

Stadiums and Sports Entertainment Districts on the Landscape:
An Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES AND IMAGES.....	vii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
Chapter	Page
1. Introduction and Methods.....	1
2. Literature Review.....	9
2.1 City Image and Urban Tourism.....	9
2.2 Sports as Tourism and Economic Drivers.....	10
2.3 Gentrification.....	12
2.4 Case Study Site Literature.....	15
3. The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	21
3.1 Stadium Site.....	26
3.2 Parking and Transportation.....	27
3.3 Recreational Space.....	28
3.4 Highways and Interstates.....	29
3.5 Adjacent Sports Entertainment.....	30
3.6 Zone of Transition.....	32
3.6.1 Other Sports Facilities.....	33

3.6.2. Convention Centers.....	34
3.7 Areas Beyond the Zone of Transition.....	36
3.8 Suburban Stadiums.....	36
3.9 Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model Usage.....	38
4. Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village.....	39
4.1 History of the St. Louis Cardinals and Busch Stadium.....	39
4.2 Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model.....	41
4.3 Stadium Site.....	41
4.4 Parking and Transportation.....	45
4.5 Recreational Space.....	47
4.6 Highways and Interstates.....	49
4.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment.....	51
4.8. Zone of Transition.....	55
4.8.1 Other Sports Facilities.....	55
4.8.2 Convention Centers.....	56
4.9 Gentrification Exhibited.....	59
4.10 St. Louis' Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	65

5. Petco Park and its Baseball District in San Diego.....	67
5.1 History of the San Diego Padres and Petco Park.....	67
5.2 Petco Park Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	69
5.3 Stadium Site.....	69
5.4 Parking and Transportation.....	74
5.5 Recreational Space.....	77
5.6 Highways and Interstates.....	80
5.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment.....	82
5.8. Zone of Transition.....	84
5.8.1 Other Sports Facilities.....	84
5.8.2 Convention Centers.....	85
5.9 Gentrification Exhibited.....	88
5.10 San Diego’s Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	93
6. London Northumberland Development Project.....	95
6.1 History of the Tottenham Hotspurs and White Hart Lane.....	95
6.2 Northumberland Development Project Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	96

6.3 Stadium Site.....	97
6.4 Parking and Transportation.....	100
6.5 Recreational Space.....	102
6.6 Highways and Interstates.....	104
6.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment.....	106
6.8. Zone of Transition.....	109
6.9 Gentrification Exhibited.....	112
6.10 Tottenham’s Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	120
7. Conclusion.....	121
Reference List.....	129

LIST OF FIGURES AND IMAGES

Figure	Page
3.1 Stadium Table.....	24
3.2 Urban Sports Anchored Entertainment Development Model.....	25
Images	
4.1 St. Louis Outfield Grandstand Gap.....	43
4.2 Stan “The Man” Musial Statue.....	44
4.3 29-Story Residential Tower Site (1).....	46
4.4 Busch II Infield as a Miniature Baseball Diamond.....	48
4.5 Clark Avenue in St. Louis.....	50
4.6 Outside Ballpark Village.....	53
4.7 Inside Ballpark Village.....	54
4.8 Scottrade Center.....	57
4.9 America’s Center Convention Complex.....	58
4.10 Class-A Building Site.....	63
4.11 29-Story Residential Tower Site (2).....	64
5.1 Indigenous Design Element at Petco Park.....	71
5.2 Petco Park Grandstands Open Up to Reveal Downtown.....	72
5.3 Brick Memorialization.....	73

5.4 12 th and Imperial Transit Station in San Diego.....	75
5.5 San Diego Parking Garage.....	76
5.6 Park at the Park.....	78
5.7 Sand Pit at Petco Park.....	79
5.8 San Diego Bridges.....	81
5.9 San Diego Ballpark Village Area.....	83
5.10 Omni Hotel Bridge to Petco Park.....	86
5.11 San Diego Convention Center.....	87
5.12 Apartment Construction.....	92
6.1 Tottenham Stadium Site.....	99
6.2 White Hart Lane Stope.....	101
6.3 Bruce Castle Park.....	103
6.4 London Transit Sign.....	105
6.5 The Bill Nicholson Pub.....	107
6.6 The Bill Nicholson Pub Sign.....	109
6.7 Shelbourne Road.....	111
6.8 Tottenham Hotspur Foundation Sign (1).....	116
6.9 Tottenham Hotspur Foundation Sign (2).....	117
6.10 Criminals Beware Sticker.....	118
6.11 Local Market Adjacent to New White Hart Lane.....	119

Stadiums and Sports Entertainment Districts on the Landscape: An Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

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ABSTRACT

With sports stadiums being built at an incredible rate, particularly since the 1990s, the need to examine how these facilities (and the development around them) impact cities is crucial to understanding changing urban landscapes. By creating a two-dimensional spatial model of all Major League Baseball stadiums and their surrounding entertainment districts built since 1992, I assess what components these ballparks share and what sort of development is common between them. Additionally, I apply this spatial model to two Major League Baseball stadium case studies, Petco Park in San Diego, and Busch Stadium III in St. Louis to determine the accuracy of the model. Finally, I investigate a third stadium, the English Premier League's (soccer) Tottenham Hotspurs still-in-construction stadium, to assess the international and multi-sport validity of my model. For each case study site, I sought common themes in their public promotion, including whether gentrification (or any of its various synonyms) was encouraged by their respective projects. This is done by reviewing government and planning documents related to development plans, media reports, and any historic or contemporary imagery publicly available. The purpose of this research is to create a model capable of explaining how new stadiums and sports-anchored entertainment districts are situated within urban landscapes and to address how gentrification plays a key role in shaping American and global cities

Chapter 1: Introduction and Methods

Since 1992, 21 new Major League Baseball (MLB) stadiums have been built, many of them inspired by the design of Camden Yards at Oriole Park, home of the Baltimore Orioles. This retro-construction boom constitutes over two-thirds of the stadiums in the league as MLB contains 30 franchises. As the word “retro” indicates, these stadiums are attempting to recreate the sense of place that can be found in older areas such as Wrigleyville, home of Wrigley Stadium and the Chicago Cubs, which is widely considered a model for a lively baseball-themed neighborhood. These stadiums often use steel construction with open grandstands and a brick façade, which differs from the concrete, cookie-cutter midcentury stadiums. Much like New Urbanism, which also saw a growth in popularity around the same time, the idea was to simplify in order to create a sense of home and a return to an imagined, nostalgia-fueled past (Saab 2007). Prior to the retro-style movement, the modern ballparks of the mid-20th century were large, uninspired structures designed to be practical to the needs of the game and the city and were often built for multiple sport uses – such as the Oakland Coliseum, which currently houses the MLB Oakland Athletics and the National Football League’s Oakland Raiders (Sandalow and Sutton 2017). Daniel Rosensweig, in his book *Retro Ball Parks: Instant History, Baseball, and the New American City* describes, the success of Camden Yards in Baltimore that inspired many cities across the country to forego the modernistic nature of Rogers Centre in Toronto or the cookie-cutter suburban stadiums and to instead return to the open-face, jewel-box-like designs of baseball’s early history (2005). As Rosensweig puts it, retro-stadiums were intended to “...rekindle the fundamental and magical simplicity of an earlier era” by moving away from the high-tech (at the time) and suburban stadiums which failed to produce the same sense of uniqueness and warmth as the stadiums of past (4-5). Following the construction of the decidedly

un-retro Marlins Park in Miami in 2012, some people believe that the retro movement may be over, but only time will tell as development plans continue to showcase a mix of retro and contemporary amenities (Wiedeman 2012). As long as the building of baseball stadiums is a popular method of revitalizing downtown districts, it is important to understand how these projects are modeled and what commonalities can be found within these stadiums and their surrounding entertainment districts.

These stadiums are not only built as places to enjoy a game, but also as symbols of gentrification. The project plans often include the idea of bringing in businesses to surround the area around the park, which attempt to capitalize on the increased foot traffic in the neighborhood brought on by the stadium. Additionally, the surrounding areas of these stadiums were intended to be neighborhoods anchored by sport where people could come for a game but stay to experience the sights and sounds of the surrounding area. It is in that vein that I find myself so interested in the study of these projects as they represent attempts at the renewal and alteration of urban neighborhoods. The intent of this research is to come to an understanding of how these sports-anchored entertainment districts are constructed on the landscape. To do this, I have looked at the footprint of baseball stadiums and their surrounding districts built since Camden Yards and created a model of their common components. I then take two of those stadiums, Petco Park in San Diego with its surrounding area and Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village and test the model's validity while also analyzing the projects for their attempt at gentrification. An international case study site, the still-under-construction London stadium of the Premier League's (soccer) Tottenham Hotspurs, is also analyzed to determine if the model can explain international sites and whether gentrification is a major player in its construction as well.

While this research includes many forms of geography, including economic, urban, tourist, cultural, and various other subfields, it comes with the stigma of discussing sports academically. However, when these entertainment-based stadium projects are costing billions in taxpayer funding and are drastically altering cityscapes for the purposes of revitalization, it becomes an incredibly important issue. Not only does this bring up questions regarding how these new stadiums are funded, there are issues with how these sports meccas displace former residents and businesses in the areas where these facilities are built. Examining the ways in which a stadium may impact its surroundings is an important piece of understanding the larger context of these cultural spectacles, especially given the rapid increase in stadium construction and development of associated sports-themed entertainment districts in the last few decades.

Sports play an important role in shaping a city's culture, but increasingly, they are also playing an important role in how downtown landscapes are shaped. These stadium projects, which are pushed by team officials and developers, often rely on huge sums of public investment to become a reality. It is important to understand how these stadiums are marketed and submitted to city officials as the publicly-funded portion for these stadiums continue to balloon. The amount of case studies in sport redevelopment is staggering, and they are wide ranging in their topics and significance. Still, there seems to be a lack of geographic research that assess how new stadiums are presented to the public and what are some of the commonalities between them. By building a two-dimensional spatial model of the baseball stadiums and surrounding districts that have been constructed during the retro-stadium movement, I show how these ballparks re-shape the downtowns of cities. I examine three case studies, two of Major League Baseball stadiums built since 1992 and one of an international soccer stadium, to assess the validity of the model. I also describe the ways which revitalization are promoted through these stadium projects

by looking through development plans, media reports, the imagery associated with the ballparks, and through field observation. Finally, I compare the promises made by the promoters of these projects to what has actually been built. The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model will provide the overarching commonalities for how these stadiums spatially affect downtowns.

There are many studies, such as Mark Rosentraub's books *Major League Losers: The Real Cost of Sports and Who's Paying for it* (1997) and *Major League Winners: Using Sports and Cultural Centers as Tools for Economic Development* (2010), that detail the fiscal policies related of stadiums and whether they are worth their economic investment (which, for the most part, they do not seem to be). Other studies focus on the nature of gentrification and sports, like Jacqueline Kennelly and Paul Watt's article on the displacement of youth in London following the construction of stadium sites in preparation for the 2012 Olympic games (2012). There are seemingly none that have put forth a spatial model for these stadiums and their surrounding areas. Additionally, I examine case studies to not only test the validity of the model, but to make comparisons between them in how these stadiums were presented, and what has actually been constructed. The case studies also serve as a way to discuss how gentrification, in its various forms, was marketed by the cities and teams.

Research Questions and Objectives

In an attempt to figure out how these stadium sites and the surrounding districts affect their surroundings, I began asking a number of questions. First, can a representative model of all MLB stadiums and their surrounding entertainment districts (constructed since the retro-themed movement began with the construction of Camden Yards in 1992) be built that accurately

describes the case study sites? Can the model be used to describe the construction of stadiums and entertainment districts for different sports internationally? Additionally, through the different media reports, historic and contemporary images, and development plans, what were the common components between these developments? And beyond that, how much, if at all, was gentrification encouraged?

To answer those questions, I created a two-dimensional spatial model based on MLB stadiums and surrounding districts built since 1992 during the retro-movement. I have also attested the accuracy of the model by applying two new MLB stadiums to it and analyzing how closely it depicts the situation on the ground, which makes up a significant portion of the case-study chapters. Additionally, I have applied an international stadium under construction that will host Premier League Soccer to investigate whether it potentially fits on a global scale as well. And at the conclusion of each of the case-study chapters, I have analyzed to what degree gentrification (in any of its various word forms) was encouraged.

Methodology

Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model Creation

The first step in creating the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model began with a survey of all 21 stadiums (found in chapter 3) and their surrounding areas built during the retro-movement in baseball. To do this, I printed out the map layers found on Google Maps and began cataloguing the components that were found at these sports-anchored entertainment districts. Then, I sorted through each of the lists of components to find the commonalities between them. Sometimes this meant creating broader, unifying categories in order to fit areas that had similar uses but were different in their design (as is the case with the

recreational space section of the model – discussed in a later chapter). Once I had the core elements of the model, I created a hand-drawn version of the model with those common components (which had multiple iterations) that was used as a reference for the digitally drawn version, both of which are two-dimensional spatial models. The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model itself is a subjective and qualitative construction of the prevailing characteristics of these sites, but those aspects themselves come from detailed study.

Testing the Model

Following the creation of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model, I tested its validity by examining its ability to accurately represent specific case study sites and their surrounding areas. I selected St. Louis' Busch Stadium III and San Diego's Petco Park. These sites were chosen as they represent stadium projects at different stages of development in their respective designs, and they both were intended to be catalysts in downtowns. These two stadiums projects also had larger baseball districts (both confusingly named Ballpark Village) associated with them that were supposed to bring in other forms economic investment, specifically in retail, office, and residential space. Additionally, I also looked at an international sporting site to see if the model proves useful in examining stadiums at the global and inter-sport level. The international case study site is London's Northumberland Development Project stadium, which is colloquially known as New White Hart Lane (a name taken from the previous stadium, White Hart Lane), home of the Tottenham Hotspurs of the English football's (soccer) Premier League. The site was chosen as it represents an international stadium under construction with its primary purpose being soccer. Should the stadium model prove useful in a sport as removed from American baseball as English soccer is, it could

potentially be applied to other sports around the world to understand the complex situations regarding stadium building and surrounding sports-related development.

Fieldwork, Development Plans, and Media Reports

While creating a spatial model is one of the objectives of this research, it is not the only goal. By looking at the development plans, historical and contemporary imagery, and media reports surrounding each of the three stadiums and combining observational and photographic field work in each site, I examine how closely the details of the project proposals match the reality of what has been produced. Additionally, I investigate whether gentrification or some form of revitalization was encouraged by these projects. To do so, I have examined developer materials, including websites and archives, as well as various media reports that are available to the public. Determining if gentrification occurred due to the building of these stadium projects can be complex, but by examining the change in footprint of an area, which includes retail, restaurant, hotel, and other various business turnover, I can approximate change in the area due to gentrification. After combining those sources with field research conducted at my case study stadium sites and surrounding entertainment districts, I discuss how closely the stadiums came to their various goals being realized and how much of a role gentrification played in the project. There have been plenty of studies that examined gentrification's effects on communities, as discussed later, but that is not the goal of this research. Instead, I focus solely on if gentrification or revitalization in the areas surrounding newly constructed stadiums was encouraged, whether explicitly stated or otherwise insinuated, and to what degree it is visible in the entertainment districts surrounding the stadiums. The results, found in the chapters on the case study sites,

reveal whether the stadiums were able to adhere to their set agendas, including any plans for gentrification.

The rapid growth in sports stadium construction as a form of gentrification has long been a heavily debated topic within the public sphere and will probably continue to be for some time. In academia, the effects of gentrification caused by building these sports facilities, including economic growth, displacement and dispossession, is ongoing and far-reaching, and has been studied extensively. In the next chapter I analyze, synthesize, and discuss the various arguments surrounding the phenomenon while also delving into other topics related to this issue – namely ideas regarding city promotion and boosterism, sports tourism, the arguments related to gentrification in general, and studies on the research sites specifically.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Due to the myriad of subtopics in geography that this study examines, I address several themes starting with ideas I touch on briefly, and then assessing topics that I will speak on more in-depth. These subtopics are found within urban geography and are often associated with how space and place is created or adapted.

2.1 City Image and Urban Tourism

While the study of urban tourism may be relatively new, the betterment of cities through municipal projects is not. Even in the very beginning of industrialization in the United Kingdom in the late 18th century, cities looked to spend money to boost their image by building places as simple as town halls (Stobart 2004). In the United States, the idea of “boosterism,” or the attempt to project a positive city image, became very popular in cities like Atlanta, Georgia following the Civil War (Short 1999). Since the slow-down of manufacturing in the western world, cities have started looking for other ways to compensate for this and to remain economically stable. Throughout the 1990’s and into the 2000’s, the city of Leeds in the U.K. has attempted to revitalize its outdated industrial image and move towards becoming a postmodern city that capitalizes on the urban tourism market (Bramham and Spink 2009). Urban tourism is big business, and with the world becoming increasingly more urbanized, it represents a growing market as well. While world tourism has grown over seven percent per year since 1950, domestic travel movements exceed that by a factor of ten to one (Judd and Fainstein 1999). The drive to become a postmodern city has caused a shift in urban development in the last few decades as cities adapt their economic structures, moving away from a dependence manufacturing in order to attract visitors with cultural spectacles and events. Major world cities such as Tel Aviv, Israel

and Melbourne, Australia have begun to consider what characteristics are needed to become a tourist hotspot as well as what infrastructure is needed to accommodate the social, political, economic and environmental impacts associated with the tourism industry (Ben-Dalia, Collins-Kreiner, and Churchman 2013; Miller, Merrileesa, and Coghland 2015). Although some may marvel at downtowns in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (specifically in places like Chicago and its White City, which hosted World's Fairs in 1893 and 1933), some argue that cities and their downtowns never experienced a true golden age during this period as they were marred by a myriad of cleanliness and health issues; however, it does appear that having a clean and illustrious atmosphere to a downtown area does indeed encourage urban tourism today (Ford 2003). In essence, the idea of a postmodern city represents a movement in which cities are no longer thought of as places of work, but instead, they are increasingly thought of as places of play. They are cities increasingly favoring the people who visit them rather than the people who live in them.

