

A Case Study of the Baldock Restoration Project



Andrée Tremoulet, Ph.D.
Ellen Bassett, Ph.D.
Center for Urban Studies
Portland State University
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Primary Investigator: Ellen Bassett, Ph.D.
Co-Primary Investigator: Andrée Tremoulet, Ph.D.
Center for Urban Studies
Portland State University
College of Urban and Public Affairs
Post Office Box 751
Portland, Oregon 97207-0751

503. 725. 4045

Campus address: 320 Urban Center, 506 Mill Street, Portland OR 97201

June Ross, Research Manager, Oregon Department of Transportation



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Executive Summary

Since the 1980s, homelessness has become an increasingly visible and seemingly intransigent part of American society. It affects not only those who experience it directly, as a condition in their own lives, but also a broad spectrum of interests that deal with its effects. One such interest is owners and managers of public land, where homeless individuals commonly seek refuge, sometimes forming communities. Although their business may be transportation, natural resources management, recreation or some other public service, managers of public land are called upon to deal with this complex environmental, legal and human problem.

This is a case study of the Baldock Restoration Project, in which a team of people from the travel, transportation, law enforcement and social services professions came together to help homeless individuals leave their long-standing community located in an Oregon highway rest area, thus restoring the rest area to its original function. This case study is part of a larger project to analyze ways in which transportation agencies address the challenge of homeless encampments on public rights of way. A best practices guide of potential strategies and interventions for a variety of contexts will also be prepared.

The case study was prepared over a six-month period that began approximately one year after the conclusion of the project. Primary sources included semi-structured interviews with eleven key informants who were part of the team working on the project and three former members of the homeless community. Documentary sources included media accounts, meeting minutes and reports written by key informants. Sources were triangulated to promote accuracy.

One of the limitations of this case study is that the sample of formerly homeless people interviewed consisted entirely of individuals receiving services from Clackamas County because those were the only people that the researchers were able to contact, despite efforts to reach other former residents. A more diverse sample that included people who left without receiving assistance may have yielded a wider range of views about the relocation effort. To help address this concern, information from media accounts of interviews with members of the homeless community were integrated wherever possible.

When Oregon Travel Information Council assumed management of the Baldock Rest Area from Oregon Department of Transportation on January 1, 2010, a homeless community had resided at the rest area for nearly two decades. It was so institutionalized that a school bus stopped there when school-age youth were among the occupants. One evening that January, social services staff counted more than 100 people spending the night there. Some were chronically homeless individuals who were at the rest area most of the time, and some were situationally homeless people who slept in their vehicles overnight but left in the morning for work, school, or other activities.

Oregon Travel Information Council sought a humane way to eliminate the encampment and the problems it posed and restore the rest area to its original function as a visitor resource. Instead of attempting to tackle the problem alone, the Executive Director convened a diverse group of stakeholders to develop and implement a plan of action. By May 1, 2010, all members of the resident community who had wanted assistance with relocation had received it, and the encampment was gone prior to the seasonal influx of new people who might have tried to stay at the rest area for an extended period of time. Through disseminating information about and enforcing a prohibition on staying at the rest area for more than 12 hours during a 24-hour period, a new encampment did not develop.

Key findings from the case study included the importance of a collaborative, multi-agency approach to problem-solving that involved a “push/pull” strategy. The “pull” was provided by social service agencies, which, by providing intensive, individualized case management services, were able to assist members of the resident community with obtaining housing and taking steps toward rejoining traditional society. The “push” was provided by law enforcement agencies, which established and maintained a firm deadline for the disbanding of the encampment while also working closely with their social services colleagues to accommodate those few individuals who were making progress but required some flexibility in how rules were enforced.

The research highlights the importance of building trust among Baldock Restoration Team members across institutional and professional barriers. They came to rely on each other in the field, and they were able to present a united front to the homeless community. This sense of trust, combined with their commitment to the project, enabled team members to take calculated risks and exercise professional initiative and judgment instead of relying solely on traditional procedures and protocols to guide their actions. They became on-the-spot innovators.

While a number of the Baldock Restoration Team members fit this project within their existing workload, the final push at the end required funding for dedicated social services staff and immediate expenses, such as gas, the services of mechanics, identification cards, food and camping fees. This critically important flexible funding was provided primarily by the state housing agency.

A project such as this one should not be undertaken lightly, both because of the potential demands that it can place on participants and the impacts it can have on everyone involved, from the formerly homeless individuals to the team members. In the case of the Baldock Relocation Project, the results were outstanding: sixteen months after the move, two-thirds of the individuals who accepted assistance were still housed, and a visitor to the Baldock Rest Area who did not know its history commented that it was “just a nice, clean rest area in Oregon” (CSalas98, GoogleMaps.com).

Introduction

In January 2010, when Oregon Travel Information Council (OTIC) assumed management responsibility for five rest areas in the state, 109 homeless people were documented as residing overnight in the Baldock Rest Area (Leo & Stewart, 2011). Approximately 40 were experiencing chronic homelessness and lived at The Baldock around the clock, and the remaining individuals were transitionally homeless and spent the night there on a regular or occasional basis. The resident population, particularly those individuals experiencing chronic homelessness, had formed a complex, self-regulating and long-standing community, with shared meals, organized shopping expeditions, delineated roles and responsibilities. One person had called The Baldock home for 17 years, and St. Vincent de Paul, a social services agency, had provided weekly hot meals there for several years.

While The Baldock provided shelter for these individuals, the presence of a resident population at The Baldock presented problems for other potential users. Some residents panhandled near the rest rooms, which could result in visitors feeling unsafe. Some individuals had dogs and did not clean up behind them. Sometimes fights broke out among the resident population. Alleged activities also included prostitution and a drug trade that involved some truckers as well as potentially some members of the resident population. In the six month period from May through October 2009, the Oregon State Police received 126 calls for service at the Baldock Rest Area, including ten aggravated assaults/fights, ten disturbances and four animal complaints (Testa, n.d.).

OTIC organized a local business and public sector advisory group to develop a vision for the Baldock Rest Area. One concern was the problems associated with the resident population at the rest area. Thus, OTIC moved forward by bringing together the social service and law enforcement communities to craft a solution. This diverse team of professionals worked together in a two-pronged approach that involved, on one hand, intensive outreach, case-management and individualized problem solving around finding housing and other kinds of assistance for those living at The Baldock and, on the hand, developing new regulations and enforcement approaches to eliminate the possibility of long-term residency in the future. By May 1, 2010, four months after OTIC had assumed management for The Baldock, the longstanding community was gone, with the majority of the individuals who had experienced chronic homelessness relocating to permanent or transitional housing.

The Baldock Rest Area now functions primarily as a place for travelers and truck drivers to refresh themselves, sample Oregon's natural environment, obtain information about attractions and accommodations in the area and, if needed, sleep for a few hours. Along with these visitor functions, the rest area continues to serve a smaller number of transitionally homeless individuals who sleep therein conformance with the new rules. It is no longer home to a round-the-clock resident population.

This case study of the Baldock Restoration Project, as agency participants named it, describes the project and addresses these questions:

1. Partners: Who was involved in the relocation process and what were their roles?
2. Problem definition: How did different stakeholders define the issue and what would they regard as a successful resolution?
3. Process: What processes were used to address the problem, and how were those approaches informed by various institutional problem-solving frameworks?
4. Outcomes: What were the outcomes of the process in terms of the resident population, the rest area, institutional learning and new relationships? What were the costs to achieve these outcomes?

In addition to addressing these questions, this case study also highlights key “lessons learned” that may have bearing on how to approach similar challenges in the future. While it is virtually impossible to replicate the complex set of human relationships and interactions that were at the heart of this project, identifying key features of this effort that resulted in positive outcomes can point the way to a core of best practices to frame future efforts.

This case study included collection and analysis of first-hand and documentary data. The primary data included 11 interviews with key informants involved with the project and three formerly homeless individuals. Despite efforts to reach a more diverse group of former Baldock residents, all of the formerly homeless individuals interviewed were receiving services from Clackamas County at the time of their interview. Secondary data included four project descriptions written by five agencies, meeting summaries, media accounts, electronic information about the rest area, legislative research and additional written materials provided by key informants.

Background: The Baldock Rest Area



Image of Baldock Rest Area on I-5, Near Wilsonville
Source: i5highway.com, retrieved October 27, 2010

The 86-acre Baldock Rest Area, depicted above, consists of two sections of approximately the same size (northbound is 42.54 acres and southbound is 43.43 acres) that fall along either side of I-5 near Wilsonville, Oregon. Constructed in 1966 as part of the Oregon Interstate Highway System, the rest area

was named after Robert “Sam” Baldock, the Chief Highway Engineer for Oregon from 1932 through 1956 and a leader in highway design (Testa, n.d.).



Grove of the States at Baldock Rest Area
Source: Life As Art, retrieved October 27, 2011

A visitor to the Baldock Rest Area today may well feel as though he or she landed in a small segment of pristine Oregon. A short driveway leads to a parking area facing a large stand of tall Douglas Firs and flowering native trees and a pod of visitor amenities. On the southbound side, a walking trail winds through The Grove of the States, where each state is represented by a tree indicative of its flora, from palmettos to pines. The five Google online reviewers who took time to write an entry about the rest area in October 2011 all had positive things to say, as indicated these comments:

- “Just a nice clean rest area in Oregon.” (CSalas98)
- “Clean bathrooms and big area for dogs to play in!” (jess)
- “Clean bathrooms, great outdoor trails through huge trees.” (rest stop)

(GoogleMaps.com, n.d.)

Some of the same features that make the Baldock Rest Area attractive to visitors today also made it attractive to people without a permanent place to live. Hot and cold running water, toilets, picnic tables, water fountains, shady groves of trees and plenty of space were important amenities to people with only a vehicle, tent or camper as a home. It also provided privacy. Each section of The Baldock, as members of the resident population called it, had three parking areas. This enabled those living there to stay out of sight in the back area while visitors and trucks came and went in the front parking lots. Bruce, a long-term occupant, told a newspaper reporter, “We were clear in the back and we weren’t bothering anybody” (Te, 2010). For some, The Baldock also provided a source of income through panhandling near the rest rooms, and a few may have engaged in a grey market in prostitution or drugs. Its location fourteen miles south of Portland and within the Portland metropolitan area meant that it was only a short distance from jobs, stores and services. A few miles south was a truck stop with showers, laundry facilities, a small market, a gas station and a restaurant. The combination of amenities, relative privacy and location made it an attractive place to live for those with vehicles but no traditional homes.

One person who spent the night at The Baldock regularly for about two years had tried other rest areas before settling on it. For him, the critical factor was the relative sense of safety that he felt at the Baldock Rest Area, which he described as follows:

Respondent: The Baldock was eventually the safest place we found.

Interviewer: What were some of the other places you checked out?

Respondent: There's a rest stop on the way to the coast on [State Highway] 26, we tried down at the coast. Those are, we tried different parks, county parks.

Interviewer: What felt unsafe about some of the other places? Give me some examples.

Respondent: They're isolated, they're solitary, there's not too many people going in and out, there's not that much activity going on around, so if you're one of two cars there or in a poorly lit area, anybody can come and go, and you don't know who's around you. The Baldock, you knew people were coming and going. It was brightly lit in the area we were staying, and there was a lot of activity, always. So, if there was any kind of violence [inaudible], at least you felt that.



“Charlie Hall says that he has lived at the Baldock Rest Area near Wilsonville for 18 years.”

