, I mean recognizing the multiplicitous nature of city and space. Ultimately,

there may be no "right" decision in terms of policy and space in the sense that certain

individuals will always be caught at the periphery or subjugated to a degree. However, cities

should recognize that their actions are consequential for a wide population of individuals with

varying degrees of privilege.

This thesis also has implications for individuals experiencing homelessness. In policy

debates on these issues, it is essential to understand the day to day dynamic of individuals

experiencing homelessness wildly differs from individuals who are housed. By picking apart the

history of Fort Collins and the public space ordinance, it became evident that there is a clear understanding that uses of space, including commerce and familial actions, significantly impact citizens, businesses, and community. This impact is the impetus to allow government intervention to manage public space, often privileging specific actions and individuals in space. Individuals experiencing homelessness spend the majority of a day outside, looking for avenues to food and shelter, and at times coping with depression through multiple means. These types of experiences are uncommon for a general population and require special consideration and understanding. Equity means treating individuals differently to ensure that they have an equal opportunity to succeed. At times, this means having special considerations for individuals from various levels of social strata. This implies that for cities, states, and nations to properly address the issue of homelessness that opening up access to housing and safety may require also addressing mental health or addiction issues. However, commonly, areas expect charity organizations to address the needs of the most unfortunate. At times, religious charitable organizations expect a certain level of morality, spirituality, or sobriety before an individual receives services. Expectations, like these, can further restrict those struggling. Ultimately, the implications throughout this thesis require policy makers and citizens to better acknowledge the needs and lives of all types of individuals.

From the scholarly perspective, this study also makes several contributions to theory, method, and analysis. In terms of theory and method, I have taken cues from Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki in attempting to engage with the past, present, and future to understand space. To do this, I have applied theories of critical regionalism and spatial trajectories. This, in part, is one avenue for scholars engaging in space—not just academically but in the public policy

realm—to begin to think about various temporal factors. In addition, engaging with the past,

present, and future requires a fluid understanding of "text" and "analysis." It requires engaging

with historical documents, material creations, and, to some degree, some creative speculation.

In part, it takes an attentive critic to set up clear boundaries and markers for analysis. One

limitation is that it can be all too easy for elements of analysis to become unwieldy. Scholars

need to find ways to engage with multiple temporal moments in a pragmatic way. In terms of

analysis, this study captures a city at an important moment of urbanization. The close analysis

of context and space of a city allows for deeper understandings of discursive discourse in space.

This close analysis is a central contribution and limitation of this study. As a contribution, it is a

study that could be replicated for other growing cities in relation to a variety of policies. I

contend the factors of regional identity, spatial factors, the policy itself, and the process of

debate are all crucial to the passable policy and the future of a city. In terms of a limitation,

Fort Collins is a largely white and relatively small urban area. In particular, other larger cities

with a greater cross section of diversity could potentially find wildly different regional identities

and issues of political importance.

Areas of Future Research

Beyond these contributions, this thesis also suggests critical areas for future research.

Indeed, there are multiple directions future research could take. Some areas of deeper analysis

could be conducted in geographical region, the needs of individuals experiencing homelessness,

methodological approaches in communication scholarship.

Scholars could engage with a wider variety of geographical regions to create a

comparative study on how communities approach issues of importance to individuals

experiencing homelessness. Studies comparing the effectiveness different policies in different

regions would be helpful. For instance, how do large cities such as Denver approach public

space laws compared to smaller places such as Fort Collins? What is the consequentiality for

each of these communities? How do approaches vary? Additionally, how would policies differ

between larger regions in the United States (Northeast, South, East, West, etc. etc.)?

Ultimately, as I have shown in this thesis that region and population are significant factors

which will impact overall outcomes.

Studies could better suggest ways to engage individuals experiencing homelessness in

the political process in determining what they need from the government and in what ways

local governments can facilitate compassion and understanding. In addition, more work could

be done to explicate how individuals experiencing homelessness could better access agency in

the communities they live. Overall, a better understanding in communities of the multifaceted

issue of homelessness is essential. Understanding the various factors contributing to

homelessness—addiction, housing, mental health, and policy—may lead to multifaceted

effective solutions.

Studies could also expand this methodology to other regional policies. "In what ways

does regional identity shape agendas?" is a key question to ask. Examining regional identity

through critical regionalism and spatial trajectories may be a proper methodology to examine

many political issues. Region issues connected to public space and land may be issues of

particular importance. However, one of the limitations in this thesis project is that often voices

of individuals experiencing homelessness are not heard or stated. I have attempted to

characterize and include to some degree contextualization around the issue of homelessness

and brief glimpses into the varying stories of individuals experiencing homelessness. Therefore, methodologically studies would benefit from potentially including interviews while also critically examining space.

Additionally, research should continue to be done on how policies perceived as positive for individuals experiencing homelessness, such as housing first laws, are impacting communities and individuals. In particular, the theorized success of housing first laws is intriguing but has seldom been applied. Creating avenues for individuals to access affordable housing may be the first step to solve the issue of homelessness and should be explored further. Hopefully, this type of research leads to a greater confidence to directly tackle the issues of homelessness, addiction, and mental health crises that impact a significant portion of Americans.

Conclusion

In the end, individuals experiencing homelessness are often either seen but misunderstood or not seen and forgotten by the large majority of individuals. However, these individuals are citizens with value and something to contribute, like the rest of us. Ultimately this thesis is about how institutions, communities, and policies can institute laws that profoundly impact a population without directly engaging with said population. I hope that discussion around complex issues continue and individuals recognize that solutions are always in the process of negotiation to work to better allow for a person to thrive and live a complete life.

However, I recognize that often those in power have the ability to dictate the public interests of the whole. As I have shown in this thesis project, one way we negotiate this is

through space. At times, the public can disrupt and disagree with these power structures. In part, this was done through pointing out contradictory logics in the discussion of public space. Ultimately, I'm suspicious that until we share common ground upon ideas of the public, roles of government, and understandings of space it will remain difficult to holistically address social issues. These roles are essential to understanding responsibility for the general welfare of the wider community. I believe that, collectively, communities can accomplish this if special interests are weighed and balanced with the overall outcomes of a law. This is no easy task; however, the consequences are dire for marginalized communities. Remembering the welfare of others and acknowledging our own self-interest may help us create more compassionate laws.

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