2.2 Sports as Tourism and Economic Drivers

Sports are also generally said to promote city visitation, and it has been shown that cities and sports have similar expansion rates, meaning as the city grows, so does its interest and involvement in sports (Wilcox et al. 2012). Additionally, a study conducted in China indicated that positive economic impacts are found when cities invest in sports (Fan and Ge 2013). Similarly, in the UK, one study found that sports do provide an image boost, although it does come at a high economic cost (Smith 2005).

It is no surprise that cities, especially in the United States, use sports to attract visitors, boosting their economy and civic pride. Many studies, have tried to indicate one way or another

whether these goals are worthwhile or even reliably attainable. There are many uncertainties when a city undertakes an expansive sports project, especially economically, but it is generally thought that sports do help to give a city and a region a distinctive sense of place (Bale 1988). This sense of place and belonging not only allows local to be prideful of their city, but it also offers immigrants an easy way to assimilate into the local culture (Karp and Yoels 1990; Hritz and Ross 2010). With sports serving as a common ground for people to come together, and a way for people to celebrate or commiserate the events that come with a sporting season, sports becomes a facilitator for immigrants looking for a way to connect with their new community (Hritz and Ross 2010).

Sports may also help to boost community self-esteem and can therefore be justified economically because of the image they help project (Eckstein and Delaney 2002; Ingham and McDonald 2003; Groothuis, Johnson, and Whitehead 2004; Mason and Duquette 2008). Some research even indicates some intrinsic economic value to be found in big league sports teams (Santo 2005). However, other studies debate the financial benefits and call into question the validity of the argument that sports teams provide an economic boost, and instead suggest that they hurt their respective cities by not serving as a good example of public-private partnerships, which is a common economic critique (Rosentraub 1997; Bachelor 1998; Hudson 1999; Coates and Humphreys 2000; Johnson and Whitehead 2000). Too much of the bill can be left to the taxpayers while the economic incentives, such as subsidies for development, are often given directly to the owner through special tax loopholes (Rosentraub 1997).

Some go as far as to suggest that big league teams can hold cities at ransom for new stadiums, especially if they are in a smaller market (Zimbalist 1998; Owen 2003). The owners can threaten their cities with the prospect of relocating, often attempting to associate the amount

of money that a city is willing to contribute to new sports infrastructure with its affection for the team. Still others say that the answer lies somewhere in the middle, and cities that build new sports complexes often experience mixed results in terms of economic measurements (Austrian and Rosentraub 2002; Chapin 2004; Rosentraub 2014). Sports-anchored urban tourism is relatively new and is not likely to go away soon, so a deeper understanding of contemporary political, social, and economic issues is needed to fully investigate the legitimacy of the claim that major league teams provide a civic and economic boost to cities (Silk and Amis 2005).

2.3 Gentrification

Gentrification, defined as the “process by which decline and disinvestment in inner-city neighborhoods are reversed,” is a divisive topic in many circles, with academia being no exception (Freeman 2005, 463). Over time, the narrative of whether gentrification is mostly a force for good or ill has been debated, often with proponents seeing it as tool to be used to revitalize the downtrodden areas of a city, and opponents viewing gentrification as a tool for displacing people for capitalistic purposes (Freeman 2005). The movement of people and businesses serves as a way of reshaping areas, affecting both the space and the sense of place of an urban district. Gentrification has coincided with state agencies moving away from providing humanitarian services to the urban lower-class, instead choosing to serve as a facilitator between businesses and the wealthier classes (Wacquant 2008). The revitalization of run-down areas of cities is therefore seen as an insidious tendency that masks its displacement of people with the promise of economic renewal and as a type of space rebranding (Keatinge and Martin 2016). This displacement, which is caused by the rising rents of areas that experience gentrification, pushes people from poorer backgrounds away from a given area. Often these people are typically

already marginalized to begin with. The “postindustrial proletariat,” is then, as history seems to indicate, the victim of a negligent state that produces inequality (Wacquant 2008, 203). While this view may be considered a little extreme, it is a very Marxist way of looking at the economic tragedy that is often associated with gentrification. Not all studies that looked at the economics of gentrification were as bleak as that one, however, as some saw that gentrification produced at least moderate positive impacts. One study saw that after looking at a sample of 20 central cities in large urban areas, including Chicago’s Wicker Park, employment was shown to grow faster in regions where gentrification had occurred as compared to the areas where it hadn’t yet reached (Lester and Hartley 2014). Although gentrification did not come with a return of manufacturing jobs, retail and restaurant jobs did grow due to increased tourism. While the economic progress might seem marginal to some, it at least indicates that gentrification does indeed have economic, and not just aesthetic, merit (Lester and Hartley 2014). While it shows that gentrification isn’t necessarily an empty promise and just a way to further marginalize the urban poor, some economic merit almost certainly does not outweigh the burden of displacement.

Displacement caused by gentrification not only represents economic hardship, it can also cause a neighborhood to lose some or even all its identity. Even in neighborhoods without people physically leaving, a sense of place was lost in areas of Melbourne, Australia had occurred in neighborhoods that were experiencing gentrification as the new social mixing did not make up for their lost sense of identity (Shaw and Hageman 2015). Gentrification brought on by local governments, in association with business partners, is a popular tactic used to bring about urban renewal and is a readily visible phenomenon. Local governments use special taxing methods, such as Tax Incremental Financing (TIFs), which are meant to build infrastructure and work by increasing taxes in an area but give the increased tax revenue to the developer for redevelopment

projects. However, government-led gentrification movements are not the only ones that can impact a city and its residents. Sometimes, businesses, such as sport franchises seeking new stadiums, make promises to revitalize areas of a city in exchange for public funding or other economic benefits.

In the last few decades, there has been a movement to return sport facilities to downtown areas, with the promise that they will help to galvanize an area simply with their presence, making them worth their price to the public. This idea is so successful that many city officials, rather than franchise owners, have been more vocal about how building a new stadium will promote economic growth by acting as a status signal and catalyst for growth (Mason, Washington, and Buist 2015). In large urban markets, the motivation to build new sports facilities can be for several reasons, but it typically is part of a larger urban revitalization strategy, heavily implying gentrification whether stated or not (Newsome and Comer 2000). In smaller urban markets, building a sports stadium not only serves as an economic focal point, it also provides a sense of attaining big-league status (Newsome and Comer 2000). Those who claim that there is some form of economic stimulation with gentrification often couple this idea with the fact there is also a social capital involved in building sport facilities (Welty-Peachy et al. 2015). This defense implies that people will be gathered at the stadiums and that it makes it more likely for these people to spend in areas around the facilities as well. However, this may not always be the case as there is frequently not enough attractions around the stadium to capture the visitors' attention as well as the fact that many stadiums are privately-run businesses that seek to encourage their patrons to spend money within the confines of their facilities (Crompton 2014).

Sport stadiums may claim to be redevelopment stimuli, but their business models often contradict that idea. Owners, such as Jeffrey Loria of MLB's Miami Marlins, who constructed a

stadium in 2012, use huge sums of public money by claiming that the cost of a stadium is too great for them to pay and that they need public subsidies (Rosentraub 2014). Additionally, not only does gentrification and its byproduct of bringing in wealthier people seem to be encouraged outside of the stadium, but it also seems to be desired within the stadium by many sport franchises. Since the end of World War II and the beginnings of mass suburbanization, stadiums have been built with the interests of the wealthier fans in mind (Dinces 2016). This includes building luxury suites and other private seating that many of the working-class fans wouldn't be able to afford or enjoy. Large numbers of the more affordable seats in stadiums were lost to make room for the luxury boxes that line stadiums, further marginalizing lower-class fans. From an economic standpoint, perhaps this makes sense, as the upper classes would maybe not want to be contained in what is essentially a pit of people, and with the wealthy willing to pay astronomical ticket prices, the business model makes sense. This idea implies that gentrification caused by sport stadiums (and maybe even gentrification in its entirety) is not about lending a helping hand to the working class by providing jobs, but instead that any benefit to the urban worker is secondary to giving wealthier people a new playground (Dinces 2016). As gentrification, or any of its various synonyms, becomes an increasingly popular reason for cities to build sports facilities, it is imperative to contemplate who would stand to benefit from these deals. Additionally, the favoring of above working-class fans seems to indicate the type of fan that is desired in and around the stadium.

2.4 Case Study Site Literature

St. Louis, Missouri is a city that is very familiar with the gain and loss of major sport teams. In order to obtain the Rams of the National Football League in 1995, St. Louis assumed a

heavy economic burden, going so far as to pay off the teams' debt to the city of Los Angeles (Hall 2004). It has also seen the development of a new baseball stadium and a massive baseball-themed sporting complex known as Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village, which were recently completed in 2006 and 2014, respectively. This stadium and entertainment district project were replacing Busch Stadium II (built in the 1960s) in an area immediately south of the previous stadium site (Hurt 2018). Ballpark Village was advertised as a place where you could watch the game, shop, eat, and even stay as hotels were supposed to be built around the area, which have not yet been included (although recently announced plans indicate they will be built in phase two of construction). It was a major part of the final push to get the new stadium approved as it was supposed to act as an economic catalyst in the area (Hurt 2018). Those who were against the idea often thought it was a move for the ego of the city, rather than a financial boon, especially with the economic concessions (in the form of special tax incentives) that were made to the Cardinals franchise (Ponder 2004).

St. Louis is still recovering from depopulation and severe economic decline that began in the 1950's and is trying to improve its image (Sandweiss 2001). Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village represent the city's attempt at correcting this issue by providing a family-friendly sports-anchored entertainment district in its southern downtown core. The politics of the area are seemingly controlled by the few, as a small number of city officials have had their hands in developing and implementing sport stadiums (Laslo 2003). It has also been stated that while the sport complexes of St. Louis were being built, construction worker employment remained steady, which indicates that the construction of these stadiums do not actually provide jobs, but rather that they merely take workers away from other projects (Miller 2002). It should be noted, however, that the study in question was written prior to Busch Stadium III and its accompanying

areas. With the second phase of Ballpark Village underway, it will be interesting to see what economic effect it has on the city of St. Louis. The development plan includes adding retail, dining, offices, luxury hotels, and permanent residences to the existing footprint of Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village (St. Louis Cardinals 2017).

The revitalization of the East Village area of San Diego was a primary concern going into the late 1990's and early 2000's, and Petco Park, home of the MLB Padres, became an important piece in redeveloping this part of southern California. Previously, this area was a historic arts neighborhood, although by this time most of the lots that would built on had been empty for years (Cantor and Rosentraub 2012). The idea, like many projects that offer revitalization, was met with criticism regarding what the taxpayers would have to pay and what they would receive (Cantor and Rosentraub 2012). The project cost the taxpayers \$209 million dollars, but the team promised the city that \$487 million dollars would be put forward by the team to help develop the area around the stadium (Cantor and Rosentraub 2012). Unfortunately for San Diego, the recession of the late 2000's hit within just a few years after the stadium's completion in 2004, causing major delays in development. There were even fears during the recession that the development was on the verge of stopping completely, as one of the vacant lots that had been cleared away for condominiums had then been turned into a one-block long shelter tent for the homeless (Kayzar 2008). Still, while the delays were significant, the development did continue after San Diego, one of the cities hit hardest by the recession, slowly pulled itself out of the economic disaster. Some studies have even praised the city for its use of a public-private partnership (sometimes called P3s), as the city made a significant financial commitment to the stadium, the Padres in turn invested \$187 million in the stadium and nearly \$500 million in real estate development in the area (Erie, Kogan, and Mackenzie 2010; Cantor and Rosentraub 2012).

While many taxpayers are still anxious about the poor economic return of public-private stadium initiatives or are worried about the gentrification and the displacement of people, San Diego seemingly struck the right balance of institutional and government partnership and minimized these risks (Erie, Kogan, and MacKenzie 2010). While the Padres negotiated a deal to keep all the revenues generated in the stadium, their investment in the area surrounding the stadium did have substantial economic returns for the city. Property values amid the new stadium rose and the number of highly educated workers in the area also increased, giving the city a higher-income tax base to draw from (Cantor and Rosentraub 2012). These returns are especially impressive when considering the financial constraints resulting from the mid-2000s recession the city was still facing at that time. It should be noted that the development plans of St. Louis and San Diego may seem very similar, the key difference to note is that San Diego negotiated with the Padres to get them to invest in redevelopment in local businesses alongside the stadium, which was not the case in St. Louis (Cantor and Rosentraub 2012). It is also important to note that San Diego had a few more years to lay out development plans prior to the economic turmoil, when St. Louis had no more than two years following the construction of Busch Stadium III.

London, England, one of the world's most famous and historic cities, has also seen the attempted revitalization of some urban districts with strategically placed sports facilities. While it may be strange to think that a city that already experiences some of the highest rates of tourism in Europe (and indeed the world, according to the U.N. World Tourism Organization) would turn to sports-based tourism to revitalize some of the more economically blighted areas, or to at least change their image, but it is indeed the case (Kenyon and Bodet 2016). London leaders hope that some sort of substitution effect will take place, where some tourists will forego some of the more toured areas to catch a game, spreading the revenue created through tourism a little more evenly

(Pappalepore and Duignan 2016). Building sports facilities also became a large part of the tourism draw for the city as in 2012 London hosted the summer Olympics and boasted a few brand-new stadiums that were in some of the less economically successful parts of London. The idea was that within two decades, the facilities would help bring the boroughs they were in up to par with some of the more affluent neighborhoods of London (Davies 2011). Although this has obviously still playing out, there is some doubt to whether it will happen (Davies 2011).

In one of the boroughs of London that was seeing the construction of Olympic facilities, Newham, there was a feeling of an impending displacement among the young residents who were living there. The constant road work, construction, and buying out and tearing down of old buildings made people feel like they were going to lose sense of place (Kennelly and Watt 2012). Unfortunately, this lost sense of pace is often not the only consequence of this movement, as many times the housing prices in gentrified areas of London go up to the point where tenants are unable to pay the increasing housing costs during and after an area is renovated (Kennelly and Watt 2012). Without some form of cost control, these people, who have maybe lived in the area their whole life, are pushed out. The other side of gentrification is the idea that an area can be made less dangerous by cleaning up an area's image and perhaps moving any criminal element away from the area. In London, the idea behind building some of the Olympic stadiums in the eastern Boroughs was to "de-risk" them and make them more appealing for businesses (Smith 2014). The hope was that in the years leading up to the Olympic games, and in the years following, more businesses would look to make investments in areas that were seeing an influx of new tourists (Smith 2014). The redevelopment of East London is ongoing, and only time will tell if the projects are successful.

In the meantime, other areas of London, such as the area around White Hart Lane, home of the Premier League Tottenham Hotspurs, are also experiencing new stadium implementation in the hopes of revitalization and investment. This area of London, found in the northern borough of Haringey is known for its striking diversity, as over 100 languages are believed to be spoken in the area (Haringey London 2015). The Tottenham Hotspurs will unveil their new stadium, dubbed New White Hart Lane (officially the Northumberland Development Project) prior to the start of the 2018-2019 Premier League season. This stadium cost is disputed, with team sources putting the total around \$600 million and while some others say the price is nearly \$1 billion (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a; Panja and Hellier 2017). New White Hart Lane has replaced the previous stadium with the hope is that it will spur (no pun intended) on new economic activity in the area by hosting events outside of soccer, including two NFL games a year (Cottingham 2017). Since the stadium is still under development, it remains to be seen what the true impact of the stadium will be in Tottenham.

Chapter 3: The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

When examining the areas surrounding 21 Major League Baseball stadiums built during the retro movement since the construction of Oriole Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore prior to the 1992 season, patterns began to emerge. As I explain below, the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model is the result of grouping similarly designed and implemented stadium components in broad categories to highlight the common features found among them. This will hopefully provide simple, yet accessible, points of reference for how teams and cities construct these sports-anchored sites, altering American downtowns. For a feature to be placed into the stadium model, more than half of the stadiums studied had to incorporate the feature in some manner. Additionally, a feature was only counted towards the total if it was found within two miles of the ballpark, representing a reasonable walking distance. Stadiums that were found in a suburban setting were excluded.

New baseball stadiums and their sports-anchored entertainment districts are unsurprisingly found in the downtowns (or nearby) of major metropolitan markets and are usually arranged in a similar fashion. These stadiums seem to be attempting to recreate the sense of place that Margaret Gripshover describes at Wrigleyville, the neighborhood surrounding Wrigley Field (opened in 1914), home of the Chicago Cubs. The area maintains a:

... lifestyle for young, affluent (and mostly childless) professionals in the highly desirable, expensive apartments and condominiums near the ballpark. For those who couldn't imagine living anywhere else, Wrigleyville is the Land of Oz, where there is no place like a home near home plate. (Gripshover 2008, 11)

That is to say, that the area surrounding new downtown stadiums include many of the features found within Wrigleyville, namely the expensive residences and themed restaurants. However, new development isn't organic in the same way that Wrigleyville, which is through an attachment to the stadium and neighborhood (Gripshover 2008). Instead, many of the new stadium projects were top-down measures and sought to create a similar, but amplified, atmosphere by incorporating aspects found in Wrigleyville. It is important to note, however, that these features were not so unique to baseball in its previous eras, as many baseball neighborhoods were situated in lively, working class areas prior to the construction of the midcentury modern baseball stadiums of the previous era (Fairfield 2001).

Stadiums such as the Palace of the Fans in Cincinnati was built during the City Beautiful movement, which encouraged civic loyalty and participatory democracy through inspirational structures (Fairfield 2001). Other stadiums, such as Shibe Park in Philadelphia and Comiskey Park in Chicago followed this design as well (Fairfield 2001). During the middle part of the 20th century, many cities and teams turned to a more practical, multi-purpose design. These stadiums were built using concrete and typically separated the fans from the city around them, offering no view of the downtown (Hurt 2018). They also very often housed multiple sport franchises, such as the case with the Oakland Coliseum, which opened in 1966. Both the National Football League's Oakland Raiders and MLB's Oakland Athletics play there. Prior to the beginnings of the retro-movement, very few pre-midcentury modern stadiums were left, with Yankee Stadium in New York (the original), Fenway Park in Boston, and of course Wrigley Field in Chicago being some of the exceptions. In this way, Wrigley Field and its surrounding area can be thought of as the prime example of nostalgia for baseball's storied past. (Gordon 2013).