Source: KATU News, March 5, 2010, retrieved October 27, 2011

The Baldock Rest Area is part of an extensive system of public land (rights-of-way) managed and maintained by ODOT. However, limited funding for maintenance posed a major challenge for ODOT, and crews that took pride in their work were stretched thin. Even though ODOT had staff at the Baldock Rest Area for a period of time every day, it was not enough, according to some observers. Reporter Michelle Te of *The Canby Herald* described the cumulative impact of the chronic under funding of the maintenance of rest areas by 2010 as follows:

Many, if not most, of Oregon rest areas along the major interstates are in sorry shape. The \$2.5 million spent by the Oregon Department of Transportation for 32 rest areas barely covered maintenance of the restrooms and some lawn mowing, with nothing left to keep up the grounds, supervise travelers or even volunteers who offer hot coffee. (Te, June 15, 2010)

Although no one has been able to put a precise date on when a homeless population began to inhabit The Baldock, all sources agree that people have lived there since at least the mid-1990s and perhaps longer. While this use of the Baldock Rest Area provided access to shelter and sanitary facilities for those who otherwise would not have had those items, the presence of a homeless community detracted from its intended use as a visitor resource. While there is little debate about whether members of the community panhandled (asking for assistance is protected by the Oregon state constitution and the U.S. Constitution, which addresses the right to free speech), whether they were typically involved in criminal activities is an open question, even among law enforcement officials, as Te's account below indicates.

At Baldock, homelessness, drug use, prostitution and panhandling had become big problems, said both law enforcement and prosecutors...

Sgt. Dan Swift, acting commander for the Oregon State Police's Portland area, agreed that drug dealing, prostitution and theft have been the major criminal concerns at Baldock for many years. OSP has the responsibility for law enforcement on Oregon's highways, which includes the rest areas. Swift said that the people living at Baldock have not been part of the criminal problem there...

"It's not that we weren't doing anything about it," said Bill Stewart, an assistant district attorney for Clackamas County. "We tried to use the traditional approach and that hasn't been successful."

Almost daily for the past eight years, Stewart's office saw cases brought forward from Oregon State Police regarding these issues.

"To some extent it is the homeless," he said. "But we would still have some other activity. With up to 75 truckers a night there, it's an attractor to other things." (Te, June 15, 2010)

Regardless of the level of involvement of the homeless community in criminal activity, competitive panhandling made visitors uncomfortable, a representative of the hospitality and tourism industry said, and the resident community was generally regarded as an entrenched problem that was counterproductive to tourism interests (Te, 6/15/2010 and Leo and Stewart, 5/24/2011).

According to an ODOT administrator, ODOT staff, including managers, had long been aware of the presence of a homeless community at The Baldock. The presence of the homeless community and their dogs impacted ODOT operations in a number of ways, including the following:

- A higher level of wear on park infrastructure and natural areas
- Increased maintenance demands
- Safety concerns about the maintenance crews
- Complaints from visitors about panhandling and dogs
- Concerns about prostitution involving the long-haul truck drivers

ODOT's approach was to "keep the rest area open and as clean as possible, and use state police to help us with challenges [with] the people." Shrinking resources and personnel made this increasingly difficult. An ODOT administrator explained the challenge as follows:

We could come in, and as soon as we got it solved, they would come back. Our lack of presence and our staffing put there relative to...our entire charge—the rest areas are not as high up on

our priority list as [repairing] a guard rail and other safety features for the motorists—[affected what we were able to do]¹.

Oregon State Police made attempts to address the conditions at The Baldock. Enforcement was difficult because violation of the Oregon Administrative Rules governing behavior in a rest area carried no sanctions. Periodic sweeps of the rest area to force the resident population to move proved to be largely ineffective in the long term. Once Oregon State Police focused on other priorities, the resident community returned and stayed until the next sweep forced another temporary move. Oregon State Police requested that ODOT consider the adoption of an exclusion rule which would have provided some leverage for law enforcement, but ODOT was reluctant to do so. In the past, efforts to deal with homeless individuals at the end of off ramps in Salem and encampments in other areas had led to costly litigation and unfavorable outcomes for ODOT. Concern about incurring similar costs associated with the homeless population at The Baldock may have dampened the desire to take aggressive action.

Thus, over time the homeless population at The Baldock became a resident community that learned how to ride the waves of enforcement. The community was sufficiently institutionalized by 2010 to be served by The Canby Center and St. Vincent de Paul on a regular basis, and other social welfare and service groups provided occasional assistance. When children were among the residents, a school bus stopped there to provide transportation to students. By 2010, the Baldock functioned in part as two small, interconnected villages bisected by I-5.

The Baldockeans

The Baldock Rest Area community had a complex social structure. According to social service providers who knew the people living at the Baldock Rest area (the self-named “Baldockeans”), there were two primary clusters of people based on their relationship to the condition of being homeless. The first cluster was comprised of chronically homeless people who lived in the rest area around the clock and treated it as their ongoing home. They were very open about being homeless, and they bonded with each other and formed a community. Some were more deeply entrenched in a homeless lifestyle than others. According to one provider, a number of the chronically homeless saw themselves as living outside traditional society. She said, “They become so focused on the essentials of daily living and surviving that it was ‘them and us’.”

The second cluster was called the “shadow people” because they lived in the shadows of the social structure at The Baldock and only stayed there in the evenings as a place to sleep. They lived in the shadows. They did not self-identify as being homeless; instead, they viewed themselves as experiencing a rough patch that meant that they did not have a traditional home at the moment. One shadow person explained this condition as follows:

The vast majority of people who sleep there don’t want to be recognized, don’t want to associate, don’t want to talk and are afraid of being identified, because they’re probably either working or they have family in the area and they don’t want to be known that’s what’s happening to them. There’s a lot of guilt and shame that they attach to what’s going on.

¹ To preserve the confidentiality of the interviewees, the identities of people quoted are not provided. Where appropriate, the quote is introduced with information about the general sector or role of the interviewee.

Over time, a few shadow people built relationships with chronically homeless people, in part because the latter had survival skills, access to a valuable network of information and news about resources, and experience with navigating the social services systems. In general, however, the shadow people resisted learning the ropes and participating unless their circumstances became dire. They worked hard at keeping up appearances and typically kept their distance from the chronically homeless. During the day, they might work or look for work, particularly at area libraries.

One provider identified a third cluster, whom she called transitional people who were making the move from chronic homelessness to housed. She said, “When they’re in the transition stage, there’s a real desire to get out of homelessness. They don’t want to be called homeless.”

In addition to the clusters based on an individual’s relationship with the condition of homelessness, the Baldock also had two distinct geographically-based communities that regarded each other with some distrust. The community on the northbound side of I-5 tended to attract people who were older and more stable than those who lived on the southbound side. The community on the southbound side tended to attract more people who had chronic substance abuse or mental health issues, and thus was more volatile than the northbound side.

Most Baldockeans were white adults living singly or as childless couples. Despite this similarity, the range of personal backgrounds and precipitating events that led individuals to live at the Baldock was varied, as the profiles below illustrate. These profiles have been constructed from information obtained from interviews with key informants and former Baldockeans. While names and some details have been changed to preserve confidentiality, the circumstances and conditions are factual.

- Joe, a truck driver and mechanic by trade, was traveling from Washington (where he had family) to California in search of work when he ran out of gas and money at The Baldock. Several years prior he had used his house as security to buy his own rig. When gas prices escalated and the demand for drivers was down, he lost not just his truck but also his house. Joe lived at The Baldock for about one year.
- A no cause eviction due to disturbances stemming from severe domestic violence and child sexual abuse led Faith and her four children to The Baldock. They had a van, but it wasn’t large enough for all of them to sleep in it. So the teenage daughters took turns sleeping on the sidewalk with their mother while the younger children slept in the van. When they first arrived, the leftovers in the rest area trash cans were an important source of food for this family. “They’ll take a sandwich, and if they find it, they’ll cut that sandwich in five pieces and make sure everybody gets some. They never hoard; they never hoard,” a social worker observed.
- Myla was a former CPA who was fluent in English, Dutch, French and Chinese. Expenses associated with unexpected health issues resulted in the loss of her home. She drove to chemotherapy appointments and then spent days and nights recovering in her car at The Baldock. Myla was one of the shadow people.
- Dwayne was unemployed when his wife asked him to move out of their family home. He moved his possessions into storage, except for his camping gear. He lived in state parks until the summer rates and fully booked campgrounds pushed him and some forest fire fighter friends to The Baldock as a place to live temporarily. Dwayne stayed on after his friends left. He did his laundry regularly at the Canby Center, a social service agency, looking for work online while his

clothes were in the washer and dryer. While living at The Baldock, he worked sporadically for temp agencies as jobs became available.

- Frank and Marigold were musicians. Frank entertained rest stop visitors with his guitar while Mari panhandled. Their friend Jimmy, on the other hand, was considered a nuisance by other residents. When inebriated, which occurred regularly, he was prone to name-calling, instigating fights and other aggressive behaviors.
- Todd was laid off from his high tech job in 2008 and eventually lost his home. He stayed at The Baldock overnight and did not associate with the people living there around the clock. Days were spent at the library or, when he found temporary work, at his place of employment. He went to a truck stop down the road to shower to keep up appearances on the job, because no one at his workplace knew about his living situation. Todd was one of the shadow people.
- Rena also was one of the shadow people. As a college student, she worked swing shift at a major hotel, but did not have sufficient income to pay for an apartment. No one in her classes or at the motel knew that Rena drove to The Baldock in the evenings to sleep.

Interviews with former Baldockeans and case workers provided information about the day-to-day lives of chronically homeless individuals. They formed a complex community, with a social hierarchy, unwritten and written rules of conduct and means of enforcement, systems of trade and reciprocity, customs and celebrations. One service provider characterized the community as being a village; another called it a family. One of the shadow people, a particularly keen observer of the chronically homeless community, described what he termed “the ethereal structure in place” as follows:

I watched the structure in place talk [down] speed freaks or meth addicts [who were] trying to throw their weight around, and getting them moved off. And I watched groups from other parts try to move in and take over certain areas and do [harmful] things, and then [the “structure in place” would] talk them out of it and make sure that they leave.

From time to time, people who had vehicles that worked provided transportation to others in exchange for food or other necessities. When it was cold, sometimes they would pitch in and buy propane for a heater in an RV that could provide shelter to several of them. Communal meals were an important part of the community’s rituals. “You fix something and we’d get together. Everybody would bring something, so it was pretty good,” one person, known for his chili, said.

Eugene, the resident who had lived there the longest (17 to 19 years, depending on the source) was called The Mayor of Baldock. With the help of the Canby Center, he eventually transitioned into permanent housing and was doing well as of the preparation of this report. After he left, the leadership eventually transitioned to a couple. A principal source of conflict in the group was competition for the prime spot and the prime hours for panhandling. The best spot was called “The Wall,” which was the front wall of the building that housed the rest rooms used by visiting motorists. A sidewalk led from the front parking area to The Wall, and then visitors turned in one direction or the other, depending on their gender. After several fights among competing panhandlers, the couple solved the problem for the community by developing a schedule for panhandling that gave everyone a shift and thus minimized conflict.

One of the most important assets that most Baldockeans possessed, and that most homeless people do not have, was their vehicle. It served not only as a source of transportation, but also as shelter and as a place to store belongings that made life bearable. A social services worker described the impact of losing of a vehicle this way: “When a car gets impounded, they lose everything. They lose their ID documents, they lose their pictures, they lose everything.”

In summary, many of those who regarded The Baldock as their home developed strategies for survival that included both individual coping mechanisms (e.g., “positive” actions such as journaling, maintaining personal hygiene, volunteering at the Canby Center and caring for resident dogs, as well as “negative” ones such as drinking to excess and taking drugs) and community solutions (e.g., sharing resources and developing dispute resolution processes). Their vehicle provided for a measure of protection by serving as shelter, transportation and storage for belongings. Nevertheless, it was a rough life where individuals were vulnerable to the extremes of heat and cold, extremely limited money and physical resources, unpredictability, police sweeps, and what one resident called “too much drama” among residents.

