To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Lawrence Hemphill Watson, III entitled *Urban Revitalization and the Use of Sports Facilities: A Case Study of Oriole Park at Camden Yards.* I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Planning.

George E. Bowen, Major Professor

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and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

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Dean of the Graduate School

Urban Revitalization and the Use of Sports Facilities: A Case Study of Oriole Park at Camden Yards

A Thesis

Presented for the

Master of Science in Planning

Degree

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Lawrence Hemphill Watson, III

May 1998

DEDICATION

Thank you Mother and Dad, for all of the support that you have given me over the years. You have helped me more than you will ever know.

I love you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are individuals that I would like to thank for assisting me in both writing this thesis and assisting me through my graduate studies at the University of Tennessee. I would like to thank Professor George E. Bowen, my major professor, for his guidance and insistence that I complete this project on time. I would also like to thank Dr. David Patterson for his leadership in keeping the School of Planning open so that other students may have the opportunity to benefit from this program as I have. I would also like to thank Dr. David Johnson and Dr. John Peine for their comments and suggestions concerning this topic. I would like to thank Nathan West and Greg Toth for their humor and for establishing strict daily work requirements to complete this thesis on time. I would like to thank Marley Watson and Griffin Hemphill for entertaining me throughout this process. I would like to thank my Mom, Dad and sister, Shannon who have encouraged me to attend and complete graduate school. I would like to thank my beautiful fiancée, Valarie Evans, for her love, patience, understanding and insistence that I complete this project before our August wedding. Most importantly, I would like to thank God for listening and answering my prayers over the last two years. I could not have done this without His love and guidance.

ABSTRACT

Many of America's inner cities have become barren wastelands where little economic activity is taking place. These cities are experiencing high crime rates, high unemployment rates, and economic stagnation. In response to these and other problems, cities have undertaken many strategies with the hopes of revitalizing the urban areas. One approach to revitalization has been to invest in sports facilities.

Cities that choose to invest in sports facilities do so to attract people back to the downtown area, develop vacant land and to make the city a more vibrant center for activity. Unfortunately, many cities do not plan for a sports facility and they end up having no impact on the city. When a sports facility is planned to tie in with the existing urban fabric and activity zone the benefits are phenomenal.

The planning of Baltimore Oriole Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore, Maryland can serve as an example of successful stadium development. Cities such as Denver, Colorado; Cleveland, Ohio; and Atlanta, Georgia have taken the design principles and applied them to their own baseball stadium plans. Cities should be cautious not to simply copy the design of Oriole Park because that is not the sole reason for the facility's success. Oriole Park is successful because the planning that went into the development activity insured that the stadium tied into the existing historical urban framework and the tourism-activity zone.

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CHAPTER I

REVITALIZATION AND THE USE OF SPORTS FACILITIES

Introduction

Many of America's inner cities have become barren wastelands where little economic activity is taking place. Industry has vacated the cities in search of inexpensive and plentiful land. Many urban residents have abandoned the city to escape the noise, crime, and overall poor living conditions. The residents left behind experience a stagnant economy with little economic opportunity, high unemployment, rampant crime, and little civic pride. Politicians and planners have been searching for solutions to these problems with the hopes of attracting people back into the downtown areas. One solution has been to invest in major facilities such as stadiums, arenas, and convention centers. These facilities usually require a large capital investment by local and state governments and are often a gamble. Cities take their chances with these types of projects with the hopes of making the downtown a more vibrant place, attracting free-spending tourists, and creating spillover development.

The use of sports stadiums to attract people to the downtown area is nothing new to the American City. In the past, stadiums were almost always built downtown because that was were the major population centers were located. Unfortunately, with the rapid decentralization of the past decades, stadiums have followed the population of the cities into the suburbs. In response to this movement out of the city, some cities have had the vision to develop their stadiums in the heart of the city to retain or attract a professional sports team, trigger economic activity, and promote civic and regional pride.

Recently, cities have been competing with each other to retain or attract a professional sports team. This is done for many reasons. There is revenue from fans, television contracts, and other various sources. Cities with professional teams receive essentially free marketing from television and other media entities. Cities that invest in a professional sports stadium hope to increase the economic value of the city. "When a city establishes a development strategy that includes sports as part of a critical mass of attractions designed to lure people into the urban core, then a sport team or venue can and will provide significant economic value to the city" (Chema, 1996).