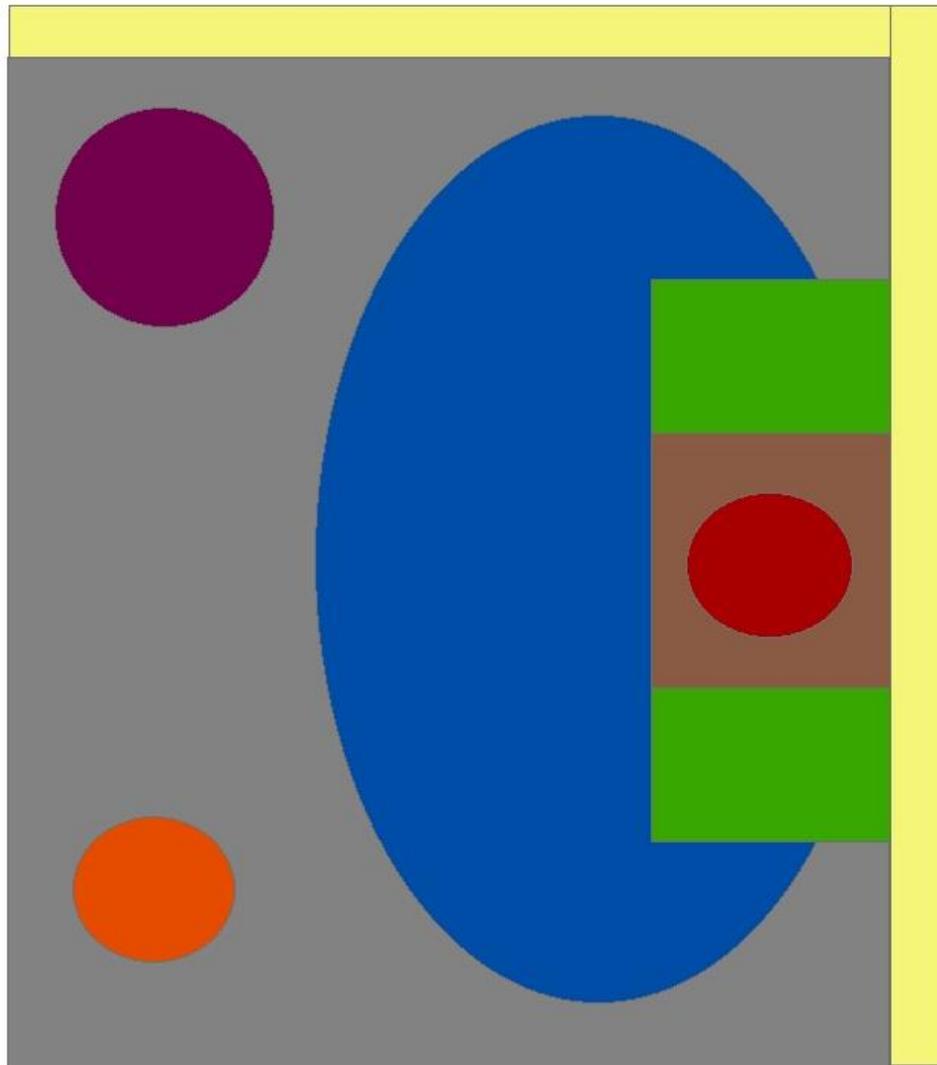
Of the stadiums built since 1992, 19 of the 21 are found somewhere in an urban setting of their metropolitan area. As mentioned previously, the two suburban stadiums constructed during this time period were excluded from this study. A table below shows how the different stadiums fit into each criterion (Figure 3.1). The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model can be found on the following page (Figure 3.2).

Stadium, City, Year Built	SS	PT	RS	HI	ASE	ZT	OSF	CC
Oriole Park - Baltimore (1992)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Progressive Field – Cleveland (1994)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Coors Field – Denver (1995)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Chase Field – Phoenix (1998)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Safeco Field – Seattle (1999)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Minute Maid Park – Houston (2000)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Comerica Park – Detroit (2000)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
AT&T Park – San Francisco (2000)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
PNC Park – Pittsburgh (2001)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Miller Park – Milwaukee (2001)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Great American Ballpark – Cincinnati (2003)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Petco Park – San Diego (2004)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
Citizens Bank Park – Philadelphia (2004)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-
Busch Stadium – St. Louis (2006)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Nationals Ballpark – Washington D.C. (2008)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓
Yankee Stadium – New York City (2009)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Citi Field – New York City (2009)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-
Target Field – Minneapolis (2010)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Marlins Park – Miami (2012)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-

Figure 3.1 - Stadiums are listed by current stadium name and ordered from top to bottom in order of construction. Only the cities used for the model are shown.

SS – Stadium Site **PT** – Parking and Transportation **RS** – Recreational Space
HI – Highways and Interstates **ASE** – Adjacent Sports Entertainment
ZT – Zone of Transition **OSF** – Other Sports Facilities **CC** – Convention Centers

Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model



Legend

Stadium Site	Recreational Space	Adjacent Sports Entertainment
Other Sports Facility	Convention Center	
Parking and Transportation	Zone of Transition	Highways and Interstates

Figure 3.2 – The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model. Created by author.

3.1 Stadium Site

All of the stadiums fit into this criterion because, as the heading would suggest, this is the space that the stadium itself occupies. Beyond that, many of the stadiums choose to prominently feature their history on the stadium grounds in the form of statues or franchise hall of fames. The San Diego Padres feature a brick wall with the names and faces of admired players of past eras and allow fans to purchase bricks along the landing surrounding the wall and the team store. Fans can then inscribe their names on the bricks, adding their own legacy to the nostalgia baked into the stadium itself. The retro design of baseball stadiums typically utilizes an outfield that opens to the city to let fans take in the views from the grandstands of iconic structures and buildings surrounding the stadium. They have been incredibly popular since the early 1990s. St. Louis' baseball stadium offers views of the Gateway Arch as well as showcasing many of the skyscrapers found in the city. Modern baseball stadiums also heavily incorporate the feel of outdoor malls and feature all-inclusive areas within the footprint of the stadium such as bars, restaurants, and retail shops where fans can purchase gear. In this way, the retro stadiums can be thought of as retro-modern, in which they offer the so-called simplicity in their design, but they still incorporate the more capitalistic elements of their mid-20th century predecessors (Rosensweig 2005).

Other stadiums, such as Miller Park in Milwaukee, attempt to extend the usage of the facility beyond baseball season by offering concerts during breaks and off seasons, where the field is transformed from the typical baseball diamond into a stage and pit (Major League Baseball 2018a). Additionally, most stadiums offer tours of the facilities as a way to bring the fans into the same areas as the players, managers, and team employees. These tours often include visits to the dugout, press box, luxury box, and in the case of Comerica Park's Kid Tours – a

chance to visit with mascots and to ride a carousel (Major League Baseball 2018b). These events add reasons to visit the ballpark in the offseason and increase their usage by people who may not choose to go to the games but are interested in the history of the team or in activities hosted at the stadium. While these retro stadiums may be built on principles of returning to simplicity of previous eras, as mentioned in the introduction, they are also creative in how they get people to visit.

However, not all of the ballparks built in urban environments have strictly adhered to the retro-style. The Marlins Park, which opened in 2012 in the Little Havana neighborhood of Miami, what the New York Times calls an “unapologetically 21st-century stadium,” is laden with features that separate it from its contemporary counterparts (Kimmelman 2012). While the 35,000-seat stadium still offers a view of the downtown, it separates its fans from the elements (namely, oppressive heat, humidity, and rain) via a large window overlooking the skyline and a retractable roof. The stadium also has features such as an aquarium that lines the inner-ring of seats behind home plate and, perhaps as a callback to owner Jeffrey Loria’s art-dealing background, contains several murals and art displays throughout the facility. Though the look and design of the stadium are a far cry from other urban sports-anchored areas, it still qualifies for this study as it is featured in an urban area and is marketed as a revitalization project for Miami’s famous Little Havana neighborhood (Kimmelman 2012).

3.2 Parking and Transportation

As with the previous model feature, every stadium features parking and access transportation routes in some way. Stadium parking can create hassles on game days with long lines waiting to get into the parking structures, making this part of the stadium experience a

tedious one. Often parking around the stadium can be found in a variety of manners, including surface lots, garages, and even metered parking. Typically, most urban stadiums seem to have 3-5 designated areas in close vicinity to the ballpark. For the fans who do schedule ahead, team websites often feature advice on when to arrive, which lots and garages to enter, and where to pick up parking passes. The Colorado Rockies' stadium, Coors Field in Denver, even advertises a valet service, allowing fans to avoid the irritation of finding a parking spot. (Major League Baseball 2018c) This feature of the model is a little more involved than just parking, however.

Whether it be buses, trams, or other forms of public transport, cities seemingly look to find ways to promote their stadiums by providing a way travel that avoids parking. The Minnesota Twins have partnered with the ridesharing service Uber, even offering discount codes to the people who use the ridesharing drop off service to Target Field in Minneapolis (Major League Baseball 2018d). As far as public transportation goes, many cities offer routes that go to and from the stadium grounds, such as the Green Line Metrorail and various bus services offered by the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority for visitors to Nationals Ballpark (WMATA 2018). On the transportation lines, teams and the associated stops nearby their stadiums are often advertised so as to make it easier to direct fans into the stadiums. The stations nearest the stadium sites are often found within the same area as the designated parking.

3.3 Recreational Space

Every stadium featured some sort of recreational space nearby, although some more than others. Typically, they are located in all directions from a stadium and can range in size from a few thousand square feet to multiple city blocks. Recreational space sometimes surrounds the stadium in the form of parks, as is the case with Citi Field in New York City, home of the Mets,

which is flanked by Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Flushing Bay Promenade, Queens Botanical Garden and other green spaces. The Mets “Subway Series” rival’s stadium – Yankee Stadium – is located in an area between several green spaces as well, including Mullaly, Macombs Dam, Joyce Kilmer, and Franz Sigel parks. New York City isn’t the only city to have ballparks near parks, as Commons, Confluence, and City of Cuernavaca parks are located just a few blocks north of Coors Field in Denver. Recreational space is more than just gardens and parks, however, as PNC Park in Pittsburgh features a Highmark Kids Zone, complete with a miniature version of their park as well as a playground area. Helfaer Field in Milwaukee, a Little League park, sits across the street from Miller Park, the site of the old Milwaukee County Stadium, where the Milwaukee Braves (formerly Boston Braves, now Atlanta Braves) and Milwaukee Brewers used to play (Major League Baseball 2018e). Located next to San Diego’s Petco Park is a giant sandbox that overlooks the outfield opposite of home plate for families with children to play in, like they would if they were at one of San Diego’s many beachfronts. The purpose of all these areas is to provide a space for recreational activities and they can be used by fans and their families as ways of extending their time in the area beyond just the game.

3.4 Highways and Interstates

Every stadium in this study is found within two miles of an intersection of major highways, ostensibly being built there for the ease of travel by car. Typically, these stadiums are just off a clearly marked exit and on a major road in the downtown area. The Cincinnati Reds, who play at the Great American Ballpark, are located just off of Interstate 71 (along with their sports neighbor, the National Football League Cincinnati Bengals). The two New York City teams, Yankees and Mets, are also located near major interstates – Interstate 87 and Interstate

678, respectively. On game days, these highways can experience backed-up traffic, causing individuals with no intention to go to the game to become frustrated with the increased congestion and delays. Some teams and cities take action in order to prevent this, such as in Washington D.C. where the city and the Nationals baseball team partnered up to release a traffic operations plan designed to provide information to assist drivers in getting to the ballpark in the safest and most efficient manner possible (District Department of Transportation 2017). Other stadiums are located next to physical barriers in their environment, such as the ocean, which is the case with AT&T Park in San Francisco. This further constricts traffic flows. Chase Field, located in Phoenix Arizona and home of the Arizona Diamondbacks, represents the stadium located the furthest from a highway or interstate and is located nearly equidistant from I-10 to the north (1.8 miles) and I-17 (1.5 miles) to the south. With 7th Street serving as the main artery between the stadium and these two interstates, drivers attempting to get onto these road networks must sit through at least a mile and a half of painstakingly slow-moving traffic in order to get home.

On the highways and major road networks themselves, leading up the stadium, there are often billboards and street signs promoting the stadium's home team as well as the entertainment features found nearby. The billboards also promote other events happening at the stadium, such as concerts, little league games, or other festivities.

3.5 Adjacent Sports Entertainment

This feature refers to the density of streets and businesses found immediately next to downtown stadiums, and again is near 19 of the stadiums in this study. Often team-promoting bars and restaurants are found here, and fans who want to be downtown but not necessarily at the

stadium, congregate here to watch the game on television. Though inexactly defined in area or shape, the Adjacent Sports Entertainment zone typically surrounds the stadium in all directions (unless a physical barrier, like a highway or ocean, is present) for at least a few blocks before it runs into the Zone of Transition, which is explained later. These businesses capitalize on the fact that a fan may not want to spend money on high-dollar, ballpark-quality food and drinks, but still want to have an authentic game experience surrounded by other fans. High-end sports retail (and other retail in general) can also typically be found in the areas surrounding the stadium, which provides a shopping experience for fans who get to the game early or who want to walk around the immediate surroundings of the stadium after the game. Blended between this feature and the parking area, there are also often premium hotel chains that cater to traveling fan. These hotels will have incentives, such as free parking or a walking bridge to the stadium, that help to promote them as hotels for the more-than-casual fan. Adjacent to AT&T Park are many trendy restaurants, bars, and hotels, including Hotel VIA, a 4-star location with a rooftop bar which sits directly opposite the stadium in San Francisco's South Beach area. In Houston, across I-69 from Minute Maid Park, home of the Astros, is the famous Lucky's Pub, which offers some of the largest selections of beer in the U.S. as well as a shuttle for patrons, who may not be in any condition to drive. The area surrounding stadiums are typically made up of businesses that aren't directly owned by the team.

While not ubiquitous, some ballparks now have planned, fan-centric, team-promoted bar and restaurant complexes. Examples include Ballpark Village (with FOX Sports Midwest Live!) in St. Louis or Xfinity Live! in Philadelphia, both are immediately adjacent to their home stadium and were planned as part of the stadium project. Additionally, both of the suburban stadiums built since 1992 have partnered with the Cornish Companies who are involved in real

estate management and development and feature their own *Live!*-branded businesses of their own (Cordish 2018). These specialty areas are often billed as destinations in their own right, offering a place to watch the game, listen to live music, or visit on non-game days. At least for the urban stadiums, these complexes are often built in order to promote revitalization (in other words, gentrification) as an economic catalyst in the region. They are meant to keep fans in the area beyond the scope of a game and to promote a family-friendly atmosphere. The *Live!* establishments are a relatively new development for stadiums and have only been around since the early 2000s (Cordish 2018). Following this area of the model, things tend to blend back into an area somewhat less focused on catering to the sports enthusiast.

3.6 Zone of Transition

The Zone of Transition represents a blending of the typical downtown staples, such as restaurants and businesses unaffiliated with the sports-district and businesses that specifically cater to the fans coming into the city for the game. Just like the previous components, every city in this study has some mix of sports-themed and non-sports-oriented businesses in the surrounding area. The businesses in this area may not always be specifically geared towards stadium patrons, but they still benefit from their presence. In a way, the Zone of Transition can be thought of as a buffer between the area the stadium influences and the rest of the downtown.

For example, housing units are sometimes created that may not have otherwise existed if not for the nearby attraction of the stadium. These housing units, usually moderately high-end, capitalize on the desire some fans may have of living within walking distance of the stadium. One example of this would be the Ballpark Lofts in Denver, which are billed as innovative, community-driven, luxury-laden apartments for fans who want to live two blocks away from

Coors Field (Ballpark Lofts Apartments 2018). Situated in the famous Little Havana neighborhood of Miami, Marlins Park is surrounded by luxury apartments, such as Stadium Tower, that boast about their proximity to the stadium and the surrounding nightlife (Stadium Tower 2018). These apartments serve to help promote the “eat-shop-play-stay” idea that these sports-anchored areas encapsulate.

Some cities develop other major tourist attractions in the same area as their stadiums, such as in Cleveland which features an aquarium, casinos, and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame all within a mile of Progressive Field. Baltimore, the city famous for starting the retro movement, also has museums, nightlife, and the National Aquarium within walking distance of Camden Yards. Perhaps due to the concentration of entertainment options, many downtowns feature some of their higher-end hotels in the area, giving travelers a place to stay after catching the game or enjoying some of the nightlife. Near Chase Field in Phoenix, multiple 4-star hotels are less than a mile from the ballpark, all located between the stadium and other entertainment venues. The next two features, Other Sports Facilities and Convention Centers (listed below), are also found within this transitional area of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.

3.6.1 Other Sports Facilities

Typically, cities large enough to house Major League Baseball teams are also large enough to host other professional franchises. In the case of the cities in this study, only San Diego doesn't have another current professional sport franchise out of the top five major sports (football, baseball, basketball, hockey, and soccer). Moreover, they are only recently down to one major professional sport franchise following the NFL Chargers move to Los Angeles. Out of the 19 baseball stadiums studied, 12 were found within two miles of another major league sports

facility. In many of the downtowns, the stadiums are placed together and may even share parking, such as Comerica Park in Detroit which shares parking with Ford Field, home of the NFL Detroit Lions. In Seattle, Safeco Field and CenturyLink Field, home of the NFL Seattle Seahawks, are adjacent to each other. A third-party company, Diamond Parking, handles many of the shared parking spaces between the two franchises. Cleveland has all three of their major sports teams located within a few blocks of each other, as Progressive Field is right next door to Quicken Loans Arena, home of the National Basketball Association Cavaliers, while the NFL Browns are less than a mile away from those facilities. Although no formal study has seemingly been undertaken to understand why cities and teams choose to cluster sports facilities, perhaps the reasoning is practical – creating a singular sports-anchored district might be favorable to having stadiums isolated as the parking can be shared. It could also be that cities are looking to keep people coming to the area year-round by having sports teams that play in different seasons.