Transition to OTIC Management

The year 2010 signaled a significant change in the lives of the people who lived in the Baldock Rest Area. The 2009 Oregon legislature transitioned the management of five rest areas, three along I-5 and two along I-84, from ODOT to OTIC. House Bill 2001 authorized an intergovernmental agreement between ODOT and OTIC that transferred the responsibility for managing, maintaining and improving the rest area to OTIC as of January 1, 2010, while retaining ODOT ownership. It also provided for a \$3 million annual payment from the gas tax fund to OTIC for these services (HB 2001, 2009 Oregon Legislative Session). The Baldock Rest Area was among this pilot group of rest areas transferred to OTIC management.

This bill represented the culmination of years of work by a task force organized by OTIC in 2006 to identify ways to make them successful generators of economic development activity. The task force, which included ODOT, tourism entities, counties and cities, analyzed the state’s 32 rest areas and how they were performing. The 2009 legislation was one of the primary outcomes of that task force’s work. One of the significant achievements of this legislation was to capture a significant income stream to invest in the maintenance and management of the rest area. Previously, ODOT’s budget provided for \$2.5 million annually to maintain 32 rest areas; the legislature allocated \$3 million annually to OTIC to transform five rest areas into generators of economic activity.

To prepare for assuming management of the rest areas, OTIC organized local advisory coalitions composed of county commissioners, city officials, local economic development groups, businesses, heritage groups and chambers of commerce/visitor associations to identify goals, priorities and directions for each rest area. It was the vision of this group that drove OTIC’s management plan for the Baldock Rest Area.

To move ahead, it was clear to OTIC staff and the advisory coalition that something needed to happen with respect to the homeless encampment at The Baldock. The pressure began to build as word spread of impending changes. Police stepped up enforcement during summer 2009, issuing tickets and threatening to impound vehicles. One social worker described the situation among the Baldockeans that summer as follows:

The police would say things like, “We’re working on cleaning you guys out of here. There’s another company that’s going to take over.” So a lot of fear was created. The July before OTIC

took over, the police were really hard on them. They kept giving them green tickets on their vehicles, threatening to impound them. To [have their vehicle impounded], that's their livelihood, that's everything...That summer, it was a very traumatic summer. We kept hearing that there was a company that was going to take over, and they were going to take over in January, and when they took over, they would not be allowed to live there anymore, so there was tremendous fear.

One of the Baldockeans, that is what they called themselves, he actually wrote a letter...He's not very eloquent, but really made it his cause to reach out and say please help us. Then the newspaper picked up on that story and printed something...He typed it up and went and put it everywhere, in the gas stations, in the truck stops, everywhere, to just try and ask for help.

The media did, indeed, pick up the story. The Canby Herald and a local television station (KATU News) ran pieces on it. On one hand, a "compassionate" Oregonian reporter started investigating the situation from the angle of the displacement of a long-standing community; on the other hand, the conservative radio talk-show host Lars Larson asked OTIC if "they were finally going to throw the bums out," according to one source. Rather than react with forceful tactics to this complicated public and human relations situation, OTIC approached it bearing hot chocolate.

On January 1, 2010, OTIC Executive Director Cheryl Gribkov and Greg Leo, a member of the Wilsonville Chamber of Commerce Hospitality and Tourism Committee, showed up at the Baldock Rest Area with gallons of hot chocolate to serve the community living there (Te, 6/15/2010). They stayed for approximately two hours and listened to what individuals had to say. The people living at The Baldock believed that they were going to be kicked out. Leo described the experience as follows:

"We heard their point of view, and a lot of their fear to change... As we got to know the people out there, the more reasonable we found them to be," Leo said. "And as we had dialogue, they found they could get what they needed, and we could get what the tourism industry needed." (Te, 6/15/2011)

This initial step represented both a savvy public relations move and a remarkable act of humanity that displayed a willingness to listen and understand. It did not mean that OTIC was going to give up plans to reclaim the rest area for tourism and travel uses, but it signaled a willingness to approach the displacement of the community with awareness of the difficulties and potential suffering it would cause the inhabitants. OTIC's next move was to convene a group of community leaders, members of the law enforcement community and social services on February 7, 2011, to talk about the problem and potential solutions. OTIC hired a facilitator for the meeting whom they had used at other times. Unbeknownst to OTIC, however, the facilitator came to the meeting with strong views about what should happen at the rest area and attempted to limit the discussion of potential strategies to ones that she thought were acceptable, based on her values and belief system. She limited discussion on approaches involving enforcement, as a meeting participant describes below:

Every time somebody suggested something related to enforcing the law, there was this, "Oh my God, we can't do that. There's no way we can—we can't criminalize homelessness." The moderator said, "No one is talking about kicking these people out," and then [representatives of the county and non-profit social services agencies] said, "Wait a minute. We don't have a program to make this thing work if we don't have these guys [the state police and the district attorney's office] at the table."

While that meeting did not achieve consensus on how to proceed, it did result in key partners focusing on the issue and contemplating solutions that involved inter-agency collaboration. Most importantly, key partners connected with others who cared. Coincidentally, within two to three weeks the Clackamas County District Attorney's Office sponsored a two-day seminar by the Western Community Policing Center (located at Western Oregon University in Monmouth, Oregon) on problem-solving approaches involving people from a variety of different institutional backgrounds. The seminar involved a briefing on a problem-solving protocol followed by small group work on developing a plan to address a community issue identified by the small group.

Several people who had attended the February 7th meeting also attended the training. Clackamas County Social Services Program Manager Liz Bartell, Canby Center Executive Director Ronell Warner, and Clackamas County Deputy District Attorney Bill Stewart were members of a small group that decided to focus on the Baldock Rest Area. One participant said, "Bill Stewart very wisely paired certain people in groups, and he had in the back of his mind to see if we could do something about The Baldock...Nobody really acknowledges just how much he [Bill Stewart] had to do with getting this project started." This group developed the kernel of a plan that would ultimately guide the work ahead. They called the plan "The Baldock Restoration Project." After the seminar was over, Ronell Warner contacted Cheryl Gribskov, Executive Director of OTIC, to tell her that a group had formed and had a plan for moving forward. Ronell Warner described their meeting as follows:

My commission was to meet with Cheryl afterwards [after the training session] and float the idea with her. So she and I met for lunch, and I told her, I said, "Cheryl, I think we may have a plan that could solve this that could work for everybody. I could get housing for the homeless, the police could get a reduction in the crime, even though...you will see that the crime is not started by the homeless. It's other people behind the crime. And you would not have people living at the Baldock." So we presented this plan that was developed in this committee, this training session, to Cheryl, and she absolutely said, "That sounds great." She convened a meeting of all these different interested parties, and we went on from there.

Thus, OTIC's approach to addressing the competing uses at the Baldock Rest Area was to go outside its own agency and convene those who had various kinds of expertise, resources and authority to lend to developing a plan and implementing it. While the first attempt to assemble the right people did not succeed because the meeting facilitator prevented the group discussing a full range of potential outcomes and strategies, OTIC persisted and followed up by establishing a smaller task force. The planning effort was expedited by a fortuitous occurrence: a multi-disciplinary, highly participatory workshop where key players who saw problems from different and sometimes conflicting professional points of view had a chance to work together over a two day-period to craft an approach to a complex problem. The method, community-oriented policing, came from a law enforcement framework and thus had credibility with the legal and law enforcement partners in this effort.

The Baldock Restoration Project

The Baldock Restoration Project Team first met on March 2, 2010, just two months before the annual influx of additional homeless individuals and families from the south, which typically began in May. The complete roster of Team members included 30 individuals from a variety of fields, including public and nonprofit social service agencies, Oregon State Police, Oregon Travel Information Council, legal aid organizations, local law enforcement agencies and the Office of the District Attorney. The Team brought with them a wide range of institutional frameworks for defining the problem and developing solutions,

as well as a variety of implementation tools (e.g. enforcement-related and social services tools). Approximately half the Team members had been involved in the earlier, inconclusive meeting, and approximately half were new. A complete list of members is included as Appendix 1. The so-called “Core Team Members”—those most actively engaged—included individuals from the following agencies:

Social Services

- The Canby Center (an interdenominational, nonprofit, faith-based social services provider)
- Clackamas County Social Services (the county social services agency)
- Oregon Housing and Community Services (the state housing agency)

Enforcement

- Clackamas County District Attorney’s Office (prosecuted crime in behalf of the county)
- Oregon State Police (law enforcement)
- Oregon Travel Information Council (management of the site)
- Oregon Law Center and Legal Aid Society of Oregon (represented the legal rights of the homeless community)
- Oregon Department of Transportation (promulgated new Oregon Administrative Rules)

The goals of the group were described in complementary, if not precisely the same, terms by Core Team Members, as the following quotes from interviews indicate:

Social Services Perspectives

I think what made us united was we all had a goal in mind, even though we didn’t have the same goal...My goal was to get housing for my friends. OTIC’s goal was to remove the dilapidated vehicles there. We all had different goals, and at the end of the day it was really the same goal. That made us very united.

The project goals were to revise and reinforce the law, and at the same time find a humane disposition for the people who were there who would accept our help...I guess a third goal, in my mind, anyway, was to return the Baldock Rest Area to its original purpose, which was for rest stops for travelers.

Enforcement Perspectives

Reduce crime and improve the quality of life...we are trying to make this place safer the most cost efficient way we can. We accomplished that. Now, am I glad that 33 or 34 people got resettled in a positive kind of way? Sure, but my cold... heart says I’m glad because those folks aren’t committing crime, and they’re not—it’s not just committing crime, but that concentration of disorder bred other issues, and so by having those folks kind of absorbed in the positive energy back in the world, we don’t have the same levels of problems we had in there.

I think everyone had the same goal, address the homeless problem and not just kick them out but actually get to the root of the problem and get them help.

In summary, the Core Team appears to have united around three shared goals: helping the people living at the Baldock Rest Area move into more standard living conditions and mainstream society, reducing/eliminating the encampment and the real and perceived problems associated with it, and

restoring the rest area to its original use. Members tended to focus on the goal that related to their professional outlook, while also acknowledging the others.

The strategy for achieving these goals was described as encompassing two elements: a “pull” from social services to provide housing alternatives and a path toward reentry into society and a “push” from enforcement to get the resident population to move from The Baldock. Each side recognized the importance of the other, while also acknowledging the challenge of working together, as the following quote from a social services representative indicated:

Now, was it always easy to sit around the table and talk? Absolutely not...I really had a problem with the police because they treated our homeless like criminals, and they made life so hard on them. Bill [the Assistant District Attorney] helped me see the importance of the law enforcement. I realize without the arm of law enforcement, we would never have dislodged those individuals. Never...

They needed to push and we needed to pull, but without the push, it couldn't have happened, because they [the permanently homeless individuals] kept saying, 'We don't have to go.' It was only when the law enforcement came in and truly started slapping those tickets on their vehicles and stuff like that—that did dislodge them.

To implement this strategy, the Team divided into two primary groups: a Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee and Social Services Subcommittee. The whole Team met approximately every four weeks prior to May 1 (March 2, April 1, April 29) to ensure coordination and appropriate timing of the two elements, and the subcommittees met at least once between meetings. In addition, Core Team Members were in frequent contact with each other via phone, e-mail or in person throughout project as each new piece fell into place and required coordination with others. At the request of Clackamas County Social Services, the County provided funding for professional facilitation and support to the Team meetings, which was provided through staff and an experienced volunteer associated with Clackamas County Dispute Resolution Services.

A detailed chronology, presented in Appendix 1, describes how these two subcommittees coordinated their efforts over time. However, the most effective way to explain the implementation of this push/pull strategy may well be to examine the approach of each side individually.

Social Services Subcommittee

The goal of the Social Services Subcommittee was to provide a pathway to more stable living alternatives for those willing to accept assistance. Key elements of this approach included the following:

- Building on existing relationships of trust that existed between agencies and Baldockeans.
- Understanding and working with the existing social structure in the community (“the ethereal structure in place”).
- A case management approach founded on the understanding that each person was an individual who needed options specifically tailored to his/her abilities and needs.
- Conveying respect for the individual and his/her right to choose his/her future.
- Committed, experienced staff willing to work odd hours and do whatever was required to help people access the options that they had selected, and agencies willing to provide this flexibility for their staff members.