Professional sports team owners often use the threat of moving to a new area to facilitate negotiations for a new stadium. City leaders cogitate different ways to plan for stadium development activities and usually invest millions of dollars to attract or retain a team. The investment in a stadium may never yield a return, but the economic activity and civic pride spurred by the investment seems to warrant this type of spending. If most communities desire a professional team, regardless of the level of play (minor or major league), there must be a payoff on some level.

According to Thomas Chema, a partner in the law firm of Arter & Hadden in Cleveland Ohio, there are two keys to successful economic development using sports stadiums. First, the stadium needs to be located in an urban setting. This insures that the visitors will have other activities to engage in before and after the game. If a stadium is decentralized, fans will only drive to the game, park, enjoy the game, and leave, without spending money and participating in activities around the stadium. The second key is to integrate the stadium into the existing city infrastructure. When a stadium is integrated into the existing infrastructure, hotels, restaurants, bars and retail establishments develop,

which in turn creates jobs and other economic activities. This is known as spin-off development.

While spin-off development is good for cities, stadiums should not be used solely for the purposes of economic development. "Cities which understand that cultural activities, recreation, sports, and plain old socializing not only bring people together, but form a solid base for economic growth, will be the cities which prosper" (Chema, 1996). Stadiums can serve as landmarks for the city and region, promote civic pride and spur community involvement. When traveling to a city, stadiums are often the first physical structure to stand out in an individual's mind. City and area residents rally behind the home team. The stadium serves as the place where people of all ages, sexes, and races can gather with their fellow residents and "root for the home-team." This certainly promotes civic pride and unity.

Baltimore Oriole Park at Camden Yards

In April of 1992, Baltimore Orioles Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore, Maryland replaced Memorial Stadium, the Orioles baseball team's home since 1954. Memorial Stadium needed to be replaced with a new stadium due to its poor access, decrepit condition and the wishes of Edward Williams, the owner of the Orioles at that time. Camden Yards in Baltimore, Maryland was developed with the hopes of revitalizing the depressed city of Baltimore, promote civic pride, and to insure that the Orioles stay in Baltimore.

Camden Yards is located just four blocks west of the Inner Harbor in Downtown Baltimore, on a vacant 85-acre industrial site. Camden Yards has a seating capacity of 48,

262. This stadium was designed to become the new home to the Baltimore Orioles; it was designed using traditional baseball ideals and innovative design principles. The stadium blends in with the surrounding urban area and is a "throw-back" to the more traditional ballparks.

Camden Yards was a multi-million-dollar venture and it took six years to complete the planning and development of the ballpark. The development activities cost State of Maryland approximately $225 million. The stadium was financed with the proceeds from the sale of taxable and tax-exempt revenue bonds. The financing package was completed in November, 1989 with the sale of tax-exempt bonds that received an "AA" rating from the major bond rating houses (Orioles press release). The financing package included the use of funds from the Maryland State Lottery to back the bonds.

In 1986, the Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA) was created by the Maryland General Assembly to "plan, design, develop and maintain new stadium facilities in the Camden Yards area of Baltimore" (Orioles press release). The MSA hired the experienced Kansas City, Missouri architectural firm, Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum, P.C. (HOK) to plan and design Camden Yards. The construction activities of the stadium were managed by Barton-Marlow/Swerdrup of Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

Camden Yards is the product of good planning and design and it has been heralded by architectural experts nationwide. Camden Yards serves as an exemplar to other communities that are interested in developing a stadium. Many other cities such as Cleveland, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; and Arlington, Texas have taken the ideas, design principles and the lessons learned from Baltimore and applied them to their plans for new stadiums and revitalization efforts.

One way that Camden Yards was the product of good planning is that the MSA gave special consideration to community input. According to Bill Reuter, a resident who lives a few blocks away from Camden Yards, the stadium authority established a 'stadium task force' that met about once a month to talk about concerns specific to development activities. The MSA worked with the community to develop a parking permit system for the neighboring communities.

Another well planned aspect of Camden Yards was the dedication by the designers to historic preservation, in particular the preservation of the Baltimore & Ohio (B&O) Warehouse. This industrial warehouse was erected at the turn of the century and now it serves as a unique aesthetic feature located just beyond the center and right fields. The B&O Warehouse is utilized by housing the Orioles' administrative offices, a cafeteria, sports bars, gift shops, and other corporate offices.