One of the negatives would be when multiple sports teams are playing in the same city on the same night. This strategy of placing both teams in the same area would inevitably lead to increased congestion in the area near the stadiums and on the adjacent highways. Also, if the sports teams in the area have overlapping off-seasons, the area might become especially barren as the footprints of the stadiums take up additional space. Hosting concerts and events, which many ballparks do, might be their way of dealing with this issue and bringing people back in to the area. In addition to the cities mentioned above, places like Baltimore, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Houston, and Philadelphia all have nearby stadiums for major sports teams located within just a few blocks of their respective baseball parks. Perhaps the most surprising teams to not have other professional sport stadiums so close to their home stadiums are the New York teams, the Mets and the Yankees, both of which are isolated in their city. For a city with multiple teams

representing the area across every major sport, having both of their professional baseball franchises located nearly 10 miles from any other major sports stadium is intriguing. It should be noted, however, that the Yankees do technically share their stadium with the New York City Football (soccer) Club – but since this Major League Soccer team does not have its own stadium, it does not count in this study.

3.6.2 Convention Centers

One of the biggest draws to the downtown for many cities, after sports, are convention centers. 14 of the 19 stadiums examined have some sort of major convention center located nearby. Placed within the Zone of Transition, these convention centers are often concentrated in the same area as stadiums and are surrounded by downtown hotels to accommodate the people who travel to the city for conferences and events.

Perhaps one of the most famous convention centers in the country, at least during the height of Comic-Con, is the San Diego Convention Center, which sits opposite Petco Park. According to the San Diego Tribune, the San Diego Comic-Con brings in over 130,000 people, nearly 20 million dollars in revenue for local businesses, and almost three million dollars in tax revenue for the city (Rowe 2017). In Houston, the George R. Brown Convention Center sits just a few blocks to the southwest of Minute Maid Park, home of the Astros. The GRB Convention Center hosts the typical events and expositions, but it also houses one of the largest gun show gatherings in the country as well as the International Quilt Festival, which brings in more than 60,000 people a year (Visit Houston Texas 2018) Many other cities, including but not limited to, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Seattle all have major convention centers located within just a mile or two of their stadium. These facilities may have no direct linkage

with the nearby sport franchises, but they do add to the foot traffic in their downtowns and their visitors also frequent some of the same businesses. Due to the mix of sports and non-sports influences, convention centers are in the Zone of Transition.

3.7 Areas Beyond the Zone of Transition

At this point, the model stops attempting to predict any urban components as the sphere of influence of the stadium and sports-anchored district has seemingly ended. The typical downtown characteristics resume following the Zone of Transition. Financial, business, and arts districts replace sports-themed regions of the city. Non-sport based urban cores may be more centered around markets, office space, or other downtown staples.

3.8 Suburban Stadiums

The two other stadiums built since the retro-movement began, Globe Life Park in Arlington, Texas (for the Texas Rangers) and SunTrust Park in Cumberland, Georgia (for the Atlanta Braves) are both in the suburbs of major metropolitan areas and were not included in the design of the model. Although they may share many features, such as their proximity to hotels and highways, the urban and suburban landscapes are different enough so that suburban stadiums are a different type of sport landscape. The suburban settings for both teams featured many things not found in the urban areas of the other stadiums, such as large retail malls, big-box stores, and in the case of Globe Life Park (the current Arlington baseball stadium), Six Flags Over Texas – a gigantic theme park. The only other baseball stadium approved and currently under construction is Globe Life Field (which will keep the same sponsor) which will house the Rangers, who are only moving across to the other side of Randol Mill Road.

The suburbs are also more spread out, lacking the same density that is found near the urban ballparks. Instead of rigid, condensed streets with businesses and neighborhoods surrounding the stadiums, Globe Life and SunTrust parks are flanked massive parking lots and wide boulevards connecting winding roads. A major difference between urban and suburban stadiums is that suburban stadiums are not seemingly designed with the same focus on gentrification or urban revitalization. Similar language is used when discussing ballpark amenities and experiences, but both of the suburban development websites currently lacked any gentrifying buzzwords (VLK Architects 2018; Hansen 2017). Both of these suburban stadium projects have partnered with the Cornish Companies, designer of the different *Live!* facilities found near stadiums, indicating that a trend towards these mixed-use eat-shop-play style places may be occurring. As more developments are proposed and constructed, it will be interesting to see if these entertainment and lifestyle facilities are also planned along with the stadiums.

While other stadium proposals have been announced, such as in Oakland and Kansas City, no firm plans have been set. The Oakland Athletics most recent proposal to move the team next to a Laney College in the southern part of downtown has officially been rejected by the college's school board, who ordered the chancellor to cease talks with the team (Kurtenbach 2017). The Athletics may be forced to either move to a new city or to invest money into fixing the Oakland Coliseum, longtime home of the Athletics and NFL Raiders. In Kansas City, news broke last year that the team is starting its preliminary search for a possible new stadium site in downtown Kansas City, but nothing firm has been set as the Royals have a lease at their current home, Kauffman Stadium, until 2030 (Vockrodt 2017). If nothing else, these tentative plans show that the suburban stadium movement is not guaranteed, as both of the teams who are looking into new stadiums are not necessarily focused on moving to the suburbs. It would seem

that the retro-style stadium movement has potentially come to a close, or at least is on hiatus with no stadium being built in that manner since Target Field in 2010. The future of stadium location isn't clear, and the two suburban stadiums built one after the other may only be a coincidence.

3.9 Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model Usage

The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model could prove useful in predicting and analyzing what areas teams and cities are looking to build in. The model details how urban redesign is manufactured on the landscape. It can also show that stadium sites are not arbitrarily placed within a downtown and that cities and teams may be looking for some of the features discussed in this study, whether directly stated or not. The validity of this model will be tested in the next three case study chapters, with each chapter also including a discussion on whether gentrification was a major part of the focus for these stadiums. As cities move away from manufacturing and into more tourism-based economies, the relevancy of this work may only increase.

Chapter 4: Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village in St. Louis

4.1 History of the St. Louis Cardinals and Busch Stadium

The Major League Baseball St. Louis Cardinals are one of the league's most historic teams, both in terms of longevity and in championships held. The team, which began National League play in 1892 as the St. Louis Browns before changing their name to the Perfectos and then finally the Cardinals, has won 11 World Series titles (Major League Baseball 2018f). Although not their first stadium, Sportsman's Park served as the home grounds of the team during their early glory years, with their first World Series title in 1926 (Major League Baseball 2018f). Sportsman's brought some stability to a franchise that had undergone several changes in the previous three decades and it was where the team called home from 1920 through the 1965 season (Hurt 2018). The name of the stadium did change, to Busch Stadium (the first of three – so far), following the sale of the team to the Anheuser-Busch brewing company in 1953 (Major League Baseball 2018f). At the time Sportsman's Park was built, it was surrounded by a working-class area and its open-grandstand design allowed patrons to view the bustling neighborhoods that surrounded the park (Bradley 2013). Following a population exodus to the suburbs in the middle part of the 20th century, partially due to a manufacturing decline, St. Louis struggled to combat its growing image as decaying metropolis (Bradley 2013). In an attempt to revitalize the downtown core of St. Louis, Busch Stadium II (originally named Civic Center Busch Memorial Stadium) was opened for play in 1966 (Hurt 2018). Much like its contemporary ballparks in other downtown areas, it was designed to be a practical, multi-use stadium and that enclosed the playing field, separating the fans in the stands from the rest of the city (Hurt 2018). These principles were common in the mid-century stadiums and were extensions of utilitarian movements that were rampant in architectural design in cities during the modern era (Steinbach

2017). Busch Stadium II would serve as the home of the Cardinals for 40 years before the opening of the newest Busch Stadium in 2006.

The new Busch Stadium, often referred to as Busch Stadium III, saw St. Louis embrace the retro-movement that began with Camden Yards in Baltimore in 1992. This move was an attempt to encourage a neighborhood renaissance and reject the calculated, practical nature of the modern era that was then (and now) being viewed as a hindrance to social cohesion (Coombs 2015). Built for \$411 million dollars, the stadium was mostly privately financed but did come with extensive tax incentives in the form of waivers and infrastructure assistance (Hurt 2018). Originally the plan for the stadium included an adjacent multi-purpose area named Ballpark Village that was supposed to be developed in two separate phases soon after the stadium's construction, but due to the economic recession in 2007, the project became woefully delayed. Finally, in 2014 the first phase of Ballpark Village opened to the public (with a cost of \$100 million, \$17 million of which coming from the city and surrounding county) and included a three-story Budweiser Brew House and Fox Sports Midwest *Live!* complex that featured restaurants, retail, and a team Hall of Fame (Hurt 2018). The *Live!* space comes courtesy of The Cordish Companies, which have opened several multi-use retail and entertainment spaces across the country (and even the world) that are becoming an increasingly common component in stadium development (Cordish 2018). Ballpark Village has already proven to be a success by some metrics as it saw four million people attend in its initial season and has expectations for more than 7 million plus attendees in the coming years (Bryant 2015). The second phase, which has only recently been announced in late 2017, is slated to open fully by 2019 with some hope that a few areas might open by 2018. This phase of the project is expected to cost around \$260 million and will include 550,000 square feet of space intended for retail and restaurants as well

as the first Class-A (a rating which denotes the office’s accessibility, professional management, and contemporary amenities) office building in the downtown in three decades (Major League Baseball 2017). It will also include a 29-story luxury high-rise residential tower that will sit just a few hundred feet northeast of the current stadium, which is being built to create the mixed-use neighborhood that the team and city is hoping to establish (Major League Baseball 2017). This combined with the current size of Ballpark Village (150,000 square feet) will further attempt to revitalize the downtown core of St. Louis by attracting new businesses and tenants into the area, which would promote economic growth (Major League Baseball 2014; Major League Baseball 2017).

4.2 Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model

Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village seem to exemplify a sports-driven attempt at redeveloping a downtown as it was designed in the same retro vein as Baltimore’s Oriole Park and Cleveland’s Progressive Field (Hurt 2018). Through careful observation of the area and by examining promotional material from the team and developer (formerly HOK, now Populous), I assess how well Busch Stadium and Ballpark Village meet the specific features of the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model.

4.3 Stadium Site

Busch Stadium III is located just off of Interstate 64 and is flanked by the southern part of Broadway, thus placing the stadium in the southern core of the downtown area. As mentioned previously, the stadium incorporated many of the aspects associated with the retro-movement,

including a grandstand that opens to reveal the downtown skyline and the Gateway Arch (Image 4.1). Additionally, Busch Stadium III is built with a red brick exterior façade as well as frequent steel arches, which helps to distinguish it from the concrete cookie-cutter nature of modern era stadiums. Featured by the front gates of the stadium is the statue of Cardinals legend Stan “The Man” Musial (Image 4.2), a first ballot Hall of Fame inductee who won several World Series titles (while also serving in the Navy during World War II) and held many major league records at the time of his retirement. Busch Stadium III memorializes other Cardinals greats in the team’s hall of fame museum, which has exhibits and artifacts from each of the team’s 11 World Series titles. It also includes permanent themed areas in the style of their past stadiums, Sportsman’s and Busch II, as well as a space that rotates its exhibits in order to give patrons something new to experience on their trips to the ballpark (Major League Baseball 2018g). On the field, the notorious Astroturf of Busch Stadium II is nowhere to be seen as the field uses natural grass, another sign of its retro-nature (Major League Baseball 2018h). Nearly every aspect of the stadium attempts to bring in something that ties itself to baseball’s nostalgic past, including the design of the stadium and the way it incorporates the city and neighborhood it’s in by creating an all-inclusive area for fans and their families to eat, play, and stay to watch the game. The area is turning into something more than just a place to catch a game, but as a place to live and work as well (with the upcoming Phase Two plans). However, that doesn’t mean the stadium is without modern mainstays as well. Along with the typical concessions stands found everywhere, the stadium incorporates a restaurant and bar called “Cardinals Nation” that includes themed menus featuring St. Louis favorites as well as general Americana cuisine (Major League Baseball 2018i). The entertainment complex in Busch Village has rooftop seating and event spaces that can be rented out for corporate events or parties as well as team stores that sell “authentic” team

gear from official retailers (Major League Baseball 2018i). All said, this 46,000-seat stadium does its best to drum up nostalgia while also boasting a myriad of ways of separating patrons from the money in their wallets, which is a common characteristic in all ballparks, not just the retro-designed facilities.



Image 4.1 – Pictured above is the gap between the outfield grandstands which showcases St. Louis’ most famous monument, the Gateway Arch. Photo taken in August 2017 by author.



Image 4.2 – Outside of the northwest gate of Busch Stadium III is the statue of Hall of Famer Stan “The Man” Musial, who passed away in 2013. Photo Taken in August 2017 by author.

4.4 Parking and Transportation

The new Busch Stadium is in a peculiar place when it comes to parking, as some of the lots that were being used previously are the development sites for the next phase of Ballpark Village (Image 4.3; 4.10; 4.11) (Hurt 2018; Major League Baseball 2017). Parking areas will be moved below the 29-story office building into a structured underground space once the construction is complete, although information regarding whether those will be open for public parking is not currently available (Major League Baseball 2017). While development is ongoing, the Ballpark Village website advises fans to park in the lots on the west side of 8th Street, which has a garage and a lot, and the east side of Broadway, which just has a parking garage (Ballpark Village 2018a). Metered parking can also be found lining some of the streets near the stadium.

Another option for travelers to the game is to take the city's MetroLink train service to the game. MetroLink offers two routes, the Blue and Red Lines that stretch from the west and northwest end of the Missouri side to the far eastern side of St. Louis' Illinois suburbs, with several overlapping stops in between. Both lines stop at the station aptly named "Stadium" which puts fans a few hundred feet (and a flight of stairs) from new Busch Stadium (Metro St. Louis 2018).

Additionally, several bus routes in St. Louis offer stadium stops, some on game days and some all the time, that give the citizens of St. Louis several options for how they want to arrive at Busch Stadium III (Metro St. Louis 2018). St. Louis has also been given a high walkability score, according to Walk Score, for pedestrians who might want to walk in downtown St. Louis to the game and take in some of the sights of the city (Walk Score 2018).



Image 4.3 – This parking lot, found on the corner of Broadway and Clark, will be the site of the 29-story luxury residential apartments, set to open in 2020. Photo taken August 2017 by author.

4.5 Recreational Space

Busch Stadium III is situated near a number of local parks and greenspaces. To the north a few blocks of Ballpark Village are a few notable city parks, including Kiener Plaza and Serra Sculpture Park, both of which are maintained by the city's Parks, Recreation, and Forestry Department. Kiener Plaza is famous for its statue of William Zorach, an Olympian who competed in the 1904 St. Louis-held Olympics while Serra Sculpture park features an abstract fence-like sculpture entitled "Twain" (ostensibly dedicated to Mark Twain) (St. Louis Gov 2018). Next to the Serra Sculpture park is a non-profit run park, named Citygarden, which maintains several sculptures and fountains and claims to be a catalyst for urban renewal and economic development by providing recreation space for office workers and residents in the area (Citygarden 2018).

Sitting across from Kiener Plaza on North Broadway is the former Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (now Gateway Arch National Park), which as the name implies, is dedicated to Thomas Jefferson and honors him for his role in expanding the country in the early 19th century (National Park Service 2018). Most famously of all, there is the Gateway Arch, which has stood on the banks of the Mississippi River separating Missouri and Illinois for over 50 years and is one of the most iconic structures in the United States (Gateway Arch 2018).

Finally, the team itself operates its own recreational area in the form of a mini-baseball diamond which happens to sit on the grounds of the old infield for Busch Stadium II, and operates as space for families to play or picnic on and take in the game on an adjacent jumbotron-sized screen (Image 4.4) (Ballpark Village 2018b). Phase two includes an outdoor terrace that will be part of the Loews Hotel that is under construction at the corner of Clark and 8th Street.



Image 4.4 – The site of Busch Stadium II’s infield as it is now – a place for families and recreation. Photo taken August 2017 by author.

4.6 Highways and Interstates

Busch Stadium III sits at the intersection of several overlapping highways, namely I-64 on the southern end of the stadium and I-44 along the eastern edge. I-64 runs west to east connecting some western suburbs with the central part of downtown and becomes I-55 after crossing the Mississippi River into Illinois. I-44 connects with I-70 about a mile north of the stadium and acts like a belt around the southern part of the downtown and as a connection to the southwestern suburbs. A number of other highways connect into this part of the southern downtown core of St. Louis, including Highway 100, also known as Chouteau Avenue or Manchester Avenue, which also contains parts of the former Route 66.

The billboards along these highways feature different advertisements (a lot of them, unsurprisingly, are Budweiser, seeing as the city is home to the famous beer company) that use the affection the city has for their beloved baseball team as a way to promote their product. Traffic in the area can get backed up along these routes and the team website has tips for which highways to take depending on which of the four cardinal (pun not intended) directions they are starting from (Major League Baseball 2018j). The street that separates Ballpark Village and the new Busch stadium, Clark Avenue (Image 4.5) which contains part of Historic Route 66, is always closed on game days and can add to the confusion of getting to the stadium (Major League Baseball 2018j). To avoid the headaches involved in the commute to the stadium, the Cardinals' website advises fans to use the multitude of public transport options as were discussed previously (Major League Baseball 2018j).



Image 4.5 – Clark Avenue, which separates the stadium from Ballpark Village, is closed on game days to allow pedestrians to walk across with peace of mind. Photo taken August 2017 by author.

4.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment

Lining the streets near the stadium are many establishments that cater to the St. Louis fan base, including Paddy O's, which while only in operation since 1998, claims to be St. Louis' original baseball bar (St. Louis Paddy O's 2018). A few blocks west of the stadium sits The Wheelhouse, which is a sports bar with that is a little more upscale than most, says it caters to fans who are just as passionate about their food as they are their sports teams (The Wheelhouse 2018). The west side of the stadium also features other well-known establishments such as the Flying Saucer Draught Emporium and Clark Street Grill (inside The Westin hotel). Both of these businesses are across Route 66 and are only a short walk from the stadium grounds. To the north is a rooftop bar and restaurant on the Hilton St. Louis at The Ballpark, which is less than a football fields-length away from the stadium and allows guests to watch the game from their seat at the bar (Hilton 2018). Additionally, there is Caleco's Bar and Grill, which markets itself as a classic St. Louis restaurant and a must-eat place for Cardinals fans (Caleco's Bar and Grill 2018). Alongside Caleco's are several classic American bar and restaurant chains, including Hooters and TGI Fridays, which are known to market themselves to their locale by putting in memorabilia from teams in the area. The east side of the stadium doesn't contain many restaurants that are seemingly specifically marketed to sports fans, with most of these restaurants being upscale, such as Carmine's Steak House on 4th Street. The east side also has less business and retail space as it is next to the massive Mississippi River, not to mention the parks and highways that are also present. Of course, there are also a number of bars and restaurants found within the footprint of Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village.