- A pool of discretionary funds to pay for unpredictable but essential goods and services, such as moving costs, application fees, medical services and gas money.
- A strongly delineated project with a definite end date.
- Extremely demanding, intensive work for a short period of time.
- Careful coordination with the Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee.

As indicated previously, the provision of social services at The Baldock pre-dated the formation of Baldock Restoration Project. When the Canby Center was established in fall 2007, the board charged the new Executive Director with addressing the needs of the homeless students in the Canby School District, including those living at the Baldock. The Executive Director initially established contact not as provider of services, but as one individual to another. She and her husband brought their car, which she had damaged accidentally, to the Baldock to work on the bumper. She described what happened as follows:

While he [her husband] was working on the car, I was kind of looking around, and one of the homeless men who obviously lived in his vehicle approached us and said, “It looks like you need some help.” Of course, we had an out-of-state number plate.

The bizarre thing was he got under the car—he took a blanket out of his truck, laid it on the ground, which is very telling. He didn’t just lie on the ground. He wanted to lie on a blanket. He looked up and said, “Oh, no—it’s broken. The clips are broken.” But he said, “I have a rivet gun.” So he got in the back of his truck, and I’m thinking “Please don’t rivet my Volvo.” But he did, and to this day it holds.

That opened the conversation. His name was Bob, and that kind of opened the conversation to his being homeless. He started telling me about the homeless, and it opened the door for us to start communicating [with the community]. I learned that, to build a relationship, you can’t build it by giving. You have to have them give in return...

Bob opened the door for me to meet more, and one of the things I realized was that they are a family. They were a community, they’re a family, and it took Bob and some of the others, as I got to know them, to really invite me in and to start building that trust relationship.

Several members of the Core Team said that the well-established, trusting relationships between the Canby Center and Baldockeans prior to the beginning of this project were a key factor in its success. If this level of contact and trust had not been in place, one social services representative indicated that she thought it would have taken three months longer to complete the project.

A case management approach involved developing a relationship with a household or individual, helping them consider the range of possibilities for their future and then identifying some goals, and assisting with accessing resources or taking steps to achieve those goals. One of the social services managers described the intensive case management for the Baldock Restoration Project as follows:

The process has to be an individualized process, because everybody is different, everybody has different needs and strengths, weaknesses. And so these were really written plans that were developed with the goal of identifying housing needs, mental health needs, alcohol and drug needs, basic resource needs—food, clothing, that kind of thing—employment, training, the whole realm of psychosocial needs.

The two case managers (one from the Canby Center, a faith based organization, and one from Clackamas County Social Services, a government agency), had different but complementary theoretical frameworks and personal styles. The Canby Center case manager's approach focused on helping a person change his/her *perspective* or sense of identity (e.g., as an addict, as a homeless person), which affected his/her *attitude* toward experiences and people, which in turn influenced the *choices* that individual made. She began by trying to help people recover their sense of value as human beings through treating them with respect and dignity. The Clackamas County Social Services case manager based her approach on William Glasser's Reality Therapy model, which focuses on personal choice and responsibility as a means to personal transformation through implementing a chosen plan of action. The Baldockeans tended to choose the person with whom they felt most comfortable. "People saw that we were a united front, when it came to it. We [both] want to help and we'll do whatever it takes. If they had an issue with our core values, maybe they would direct themselves one way or another to the other person a little bit more," one case manager said.

And staff did do whatever it took to help people move forward. "We had to send our workers out to the Baldock, or to stand in line at [a drug and alcohol detox facility] every morning in order to get a space for someone. Or take them to the doctor," one agency representative said. Because the chronically homeless had a multitude of issues to work through, many of them never believed that they would return to mainstream society. She described the process to help them do so as follows:

There's just a tremendous amount of work to be done and it requires energy and passion and concern and an orientation to detail...Sometimes there's lots of legal concerns, there's property debt, people don't have their ID, they don't have a birth certificate, all those details have to be looked after before they can get into housing.

The Canby Center became a hub for services, as it was a place familiar and comfortable to the Baldockeans. Services brought there included:

- Rent Well training (15 hours), which provides tools to address barriers to accessing housing, such as a history of evictions, poor credit or criminal activity. Successful completion enabled participants to access funding to assist with deposits and fees on apartments and their landlords to a pool of resources to assist with unit clean up should things go awry. This program was scheduled for the Canby Center to facilitate attendance by Baldockeans. Eight Baldockeans graduated from the program
- Access to computers, laundry, clothing and household items at the Canby Center.
- Two days of onsite assessment and intake by Clackamas County Behavioral Health for people in need of mental health or addiction services.

In addition, the following services are examples of the kinds of assistance with which the case managers helped individuals connect:

- Assistance with applying for the Oregon Health Plan (OHP), Social Security Disability (SS-D) and Veterans Administration (VA) medical services. Several were admitted to OHP, two people received SS-D, and one received assistance from the VA.
- Help with accessing transitional or permanent supportive housing. Five people accessed housing and intensive case management this way.

- Help with accessing employment-related services, such as Hire Oregon Vets. Oregon Travel Information Council hired a former Baldockean to work in the maintenance crew at the rest area.

In summary, relocation assistance was offered to all Baldockeans. Some chose to move on their own, others accessed a lower level of assistance (i.e., a gas card) and others chose to partake in case management, which opened the door to a wide range of help. Case managers helped people set goals and take steps toward achieving them through accessing *existing* community services. Sometimes the services were delivered at the Canby Center by special arrangement, but in most instances the case managers helped their clients access the services wherever they were traditionally provided. Thus, prior to Moving Day, the Social Services Subcommittee had put in place a “pull” strategy to help address barriers preventing Baldockeans from moving on with their lives.

Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee

The tasks of the Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee were to develop rules and enforcement procedures to dislodge the long-term community before the seasonal influx of new residents began in May and to ensure that an encampment did not re-establish itself in the future. Key elements of their approach included the following:

- Tightening up existing Oregon Administrative Rules that governed behavior in rest areas, including prohibiting camping or remaining in a rest area for more than 12 hours within a 24-hour period.
- Making the failure to comply with the Rules or leave the rest area when ordered to do so by a Rest Area Attendant a Class B violation citable by a law enforcement officer.
- Involving legal advocates for homeless individuals (Legal Services attorneys) in the development of the rules to reduce the risk of subsequent legal challenges.
- Adopting a May 1 effective date for the new rules, thus clearing the area before the summer influx.
- Carefully coordinating the beginning of the “push” with the offering of housing and services by the Social Services Subcommittee.
- Communicating openly and directly with the homeless community, in collaboration with the social service providers.
- Using discretion in enforcing new rules when violations were temporary and the individuals involved were working with the Social Services Subcommittee to find housing and services.
- Using Clackamas County Community Court for criminal cases, which provided the possibility of diverting offenders to rehabilitative services as an alternative to serving time in jail.
- Maintaining a strong, active presence of Oregon Travel Information Council management and maintenance workers, who informed motorists, truckers and others of the new rules.
- Providing enhanced state police patrols through the rest area during the warm weather months.

The underlying framework for this approach was Problem-Solving Justice, which has its roots in community and problem-oriented policing (Wolf, 2007). It is based on the concept that the criminal justice system should identify and address underlying problems as a means of reducing recidivism and forestalling future criminal activity instead of exclusively focusing on arresting, processing and adjudicating offenders. Key principles of this approach include community engagement, collaboration, individualized justice and enhanced information about and understanding of complex issues (Wolf, 2007). The February 2010 workshop organized by the Clackamas County District Attorney’s office, where

the strategy for The Baldock Restoration Project was created, was based on a Problem-Solving Justice approach.

To disperse the community and prevent a new one from forming, some members of the Law Enforcement Subcommittee advocated for the adoption of an Exclusion Rule similar to one that was in force in the state park system. This would have allowed authorized personnel to issue exclusion notices to violators of the sections of the Oregon Administrative Rules that govern behavior in rest areas. In general, exclusion notices prohibit violators from returning to a defined exclusion zone, such as the Baldock Rest Area, for a specified period of time, such as 90 days. Violation of the exclusion notice typically results in a criminal trespass citation, a misdemeanor that is an entry point into the criminal justice system. Instead of sending them through the typical court system and being penalized with jail time, the Clackamas County District Attorney wanted to divert most offenders of an Exclusion Rule into the Community Court system, where they could have been given the option of entering a treatment program instead of serving jail time. However, at this stage, there was not a willingness to take this aggressive step, and the committee instead focused on other changes to the Oregon Administrative Rules.

Initially, the Oregon Law Center and Legal Aid Services of Oregon objected to several provisions in the first draft of the proposed rules as including broad or vague language that would be “impossible for both law enforcement to interpret and individuals to understand what is illegal.” While some members of the committee were interested in limiting panhandling, Oregon Law Center pointed out that the right to solicit donations is Constitutionally-protected free speech. All parties accepted the proposed revisions in their entirety. ODOT undertook the formal adoption of the new Administrative Rules, with an effective date of May 1, 2010. A copy of the new rules appears as Appendix 3.

The new rules had several key provisions. First, the amendments imposed a sanction for failing to comply with the rules. Prior to this change, the Oregon Administrative rules provided a code of conduct, but did not specify any consequences for failure to do so. An infraction of the rules, including failure to leave the rest area when ordered to do so by a rest area attendant, was citable as a Class B violation that carried a maximum fine of \$360 (ORS 153.018). In a practical sense, this meant that a rest area attendant who saw a person violating the rules could ask him or her to leave the rest area. If they refused to do so, the attendant could call Oregon State Police, and a state trooper could issue a violation that carried a fine.

A second key area included two provisions that, when taken together, discouraged people from panhandling at the Wall at the rest room, the most remunerative location. Rule 8 prohibited blocking access to the rest rooms, and Rule 9 prohibited smoking within 20 feet of the rest rooms. Thus, the right to free speech was preserved and panhandling could occur, but only under these new conditions.

Perhaps the biggest deterrent remained the potential of having one’s vehicle towed. Typically, the vehicle contained everything that a Baldockean was relying on to survive, from important identification papers to food, clothing, a bed, shelter and transportation. Without a vehicle, a person was not only homeless, but also without the means of taking care of himself. Unlike the imposition of a fine, towing had an immediate effect on a person’s current wellbeing. By state law, Oregon State Police, Oregon Department of Transportation and local law enforcement agencies had the ability to tow vehicles that were parked in a public way for more than 24 hours without authorization to do so (ORS 819.110 – 215). Once a homeless person received a towing notice, they had 24 hours to move their vehicle or face towing. The new Administrative Rules did not expand authority to tow.

According to representatives from Oregon Travel Information Council, Oregon State Police and the Clackamas County District Attorney's office, the collective effect of the new rules and new level of attention to the problem was to pressure the Baldockeans to leave through threat of citation and/or arrest, towing of vehicles as a last resort measure, and adjudication through the County Community Court, should criminal misdemeanors or felonies occur.

The new rules and enforcement procedures were conveyed to the Baldockeans as part of a broader-based, comprehensive strategy to change how the rest area operated. On March 2, the Canby Center hosted a "listening lunch" for Baldock community members at the Bethany Church in Canby. Prior to the lunch, community members were invited to go to the Canby Center for hot showers, free haircuts and donated clothing, so that they would feel more comfortable meeting with Baldock Restoration Committee members. At that lunch, they learned that they would be offered one-on-one assistance with relocating (including help with addressing the barriers that prevented them from staying housed) and that new rules would be enforced on a consistent basis beginning May 1, so that staying where they were would no longer be an option. A second meeting involving Committee members was held onsite at The Baldock during one of the weekly Saint Vincent DePaul meal days to update the community and reinforce the message from the Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee. At this event, the Baldockeans were able to hear directly from the Deputy District Attorney, and he was able to meet community members.