Good planning has made Camden Yards a success for many reasons. First of all, the stadium was built into the existing urban landscape. Camden Yards looks as if it has been part of the urban framework since the early days of planning in Baltimore. In this case, Baltimore was extremely fortunate to have enough underutilized industrial land to develop a stadium on this site.

Baltimore was also fortunate to locate the stadium within the existing tourism framework. Camden Yards rests only a few blocks away from the previously established and successful Baltimore Inner Harbor. These two attractions, the Inner Harbor and Camden Yards, complement each other and have formed a "tourism activity zone" that is very successful.

In addition to tying the stadium into the urban landscape and tourism framework, Camden Yards was also integrated into the extensive transportation network. The developers were conscious of the baseball fans from the Washington, D.C. area and beyond and made Camden Yards extremely accessible via light rail, Interstate 3-95, and the Baltimore-Washington Parkway. Fans from Washington can attend games in Baltimore with a relatively easy commute.

Baltimore also benefited from strong local and State leadership. Governor William Donald Schaffer was the previous Mayor of Baltimore and the Governor of Maryland during the development of Camden Yards. He was primarily responsible for the creation of the MSA and he lobbied and negotiated on behalf of Baltimore for the new stadium.

By studying the successful revitalization efforts of Baltimore, with emphasis on the Camden Yards development, a model was developed that serves as a guide to cities interested in investing in a new stadium. The model focused on what Baltimore has done well, the shortcomings of the development and what the city could have done differently. This model can serve as a guide to other cities interested in the development of a baseball stadium and spur economic activity.

CHAPTER II

URBAN REVITALIZATION STRATEGIES

Introduction

America has always depended on its cities for prosperity. Urban areas provide residents with economic opportunities, convenient access to services, recreational opportunities, preserve culture and history, and instill a sense of community pride. The health of America's cities "is essential to the nation's well being" (Wagner, 1995).

Cities are essential to the nation's well being because they serve as focal points of economic activity, human interaction and culture. Cities serve as economic activity centers for regions throughout the country. Cities are often linked to corporations, employment opportunities, financial institutions, and newspapers. Cities preserve the culture of a region through civic clubs, museums, theaters, fine restaurants, and other recreational activities. All of these activities are essential to the resident's quality of life.

While the successes of America's cities are integral to the health of the nation, unfortunately there has been a myriad of problems associated with urban living. In the late 1800's, the main problems associated with urban life included overcrowding, deterioration of housing and impoverished conditions. Today American cities face the same circumstances plus high crime rates, homelessness, economic blight, urban sprawl, and many other problems.

When overall conditions in America's inner cities deteriorate, city leaders must find innovative ways to deal effectively with tough situations. Often cities experiencing dire economic circumstances lack the necessary resources to cope with their problems.

When this is the case, the federal government has implemented policies to assist communities in their revitalization efforts. In order to focus on revitalization efforts of America's cities, it is important to understand the issues of revitalization.

Revitalization has many meanings to different people. Fritz Wagner, in his book entitled *Urban Revitalization*, indicates that urban revitalization takes many forms including; strategies that emphasize the use of physical development for individual projects, regional growth management, human investment, forging public-private partnerships, and tax and financial incentives used to create opportunities in the central city (Wagner, 1995).

Most often, revitalization is considered synonymous to economic redevelopment, however that is not the only function. Due to the nature of cities, there are also other pertinent aspects of urban revitalization that are not economic. "Places (cities) are more than budgets and businesses. They are people, cultures, historical heritage, physical assets, and opportunities" (Kotler, 1993). Successful urban revitalization programs must focus on all regions of the city, residential, commercial and industrial.

Focus

This chapter focuses on the revitalization efforts that were undertaken in America's cities. The first section concentrates on overall urban revitalization strategies emphasizing federal urban policy of the past twenty years. After the analysis of federal urban policy is completed, other revitalization efforts are explored by focusing on specific community efforts. Following an analysis of various revitalization strategies, the chapter investigates how the use of public assembly facilities has been used by cities to

make cities more vibrant. Finally, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the role of sports facilities in revitalization efforts.