Since its opening in 2014, Ballpark Village (Image 4.6) has widely been considered a run-away success in terms of popularity (Bryant 2015; Hurt 2018). The entertainment complex,

which of course features bars and restaurants (Image 4.7), has also grown into an event space for purposes outside of catching a game. As the *Live!* moniker indicates, Ballpark Village and Fox Midwest Sports *Live!* often host events such as concerts and private parties (Ballpark Village 2018c). Additionally, the space is also used for other specialty occasions such as foreign-language or family-friendly movie nights (Ballpark Village 2018d). The main attraction to Ballpark Village, however, is its many themed bars, clubs, and restaurants, of which there are around 10 to choose from – some of which are more family-friendly than others (Ballpark Village 2018e). The impact of Ballpark Village’s presence in the area on local businesses is discussed in the gentrification section of this chapter.



Image 4.6 – Pictured here is the Ballpark Village driveway entrance as well as the Fox Midwest *Live!* entertainment and retail complex behind it. Photo taken August 2017 by author.



Image 4.7 – Inside of the entertainment complex found in Ballpark Village. Fans gather around for a quick bite or drink before spending their day at Busch Stadium III. Photo taken August 2017 by author.

4.8 Zone of Transition

The transitional area in St. Louis between the core sports-anchored areas and the area outside of the stadium's influence is difficult to discern as the city features both another sports facility and a convention center nearby which would also warrant the need for the hotels and businesses that are found in the overlapping areas. There are also several apartment buildings that are found just a few blocks north of the stadium, such as the Paul Brown Loft Apartments, that use their vicinity to both night life and the stadium as part of their advertising strategy (Paul Brown Loft Apartments 2018). The downtown area near the stadium also features different museums, parks, and other attractions, not to mention the Gateway Arch, that would also be responsible for bringing people in to the city. St. Louis' downtown core contains many different attractions for visitors, meaning that businesses and residences found in the downtown area near the stadium are not solely focused on enticing stadium patrons, but rather focus on the foot traffic found within the area as a whole.

4.8.1 Other Sports Facilities

The St. Louis downtown core features another major professional sports franchise, the National Hockey League Blues, who play in the Scottrade Center (Image 4.8). The arena is located about five blocks away west of Ballpark Village and not only brings in fans of the Blues, but also plays host to concerts and other sporting events – such as the Southeastern Conference Men's College Basketball Tournament (Scottrade Center 2018). Less than a mile north of Busch Stadium III is the Dome at America's Center, which was the home of the St. Louis Rams prior to their exodus to Los Angeles in 2016. The Dome at America's Center, previously known as the Edward Jones Dome (and before that the Trans World Dome) has seemingly decided to bury the fact it used to be an NFL stadium, instead choosing to focus on upcoming concerts or the fact

that it was once used for a large Catholic Mass hosted by Pope John Paul II in 1999 and making no mention of the Rams on its website (Explore St. Louis 2018). St. Louis has also proposed to build other sports stadiums in the downtown, namely a Major League Soccer stadium near Union Station or the failed NFL project just north of the Gateway Arch (meant to entice the Rams into staying) within the last few years (Thomas 2017).

4.8.2 Convention Centers

St. Louis is a hotspot for conventions and its convention facility, America's Center Convention Complex (Image 4.9), is located less than a mile from the new Busch Stadium. Just like the ballpark, the MetroLink train also features a station stop (named Convention Center) that is less than a block from the main doors of America's Center Convention Complex (Metro St. Louis 2018). The convention complex is made up of four buildings in which conventions and gatherings can be held, including religious conferences, businesses networking retreats, and even a robotics championship event (Explore St. Louis 2018). All of these events bring in people to the downtown area and increase the incentive to place more hotels and other service industry businesses in the area.



Image 4.8 – Scottrade Center, home to the NHL Blues, in downtown St. Louis is only a few blocks west (or two MetroLink Rail stops) from Busch Stadium III. Photo taken in March 2018.



Image 4.9 – Pictured is the main entrance to America’s Center Convention Complex in St. Louis. Just a few blocks north of Busch Stadium III, this convention center makes use of multiple buildings for its events, including the Dome at America’s Center (previously the Edward Jones Dome), which used to house the National Football League Rams. Photo taken in March 2018.

4.9 Gentrification Exhibited

The city of St. Louis is no stranger to gentrification efforts. The second Busch Stadium, built in 1966 and located just north of the current stadium, was part of a larger effort to help reverse the suburban exodus that had begun decades earlier by providing families with entertainment and leisure destinations (Cowan 2005; Hurt 2018). In doing so, Busch Stadium II, which cost an estimated \$24 million dollars to build, replaced many structures and businesses (along with the city's small Chinatown) that had long since become run-down, in hope of reversing decline and revitalizing the area (Ling 2004; Hurt 2018). Also built during the mid-1960s was the famous Gateway Arch and it, along with Busch Memorial Stadium (Busch II's formal name), were expected to be icons for the city (Wilcox 2003). Now, of course, only the arch still stands with Busch II being demolished in 2005 to make way for the new Busch Stadium and Ballpark Village.

Where Busch Stadium II failed, the new Busch Stadium looked to succeed. The previous stadium was built in the late-modern period of baseball and was essentially a round, cookie-cutter design that could be found in a number of different cities, thereby lacking the charm and uniqueness of stadiums from earlier eras (Ritzer and Stillman 2001). St. Louis' turn toward a retro-design was a calculated one. Other stadiums projects that have been built with what makes their city unique in mind have shown the ability to endear themselves to the community (Sheard 2001). They also have shown the potential help urban redevelopment (Sheard 2001).

Additionally, this time the stadium would be accompanied by a commercialized entertainment complex, Ballpark Village, which was intended to act as an economic catalyst in the region (Hurt 2018). Seven years after Busch Stadium III was built (and after multiple plan revisions) construction for Ballpark Village began on February 8, 2013 and was completed in

time for opening day for the 2014 season (Logan 2013; Cambria 2014). Dress codes are posted around the entertainment complex (described as “baseball casual”) in hope of maintaining a clientele that are modestly dressed and not wearing sagging pants or coming in without a shirt (Hunn 2014). The goal of these projects is to not only to create a family-friendly atmosphere for a day out to the ballpark, but also one that encourages people to visit the area even when games aren’t being played (Hunn 2014). Of course, the structure that houses Fox Midwest *Live!* and the other bars and restaurants was only phase one of their revised plan, with phase two currently under construction.

While whittled down from the original construction plans (which included more housing, offices, and retail space than what current plans detail) Ballpark Village has still been an economically successful venture for St. Louis in terms of revenue generated (Feldt 2016). Additionally, phase two of Ballpark Village calls for the inclusion of office space (Image 4.10) and residential housing (Image 4.11), something the first phase was lacking (Feldt 2016). The demand for the residential spaces has already started as the 29-story One Cardinal Way has started construction and accepting application for tenants, who will be unable to move in to the building until 2020 at the earliest (Feldt 2018). While the rest of the downtown has leasing rates that hover in the mid \$800 range, the apartments currently under construction near Ballpark Village (and will overlook the ballpark, in some cases) are expected to exceed \$2000, which would place it on the high-end for the St. Louis metro area (Feldt 2018). The team and city hope that the continued development through phase two of Ballpark Village will create a mixed-use neighborhood that will not only provide year-round economic impact, but also help to reshape the image of the southern core of downtown (Hurt 2018).

Office space is also expected to be included in the Ballpark Village area, with the construction of St. Louis' first new office building in 30 years (Barker 2017a). The Cordish Companies, Populous' Ballpark Village design partner, have indicated that some of the businesses interested in becoming tenants in the building include an accounting firm, a gym, and a Wahlburger restaurant – which is owned by actor Mark Wahlberg and his family (Barker 2017a). Additionally, a brand-new luxury hotel, designed by the notoriously location-conscious Lowes Hotel chain, will be located at Clark and 8th Street, adjacent to the stadium, and will feature more than 200 rooms (Brown and Barker 2017).

St. Louis' battle with city image has been happening over half a century. In the early 20th century, St. Louis was the fourth largest city in terms of population in the United States and hosted the World's Fair and the Olympics (Sandweiss 2001). Starting in the 1930s, population decline in the city began to take hold as people began moving out to the suburbs, and by the 1950s, the city had become a shell of its former self (Hurt 2018). The city's image began to suffer due to disinvestment and a population exodus caused by midcentury urban economic decline (including the loss of manufacturing jobs) that was happening across the Midwest (Bradley 2013). And while the first attempt and sports-anchored redevelopment with Busch II may not have gone as planned, Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village appear to have become a popular destination even on non-game days (Bryant 2015). The difference between the two Busch Stadium projects was that while both included adjacent investment, Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village are attempting to create a neighborhood where people can stay before or after games (or even live there, with new residences being built) whereas Busch II was designed for the commuter from the suburbs (Hurt 2018). In this way, Busch II attempted to isolate itself from the surrounding area while Busch III is attempting to incorporate and reshape the region (Hurt

2018). The initial projections for returns in the form of tax revenue for the stadium and Ballpark Village looked like the investment of public funds could prove worthwhile according to a 30-year projection, although this of course remains to be seen (Peters 2002). The investment of Ballpark Village isn't the only new development in the area either, as new hotels are expected to be built in the downtown core as well, possibly signaling that there may be an increasing demand for rooms in the area (Nicklaus 2017). All of these projects may indicate an improvement for St. Louis' image, however, there may be some unintended consequences resulting from these developments.

With urban renewal, which is a synonym for gentrification, there are some negative aspects that must be considered as well. The downside of building so many new hotels is that it might force older hotels out of business because they can't keep their rooms occupied (Nicklaus 2017). Other historic buildings might be put out of use as well, as new apartments are looking to be built alongside the growing Ballpark Village area (Barker 2017b). A brick warehouse on Broadway, built during the same era as the World's Fair in St. Louis by Isaac Taylor, is at risk of being demolished to make room for another luxury apartment across the street from Busch Stadium (Barker 2017b). Not only would this represent a loss in historic buildings, some of which could be placed on the National Register of Historic Places, it can also lead to higher housing costs for the area (Barker 2017b; Guerrieri, Hartley, and Hurst 2013). The high cost of renting spaces caused by gentrification could further marginalize people and businesses in the area, although studies on marginalization caused by the Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village project is seemingly lacking (Guerrieri, Hartley, and Hurst 2013). There are negative economic effects associated with the project that are being felt by local establishments, such as Harry's Restaurant and Bar (which has now closed) or Charlie Gitto's, both of which have claimed to

lose business resulting from the arrival of Ballpark Village (Hunn 2016; Nueling 2018). Ballpark Village has yet to be fully realized, but local businesses have already seen some revenue losses since its initial establishment and believe that Ballpark Village is stealing their customers rather than bringing new ones into the city (Stiles 2014).



Image 4.10 – This parking lot, which sits on Clark and 8th Street, will be the site of the new Class-A office building. Photo taken August 2017 by author.



Image 4.11 – Fans park and walk across the site that will eventually become the residential tower in Ballpark Village. Photo taken August 2017 by author.

4.10 St. Louis' Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village are a near perfect fit for what the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model predicts. St. Louis matches every component laid out in the model with almost no exception. The stadium itself is built in the retro-fashion and uses the team's history as a major selling point in bringing people in. Although current construction has reduced the number of parking lots, there are still available parking spaces scattered around the baseball district as well as different kinds of public transportation stops just outside the facility. Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village not only have several parks within a few minutes walking distance, but it also features recreational areas within the footprint of the area, such as the miniaturized baseball diamond meant for kids and families. The stadium is just a few hundred feet off of major highways including I-44 and I-64 and sections of the original Route 66 – which is perhaps the most iconic American highway of all time. St. Louis has many different types of bars and restaurants that are adjacent to Busch Stadium III, as well as the commercialized retail, dining, and entertainment complex known as Ballpark Village, which is soon to be expanded with a second phase that includes residences and office space. The Zone of Transition not only contains other museums and entertainment venues, but it also has both a convention center and another sports facility, making it a prime case study for the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.

The southern part of the downtown core is shaped in large part by the stadium and the surrounding entertainment, retail, and service industry venues. As time goes on, it appears that more businesses are rushing in to join the sports-anchored portion of downtown, although it remains to be seen if this is a net positive for the city. As new businesses flock to the area, other older businesses are being threatened. The city has already seen some of its businesses close and

some of its historic sites on the chopping block for demolition. In addition, the rising costs of living in the downtown could create further marginalization and displacement, as gentrification is known to do. Still, with the downtown seeing an expansion in luxury amenities and residences, not to mention new office buildings, perhaps the city is starting to rebrand its image as a city on the rise.

Chapter 5: Petco Park and its Baseball District in San Diego

5.1 History of the San Diego Padres and Petco Park

The San Diego Padres debuted as an expansion team in 1969 and were named after the former Pacific Coast League baseball team which went by the same name (Lennox 2008). The team shared a facility with the then National Football League San Diego Chargers, which was known as San Diego Stadium (later Jack Murphy, then Qualcomm, now San Diego County Credit Union Stadium) (Major League Baseball 2018k). The Padres stadium was a \$27.6 million-dollar concrete, multi-purpose stadium that didn't attempt to stand out from other stadiums of its era (Engstrand 2005). Stadium capacity was 50,000 people when it first opened until an expansion of nearly 11,000 seats in 1984 (San Diego Gov. 2018a). Unlike the Cardinals, the Padres were not a part of baseball's early history and therefore never had a nostalgic pre-modern baseball era to look back to. The San Diego Padres claim to fame is their lack of it, in terms of accolades – that and the fact that they have undergone a series of changes in the teams' nearly 60-year history (Jenkins 2014). The team's first winning season was in 1984, which was also the season they won their first National League pennant before falling to the eventual World Series champion Detroit Tigers (ESPN 2018a). Prior to that season, the San Diego Padres were historically bad, compiling the lowest overall record of any team throughout the 1970's, losing over 70 percent of their games during the decade (ESPN 2018a). In terms of turnover, not only have they changed uniforms 12 times in their history, they have been sold and resold several times, with current ownership group being led by chairman Ron Fowler (Jenkins 2014). The team has only changed its actual stadium once, however, and that was in a move to Petco Park in 2004, near San Diego's Gaslamp Quarter.

One of the main goals of building Petco Park was to revitalize the historic Gaslamp Quarter area of San Diego and to encourage more fans to frequent the stadium (Davila, Foster, and Hoyt 2008). When San Diego began play at Petco Park, the average attendance for a game was over 37,000, placing them 9th in MLB (ESPN 2018b). Unfortunately for the team, that has been their high watermark, with the team typically hovering around an average attendance of a little less than 30,000 per game over the last decade (although that is still in the upper half of the league) (ESPN 2018b).

While fan attendance may have dropped off, it seems the city's enthusiasm for the sports-anchored development project has not been as hindered. San Diego will also soon be accompanied by a Ballpark Village area (confusingly named the same as the St. Louis sports-entertainment area), although it is not designed by Populous or the Cordish Companies. It is being built by Greystar (out of South Carolina), CarrierJohnson + Culture, and JMI Realty (based out of California) (Jennewein 2015; Showley 2015). Their version of a sports-entertainment district will include a Hard Rock Café hotel, retail space, an open-air plaza, a 37-story high-rise luxury apartment complex, and several six and seven story rental housing properties along a seven acre stretch to the southeast of the stadium (Showley 2015; Weisberg 2015; CarrierJohnson 2018a). This project has been in the works since 1998 but not financially approved until 2015, with the cost estimated to the city hovering around \$250 million (Showley 2015; Weisberg 2015). The high-rise will be the first of the residential buildings complete and is expected to be finished sometime in the mid 2018 (CarrierJohnson 2018b). The rest of the project is expected to be completed later this year and will feature more than 700 apartments and an impressive 3 million square feet of space combined in retail, hotel, residential, and office

space to the area (JMI Realty 2018). Overall, the final cost of the project will represent more than \$1.5 billion in redevelopment of San Diego's downtown (JMI Realty 2018).

5.2 Petco Park Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model

San Diego, a city known for its sun and beaches, turned to a major sports franchise in hopes of revitalizing historic neighborhoods in their downtown – the Gaslamp Quarter and East Village areas. In doing so, and being considered a success by some academics (Davila, Foster, and Hoyt 2008; Erie, Kogan, and Mackenzie 2010; Cantor and Rosentraub 2012; Rosentraub 2014). San Diego becomes an ideal choice to test the validity of the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model to see if the components match what can be found in the Petco Park area.

5.3 Stadium Site

Built on the southern end of the city's Gaslamp Quarter, Petco Park opened 2004 with a capacity of 42,500 (LA Times Staff 2014). The ballpark represented a huge departure from Qualcomm Stadium and other midcentury modern baseball stadiums with their symmetrical designs. The stadium's main architect, Antoine Predock, wanted the stadium to have a distinctive San Diego look and feel (Hiro 2004). To give the stadium a unique design, Predock and HOK (now Populous) tried to incorporate blues (for the ocean and the Padres current uniform color), earth tones, open spaces for natural air flow, and indigenous design elements (Image 5.1) into the structure (Populous 2018). However, it does adapt retro-stylings in some ways, such as having outfield grandstands that open to reveal the downtown skyline (Image 5.2), or by using a worn-brick facade on parts of the exterior of the building. Additionally, just like Busch and other retro-designed stadiums, a heavy dose of nostalgia is purposely placed around the stadium. Prior to the

stadium's opening in 2004, fans were able to purchase bricks inscribed with their names and small messages that were placed in the main public square (next to the Padres Hall of Fame on the northeast edge of the stadium (Major League Baseball 2018). The Padres Hall of Fame puts fans close to all things San Diego baseball, including some memorabilia from the old Pacific Coast League Padres (Fox Sports 2016). The team's hall of fame also conveniently leads out into a team store where fans can purchase Padres uniforms and baseball gear. On the grounds near the stadium's various entrances, statues of famous Padres can be found. The most recent one being dedicated to Tony Gwynn, also known as Mr. Padre, who was a beloved Hall of Fame player, both on the field and in the community, who tragically died of cancer in 2014 at just 54 years of age (Dreyer 2017). Other statues can be found as well, including that of Korean War Veteran, MLB Player, and Hall of Fame Padres Broadcaster Jerry Coleman (Center 2012). Additionally, plans for a Trevor Hoffman, the MLB's all-time leader in games saved as a reliever, statue is expected to be unveiled sometime during summer 2018 at the ballpark (Lin 2018).