Thus, the Law Enforcement Strategy Committee, like the Social Services Committee, had developed and vetted a strategy, coordinated with its sister committee, communicated with the Baldockeans, and was ready for the big push on moving day.

Moving Day and Beyond

Moving day was April 30, 2010, the day before the new administrative rules went into effect. Although the new rules had little practical effect, they were symbolically important, and their adoption signaled a new era of management and humane but consistent enforcement. Practically, the effective date provided a deadline for moving on or facing sanctions which might include towing. It forced individuals to make choices that they had avoided in the past, and it emptied the rest area of long-term campers before the likely summer influx.

The case managers created a relocation plan that included a strategy for each person that had been developed in collaboration with that individual. One of the case managers described the short-term relocation options as follows:

Respondent: We had to come up with a relocation plan and figure out who would be able to move to a camp ground in the area, who had working vehicles and the ability to drive so that they would still be doing an "in and out," abiding by the [12-hour maximum stay] rules but going in and out of there...For some of the folks who had RVs, we were looking at RV parks in the area, especially if they did have income. And any other housing options. At the same time, we were lining up the Rent Well class, which is a six week series of classes. [If they attended the classes,] they would get the certificate, which would provide them with the landlord guarantee.

Interviewer: Which means, if they mess up the unit, that you guys have some money to backfill—it's a pool.

Respondent: Correct.

The case managers had secured volunteers to help with the move and mechanics to assist with vehicles in need of repair. They had gas cards and funds to pay for camping fees. They had worked for weeks to earn the trust of the residents, thus laying the groundwork for an orderly move. But then the unexpected happened.

A state trooper who had not been involved in the effort and who was from a different (but nearby) district arrived and began to ticket vehicles with the threat of towing. Chaos nearly ensued. The case manager described the tense situation this way:

Respondent: We had a total plan with drivers, how we actually work it for safety for ourselves and others within—not just the residents there and ourselves, but other motorists coming through. And this kind of put a little bit of a cog into the system.

Interviewer: Little?

Respondent: A huge one, because people were really panicked. And people with addictions, their first source of comfort was to engage in their addiction and to try and self-medicate.

Interviewer: And there's a cop there.

Respondent: And we're supposed to be moving vehicles...people were trying to take off that were under the influence because they were panicked. [The other case manager] went in on the north side. I came in as soon as I got the alert and ran into the southbound side...You didn't have phone service, so our ability to communicate as professionals was very limited, and so we kind of had to fly by the seat of our pants.

The situation became dangerous because the trust that held the project together was in jeopardy. Not even the case managers understood why the ticketing was occurring. But then the state troopers who had been involved in the project arrived and quickly put an end to the ticketing. The other trooper left. No one was hurt, but it was not an orderly move. This incident revealed how important the bonds of trust among team members and between the team members and the resident community were to the success of the project.

According to the Oregon Travel Information Council, the site was left in good order. With the organization's larger budget for the rest areas, their crews began to address deferred maintenance items. Their staff was able to maintain a more visible presence at The Baldock and communicate with new people as they arrived. They informed visitors of the new rules and kept an eye on returning Baldockeans to ensure that they complied with the 12-hour rule. A small number of "shadow people" (reported to be approximately 25 people per night in April 2011, approximately 13 months after the project began) spent nights in the rest area but did not establish an ongoing presence.

Oregon State Police were able to exercise informed practical judgment about how best to enforce the new rules. While the community was gone as of May 1, 2010, some individuals receiving services returned to The Baldock on a temporary basis because alternative housing was not yet available. Some needed to finish the Rent Well class to be in a position to secure housing, while others needed to complete other pieces of their individualized relocation and case management plans, and still others were on waiting lists, but space had not yet opened up for them. Oregon State Police accommodated

this in their enforcement efforts. One of the Core Team Members said that the key Oregon State Police personnel involved with the effort “came through beautifully because they put themselves on the line to fix the problem.”

Oregon Travel Information Council entered into an Interagency Agreement with Oregon State Police to provide 104 hours of enhanced patrol coverage from May 1, 2010 through June 30, 2010, and renewed the contract for an additional 125 hours through September 30, 2010. Subsequently, Oregon State Police designated the Baldock Rest Area as a Problem Oriented Policing Tactical Zone, which means that Troopers are directed to patrol the area during discretionary time. In addition, information on criminal activity in the zone is tracked and reported on a regular basis. In effect, the Tactical Zone designation created a long-term supplemental policing strategy for the Baldock Rest Area (Testa, n.d.).

On the social services side, the case managers were exhausted at the end of the project. Of the 22 chronically homeless households at The Baldock when Clackamas County Social Services began offering case management assistance, 20 accepted help and had a plan in place for what they would do when enforcement of new rest area rules were to go into effect on May 1 (Clackamas County Social Services, 2010). Other chronically homeless individuals were assisted by the Canby Center both prior to and during the same period. Some individuals left of their own accord, without assistance from social service agencies. An unknown number of shadow people who required information but not intensive case management obtained assistance as well. A more detailed accounting of the outcomes appears later in this report. In reflecting on this experience, one of the social services representatives said, “I think as a group we were highly successful in collaborating on the project, and I think...some of the clients had remarkably good outcomes, considering where they had been.”

Clackamas County Social Services and the Canby Center continued working with former Baldockeans long after the move. Those who moved to transitional housing managed by the County continued to receive intensive case management, including employment and training/education assistance, help with finding permanent housing, and counseling related to re-establishing healthy relationships with family and key others in their lives. Consistent with the faith-based orientation of the Canby Center, staff there also maintained supportive (but more flexible, less formal) relationships with Baldockeans, knew what was taking place in their lives and were ready to assist.

Outcomes and Costs

Prior sections of this report have described the *efforts* of the Baldock Restoration Team to fundamentally change the rest area and to assist the chronically and situationally homeless households living there; this section analyzes the *results* and the *costs* associated with achieving them. The outcomes of each of the subcommittees are described below.

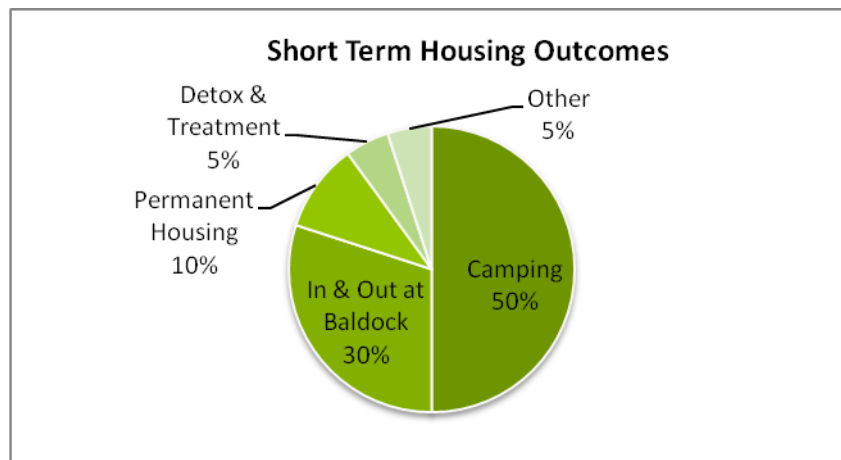
Social Services

The key question to consider in analyzing the outcomes of the Social Services Subcommittee is: What happened to the community of people who used to live in the Baldock Rest Area? Data are available on both short term and long term outcomes.

In January 2010, the Canby Center conducted a one-night count at the Baldock Rest Area and found that 109 people were spending the night there. Once the Baldock Restoration project began, some chronically homeless people left of their own accord, and some of the shadow people found other places to spend the night. As of March 22, 35 individuals were reported as wanting assistance with relocation and other services (Meeting Summary of Social Services Subcommittee of Baldock

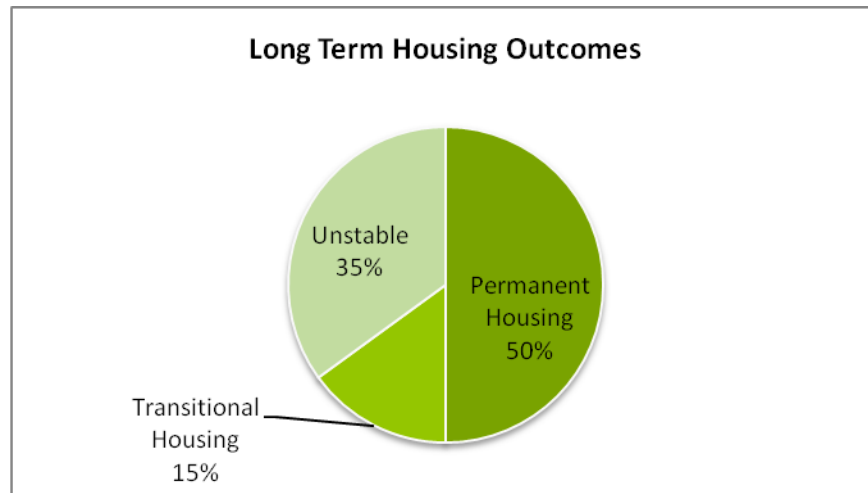
Restoration Team, March 22, 2010). Before Clackamas County Social Services formally began offering case management services in collaboration with the Canby Center, the latter had assisted 13 chronically homeless individuals with moving into housing (Canby Center, n.d.). At the April 29 team meeting, the day before the move, the Canby Center reported that 24 individuals required assistance with relocating. Case management services had been provided to 22 households, and, with two having exited the program, 20 households needed assistance on moving day.

In the short term, ten households moved to the nearby campground on April 30, 2010. Approximately six continued to spend the night at The Baldock, but in compliance with the 12-hour rule. Two were able to obtain permanent housing right away, one fled when the Oregon State Police began ticketing vehicles on April 30, and one entered substance abuse treatment services. The figure below shows the short-term housing status of the twenty households who requested assistance.



Source: Clackamas County Social Services Interview Data

The long-term outcomes of this effort were very good. Sixteen months after the move, ten of the households lived in permanent housing and three others lived in transitional housing and were good candidates for moving into permanent housing once it became available. Only seven households, approximately one-third of the chronically homeless individuals who had sought assistance, were in unstable housing situations. Most of these individual had significant addiction issues. Three of the seven were able to obtain permanent housing for a short time but were not able to maintain it. The figure below depicts the long-term housing outcomes of the 20 households.



Source: Clackamas County Social Services Interview Data

It is difficult to find a single standard against which to measure this 65% housing retention rate because so much depends on the population profile and the level of services provided. On one hand, the City of Portland sets a housing retention goal of 75% for participants in the street outreach programs that it funds. These programs include strong housing placement resources, such as immediate access to permanent housing vouchers to help pay for rent, and ongoing supportive services. In the case of the Baldock Restoration Project, strong housing placement resources were not earmarked for the Baldockeans. Some accessed vouchers or other public resources when they became available during the course of normal program operations; others found housing on their own, through family or friends. On the other hand, the Portland Police Bureau invested \$6 million over three years to provide housing and very intensive services to 54 chronically homeless individuals with long histories of incarceration related to their mental health status, addictions, and homelessness (Korn, June 2, 2011). While some of the Baldockeans may have had a similar profile, the same level of services was not available to them. Given the mixed profile of the 20 Baldock households and the lack of immediately available access to permanent housing, a 16-month housing retention rate of 65% is very good.