Federal Urban Policy

Over the course of history, the Federal government has taken action to revitalize urban areas by instituting numerous policies. Recent actions require every presidential administration to compose a report entitled *The President's National Urban Policy Report.* The presidential report focuses on the immediate problems facing cities and outlines a strategy to remedy these problems. Before the analysis of recent federal urban policy is undertaken, it is important to study the historical perspective followed by an examination of the current problems associated with the many of America's downtown areas.

Historical Issues

In 1892, Congress appropriated $20,000 for a study of slums in the major cities. This study focused on the problems of crime and overall blight in these communities. Unfortunately, with this limited focus, the study placed the blame totally on the inhabitants of these areas as opposed to the overall poor living conditions.

In the early 1900's, three major problems existed in the inner cities, overcrowding, absence of plumbing and deterioration and dilapidation of housing units. According to today's standards, housing units are overcrowded if there is more than one person per room. In the early 1900's, that number was 1.5 persons per room. It was not

unusual to find overcrowding in the inner cities due to the extended family structure. Families often stayed together over generations with many people living under one roof.

The absence of plumbing was also a major problem in the cities. Often there were no toilets, running water, or hot water. This often created unsanitary conditions for the inhabitants. The last major issue in the inner cities in the early 1900's was deterioration and dilapidation of housing units. Deterioration ranges from peeling paint to the siding coming off of a structure. Dilapidation consists of structural damage and decay.

"The Great Depression of the 1930's prompted the first concentrated urban policy, which addressed the problem of slum housing (Kleniewski, 1997)." Congress created the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1933. The WPA assisted local communities with the clearance of old slums and developed federally subsidized rental housing. Only a few communities actually participated in this program so there was limited success.

In 1934, the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) was established. The FHA was formed with the hopes of stimulating the economy and to assist the middle class in purchasing homes. The FHA established eligibility requirements for housing loans, set construction standards, guaranteed 90% of the appraised value of the house, lowered the down payment amount, and required longer loan terms.

In 1937, the Housing Act created the first public housing program. This program established public housing only in cities. "The central idea of the program was that the government could compete with private landlords in providing housing, not for everyone, but rather for the poor who were not well served by the private housing market (Kleniewski, 1997)." Public housing was initially established to be an interim housing

solution. Cities would receive federal funds to create housing authorities, and then they would build, operate, and maintain these units. These buildings were often low-rise buildings with front and back doors. Individuals who made up the lower middle class and working poor families were the initial tenants.

After World War II, the economy boomed. People began leaving the cities in search of the American dream, a house with a yard and a nice white picket fence. When these people left the cities, the people left behind were the most destitute. The city was now becoming a place to work but not a place to live. With this relocation of the middle class, the nature of public housing changed. Public housing was no longer considered transition housing; it became home to the most destitute people, composed mostly of African-Americans. These housing units began to deteriorate due to a lack of appropriate funds.

The deterioration of public housing and the inner cities as a whole gave way to a new federal policy, urban renewal. The Housing Act of 1949 set goals for urban renewal. These goals were to make the areas more viable and to update the public housing program. "The strategy behind this program was for government agencies to obtain land by eminent domain, demolish the structures on it (and in some cases replace the infrastructure such as roads and sewers) and then re-plan and redevelop the land for a different use. The idea was not for the government bodies to take possession permanently, but to assemble buildable parcels of land and sell them to private developers at a subsidized price (Kleniewski, 1997)."

Urban renewal had mixed results. Some cities were actually revitalized; on the other hand, some cities became barren wastelands. Perhaps urban renewal's most tragic

flaw is that this program focused on the place rather than the people. People were displaced from their homes (without compensation in most cases) and neighborhoods were destroyed. This was done to make the central business district more appealing to developers and businesses.

The 1960's brought new challenges to almost every aspect of American life. For cities, the problems of racial inequality and poverty topped the list. In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson formed the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). According to Kleniewski, HUD was established to oversee and integrate existing urban programs and institute a number of new initiatives that were aimed at urban social and economic development. This was different from previous approaches to the urban problems; it focused on the people and the place.

In 1968, HUD created the model cities program. This program attempted to fix many of the social ailments of the cities, including poverty, poor education, and lack of employment opportunities. The model cities program was locally controlled. While the federal government provided the funds to local cities that identified neighborhoods that were in need of revitalization; municipalities were free to experiment with innovative ideas and develop their own programs. This program was innovative and ambitious; however, it lacked the funds that were necessary to make the program effective.