Image 5.1 – Different areas of the stadium include these structures that appear to be influenced by indigenous architecture, including this square-pyramid shape which contains stairs to the stadium’s second level. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.



Image 5.2 – Petco Park’s grandstands open to reveal the nearby downtown skyline. Also shown in the distance is the “Park at the Park.” Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.4 Parking and Transportation

With construction ongoing in the area due to the development of their Ballpark Village, several difficulties with parking have arisen including limited spaces. Many of the areas that used to be available (especially west of the stadium) for parking are the sites of San Diego's extended sports-entertainment district. The team's website promotes the use of pre-purchased spots in lots to the east of the stadium in order to be guaranteed a parking space, especially for tailgaters. Although there is some additional metered parking available on the streets near the stadium, the team recommends that travelers use the city's fairly extensive transportation network, which is consistently ranked one of the best in the nation (Major League Baseball 2018m; Muoio 2017).

Many different train and bus lines feature stops just outside the stadium grounds, such as the major 12th and Imperial Transit Center (Image 5.4). Paid parking is also available at the transit station, which sits only a few hundred yards west of the stadium grounds (Image 5.5). This transportation center acts as a hub for different types of public transit in the East Village area of San Diego. Alternative transportation information is also given on the team's website, and it includes details on bike sharing, free downtown shuttles, and ferries (Major League Baseball 2018m). With a variety of routes and transit types, including connections to and from their famous zoo, the airport, the many beaches, or even San Diego State University, the public transport is able to get people to the stadium from practically anywhere in the city (San Diego Metropolitan Transit System 2018). That includes a retro-style vintage trolley, which is a popular choice for visitors (San Diego Metropolitan Transit System 2018).



Image 5.4 – The 12th and Imperial station is crowded as many fans take public transport to get to the game. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.



Image 5.5 – For fans who choose to drive in, there is a parking garage next to the 12th and Imperial station that can be used for a marginal cost. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.5 Recreational Space

There are parks within a few blocks in all directions from Petco Park. Children's Park is to the east of the stadium grounds and is undergoing renovations that will see the creation of a community pond, fountains, playground, as well as a gym area with training equipment installed (San Diego Gov. 2018b). Less than half a mile to the west of the stadium is Fault Line Park, which was built by the Civic San Diego group and acts as an open space for residents in the area that don't have any other outdoor access (Trageser 2015). The park is named after the infamous nearby fault lines and contains sculpture from local artists (Trageser 2015). South Embarcadero is a waterfront park that features piers, bike paths, recreational athletic fields, and event space for concerts and it located across Harbor Drive from the south side of Petco Park. The park can hold around 5,000 people and is often used for public gatherings or as a concert space (Port of San Diego 2018). While all these parks are within walking distance of the park, there are some found within the footprint of the park itself, such as the "Park at the Park" (Image 5.6). This area is on the north side of the stadium and contains rolling green hills, a dedicated area to dog-walking, a miniature baseball field, and a sand pit and fountain area (Image 5.7).



Image 5.6 – Fans and families are seen enjoying the green space provided to them at Petco Park’s “Park at the Park.” This rolling hills area faces the stadium itself. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

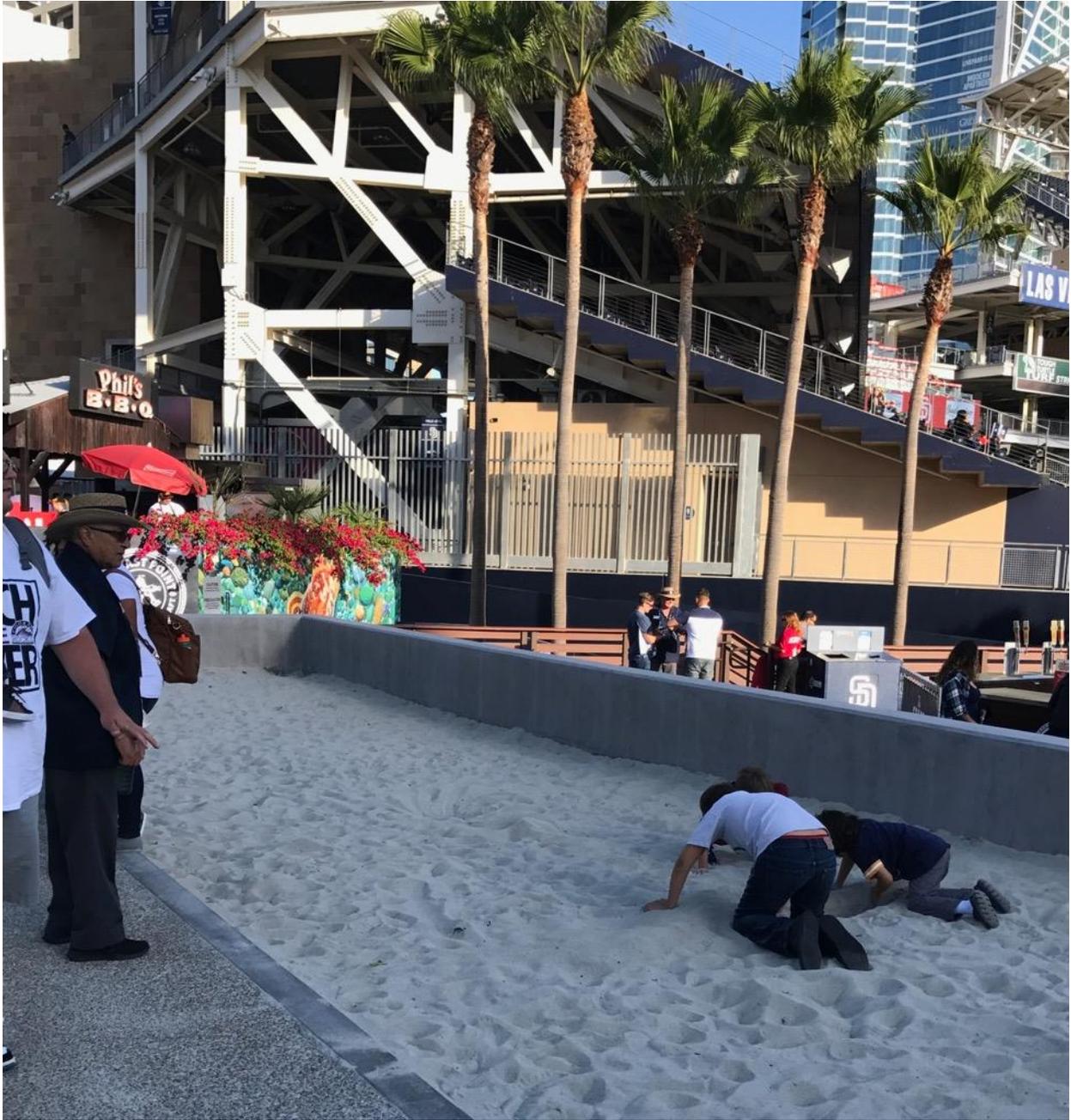


Image 5.7 – The sand pit is another recreational area of the ballpark and can be found across the walkway (just beyond the outfield) from the “Park at the Park.” Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.6 Highways and Interstates

Petco Park is situated along the edge of the downtown East Village and Gaslamp Quarter area with the back of the stadium facing the convention center and just beyond that, the Pacific Ocean. The only road between Petco Park and the ocean is Harbor Drive, which does not provide any access to any of the streets lining the stadium. Instead, drivers must continue on past the stadium and the nearby train tracks and either merge on to the interstate or one of the smaller streets just before. Less than a half-mile from the eastern gate on Park Boulevard is Interstate 5, which stretches from southern California all the way through Seattle, Washington and to the Canadian border. A confluence of lesser highways merge with I-5 in areas near the stadium, including highways 94 (also known as the Martin Luther King Jr. Freeway), 163, and 75. The latter highway is made up in part by the Coronado Bridge, which connects the Coronado area to downtown San Diego (Image 5.8). To the north of Petco Park is the downtown area, with no immediate highway or interstate access. All this is to say that using the road network in San Diego to reach the stadium would be a difficult venture and that it is probably best to use the public transportation – something which the team seemingly acknowledges with its promotion of San Diego public transit (Major League Baseball 2018m).



Image 5.8 – Shown in the background is the Coronado Bridge, which connects the downtown to the Coronado area across the San Diego Bay. In the foreground is a pedestrian bridge that allows people to cross across a major freight and railroad area. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment

San Diego has a variety of restaurants and bars that cater to the wandering baseball fan. For one, there is a bowling alley-bar hybrid call Tavern+Bowl a few blocks north of the ballpark which markets itself as a place for Padres fans to relax, watch the game, and to bowl (Tavern Bowl 2018). Connected to the Park at the Park area is Social Tap San Diego, which mostly caters to Padres fans as its back patio leads right into the stadium grounds (Social Tap Eatery 2018). And then, there is Bub's at the Ballpark just off the northwestern edge of Petco Park, which claims to be an amalgamation of all things West Coast and Padres baseball, including the fact that it is partially built out of the scrap from other demolished buildings along the West Coast (Bub's 2018). Additionally, Bub's is known for its indoor basketball and shuffleboard areas as well as an unusually large tater-tot themed menu (Bub's 2018; San Diego Union-Tribune 2012). The *San-Diego Union-Tribune* considers Bub's to be one of the quintessential locations for San Diegans to visit and an absolute must for Padres fans (San Diego Union-Tribune 2012).

Although San Diego's Ballpark Village area is not yet complete, it has concrete plans and details that can be analyzed and discussed. It will be located adjacent to Petco Park in seven-acre (just over 300,000 square feet) area between 10th and Park Avenue (Showley 2015). Unlike St. Louis' version, San Diego's Ballpark Village will not feature a central restaurant and entertainment complex akin to the Budweiser Brew House and Fox Sports Midwest *Live!* establishments. Instead, San Diego's mixed-use area will be much more in line with the second phase of St. Louis' Ballpark Village and include retail, office, and residential space in the form of a 37-story tower and multiple six and seven story buildings (Image 5.9) (CarrierJohnson + Culture 2017).. The site will also include a 12,000 square foot open-air plaza and a walkway across the space, which mimics New York City's High Line Park (Showley 2015;

CarrierJohnson + Culture 2017; Turner Construction 2018). This mixed-use space is expected to open by the end of 2018, although information on tenants for some of the spaces was not immediately available (Turner Construction 2018).



Image 5.9 – Shown above are some of the buildings that are set to be completed later this year in the Ballpark Village area of San Diego (adjacent to the stadium on 10th and Park). Picture taken in September 2017 by Author.

5.8 Zone of Transition

San Diego and Petco Park are in a unique position as compared to other urban areas with baseball-anchored districts. To the north of the stadium (although separated by a section of the downtown) are both the San Diego International Airport, which is one of the busiest airports in the U.S, and the San Diego Zoo, which brings in over 3 million visitors per year, making it the most visited zoo in the United States (Eng 2012; Federal Aviation Administration 2018). To the east of the upcoming Ballpark Village construction is the East Village area, which is mainly a multiple-family residential neighborhood. And then, of course, there is the Pacific Ocean, which is just a few blocks south and west of the stadium, which also helps to shrink the area in which the baseball district could expand. For these reasons, the baseball district seems to be in a much tighter area and seemingly transitions back into the regular downtown landscape faster than in cities with a different spatial layout might have. Still, there are a number of hotels in the area that seemingly are there to provide room accommodations to fans, such as the Omni Hotel on the western side of the ballpark, which has a bridge that directly connects to just outside the stadium gates (image 5.10), although the hotel website describes itself as an upscale destination for all vacationers rather than just sport fans (Omni Hotel 2018). To the north, the Rooftop 9 Bar (part of the Hotel Indigo), which overlooks the stadium grounds, advertises itself for fans who want to watch the game from a unique perspective as well as people who just want to experience the nightlife, making it an example of the kind of businesses that are hard to define in Zone of Transition areas (Hotel Indigo 2018).

5.8.1 Other Sports Facilities

Following the departure of the NFL Chargers to Los Angeles in 2017, the Padres are the only major sports team left in San Diego. However, before the Chargers left, many of their

previously considered NFL stadium locations in San Diego would have placed them in the same vicinity as Petco Park, including their last proposal, a stadium-convention center hybrid in the East Village area – less than a mile from the Padres ballpark (Showley 2016). Other sporting interests are also examining the area, such as Joe Tsai, a man with 49 percent ownership in the Brooklyn Nets who is rumored to be seeking full ownership, has recently brought an expansion National Lacrosse League to the area and is looking to build an East Village arena (Acee 2017a; 2017b). Additionally, the owner of the National Hockey League’s Anaheim Ducks, as well as a San Diego minor league hockey team, is reportedly considering a move to the downtown San Diego area, although the location is not yet decided (Acee 2017a; 2017b). All these moves are just speculation, so although it looks like there could one day be a concentration of teams in the area, it has not yet come to fruition. For now, San Diego does not match this portion of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model.

5.8.2 Convention Centers

Another place that could be causing some of the concentration of hotels in the area is the San Diego Convention Center (Image 5.11). The facility is perhaps the most famous convention center in the U.S, at least for comic book fans, due to the San Diego Comic-Convention held every summer. This internationally celebrated gathering sells out within days (sometimes hours) of the passes going live and brings in over 130,000 people to the downtown over a week-long period (Rowe 2017). The convention center also hosts other popular events, such as trade shows, talent competitions, college fairs, business retreats, and even a rock-and-roll-themed fitness exposition which brings in an additional 60,000 people into the downtown during its run (Visit San Diego 2018a). In 2015, the San Diego convention was expected to bring in nearly 850,000 people as well as over \$20 million in tax revenue for the city (Visit San Diego 2015). For

comparisons sake, Petco Park was estimated to have brought in an estimated \$44 million in taxes in 2013, with over 2 million attendees total (NBC San Diego 2014). It is clear that both of these facilities play a major role in bringing in revenue into the downtown area.



Image 5.10 – Those who stay at the Omni Hotel are able to use a sky bridge that connects them over Tony Gwynn Drive directly into the stadium grounds. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.



Image 5.11 – The San Diego Convention center sits across some train tracks and Harbor Drive from Petco Park. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.9 Gentrification Exhibited

Prior to the building of Petco Park, East Village and the Gaslamp Quarter were considered some of the most run-down neighborhoods in the city (Weisberg 2014). The Padres were in an uncomfortable situation at Qualcomm Stadium (now San Diego County Credit Union) as the Chargers, per their lease agreement, had control over the revenue of the stadium (Cantor 2014). When the Petco Park project was agreed to in late 1990s, the public was expected to fund over half of the \$450 million project, with the rest of the money coming from the naming rights and team (Cantor 2014). What was unique about this project, as compared to other stadium deals at the time, is that the city of San Diego got a guarantee from the Padres for real estate development (\$487 million) in the area – the first time a professional sports franchise had made such an agreement (Rosentraub 2010; Cantor 2014). This investment was done in hope of attracting young and successful people into the East Village area by creating jobs and residences (Orr 2010). Although many of the ideals of the original project have not come to fruition, such as the initial expectation of over 1,000 nearby hotel rooms, the project was successful in terms of creating a public-private partnership for the city and has led to over \$600 million of private investment in ancillary real estate in the downtown area (Rosentraub 2010; Cantor 2014; Weisberg 2014). The location of the buildings, especially the high-rise luxury tower, was also moved in order to prevent them from casting shade on buildings in the area, such as the Central Library (Showley 2015). With the approval and construction of San Diego’s Ballpark Village, urban renewal through their sports-anchored district appears to be moving forward.

San Diego’s Ballpark Village area is expected to be completed by the end of this year, although seemingly no exact time table has been announced (Turner Construction 2018). As mentioned previously, the project will include offices, residences (Image 5.12), retail, and public

spaces (Showley 2015; CarrierJohnson + Culture 2017; Turner Construction 2018). The idea is to continue to increase the appeal of the East Village area and to keep educated and skilled workers living in the area to prevent stagnation (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014). While the original goal Petco Park was to keep the MLB Padres in San Diego, the project expanded into a redevelopment tool for the downtown (Orr 2018). The effects and implications of this redevelopment through sport are contested by differing studies.

For the most part, Petco Park has seemingly been a positive for San Diego's historic downtown neighborhoods. Many have hailed the overall project as a shining example of a positive public-private partnership (Erie, Kogan, and Mackenzie 2010; Jennewein 2015). In fact, the entire city of San Diego has become widely praised in general for its execution of public-private partnerships with Petco Park being the centerpiece (Erie, Kogan, and Mackenzie 2010). Not only did the project bring in development for the city, it was seen by the city as a boon for established businesses in the area as they could attract more people to the area (Cantor 2014). City officials thought that the promised investment from the team would encourage the building of new hotels which in turn would make the convention center an even more attractive venue in which to host events (Cantor 2014). The development did indeed make the East Village area more attractive as it increased in population from just over 28,000 people to nearly 45,000 people, a 52.6 percent increase (Cantor 2014). Along with the increase in population, the area was able to attract skilled workers, professionals, and people with college degrees, which is seen as a necessary step in rehabilitating an area (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014). What makes this especially impressive is that a lot of this growth was seen during the recession in the late 2000s, which hit the metropolitan area of San Diego especially hard (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014). Affordable housing is also available in the area, which is a general criticism of gentrifying areas,

although the estimates on what constitutes “affordable” vary (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014; Steele 2018). The areas that surround Petco Park, the Gaslamp Quarter and East Village, have become known as diverse, eclectic areas and have created a sense of community within downtown (Downtown San Diego Partnership 2016). East Village especially has become popular and is experiencing one of the fastest rates of growth in the city, which has encouraged technology companies and other start-ups to move into the area – leading to more high-paying jobs (Downtown San Diego Partnership 2016). The Petco Park investment has seemingly kickstarted rapid change in these areas.