Another way to understand these results is to consider the difficult transition that individuals had to make to go from a precarious life without housing to living in a safe environment indoors. . According to some of the former Baldockeans interviewed, the experience of homelessness can dramatically affect an individual’s sense of self. For example, when one person moved into a furnished apartment, he slept in a chair in the living room for the first week because having a bed was disconcerting. Another remarked on how much space he had (compared to a car or camper) in a one-bedroom apartment. Another said that he had to learn how to cook in a kitchen all over again. One person said that being on edge about other people for months had led to suspicion and paranoia about others that she had to work to overcome. The project achieved a success rate of 65% (permanent and transitional housing) with helping chronically homeless individuals re-enter society.

Another way in which these results are remarkable is that the case workers knew what was occurring with each household sixteen months after the initial move, even if they were not receiving services. All three of the former Baldockeans interviewed chose to volunteer with the Canby Center or at The Baldock itself to “give back” what they had received—and two of them worked in addition to volunteering. This speaks to the close bonds and networks that were formed during the intense weeks

leading up to the move and the months following, and the importance of building genuine relationships as a means of softening the edge of difficult changes.

One important limitation on these positive outcomes needs to be noted: the absence of information about the Baldockeans who left before Moving Day. Despite efforts to do so, the researchers were not able to establish contact with any of these individuals or obtain information on their views of the Baldock Restoration Project. This case study would be more complete if their observations, concerns and ideas were available.

Public Safety

One way to measure changes in real and perceived crime and misconduct in the Baldock Rest Area is to analyze the changes in the calls for public safety assistance before and after the implementation of the project. This analysis was undertaken by Sergeant Fred Testa of the Oregon State Police. He compared the “calls for service” at the Baldock Rest Area May through October 2009 (prior to implementation) to those for the same period in 2010 (after implementation). He found a 55% reduction, from 126 calls in 2009 to 57 calls in 2010. Among the 24 call categories, the number of calls decreased in all but five. Assaults and Disturbances each were reduced by approximately 70%, and no calls were received for animal complaints, motor vehicle crashes, harassment, vandalism and drug activity. Calls for suspicious person/activity/vehicle decreased by 54% (Testa, n.d.). The table below presents these results.

Baldock Rest Area Calls for Service **Call Type and Frequency, May through December**

Call Type	2009	2010	Change
Aggravated Assault/Fight	10	3	-70%
Disturbance	10	3	-70%
Suspicious Person/Activity/Vehicle	37	17	-54%
Drug Activity	2	0	-100%
Harassment	2	0	-100%
Trespass	0	3	NA ²
Vandalism	1	0	-100%
Domestic	2	0	-100%
Menacing	3	0	-100%
Recovered Stolen Vehicle	1	1	0%
Theft	3	4	33%
Welfare Check	13	7	-46%
Arrest Warrant	3	3	0%
Animal Complaint	4	0	-100%
Stolen/Lost/Recovered Property	8	5	-38%
Impeding Access (Hazard)	12	2	-83%
Fire	1	0	-100%
Missing Person	0	1	NA
Child Abuse	1	0	-100%
Sex Crime	0	2	NA

² Not Applicable (NA) is used when calculating change would result in division by zero (i.e., when there were no instances of that call type in 2009, but there were instances in 2010).

Driving Under the Influence of Intoxicants	4	1	-75%
Medical Emergency	4	5	25%
Minor in Possession of Alcohol	1	0	-100%
Motor Vehicle Crash	4	0	-100%
Total	126	57	-55%

Source: Oregon State Police Northern Command Center Call Log. Compiled and analyzed by Sgt. Fred Testa, Oregon State Police

It is important to remember that a reduction in calls for service could be caused by any number of factors and/or the interaction among them. For example, the active, visible presence of Oregon Travel Information Council management onsite after May 1, combined with the absence of a homeless encampment, may have acted as a deterrent to criminal activity involving motorists or truckers. Criminals who might have otherwise used the Baldock Rest Area to conduct illegal activity may have decided to go elsewhere when they discovered that it had changed. The Assistant District Attorney summarized the outcomes of this effort by saying, “The great part of the story is, I didn’t prosecute anybody... We cut crime by 70% and I didn’t send anyone to jail.”

Costs

By far, the majority of resources associated with this project were of a kind that did not appear on a balance sheet: the “in-kind” staff time of members of the Baldock Restoration Team who worked on this project instead of others within their responsibility; the undocumented, unpaid overtime that they contributed, and the work and donations of volunteers enlisted to help. These contributions were essential to the success of the project; without them, the intense focus and heightened level of activity required for success would not have been achieved. Examples include the following:

- Clackamas County Social Services estimated that it invested approximately \$3,700 in administrative staff time in supporting the project.
- Similarly, Oregon Travel Information Council estimated that it invested approximately 20 hours of staff time per week, spread among six staff, for a period of five months.
- In the summer of 2009, the board of the Canby Center told their Executive Director that the homeless community at The Baldock was consuming too much of her time and the Center’s resources, and they advised her to stop working with them. What she did instead was to work a full work week for the Canby Center and then work on the Baldock Restoration Project on her own (unpaid) time. Key members of both Baldock Restoration Project subcommittees said that her knowledge of the community, relationships with the residents and level of personal commitment were essential elements of the project’s success.

The table below shows cash expenditures of approximately \$59,000, of which 63% were provided by Oregon Housing and Community Services for case management associated with finding housing and options for Baldockeans. These Emergency Housing Assistance funds were provided by Oregon Housing and Community Services (OHCS) with the understanding that they were “one time only” resources, and that the agency is unlikely to provide funding for similar projects in the future, according to Mary Carroll, Program Analyst with the Community Services Section of OHCS.

Oregon Travel and Information Council provided approximately \$18,500 (31% of cash expenditures) for enhanced security patrols to discourage resettlement of the rest area, and the Canby Center and Clackamas County both contributed cash resources as well. The available information did not include an

indication of any cash contributions from nearby cities or businesses affected by the problem, although it is possible that some businesses contributed indirectly by providing donations to the Canby Center.

Baldock Restoration Project Cash Expenditures					
Uses of Funds	Total	Sources			
		Oregon Housing & Community Services	Canby Center	Clackamas County	Oregon Travel Information Council
<u>Social Services Committee Expenditures</u>					
Case management, Clackamas County	14,880	14,880			
Discretionary Funds	19,105	13,105	3,000	3,000	
Mileage	270	270			
Indirect costs/Admin, Clackamas County	3,852	3,852			
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>38,107</i>	<i>32,107</i>	<i>3,000</i>	<i>3,000</i>	<i>0</i>
<u>Law Enforcement Subcommittee Expenditures</u>					
Enhanced Patrols by Oregon State Police	18,531				18,531
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>18,531</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>18,531</i>
<u>Coordination</u>					
Facilitation Services	2,500			2,500	
<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>2,500</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2,500</i>	<i>0</i>
Total	59,138	32,107	3,000	5,500	18,531

Sources: Clackamas County Social Services, Oregon Travel Information Council, Oregon State Police

Findings and Conclusions

To recap, the primary research questions and their answers are as follows:

- Partners:** *Who was involved in the relocation process and what were their roles?*

The project convener was a nonprofit visitor/traveler information agency which had recently assumed responsibility for managing the site. The key partners consisted of social service agencies—primarily the county social services agency and a faith-based organization, with financial support from the state housing agency—and law enforcement/legal/transportation agencies—primarily the district attorney’s office and the state police, with assistance from the state transportation agency and the local Legal Services office.
- Problem definition:** *How did different stakeholders define the issue and what would they regard as a successful resolution?*

The district attorney and the state police wanted to reduce the incidence of crime. The visitor/traveler information agency wanted to reclaim the rest area for its original purposes in as humane a way as possible. The social services agencies wanted to provide a pathway out of homelessness for the people who lived there. While each stakeholder had a different focus, they were able to coalesce around a three-pronged goal of helping homeless individuals move into more standard living conditions and toward rejoining mainstream society, reducing and/or eliminating the encampment and the real and perceived problems associated with it, and restoring the rest area to its original use.

3. Process: *What processes were used to address the problem, and how were those approaches informed by various institutional problem-solving frameworks?*

The strategy consisted of two coordinated elements: a “pull” from social services that involved the creation of a pathway toward housing and mainstream society, and a “push” from the criminal justice system that included a firm deadline for moving, sanctions if they did not, and vigilance in ensuring that a new community did not become established.

4. Outcomes: *What were the outcomes of the process in terms of the resident population, the rest area, institutional learning and new relationships? What were the costs to achieve these outcomes?*

All three goals were achieved. Two-thirds of the formerly homeless residents were in permanent or transitional housing sixteen months after the completion of the project, and nearly half of those who were in unstable living situations had experienced a period of stability before relapsing, primarily due to addictions. The homeless encampment was gone as of May 1, and, although some people used the rest area for overnight sleeping after that deadline, they were not a permanent presence during the day. While the project carried an “out of pocket” price tag of approximately \$60,000, this figure does not reflect the considerable amount of in-kind or volunteer time and resources dedicated to the effort. The topics of institutional learning and new relationships are discussed below.

In addition to these findings, there are some additional important lessons to be gleaned from this case study which are relevant to considering how to approach similar problems in the future.

1. Whose Problem Is It?

The process of problem definition—who does it and how it is done—sets in place a series of actions that will profoundly affect the outcomes. In a rush to do something to address an issue, it is easy to undervalue or miss this step. For example, it is important to consider how an agency’s professional orientation (e.g., transportation, tourism, social services, law enforcement), organizational culture (hierarchical decision-making, dispersed decision-making), and risk tolerance (high to low) might affect how an agency perceives a problem and its potential solutions. To quote an old saying, to hammers all problems are nails; to wrenches, all problems are nuts and bolts.

Sometimes more practical and direct concerns may influence how a problem is defined. For example, an ODOT manager indicated that the agency’s funding mechanism—the State Highway Fund—limits the organization’s activities to maintenance, operation and construction of the highway. That person explained, “It’s really not our charge to seek out social services for people staying in the right of way.” State highway funds by law have limited uses and cannot be used for social services.

In contrast, when Oregon Travel Information Council assumed management for the rest area, they had a both a larger budget for the project and the benefit of other funding streams that supported the organization overall. Instead of attempting to solve the problem on their own, however, they brought the issue to a larger constituency in a two-step process, visioning and strategy development. By acting as a convener, Oregon Travel Information Council invited others to help define (and thus share ownership of) the problem and expanded the pool of expertise and resources to help address it. While there is risk in this approach—for example, the first meeting of a group to work on solutions ended badly—there are also tremendous rewards, as the outcomes of this effort indicate.

Furthermore, by getting more people focused on this problem, Oregon Travel Information Council helped make the Baldock an issue whose time had come. All the agency partners had other concerns

demanding time and attention; Oregon Travel Information Council was successful in getting them to prioritize this particular issue above others by building momentum and showing respect for partners' expertise. Once key partners were on board and had taken the lead, Oregon Travel Information Council changed its role from convener to project champion and supporter.

2. Building a Two-Pronged Strategy through a Multi-Disciplinary Team

Prior efforts to move the homeless community from The Baldock had consisted of an enforcement-only approach. Furthermore, resources were not dedicated to ensuring that enforcement was consistent. In contrast, this effort involved both the push of enforcement and the pull of connecting with pathways out of homelessness. Both appeared to have been needed to permanently address the problem.

A two-pronged approach necessarily involves people with differing areas of expertise. Members of the Baldock Restoration Group used the framework of Problem-Solving Community Justice to develop their strategy. They were able to do so in a professionally-supported environment, free from other distractions, that spanned two days. While it is not possible to ascertain if this setting was essential to the success of the project, it is clear that the workshop was the pivotal event that brought key stakeholders together and provided the space for them to formulate a strategy and begin to develop trust in each other.

At a minimum, investigating potential problem-solving processes and decision-making frameworks might be useful in enlisting needed partners and developing strategies. The Baldock Restoration Team's experience with the workshop also suggests the importance of providing the opportunity for people from different backgrounds to get to know one another and try out ideas in a safe and structured environment. The experience with the unsuccessful first attempt to bring all parties together highlights the importance of allowing a full range of ideas and points of view to be explored in a comfortable environment during the initial stages of team formation and strategy development.