The United States' urban policy has changed dramatically since the turn of the century. Unfortunately, most of the problems that urban areas experienced in the early 1900's are still problems today. Poverty, crime, lack of education, economic decay, and lack of opportunities are still problems with America's inner cities.

Recent Urban Problems

In President Carter's National Urban Policy Report of 1978, five different issues were identified that impact the cities. They were future urban population growth, lifestyle changes and housing, employment and the cities, people in distress, and communities in transition. Most of these issues remain problems today.

The first issue raised by the report was future population growth. The relatively new phenomena of a declining urban population was taking place. Industry was moving out of the cities at an alarming rate. The industries were a key source of employment so people were following the employment opportunities. This out migration of employment opportunities and population was detrimental to cities.

The next issue is lifestyle changes and housing. This refers to the change in the household makeup and the type of housing that people were purchasing. Households were shrinking; the traditional male-headed household was changing. Singles, unmarried couples, group housing, single parent families and income earning husband and wife teams were occupying housing. This change in lifestyle affected the housing pattern.

Gentrification, the buying of homes in older neighborhoods, was coming of age. This had benefits for the long-term use of the cities, but it adversely affected lower income households with displacement from their neighborhoods. Also, during this time, African-Americans were moving into the suburbs with more regularity. Unfortunately, crime and poor educational facilities in the inner cities continued to cause problems by discouraging people from moving into these areas and by pushing its residents out.

Employment in the cities continued to be a major source of urban problems. The decentralization of the workforce from the center cities to the suburbs created a multitude

of problems for the city's poor inhabitants. The largest problem was how to get the poor inhabitants to and from the new employment centers.

The final issue raised by Carter's Report illustrated that people were in distress. High unemployment, lack of training, poverty and discrimination were all factors that indicated that the minorities living in the inner cities were people in distress.

Over the past twenty years, the United States has had four different presidents Carter, Reagan, Bush and Clinton. While each of these Presidents had different political agendas, all of their policies are surprisingly similar.

President Carter's Urban Policy

President Carter's policy objectives were an attempt to address all of the concerns outlined in his 1978 Report. "These objectives were carefully chosen to provide a comprehensive set of long and short term policy objectives to deal with a broad range of urban problems (HUD, 1978)." Carter's urban policy objectives entitled, *A New Partnership to Conserve America's Communities,* were to:

1. Encourage improvement in local planning and management capacity.
2. Encourage states to become partners in aiding cities.
3. Stimulate more neighborhood and civic organization involvement.
4. Provide funds for communities experiencing desperate conditions.
5. Encourage private investment in poor communities.
6. Create employment opportunities in the private sector.
7. Assist in providing access to opportunities for minority groups.
8. Promote social and health services to disadvantaged people.
9. Improve the urban environment and reduce urban sprawl.

As the title of the Policy report suggests, President Carter hoped to foster partnerships on various governmental and private sector levels. The first partnership was between the Federal government and local planning efforts. This objective established

Federal funds for local planning efforts. The second partnership was between states and urban areas. President Carter noted that every state is different and the problems vary from state to state, so it would be essential for the individual states to assist their cities with legislation and state funds. The third partnership was between local communities, neighborhood organizations and voluntary associations. This grass roots level of planning is very important to the revitalization of cities and involvement by the citizens should be encouraged.

The fifth policy objective was to encourage private investment in poor communities. This partnership was an extremely important aspect in Carter's Policy. The policy stated that "the federal government's immediate efforts should help troubled cities: (1) retain existing businesses and industries; (2) stimulate the expansion of existing firms; (3) increase business opportunities for local businesses and firms; (4) expand business opportunities for local residents; and (5) where feasible, compete on a more equal basis for newer firms (HUD, 1978)." Carter planned to reach these goals by providing tax incentives for firms relocating in urban areas and by providing assistance to the firms in the form of finance incentives and Community Development Block Grants.

The sixth objective of creating employment in the private sector targeted the long-term unemployed in the cities. This policy suggested the need to target government job training to these individuals who needed these opportunities most, improve transportation access to the jobs that relocated outside of the city and to provide better access from the high unemployment areas to the areas with low unemployment.

The seventh and eighth objectives were social goal statements. Carter states that it should be Federal policy to eliminate racism and to expand social and health services to

those people most in need. The ninth policy objective of improving the urban environment and decreasing urban sprawl was another important aspect in Carter's urban policy.