Not everyone is thrilled about the changes to San Diego’s downtown. For starters, the claims of affordable housing have caused debate amongst San Diegans as to whether the affordable housing component is more of a public relations move than something attempting to curb the rising costs of rent (Steele 2018). Additionally, the cost of these “affordable” housing units may still be too high for some in the area, as they require that a renter makes 40 percent of the median income in the area, or about \$30,000 (Steele 2018). Another issue regarding housing is the area’s massive homeless population. For a period of time in the late 2000s, a temporary homeless shelter was established in one of the adjacent lots to Petco Park (Kayzar 2008). Recent years have seen that trend continue as an 80 percent spike in the homeless population has been observed (Halverstadt 2016). The rise in homeless in the area has also created a rise in so-called “tent cities” which are long chains of tents that are used by the homeless in places where they don’t have many other options for housing (Halverstadt 2016). There are also concerns about the rising cost of rent and how it may be more than a typical job in the East Village area can pay for (Kayzar 2008). And while the area has seen a growth in population, both in general and of skilled workers, other areas of downtown have seen depopulation (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014).

This suggests that East Village is not necessarily attracting new people from outside of the city, but instead is draining people from other parts of metropolitan San Diego (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014). If these trends continue, the residential units of San Diego's Ballpark Village may create more of a vacuum effect on the city and further exacerbate the rising cost to live in the area.



Image 5.12 – Pictured is one of the many smaller residential buildings being constructed in San Diego’s soon to be completed Ballpark Village area. This particular apartment building is located at the corner of Park and 10th avenue. Picture taken in September 2017 by author.

5.10 San Diego's Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

Petco Park and its surrounding development area seem to fit fairly well within the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model. Obviously, the stadium fits the same five components that all of the 19 stadiums in this study match. The Stadium Site and its usage of nostalgia and the team's past as a way to help draw in fans is found throughout every stadium examined. The Parking and Transportation options line the stadium, even with the incoming Ballpark Village area taking over some of the lots to the east of the stadium. Recreational Space is abundant not only outside of the stadium grounds, but also inside with its "Park at the Park" area. And while the Highways and Interstates component looks a little different due to the physical and urban geography of the area, it can still be found in the area as well. Where San Diego begins to really differ from the model is in the Zone of Transition and specifically due to the fact that there are no other major sports facilities in the same area as the Petco Park baseball district. While there have been discussions on potentially moving another facility to the area, as discussed earlier in the chapter, no firm plans have been made. And although no quantifying of areas in the Zone of Transition are made in the model, San Diego's Zone of Transition seems to occupy a smaller area due to physical location in the city. That being said, besides the lack of an accompanying major sports facility near Petco Park, the model does a good job of describing the layout of San Diego's ballpark district.

Gentrification is evident throughout the ballpark district area. Not only is the immediate area feeling its effect, San Diego as a whole is as well – both positively and negatively. While there has been an increase in economic development in terms of office and residential space, the city still faces an issue in drawing in new wealth (rather than just relocating it). It also must find solutions to its growing homeless population problem. The questions surrounding the affordable

housing in the East Village area, namely whether there is enough or if it truly is affordable, may only serve to exacerbate this problem. In general, San Diego's gentrification problems are ones that other cities have to deal with as well, but the city's revitalization has seemingly been a net positive (Cantor and Rosentraub 2014; Steele 2018). With the soon-to-open Ballpark Village, which is set to further expand the baseball district's footprint, the questions surrounding the impact of sports-based gentrification in the area will only continue. The hope of the team and city officials is that it will help to bring in continued economic development in the form of new businesses and skilled and educated workers. However, if the Ballpark Village area maintains the same economic trends of Petco Park, it may only serve to draw economic investment away from the rest of the city rather than creating its own.

Chapter 6: London Northumberland Development Project

6.1 History of Tottenham Hotspurs and White Hart Lane

The Tottenham Hotspurs, a Premier League football (soccer) team situated in northern London, was formed on September 5, 1882 out of the former Hotspur Cricket Club and members of a local grammar school (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a). The team was mostly in intramural squad prior to 1885, when they joined their first league, the Southern Alliance, in 1892 (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a). Following some initial success in the Southern Alliance, the Tottenham Hotspurs officially became a professional team in 1895, when the team was admitted to Division One of the “Southern League” (Welch 2015).

The team played their first match at what would become known as White Hart Lane on September 9, 1899, in a match that resulted in a 1-0 win over the Queens Park Rangers (Tottenham Hotspur 2017b). They would go on to win their first championship in the Southern League a year later in 1900 (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a). Perhaps an indication of their status as underdogs, Spurs (as they’re colloquially known, even forgoing “the”) in 1901 became the first non-Football League (the name of the highest English league at the time) to win the prestigious Football Association (FA) Challenge Cup since the League’s formation in 1888 (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a). The Spurs joined the Football League’s Second Division in 1908, placing second and they were subsequently promoted to the First Division the following year (Welch 2015). The team would win its first Football League title in 1951, later also becoming the first British team to win the European Winner’s Cup (now known as the Champions League) in 1963 and the first squad to win the Football League Cup twice in 1973 (Tottenham Hotspur 2017a). Following some not-so-successful years in the 1970’s (including relegation to a lesser league) the team was able to rebound and find some footing, and more importantly, cup titles in the

following decade (Welch 2015). Much to the chagrin of Spurs fans, the team has yet to win a Premier League title since its inception in 1992 (Welch 2015).

Since 1899, White Hart Lane has served as the home of the Tottenham Hotspurs and has been a fixture in the diverse area of North London. Beginning in the late 2000s, Chairman of the Tottenham Hotspurs, Daniel Levy, pushed for the development of a new stadium that could match (or even surpass) fellow North London-based Premier League (and rival) Arsenal's Emirates Stadium, which opened in 2006 (Sheringham 2009). The plan went through multiple iterations. Since approval of the development plan in 2015, dubbed the "Northumberland Development Project," which is colloquially known as "New White Hart Lane" and is the successor stadium to the team's iconic home grounds (Tottenham Hotspur 2017a). In addition to hosting games, the team hopes that the stadium will act as a redevelopment force in the area. The 60,000 plus seat, amenity-laden stadium is set to open prior to the start of the 2018/2019 Premier League season, which begins in August (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). The stadium was estimated to have cost between \$600 million and \$1 billion in total costs (Tottenham Hotspurs 2017a; Panja and Hellier 2017).

6.2 Northumberland Development Project Compared to the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

While the stadium itself is not complete (although during the December 2017 visitation, most of the structural work seemed to be done), there are renderings on the team's official website which provide some insight into the design of the stadium and the intended look of the neighborhood. Using those images and combining them with field work in April and December 2017, I have assessed whether the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development is

applicable to the Northumberland Development Project and in what ways it encourages gentrification.

6.3 Stadium Site

The new stadium is situated near the old White Hart Lane grounds (in fact, it is partially built into the footprint of the old stadium) in Tottenham, which is an eclectic and diverse neighborhood in North London. The Haringey borough, of which Tottenham finds itself in, is home to many different ethnic groups and has a population that speaks hundreds of languages (Haringey London 2015). Designed by Populous, the same designers behind many of the MLB ballparks, the New White Hart Lane is set to encompass many of the same traits as stadiums found in the U.S. If the sidewalk billboard-like fence surrounding the construction site is any indication, the stadium itself, much like those found in MLB, will attempt to memorialize some of the team's greatest players and moments (Image 6.1). The new stadium will also feature a museum which it claims will be innovative and immersive – although how they plan on accomplishing that is not detailed (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). Additional plans call for many of the same amenities and features found in many of the MLB ballparks, such as stadium tours, dining, and retail at the stadium site (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). The stadium will also feature a grand “home team” entrance (a feature derived from the fact that in Europe, home and away fans are typically separated) at the south end of the stadium that will feature a five-story atrium and a food court (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). The front of the stadium will also be similarly grandiose and will add a public square leading to an all-glass front entrance followed by a walkway to the general seating area or the option of sitting in what the team is calling “premium lounges”

(Tottenham Hotspurs 2018a). The public square also will host events other than on match day, but that information is still vague.

In a landmark deal, the Tottenham Hotspurs were able to secure the rights to host two NFL games a season, looking to maximize on the growing support for American football in the U.K. Team chairman Daniel Levy was the driving force behind this agreement, apparently aggressively pursuing football games to the point where it surprised NFL executives (Cottingham 2017). To accomplish this, Levy sought revolutionary technology that will more easily accommodate both a football field and a soccer pitch. Stadium plans reveal that the pitch has a retractability feature in which the grounds split in half, revealing a fully realized NFL field (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). The design is the first of its kind and will allow the stadium to transition seamlessly in order to host two NFL games a year for the next 10 years, with the hope of adding more games in the years to come (Cottingham 2017). Boasting over 60,000 permanent seats, the stadium will not only have a set field on which to play the game, the stadium will also be large enough to rival many American football fields in terms of seats. The team website also alludes to hosting many other events, but the details of those plans are still ambiguous.



Image 6.1 – Running along the perimeter of the still-under-construction stadium is a fence which featured the Tottenham Hotspurs greatest moments, feats, and stories about their community activism. Photo taken in April 2017 by author.

6.4 Parking and Transportation

Parking for the current stadium is very limited due to the stadium being situated near numerous residences that do not want to allow event parking around them. The city surveyed the people living in the area who expressed a strong desire to limit parking (Richmond Government 2017). For the new stadium, parking will be completely unavailable, except to those who suffer from a disability, which the team says is a green initiative (iSpurs 2018). The team did say that private parking will also be available through third parties in the area (iSpurs 2018). According to fan posts and discussion boards, many comments suggest that residences that currently host informal parking will continue to do so once the new stadium has opened. With London's extensive public transportation network, the team seems content on not providing parking for the general public.

The team website provides information on how to get to the new stadium from all directions, some of them even from outside of London (Tottenham Hotspur 2018c). The team website describes their "Green Travel Plan." The fact that less than half of their fans currently arrive at the stadium by driving is listed by the Spurs as a reason to further cut the number of people arriving at the stadium via private transport to a maximum of 23 percent (Tottenham Hotspur 2018c). Both London Overground and Underground Rail are available near the stadium (Image 6.2) and will soon include a new, much closer Victoria Underground line stop that will begin operation next year (Transport for London 2017). The team hopes that these train and tram stations, combined with numerous bus stop options in the area, that can support as many as 144 busses an hour, will provide enough transportation options to accommodate their fans (Tottenham Hotspur 2018c).



Image 6.2 – As part of the Orange Line in London, the White Hart Lane stop is one of the popular public transportation stations near the stadium. Photo taken in December 2017 by author.

6.5 Recreational Space

Surrounding the area where the New White Hart Lane is being built are numerous parks and other types of green space, including something not often found near the urban ballparks in America – a graveyard. The Tottenham Cemetery, considered many North Londoners to be solemn but picturesque, is rather new by European standards having opened in the middle of the 19th century. It is famous for housing playwrights, soldiers, and politicians (London Gardens 2018). Like the entirety of London, the recreational spaces around the stadium grounds represent a mix of old and new. To the south sits Bruce Castle Park, which is a former manor and residence that is believed to date back to the 15th century and was home to aristocrats and politicians before becoming a public space and park (Image 6.3) (Web Archive 2007). Two parks in the area, one in the north and one to the east, feature playgrounds and recreational space for kids. The eastern park, Somerford Grove Open Space, sits only a few hundred feet from the stadium grounds and is an award-winning success story of the recent effort to renovate and reinvigorate this part of London in which local and national groups teamed up to create an “Adventure Playground” (Haringey Play 2018). The park maintains indoor and outdoor facilities and is meant as a space of play for people from the underserved communities that live near the park. The stadium itself is supposed to have recreational spaces built into its footprint, including the public square discussed previously, but the plans for these spaces are still undetermined (Tottenham Hotspurs 2018a).



Image 6.3 – Behind the ‘Criminals Beware’ sign (discussed in the section on gentrification) sits Bruce Castle Park, one of the many green spaces that surround the Tottenham Hotspurs home grounds. Photo taken April 2017 by author.

6.6 Highways and Interstates (Motorways)

Tottenham Hotspurs home grounds are located less than a mile from the A10, a major motorway that runs through central London and heads 60 miles north to Cambridge, England. High Road, on the west side of the current and new stadium grounds, splits off from the A10 and can be thought of as an extension of the motorway. North Circular Road, another motorway that wraps around the north-central part of London and acts as a major connection between for other road networks, is situated just under a mile north of the Northumberland Development Project site. White Hart Lane, which the stadium derives its name, is not a motorway, but it does act as a connection for many busy roadways leading to the western face of the stadium. Confusingly, however, this road switches names less than a quarter mile before the stadium and becomes “Creighton Road” with seemingly no explanation.

As mentioned previously, the stadium is situated in an urban residential neighborhood, and with the team not promoting the use of private vehicles, it appears that the most common way to get to the stadium would be to take public transportation – often in the form of the London Overground and Underground (Image 6.4). In fact, a station stop for these services can be found within less than a mile in any of the four cardinal directions, including the White Hart Lane stop, which sits a few blocks west of the stadium. London’s extensive public transportation options set it apart from the heavily car-reliant downtowns of the U.S.



Image 6.4 – A sign points the way to different London public transportation as well as options to where match tickets can be purchased. Behind the sign sits High Road. Photo taken in April 2017 by author.

6.7 Adjacent Sports Entertainment

Though situated in the middle of a residential area in North London, Spurs fans do have options when it comes to team-specific pubs and restaurants. The most famous of these establishments is the Bill Nicholson Pub, which is located less than a quarter mile from the stadium grounds and is named after a famous player-turned-coach who served at the height of the club's success in the middle of the 20th century (Image 6.5). The bar itself is a not-so-family-friendly place and has various forms of adult entertainment that make it both famous and infamous according to the establishment's website (Pubs Galore 2010). Other famous pubs in the area include the Bricklayers Arms Pub, the No. 8 Tottenham pub, and Bell and Hare, which according to many traveling websites, is the most family-friendly of the bunch. Most of these places serve as places to gather and watch the game on television or to enjoy a drink while celebrating a win (or commiserating in a loss). The No. 8 Tottenham also serves as a place to stay for fans that are coming from out of town in order to watch the game or to people who just want to enjoy the atmosphere.

Many other restaurants and businesses around the stadium grounds show support for the team by incorporating the Hotspurs symbol, a Cockerel bird standing on top of a soccer ball, somewhere in their establishment (Image 6.6). Additionally, the stadium development plans mention that a hotel is in the works in the area that will be team-affiliated, although currently details for it are difficult to find beyond the site (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). As mentioned previously, the New White Hart Lane is a stadium being designed by Populous, which in the U.S. has frequently paired with the Cornish Company to bring a *Live!* entertainment facility along with the stadium. Although no plans been unveiled, it is possible that the company might attempt to do something similar in the future. The entertainment options around Tottenham differ

from those in the U.S. in terms of variety and purpose. In the U.S, there might be several types of bars or restaurants that serve meals as well as drinks to anyone who enters. In Tottenham, these establishments seemed to specifically be aimed at Spurs fans exclusively and do not serve much outside of alcoholic beverages. Additionally, the pubs are less family friendly than the establishments here in the U.S.



Image 6.5 – The Bill Nicholson pub, a well-known establishment to Tottenham Hotspur fans. Next to the door, a sign reads “Home Supporters Only.” Photo taken in April 2017 by author.



Image 6.6 – The sign for The Bill Nicholson pub which uses the Hotspur team symbol. The dates listed are the birth and death years for the famed Bill Nicholson for which the pub derives its name. Photo taken April 2017 by author.

6.8 Zone of Transition

The businesses in the Tottenham area showcase the diversity of the people who live there. Besides the typical British Fare, which now includes a lot of curry, there are many different types of restaurants that serve Ethiopian, Nigerian, among others, that are not so commonly found in the rest of the city. Tottenham sits in the municipal jurisdiction of Haringey and is known for its diversity as both a demographic fact and political mantra (by those who celebrate its diversity) (Baker, Estevez, and Pesantez 2015; Visser 2016). While these businesses sometimes have stickers of the Hotspurs symbol, showing their support for the team, they are not necessarily catering to the fans of the team. The area around the Hotspurs' stadium, while in an urban setting, is much more residential than compared to the MLB stadiums that make up the basis of the model. Due to this difference, I believe that the Zone of Transition and the two elements found within (convention centers and other sports facilities) do not accurately depict what is around the area – although this could be changing. While the only convention center-like place within two miles of the facility is the Dream Centre, which is mostly meant for small businesses and schools and not the large conventions that are typical in the U.S. facilities, the team does have plans to hold conferences and banquets at its facilities (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). By marketing itself as a place to hold large gatherings, the new stadium itself may act like a convention center and give it multiple usages, something which the team is trying to do as part of an effort to encourage an all-year use of the facility (Tottenham Hotspur 2018a). Although the stadium is designed to hold an NFL game, no other major sport stadiums exist in the same neighborhood, meaning that the model does not match the urban geography of North London (Image 6.7).

Although the Northumberland Development Project differs from the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model when it comes to the Zone of Transition and its elements, I still believe that the model is successful when describing the immediate area around the stadium. The stadium shapes, and is shaped by, the neighborhood it is located in, similar to MLB ballparks and the businesses that cater to the fans going to the games. The differences between U.S. and the London-based stadiums could come from a number of reasons, including the fact that the stadium is built in a more residential area as compared to the ballparks in the U.S. It could also be that the U.K. and London do not feature as many different types of major sports leagues as the U.S. and do not feel the need to create multiple different facilities.

Overall, the new stadium matches a lot of the components in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model. However, it seems as though there is a big difference in the surrounding businesses (both in the Adjacent Sports Entertainment and Zone of Transition features) that accompany each, something a more detailed study of U.K.-based stadiums might be better able to explain. This is not a death knell to the model, but these differences imply that the model created by this research has limitations in international comparisons and would need to be adjusted in order to more accurately depict stadiums outside of the U.S. And as is discussed in the section below, the stadium definitely incorporated gentrification and urban revitalization in its marketing and advertisement as part of its plan.



Image 6.7 – This neighborhood around Tottenham (about a half mile from the stadium on Shelbourne Road) is mainly made up of residential housing, unlike stadium neighborhoods in the U.S. Photo taken December 2017 by author.