3. Trust Among Team Members is Essential

A theme that ran through all the Baldock Restoration Team interviews conducted for this project was that of trust among members. Most had had negative experiences with people from some of the other professions involved with the project. A representative from one of the social services agencies put it this way:

Social services and police don't always get along because the moment they say "bum" [in reference to a homeless person], that infuriates me. We see things from different sides...I really had a problem with the police because they [had] treated our homeless like criminals, and they made life so hard on them.

In the slow process of building trust and credibility with team members, actions spoke louder than words. In reflecting on how social services team members came to trust law enforcement team members, a state trooper described the process as follows:

I think what the initial hurdle was, was all of us distrusting each other. That was the big one. I think social services were skeptical of law enforcement. Maybe I'm putting words in their mouth. And us [law enforcement], we thought they wanted to do nothing but hug them...I think that the big hurdle in the beginning was trusting that we all had the same goal and that we were willing to bend out of our norm and get out of that mold.

Interviewer: Were there any specific methods or incidents that you recall that really helped build trust?

Respondent: I think it was just talking through things...Some of it was how hard to be in [the homeless community] at first... Because I wasn't willing to drop the hammer on them so quickly, I like to think that [social service team members] appreciated that—that we were willing to give [social services staff] time to work with them before we were ready to really put some teeth in it. But then when they said, "Go ahead, put some teeth in it," we were willing. We were willing to do that and be flexible with them. I like to think we were building a trusting relationship.

Trust was essential because each side needed to rely on the other when they were out in the field, in potentially vulnerable or even dangerous situations. Trust also meant that team members were able to present a united front to members of the resident community. Trust was built over time, by seeing that others on the team were as good as their word and that they "had your back" when needed.

4. Flexibility and Risk-Taking

To make the project work, those most closely aligned with it found themselves stepping outside the bounds of how they usually did business. "Flexibility" was a word that came up frequently in the interviews. Team members were called upon to use personal judgment in deciding how to address individual situations as they arose. They were frequently required to go outside the norms of their own professions and found themselves in situations where they had to rely on wits, experience and practical judgment. They worked odd hours and needed to use discretion in setting boundaries and goals. Eventually, they identified strongly with other members of the team and, over time, seemed to develop a sense that they were on a mission together that transcended the norms of their agency or profession.

Some agencies supported their employees in this evolutionary process. For example, it appears that Clackamas County strongly supported the work of and discretion exercised by the case manager, assistant district attorney and other staff. In other cases, it appears that agencies did not fully understand the extent of their employee's efforts (Oregon State Police) or even challenged their involvement (Canby Center). In some cases, efforts were made to manage their time and limit their involvement. The strong level of trust among team members, the sense of shared mission and the commitment to the project appeared to enable individuals to persist despite a lack of institutional support in some instances.

Other agencies considering similar projects may want to consider the importance of selecting experienced staff with a strong sense of self to participate in project such as this one. Agencies should provide these staff with an elevated level of flexibility while they work on this project. Not only will the demands on time and energy be great, but a high level of informed judgment will be required to navigate day-to-day challenges successfully. Finally, agencies should honor and celebrate the contributions and personal sacrifices made by staff.

5. Availability of Financial Resources

This project was short-term and resource-intensive during that period. In some cases, staff was able to shift priorities or work other hours and thus add this project to their existing workload. In the end, however, dedicated staff was required, and this cost money. The funds contributed from the state housing agency for case management were essential to the success of this project. Since the agency is not able to provide flexible funding for other projects like this on an ongoing basis, other projects that seek to replicate the successes of this one will need to fundraise from a variety of sources, including

local jurisdictions and businesses affected by the issue. It is unlikely that projects such as this one could be undertaken without some source of staff funding.

It was equally important that staff had access to flexible resources to do whatever was needed to help the Baldockeans move. Funds were needed on-the-spot for gas cards, the services of a mechanic, identification cards, food, campsites at a state park, application fees, photocopying, transportation, and a wide variety of other unexpected needs. It was critical that staff had access to a small cache (approximately \$6,000) of immediately available, highly flexible funds that were not encumbered by rules about eligible expenses or lengthy procurement procedures. Staff was able to account for these expenditures through proper documentation after-the-fact (receipts, etc.).

6. Approaches to Working with the Homeless Community: Respect and Trust Are Essential

Two important lessons in how to approach a homeless community surfaced in this case study, one pertaining to individuals and one pertaining to the community as a whole. First and foremost, it was important that everyone involved with the project showed respect for each individual living at the Baldock. They approached each resident as a unique individual who happened to be experiencing the condition of homelessness at this point in his or her life and not as “one of the homeless.” A case management approach enabled the social service agency representatives to unravel the complicated stories of each person, one by one, and help that person sort through options and set individualized goals. While there may have been a limited range of options, the case managers presented them to each person, and each person made his or her own choices. Honoring the right of an individual to choose his or her own future was an important part of demonstrating respect.

One case manager said that, in this project, she learned that “to build a relationship, you can’t build it by giving. You have to have them give in return.” Accepting help is a way of acknowledging the abilities of an individual and showing that you trust that person enough to accept his or her assistance.

This project benefitted from the involvement of a social services agency that had worked with the residents for more than a year and had built trust over time. The Canby Center was seen by the Baldockeans as being both a resource and an advocate for their interests. Several members of the Baldock Restoration Team said that the project would have taken much longer to complete if those relationships had not been in place. Indeed, it would have been difficult if the initial contact between social service staff and the Baldockeans had occurred around dislodging them from the only place that they felt safe.

The second lesson was best explained by one of the former residents who, when asked what advice he would provide to other agencies considering addressing similar problems, said to “work with the ephemeral structure in place.” The community had been there for seventeen years and had an advanced social structure. There were those who were respected and those who were less so. There were leaders as well as provocateurs. Social services and law enforcement learned how the community functioned and used this structure to disseminate information, build trust and coax people into trying new things.

7. The Project was Intense and Impactful

The project was intense and impactful for all involved. It represented a turning point in the lives of a number of the Baldockeans, from homelessness to stability, reconnection with family and, in some cases, employment. Among agency partners, many spoke of it as a highlight of their career. They

developed strong bonds with each other and, in some cases, with former Baldockeans. They seemed to have taken away life lessons that they incorporated into their current work.

The project was also draining. It required long hours, extreme focus and tense situations. It demanded a high level of performance from the professionals involved.

The take-away lesson from this point is that a project like this should not be entered into lightly. To be successful, it needs to be of a defined and limited duration so that the appropriate level of intensity can be maintained. All need to be mindful of the high level of impact it may have on the lives of those most involved, including both members of the homeless community and the partners involved. Staff who participate most intensely should be provided time to recover and renew themselves after the completion of the project.

The final lesson from this project has to do with institutional learning. The key individuals who were involved with this project now share new bonds of trust. They continue to stay in touch with each other. They are more likely to reach out to one another to problem solve on other issues. The array of potential approaches to new problems has been expanded because of the success of this one. Collaboration across institutional and professional boundaries is more likely to occur, thus bringing a new richness to the routine ways that business occurs. What individuals learned and experienced has been absorbed into the fabric of their agencies: this is how institutional learning occurs.

Conclusion

One of the questions that inevitably arises in the analysis of a single case study is how much of the success is replicable, and how much is dependent on the unique circumstances and individuals that were involved. While it is virtually impossible to tease this apart, it is possible to describe elements in the context that point to situations in which the lessons from this case study are likely to be the most relevant.

In this particular case, consensus was reached early about the most desirable outcome: to move the community as humanely as possible. There may be other situations in which the outcome is less well established, and other options might be possible. For example, had the homeless community revolved around gangs, violent crime and drugs, a response that relied more heavily on law enforcement would have been appropriate. Similarly, if the homeless encampment been on a remote piece of land, there may have been ways to accommodate it and make it safer rather than ending it.

In this case, the partners were able to take a few months to implement its strategy. While the work was intense and urgent, it was not an emergency. Partners could take time to build and strengthen relationships. The project would have taken much longer if it had lacked an agency partner who had a time-tested, respectful relationship with key people in the homeless community and a deep understanding of how the community functioned. Thus, agencies considering this kind of work should consider the importance of working with at least one partner that has a prior positive relationship with the resident community.

Future work will focus on identifying strategies that other agencies have used to address the presence of homeless individuals or communities on public rights-of-way and the contexts in which they have been most effective. These shorter case studies will be used to inform a best practices manual to help guide future policy and program development.

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Appendix 1

Baldock Restoration Team

Social Services Subcommittee Core Team Members

Canby Center	Ronell Warner
Clackamas County Social Services	Liz Bartell
Clackamas County Social Services	Linda Fisher
Oregon Housing and Community Services	Mary Carroll

Law Enforcement Strategy Core Team Members

Clackamas County District Attorney's Office	Bill Stewart
Oregon Department of Transportation	Karla Keller
Oregon State Police	Dan Swift
Oregon State Police	Fred Testa
Oregon Travel Information Council	Cheryl Gribskov

Facilitation Services

Clackamas County Domestic Resources Center	Amy Cleary
Clackamas County Domestic Resources Center	Cyndy Heisler

Additional Members

Canby Police Department	Bret Smith
Canby Police Department	Jorge Tro
City of Wilsonville	Peggy Watters
Clackamas County Homeless Council	Lynne Deshler
Clackamas County Public Health	Kathy Thompson
Clackamas County Sheriff	Nick Watt
Legal Aid Services of Oregon	Ron Rubino
Oregon Department of Transportation	Luci Moore
Oregon Department of Transportation	Don Jordon
Oregon Law Center	Monica Goracke
Oregon State Police	Jason Bledsoe
Oregon State Police	Luke Schwartz
Oregon Travel Information Council	Terry Hauck
Oregon Travel Information Council	Grant Christensen
Leo Co.	Greg Leo
Victory Group	Craig Campbell

Appendix 2

Chronology of The Baldock Restoration Project

1966	The 100-acre Baldock Rest Area is constructed as a part of the Oregon Interstate Highway System. Rest area is named for Robert “Sam” Baldock, the Chief Highway Engineer for Oregon from 1932 through 1956 and an innovator in highway design.
1975	Oregon Travel Information Council (OTIC) is created to manage highway signage in the wake of Lady Bird Johnson’s highway beautification program that resulted in the removal of billboards.
Approximately 1995 to 1998	Emergence of a steady presence of homeless individuals at the Baldock Rest Area.
Start date unknown	Various social service agencies provide services to people living at The Baldock. For example, St. Vincent de Paul provides weekly lunch, a Tualatin church youth group visits with residents and provides a hot breakfast on Saturday mornings, other church and social service groups provide assistance on an occasional basis.
Fall 2007	The Canby Center, an interdenominational faith-based social service organization, opens. First charge is to address the large number of homeless students in Canby School District. The Baldock Rest Area is inside the Canby School District, and a school bus makes regular stops there to pick up and drop off children. The Canby Center staff initiates contact and begins to build relationships with the people living at The Baldock.
Fall 2007 onward	Canby Center staff continues to build relationships with individuals and families living at the Baldock. Some Baldockeans utilize the laundry, computer facilities, clothing bank, the Dental Van, emergency food, blankets and other goods and services at the Canby Center.
February 2008	Canby Center facilitates the relocation of a family from Baldock Rest Area.
Winter 2009	An arctic air mass causes temperatures to drop, precipitating a crisis at The Baldock. Most families sleep at the Canby Center for a few days. The Canby Center delivers propane, hand warmers and other supplies to those who stay at The Baldock.
March 2009	Clackamas County Homeless Council conducts homeless point-in-time count and determines that 109 individuals are living at The Baldock on a Saturday night in March 2009.
May 2009	State Senate and State General Assembly both approve HB 2001, which authorizes Oregon Department of Transportation (ODOT) to enter into an agreement with OTIC for management of five rest areas, including the Baldock Rest Area. Approved bill signed into law by the Governor on July 29, 2009, with an effective date of September 28, 2009.
Summer 2009	Population at The Baldock doubles during summer season. “Families would pool their food resources and have community barbeques. On a warm Sunday afternoon in July 2009, the back parking lot of the Baldock resembled a summer vacationing spot.” [Warner, n.d.] Canby Center