The urban environment was in serious decay. Carter suggested that cities revitalize neighborhoods, improve housing and recreational opportunities, meet environmental standards and improve transportation. He felt that it was necessary to support the "Back to the City" movement in order to stimulate economic activity. Carter thought that urban sprawl was harming the environment and destroying inner cities by attracting corporations to leave the downtown business district. He proposed using "all tools available to reduce sprawl."

President Reagan's Urban Policy

President Reagan's urban policy was focused on reversing the trend of cities relying on the Federal government for assistance. While there are nine objectives to President Reagan's urban policies, there are two basic premises. The first was to encourage economic development in the inner cities by curbing inflation. The second was to decentralize and give more authority to the states and localities and diminish the role of the Federal government.

"President Reagan's strategy for revitalizing cities was aimed at creating, fostering, or, in some cases, accelerating these evolving relationships through a series of initiatives designed to encourage States and cities to set their own priorities and make the most of existing resources (HUD, 1984)." President Reagan's urban policy objectives were:

1. Keep the Nation on the path of economic growth.
2. Facilitate the development of State and local authority and cooperation.
3. Encourage public/private cooperation
4. Help cities with special problems adjust to economic dislocation.
5. Help care for the truly needy.
6. Continue anticrime initiatives.
7. Focus national attention on the quality of education.
8. Rebuild the Nation's infrastructure.
9. Promote civil rights (HUD, 1984).

President Reagan's first initiative to implement his urban policy principle was to continue the economic growth trend. The premise behind Reagan's policy was to create jobs, revitalize communities and encourage economic growth inside of the city. The major component in this policy is the establishment of enterprise zones. "The concept behind the legislation (enterprise zone) is to create an environment in a distressed area conducive to stimulating business activity and stabilizing or increasing employment for zone residents and others (HUD, 1984)."

In order for an area within a city to be designated as an enterprise zone, it had to be nominated by the state and local government. To be nominated the state and city governments must identify the hindrances to economic growth and develop a plan to remedy these problems. Once the city and state made a commitment, the Federal government would then assist in the process.

When a city became designated an enterprise zone, the Federal government would provide tax and regulatory assistance to business that located in the inner cities. The private sector was encouraged to make contributions to this effort by providing financial assistance, technical help and employment training. Businesses were also encouraged to hire the long-term unemployed and disadvantaged workers.

This policy took the federal government out of the process of identifying and solving all of the economic problems of the city. The economic aspect of President Reagan's urban policy was the dominant theme. "President Reagan's Urban Policy Report took the position that the federal government's main responsibility toward cities and states was simply to keep the national economy healthy (Kleniewski, 1997)."

Another important aspect of Reagan's urban policy was the anticrime initiative. Reagan stated that crime reduction was one of the highest priorities of his Policy. Emphasis was placed on combating drug trafficking and fighting organized crime. Reagan also established various offices to study and report on crime and directed resources to law enforcement agencies.

President Bush's Urban Policy

President Bush's urban policy, while continuing to focus on the economy, produced several significant changes. President Bush's urban policy objectives were:

1. Expand homeownership and affordable housing opportunities.
2. Create jobs and economic development (Enterprise zones).
3. Empower the poor through resident management and homesteading.
4. Enforce fair housing.
5. Ensure drug free public housing.
6. Combat homelessness (HUD, 1990).

President Bush's six priorities formed HOPE, Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere. HOPE was initiated to be an antipoverty campaign. This campaign was to fight poverty, strengthen the link between effort and reward by encouraging individuals to strive for the American dream, increase equity in neighborhoods and create jobs.

Bush believed that the core of his agenda was the homeownership objective. Bush was convinced "that homeownership and vibrant cities are at the heart of any effort to help urban Americans escape the poverty trap (HUD, 1990)." If lower income individuals set goals to purchase a home through hard work, they may be able to invest in a home, and they would be brought back into the economic mainstream. He suggested that individual's be allowed to access their Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs) to come up with money for a down payment on a house. He also ordered HUD to assist people in finding affordable housing.

The second policy objective for President Bush was similar to the economic development aspects that President Reagan advocated. Bush also was a proponent of the enterprise zones and believed that enterprise zones could "plant the seeds for a real urban revival."