6.9 Gentrification Exhibited

Much like in Major League Baseball, there has been a trend for Premier League teams to seek new stadiums with 26 Premier League teams (at the time their stadium was constructed) building stadiums since 1990. Many projects induced urban regeneration in their proposals (Walters 2011). London is no stranger to gentrification through the use of sports stadiums. Prior to the London Olympics in 2012, many of the stadiums were built on the idea that they would be catalysts for positive economic change in eastern part of London (Smith 2014). North London had already seen its other Premier League team, Arsenal, build a massive stadium (also developed by the predecessor to Populous, HOK Sport) in 2006. The main difference between these two stadium projects is that while Arsenal was built in a defunct industrial waste elimination site, the Northumberland Development Project is being constructed in a neighborhood and is surrounded by schools, businesses, and residences (Walters 2011).

Tottenham is situated in the heart of the London borough of Haringey and comprises much of the diversity of the area (although Haringey as a whole is one of the most racially and ethnically boroughs of London). According to the Haringey government website, Tottenham is a rather young and ethnically diverse community, with a growing population (Haringey London 2015). Historically, the Tottenham area was a rural and upper-middle class neighborhood until an influx of immigrants from Britain's colonies following the town's London Annexation in the 1870s (British History 2018). From then, Tottenham became a working-class community and is known for its vibrant ethnic communities (mostly African – especially Ethiopian and Nigerian), which speak over 100 different languages in the Haringey ward (Haringey London 2015). While the team seems fixated on revitalizing the area, some worry that the gentrification might do more harm than good for the area's diverse population.

In the marketing material that surrounds the stadium in the form of a walled-fence, it is clear that the Hotspurs are attempting to endear themselves to the neighborhoods surrounding the stadium. The team prides itself on being a force for good in the local community and claims to help the area in a multitude of ways, such as being the first Premier League club to offer an accredited degree (Image 6.8). The Tottenham Hotspurs Foundation also details how the team helps the youth in the area by providing them with schooling opportunities, internships, and jobs (Image 6.9). And as mentioned in the NBC Sports video *Tottenham Hotspurs: To Dare is to Do* team chairman Daniel Levy discusses how the area around the stadium is one of the poorer neighborhoods in London. He suggests that the goal was to create more uses for the stadium by having it host other events, such as NFL games. The idea is that the NFL games will bring in more fans to the region and will generate more economic activity and may even result in days in which the Premier League and NFL games are played in a double-header event (NBC Sports 2017). The NFL games being hosted by Tottenham will mark the first time in history that a Premier League stadium has ever hosted them, and it will begin with two games a year for 10 years.

The team's website also features information regarding Spurs' vision for the area and how they plan on bring benefits to the community. To begin with, the website calls the new stadium a "Sports and Leisure Destination" that will focus on bringing in the aforementioned NFL games in addition to concerts and other cultural events that will spread the economic activity more evenly throughout the year (Tottenham Hotspurs 2018a). The Public Square that is being built for the stadium will host more than just fan-sanctioned events but is also intended to support activities and gatherings that are sponsored by the Tottenham Hotspurs Foundation (Tottenham Hotspurs 2018a). A Skywalk is also being planned for the building, giving visitors a

chance to scale the side of the building up to 40 meters high, even on days when the stadium would otherwise be closed (Medcraff 2017). These features showcase the teams desire to drive economic activity in the area in an attempt at urban regeneration, otherwise known as gentrification.

Gentrification is a buzzword and its connotation can differ depending on how it is being used and who is hearing it. For some, crime is the most important factor in cleaning up a neighborhood and studies show that gentrification may come with an overall net decrease in crime, especially the violent offenses (Barton 2016; O’Sullivan 2005). The team website mentions urban regeneration a number of times, but one of the things that isn’t mentioned is the crime rate in the area. Tottenham has one of the highest crime rates in all of England, especially crimes involving drugs, sexual offenses, and assaults (Police UK 2017). In the areas surrounding the stadium, there are many signs warning criminals that the neighborhoods are being watched or “forensically protected” which seem to be akin to the Neighborhood Watch signs in the U.S (Image 6.3, 6.10) A U.S. Department of Justice study found that neighborhoods in the U.S. and U.K. that used neighborhood watch programs were associated with significant drops in crimes (U.S. Department of Justice 2008). A reduction in crime and crime perception may be a critical part in creating new economic activity and it seems the building blocks for it have already begun. The Haringey Borough council of London has also reported that they approved the Northumberland Development Project under the condition that the stadium be used in an effort to build healthcare facilities, reduce crime, and to provide a sense of community and social networking to the young people in the area (Haringey London 2016). As reported by the *Telegraph*, the stadium development plans include a medical center and the aforementioned

Public Square, both designed to meet these criteria (Wallace 2016). However, not all of the effects of urban regeneration are being welcomed.

Some of the connotations for gentrifications are much more insidious in nature. According to a *New York Times* piece on the Northumberland Development Project, some local businesses feel as though they will be priced out by national competitors that are able to offer significantly lower costs thanks to their size and stock (Rao 2018). Some small business owners have been near the stadium for decades and that they feel as though they are appreciated by the community, but not by the Tottenham Hotspurs (Rao 2018). These concerns of being priced out of the area extend beyond just businesses, however, as people within the community feel as though Tottenham is trying to build a sense of community, but one created by the team itself without consultation of community partners (Panton and Walters 2017) (Image 6.11). The promise of urban renewal is, according to the authors of the study, a veiled attempt at gentrification in a more negative sense – meaning that the poor and marginalized in the community will be further pushed to the peripheries and maybe even forced out of the area entirely (Panton and Walters 2017). The team has attempted to counter these negative aspects of its regeneration project by building new and working with existing affordable housing and schools, which it claims is an investment in the future of the established residents in the community (Tottenham Hotspur 2016). The fear of out-pricing local residents extends into the football match as well, as ticket prices are expected to go up and may be too costly for the working-class individuals who make up the lifeblood of the Premier League fan base (Brewin 2017). Soccer in the U.K. may be changing but what will come of that change remains to be seen.



Image 6.8 – The Tottenham Hotspur foundation showcases the kind of community outreach it is involved in the area. Photo taken April 2017 by author.



Image 6.9 – The Tottenham Hotspurs use signage on the fence surrounding their stadium to talk about the different community programs the team is involved in. Photo taken April 2017 by author.



Image 6.10 – A ‘Criminals Beware’ sticker is placed on the front of a residence in the Tottenham area, just behind the stadium grounds. Photo taken April 2017 by author.



Image 6.11 – A local market that may soon face stiff competition from businesses being brought in via the gentrification of the Tottenham neighborhood. In the background it is the rising New White Hart Lane. Photo taken December 2017 by author.

6.10 Tottenham's Fit in the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model

For the most part, the Northumberland Development Project meets the different criteria featured in the Urban Sports-Anchored Development Model. The Stadium Site and Recreational Space components were both accurate to their respective areas in North London, while the Parking and Transportation and Highways and Interstates (Motorways) needing small tweaks in their description to more properly fit. The only areas in which Tottenham truly doesn't resemble the model are part of the Zone of Transition, which includes the Convention Center and Other Sports Facilities features. The features can possibly be accounted for due to the area it's in – an urban residential neighborhood rather than the urban downtown setting of most MLB stadiums. Or perhaps it is something that separates U.S. and U.K. stadiums in general, which could be an insightful study for other researchers. Additionally, gentrification is clearly a critical aspect of both the MLB ballparks and the U.K. soccer stadium proposals. In both cases, the goal is to create sweeping change that will increase the economic activity of an area by reshaping its image and by making it a fun destination for the whole family. The results of these projects are often mixed and the feelings towards them are divided. The Hotspurs have not even completed their stadium and arguments are already taking place as to what the effects are and what they will be in the future. For now, the only thing that is certain is that change is taking place and this new stadium will usher in a new era for the Tottenham Hotspurs and the surrounding neighborhood. The application of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model to an international stadium show that while it is currently limited, it could potentially be useful as a globalized sport-district model if it were to be expanded.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

American cities have been rapidly transformed through sport-entertainment regions in the last few decades, as made evident by the fact that 19 of the 21 baseball stadiums built in the last three decades have been placed in urban, not suburban, environments. Many of these stadiums have focused on returning baseball to their roots as neighborhood anchors with steel construction and brick facades rather than the cookie-cutter concrete, multi-use, and practical nature of the modern baseball stadium era, which seemingly did not have the same appeal. This retro-movement, which makes up the majority of the stadiums built since the era began with Camden Yards in Baltimore in 1992, has represented a shift in the philosophy of what baseball stadiums were meant to be. These stadiums have retained many modern and contemporary features, including jumbotron screens, scoreboards, televisions throughout the walkways near concessions, as well as other amenities. However, the stadium designs themselves moved away from practicality and attempted to endear themselves into the community by creating a nostalgia-inducing experience for families, complete with the sights and sounds of baseball's previous eras (Rosenweig 2005). The hope of cities seems to be that these stadiums will represent a positive economic impact and will revitalize the districts they are placed in, making them a tool for gentrification.

Due to the prevalence of new baseball stadiums in major American cities, I wanted to understand their impacts on the urban landscape. I began by cataloguing every stadium built since the beginning of the retro-stadium movement, which began in Baltimore in 1992, and searched for the commonalities between them. After removing the two new suburban stadiums, which were different enough that they might have skewed the model, I observed eight features that are often found in the baseball districts of urban areas and created the Urban Sports-

Anchored Entertainment Development Model. I then took two ballparks, St. Louis' Busch Stadium III and Petco Park in San Diego, and assessed how accurately these stadiums and their surrounding entertainment districts met the components in the model. A third stadium, London's Tottenham Hotspurs (Premier League Soccer) New White Hart Lane, was also examined, in a third case study, to see if the model could be applied internationally as well.

The Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model summarizes the common areas that surround ballparks built during the retro-movement. For starters, there is the Stadium Site section, which not only includes the physical footprint of the ballpark and its design, but also describes how the team uses its own history in the form of nearby statues and hall of fames in order to add to its legacy and mystique. Often these stadiums also include tours that take fans to different areas they may not typically access, including luxury and press boxes, dugouts, and locker rooms.

The Parking and Transportation section of the model is more straight-forward and describes the various parking structures and transportation networks that are available to commuters. Most team websites provide information on which lots and stations are closest to the stadium grounds. Typically, there are a few parking lots or garages for cars and as for those traveling on public transportation, there are numerous rail, bus, or even ferry stops outside of the stadium grounds.

Parks are a common feature in every city, meaning that the Recreational Space component near stadiums are common as well. Additionally, some stadiums have their own spaces that include greenery or places for families and children to play. Many stadiums also include green or other kinds of spaces that are accessible to people attending the game. These

areas are great for families who want to stop by before or after a game and have a picnic, play a game, or just enjoy the outdoors.

Highway and Interstates are also staples of cities and they form their own component. Not only are they used as ways to get to the stadium, they can also be a place of advertisement for the team in the form of signs and billboards. Stadiums are typically (but not always) found near the intersection of two or more major highways or interstates, which can often become congested on game days. Traveling to a stadium by car can also be hindered by major water bodies which obviously limit the road network nearby.

The Adjacent Sports Entertainment feature is comprised of different businesses that are specifically geared towards fans, such as sports bars, high-end sports retail, or hotels that prominently feature amenities that are meant to be used by fans, such as rooftop hangouts that veer into the stadium grounds. These businesses are typically found around the perimeter of the stadium and can extend into the Zone of Transition. Entertainment complexes, such as Busch Stadium's Ballpark Village, are also included in this section. Time will tell if these sport-adjacent entertainment venues will become a more common component of these stadium projects.

The Zone of Transition is less obvious than the other components. It represents the area surrounding the stadium that doesn't directly tie into the stadium itself, meaning the businesses don't seem to be aimed specifically at sports fans, but nonetheless benefit from their presence in the area. This includes themed attractions, such as museums or aquariums, non-sports affiliated hotels, or even the nightlife near the stadium grounds. This area acts almost like a buffer between the sports-anchored district and the rest of the downtown. Additionally, the last two components of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Model are found within the confines of the Zone of

Transition, including the Convention Center and Other Sports Facility features. Unlike the other components of the model, convention centers and other stadiums are not found in every city catalogued for the model, only representing 14 and 12 of the cities, respectively. Perhaps the Zone of Transition is a product borne out of the concentration of multiple attractions in an area and not a planned happening, but whatever the case may be, it can be found around every baseball (and Premier League) stadium studied.

St. Louis' Busch Stadium III and Ballpark Village area were a near perfect match for the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model. The stadium incorporated pieces of the team's history, it has dedicated spots for parking as well as a MetroLink Rail station stop, incorporates recreational space inside the footprint of the area, and is flanked by major highways, namely I-64 and I-44. In addition, the area surrounding the stadium grounds features a variety of establishments aimed at drawing in sports fans, such as Paddy O's, which is a St. Louis staple. The Zone of Transition around the stadium features museums and other cultural icons, such as the Gateway Arch, which are concentrated in the same area of downtown. A convention center and another sports facility (Scottrade Center, home of the National Hockey League's St. Louis Blues) can be found within this transitional area, as well.

Much like Busch Stadium, Petco Park in San Diego meets many components of the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development Model. The stadium ground memorializes the team's history with a hall of fame area and also offers parking spaces for people traveling in by car and public transport stops for people arriving from different areas in the city. Parks are everywhere in the city, with many of them close to the stadium grounds – including some like “Park at the Park,” which is right next to Petco and features a picnic area as well as a miniaturized baseball diamond. I-5 snakes around the southern core of downtown and the

Coronado Bridge acts as another major connecting piece in the roadways near the ballpark. San Diego has a variety of downtown establishments that are adjacent to the stadium, including places like Bub's at the Ballpark, which attempts to amalgamate all things West Coast in its design and has become a must-eat location for Padres fans. The Zone of Transition for San Diego is where things start to differ from the model. Although the model doesn't make a prediction for the size of the area, San Diego's Zone of Transition seems to be more constricted than the others examined for the model, perhaps due to the fact that the Pacific Ocean near Petco Park's southwestern edge as well as there being a major airport (San Diego International, with its large footprint) nearby to the north. Additionally, while the San Diego Convention Center is directly across Harbor Drive from Petco Park, there are no other major sports facilities in the area. While there are rumors of interests in building a new sports facility in downtown, it so far does not fit this portion of the model.

New White Hart Lane, the still-in-development stadium in North London for the Premier League's Tottenham Hotspurs, represents the international case study for this research. Although the structure itself was not quite complete during the two times I travelled to Tottenham, the signage and promotional materials made it clear that the team planned to tap into the more than 130 years of history and to create a nostalgic-infused experience for fans. Beyond that, the stadium looked to embrace many modern amenities, such as lounges and food courts. Parking is limited at the stadium, and a lot of it comes in the form of informal parking spaces that is offered up by local people and businesses, however, the public transportation options are numerous. Many bus stops and London Underground and Overground stations can be found throughout the area. Due to the residential setting surrounding New White Hart Lane, parks and other forms of recreational space are scattered throughout, including the historic Bruce Castle Park, which dates

back to the 15th century. On the eastern side of the stadium sits High Road, which acts like an extension of the A10, a major road network in London and England as a whole, but there are no other major roads to speak of. Pubs dedicated to Spurs fans are found all over the borough, including the Bill Nicholson Pub, which is named after the famed coach, and is a popular hangout for mature fans due to its sometimes adult-themed content. The biggest departure from the model by far for the Tottenham stadium is the Zone of Transition, which does not appear to be as prominent as in American urban environments. Not only are there no other major sports stadiums in the area or any major convention centers to speak of, the businesses in the area do not appear to be marketing themselves to Spurs fans. Although these differences could be due to the residential setting of the stadium or the lack of other major sports in the area, it doesn't change the fact that there are notable differences. Whatever the case may be, it appears that the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development model will need some tweaking for any international applications. More international research is needed to fully understand the global components of new sports stadiums and their surrounding entertainment districts.

Getting away from the model, all three stadium projects exhibited attempts at urban revitalization and gentrification. St. Louis and San Diego both are in different phases of ongoing Ballpark Village projects, with St. Louis' farther ahead as it already had the Fox Sports Midwest *Live!* complex built. Both of their baseball district projects are designed to spur gentrification by providing space for retail and businesses as well as residences for people wanting to live closer to the stadium. The Tottenham Hotspurs new stadium has been heavily marketed via the team's website, by different media outlets, and other promotional materials (such as the fence outside the stadium) as a tool for economic regeneration in the Haringey borough, home of the stadium. All three stadiums have received accolades as well as criticism from public and private

individuals and groups based on the connotations and expectations of urban renewal and gentrification for these projects. These three stadiums were also built in part by HOK (now Populous), which in itself is intriguing, and perhaps suggests a globalized movement to urban renewal through sport. Gentrification was definitely encouraged in each project, even if other less divisive synonyms were used. Whether these projects go on to economically transform the surrounding area is a separate question.

This research set out to better understand how MLB stadium projects built since 1992 affect their downtown areas and to create a model based on their commonalities. After doing so, I was able to compare two of the MLB stadiums and a third international stadium to test the Urban Sports-Anchored Entertainment Development model's validity in predicting the footprints of sports-based districts in urban environments. For the most part, the model was successful in its attempts to explain what the landscape exhibited around each of the stadiums, although there were certainly some limitations internationally as well as domestically. I believe this research allows others to better understand how these stadiums are marketed, implemented, and built. Not only does the model identify common components from each of the 19 downtown MLB baseball stadiums in the U.S. built since 1992, it could also explain what areas of the downtown (areas that might already include transport infrastructure, parks, access to highways etc.) that developers and officials look for prior to settling on a site. This research goes beyond the sports involved and attempts to understand how cities are transformed through sport-anchored districts. With more of these projects being planned for the future across the globe, understanding the ways they can fundamentally change a city's downtown is worthy of study.

For future research, more questions on how the model can be adapted to better fit international cases should be investigated. Additionally, the economic, political, and social

effects of gentrification through sport (not just whether it was encouraged) should be further researched. And lastly, research on the Populous company and its incredible reach in sport-stadium building could also be examined to see whether these projects are made unique to each area or if they are homogenous (or perhaps globalized) in nature.

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