	nearly overwhelmed by the level of need.
Summer 2009	In response to increasing incidents of disorderly conduct and fighting, Oregon State Police begins stricter enforcement of no camping rule. Canby Center helps families and individuals relocate to no-fee campsites in Molalla mountains, but they return after two weeks due to lack of access to amenities and panhandling opportunities.
Summer 2009	Oregon State Police approaches with ODOT the idea of adopting an exclusion rule (as an Oregon Administrative Rule). Exclusion rules allow law enforcement to exclude offenders from areas an identified public area, such as a rest area, for a specified period of time. If the offender returns, he/she could be arrested for trespassing. No action taken by ODOT on an exclusion rule at this time.
Summer 2009	Word starts to spread among Baldockeans of the future transition of The Baldock to management by the Oregon Travel Information Council.
Summer/Fall 2009	Four individuals from The Baldock move into permanent housing provided through HUD grant to the Canby Center. Canby Center staff continues to form friendships with Baldockeans and provide assistance.
Summer/Fall 2009	OTIC organizes a coalition of community leaders to establish a vision for the Baldock Rest Area based on its potential for stimulating and supporting economic activity in the surrounding area. During those meetings, concerns about the presence of a long-standing homeless encampment arise. Addressing the issue becomes a priority for OTIC.
Fall 2009	One person living at The Baldock writes and distributes a letter asking for help because he has heard that the community will be displaced when OTIC takes over.
January 1, 2010	Management of five rest areas transfers to OTIC. OTIC representatives go out to the Baldock Rest Area with vats of hot chocolate to meet the people living there and hear their concerns.
February 7, 2010	Oregon Travel Information Council convenes a short-lived Rest Area Crime and Homeless Task Force. Meeting ends inconclusively. (28-member list)
Mid-February 2010	Clackamas County Social Services staff, Canby Center staff, Clackamas County District Attorney's Office staff and local law enforcement staff attend a two-day community policing/problem-solving community justice seminar and develop a push/pull plan: the pull of housing options and needed services combined with the push of citations, arrest, impounding of vehicles and diversion of criminal cases Clackamas County Community Court, where offenders can be offered the opportunity to take alternative measures (treatment, etc.) in lieu of serving jail time.
March 2, 2010	Oregon Travel Information Council convenes the Baldock Restoration Team. (30 member list, 14 of whom were also on Rest Area Crime and Homeless Task Force.) The group agrees to a two-pronged approach of intensive case management combined with stepped-up enforcement measures, including development of amendments to Oregon Administrative Rules applying to rest areas. Members form two subcommittees and get to work.
March 8, 2010	The Canby Center hosts a Listening Luncheon for Baldockeans at the Bethany Church in Canby. Hot showers and haircuts are provided before

	lunch. Baldockeans also provided an opportunity to voice their concerns about changes. Members of the Baldock Restoration Team explain that the no-camping rule will be enforced and that they will have to move permanently. Information about access to services also provided.
March 17, 2010	Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee of Baldock Restoration Team meets to develop first draft of proposed changes to Oregon Administrative Rules.
March 22, 2010	Social Services Subcommittee of Baldock Restoration Team meets and decides on how to implement strategy of assisting Baldockeans with moving. Canby Center has undertaken substantial outreach with the resident population and presents an overview of the kinds of needs that residents have. Thirty-five individuals have asked for assistance with relocating, some of whom have chronic addiction issues. A small group wants to continue living in their campers and needs a place to park them legally. Oregon Housing and Community Services commits funding to assist with case management and other expenses to be incurred in the project. Group plans to meet again April 1, immediately prior to full Team meeting.
April 1, 2010	Second meeting of the Baldock Restoration Team. Each subcommittee reports progress made. Oregon Law Center and Legal Aid Services provide feedback on concerns about aspects of the proposed administrative rules, and they agree to work with the Clackamas County District Attorney, ODOT and OTIC on developing a final version, to be adopted on a temporary basis on April 26.
April 2010	Clackamas County Social Services staff joins Canby Center staff in meeting individually with Baldockeans to develop plans. Eight Baldockeans enroll in a tenant readiness program to help them prepare to move into housing. This program also provides up to \$800 for moving expenses and a \$1,000 damage guarantee for landlords who rent to graduates. A wide range of individualized services are provided to residents, from obtaining social security cards, linking with mental health services, getting drivers' licenses reinstated, reconnecting with relatives, qualifying for SSI or SSD, applying for subsidized housing and/or housing vouchers and repairing vehicles. Only one person indicates an unwillingness to move.
April 29, 2010	Third meeting of the Baldock Restoration Team. Each subcommittee reports on progress made. Law Enforcement Strategy Subcommittee reports that temporary rules have been adopted that permit Class B violation citations. Social Services Committee reports on their work with residents and the resources available to assist with the move, including gas cards, mechanics and volunteers to assist with traffic and transportation on Moving Day, if needed.
April 30, 2010	Moving Day. A well-planned exodus of the remaining resident population nearly falls into disarray as state police from the Salem District start issuing citations, riling the Baldockeans, who had come to trust the members of the Baldock Restoration Team. State Police from the Clackamas County District intervene, and no more citations are issued. The remaining individuals temporarily move to nearby state park for the weekend, and

	staff from the Canby Center and Clackamas County Social Services continue to work with them to find suitable long-term living accommodations.
May 1, 2010	New temporary Oregon Administrative Rules are in place, permitting enforcement. Oregon State Police and rest area staff work cooperatively with former residents who attempt to comply with rules and are in the process of moving on permanently.
Spring 2010	OTIC staff at the Baldock Rest Area begin informing truckers, visitors and others about the new rules. Maintenance and improvements to enhance the appearance of the Rest Area take place.
Summer 2010	The longstanding community is gone. A few of the former chronically homeless population stay for brief periods of time. Some shadow people continue to come and go, living in compliance with the new rules. Prostitution continues to be a problem at night.
May 1 – September 30, 2010	OTIC pays for 229 hours of additional patrol coverage of the Baldock Rest Area by Oregon State Police to help prevent crime and to discourage the development of a new group of occupants. As of August 1, the State Police designate the Baldock Rest Area a Tactical Zone, which means that state troopers who have discretionary time are directed to patrol the site.
May 1 – October 31, 2010	Oregon State Police calls for service at the Baldock Rest Area are less than half the number that they were during the same time period in 2009.
October 13, 2010	Baldock Restoration Team meets. Each subcommittee presents reports. A decision is made to produce a written report of the project, with each agency developing its own account. Members of the Team will be making presentations in various venues, locally and to industry groups,
January 19, 2011	Final meeting of the Baldock Restoration Team. Discussion focuses on presentations made, positive feedback received, and the production of a final report.

Appendix 3

Rest Area Rules Effective May 1, 2010

Oregon Administrative Rules
DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, HIGHWAY DIVISION

DIVISION 30: REST AREAS

Text to be added in **bold**

Text to be deleted in *[italics]*

734-030-0005

Definitions

[*For the purpose of these regulations*] **The following definitions apply to** OAR 734-030-0005 through 734-030-0025; [*the term “rest area”*]

(1) “Rest Area” includes safety rest areas, scenic overlooks and similar roadside areas which are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transportation. **Other than when issuing “free coffee” permits under OAR 734-030-0025, when a rest area is sited on both sides of the highway, the two sides will be considered a single rest area.**

(2) “Rest Area Attendant” means a Department of Transportation employee or contractor working in or responsible for the rest area; or for rest areas listed in Chapter 865, section 32, 2009 laws, a Travel Information Council employee or contractor working in or responsible for the rest area.

(3) “Visitor” means a person within the rest area who is not a Department of Transportation or Travel Information Council employee, law enforcement officer or a Rest Area Attendant.

Stat. Auth.: ORS 184.616, 184.619, 366.205, 374, 377, 390 & 815

Stats. Implemented: ORS 810.030

734-030-0010

Prohibited Activities

[*The*] **To preserve state property and increase health and safety in rest areas, the** following activities are prohibited **by visitors to** [*in*] a rest area:

- (1) Lighting a fire [*except at locations where fireplaces are provided*].
- (2) Picking, [*up or*] removing, **or damaging** plant life or forest products.
- (3) Hunting, **trapping, or injuring** birds or animals [*or discharging firearms*].

(4) Discharging a firearm, bow and arrow, or other weapon or discharging fireworks, explosives, or other similar devices.

[(4)](5) Mutilating, defacing, damaging or removing any property, structure or facility.

[(5)](6) Digging up, defacing, or removing any dirt, stone, rock, or other natural substance.

[(6)](7) Operating a concession or selling merchandise, food, or services, except for a permitted “free coffee” service, public telephones, or articles dispensed by vending machines pursuant to an agreement with the Department of Transportation, or Travel Information Council for the rest areas listed in Chapter 865, section 32, 2009 laws.

(8) Blocking access to the restroom by other visitors.

(9) Smoking or carrying a lighted cigar, cigarette, pipe or other smoking implement, in a restroom building or within 20 feet of a restroom building in the rest area.

[(7)](10) Operating a motor vehicle in any area not constructed or designed for motor vehicles. Parking a motor vehicle[s] outside the designated parking area[s] or parking in violation of any posted parking regulation.

[(8)](11) Allowing a pet to run loose. Allowing a pet on a leash, except a guide animal, in any area except designated pet areas. Allowing a pet, except a guide animal, in any building. Allowing livestock to run at large or to be in any area except in designated pet or livestock areas.

(12) Placing a poster, flyer, sign or other marker in or on any utility pole, sign post, building or other facility in a rest area

[(9)](13) Depositing garbage, recyclables, or refuse of any kind except in designated containers.

[(10)](14) Dumping, spilling or allowing to leak any sewage, [or] waste water, or other substance from the vehicle.

[(11)](15) Using restroom facilities to bathe, or wash clothing, dishes or other materials.

[(13)](16) Setting up a tent or other structure, camping, or remaining in a rest area for more than 12 hours within any 24-hour period.

[(12)](17) Participating in a [public demonstration,] disturbance, or riotous or other behavior which interferes with the reasonable use of the rest area by other rest area visitors.

(18) Obstructing, harassing or interfering with a Department of Transportation or Travel Information Council employee or Rest Area Attendant in the performance of their duties in the rest area.

[(14)](19) Creating noise by any means which interferes with the reasonable use of the rest area by other rest area visitors.

Stat. Auth.: ORS 184.616, 184.619 & 366.205

Stats. Implemented: ORS 164.805, 374.305, 377.030 & 810.030

734-030-0015

Compliance

(1) To preserve state property and increase health and safety in rest areas, a Department of Transportation or Travel Information Council employee, law enforcement officer, or the [The rest area attendant] Rest Area Attendant working in a [in charge of any] rest area is authorized to require compliance with these regulations and is authorized to order any person violating these regulations to leave the rest area. Failure to leave the rest area when so ordered is citable by a law enforcement officer as a violation of these rules.

(2) In addition to any other penalty prescribed by law, failure to comply with OAR 734-030-0005 through 734-030-0015 governing health and safety in a rest area may result in a Class B violation. Upon receipt of a citation the person must leave the rest area immediately.

Stat. Auth.: ORS 184.616, 184.619, 366.205 & 390
Stats. Implemented: ORS 810.030

734-030-0020

Notice

Notice of conduct consistent with OAR 734-030-0005 through 734-030-0015 shall be posted in each rest area.

Stat. Auth.: ORS 184.616, 184.619, 366 & 390
Stats. Implemented: ORS 810.030