The third objective was to empower the poor through resident management and homesteading. This objective was an attempt to offer public housing tenants the opportunity to manage their housing communities with the option to eventually buy their units at a discounted rate. This was a market-based approach to help poor individuals build equity through ownership of a home and instill pride in their living arrangements.

Similar to President's Carter and Reagan, President Bush had a non-discriminatory policy as well. Like the previously mentioned Presidents, Bush hoped to enforce fair housing for all people, regardless or race or gender, ethnic or religious background or handicap.

One of President Bush's most publicized and a memorable urban policy objective was to make public housing drug free. This urban policy was to use eviction as a tool to

rid public housing of drug users and traffickers. "The Secretary of HUD has substantial legal authority to help eliminate the scourge of drug sales and drug abuse on or near the premises of public housing communities (HUD, 1990)."

The final objective of President Bush's urban policy was to help end the tragedy of homelessness. He suggested that shelters be provided to assist in this endeavor. This shelter was to be a temporary solution for many of the Nation's homeless, until individuals could find suitable employment and shelter. Another issue was how to deal with the homeless with mental problems or who suffer through addictions. This objective called for the establishment of treatment facilities at these facilities to deal with such problems.

President Clinton's Urban Policy

President Clinton's urban policy entitled the Community Empowerment Agenda is based on four principles. They are:

1. Link families to work.
2. Leverage private investment.
3. Focus on locally driven policies.
4. Affirms traditional values (HUD, 1995).

The first objective is to link families to work. This was done with the hopes of encouraging people to get jobs and become self-sufficient. According to the Clinton policy, linking families to work is accomplished in three ways. The first way is by rewarding work, initiative and responsibility. The second way is to invest in education, training and workforce development. The third way is to expand the residential and employment options of inner-city families.

The second policy objective is to leverage private investment in cities. This includes creating jobs and economic opportunity in the inner cities. According to Clinton's policy, this is accomplished in three ways. The first way of providing leverage is to ensure the availability of private capital to city neighborhoods. The second way is to reward saving and investment in homeownership. Similar to President Bush's plan of homeownership, this aspect is designed with the hopes of creating wealth and equity while revitalizing downtown neighborhoods. The third aspect is to fight crime. With crime running rampant in inner cities, the economic blight is only fostered. Crime must be attacked in order for economic development to occur.

The third policy is to ensure that this policy is locally driven. Clinton hoped that residents in the inner cities would become involved to find creative ways of dealing with the neighborhood specific problems. He also hoped to create partnerships with local governments to facilitate ideas and solutions to local problems.

The fourth policy is to affirm traditional values. These traditional values include hard work, personal responsibility, self-sufficiency, and family. Some of the inner-cities problems are a result of families that are torn apart, teen pregnancy, crime, and substance abuse. This policy suggested that it is extremely important to reverse this trend and return to traditional values. This policy also suggests that coalitions of common interest be formed. These coalitions would transcend racial and other boundaries.

It is ironic that the past four Presidents claim to be on different ends of the political spectrum, yet all of their policies have a familiar theme. The top priorities are to create economic opportunities, empower local leaders to develop their own programs, and to fight crime. With similar policies, similar ineffective results have been generated.

Crime, economic stagnation, homelessness, civil rights issues, and all of the other issues outlined in the Presidential Reports continue to remain major problems. Congress and the President must make urban strife a national priority and embrace innovative strategies to save America's cities.

Federal Grants

One way the federal government has been effective has been by assisting local governments in the form of subsidies such as the Community Development Block Grants (CDBGs) and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAGs). Another strategy the federal government can use in local revitalization efforts is by offering tax-exempt financing. Since cities are unique, municipalities should be given the freedom to use CDBGs, UDAGs, and various financing strategies according to the specific needs of the community.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development instituted the Community Development Block Grant program in 1974 to distribute funds to large cities. "The principal purpose of the CDBG program was to shift a greater share of decision-making authority from federal to local officials and to provide the latter with more flexibility in the use of the funds"(Bingham, 1984). While the CDBG program was established to give local governments more flexibility, the original purpose was not for economic development. The scope of the CDBG program has changed since its inception in 1974, however the two initial goals have remained constant. The first goal was to eliminate slums and urban blight. The second goal stated that development should benefit low/moderate income groups.

CDBG funds have a wide range of eligible activities. According to John Levy in *Economic Development Programs for Cities, Counties, and Towns*, some of the basic eligible activities include:

- Acquisition of land and structures, including air rights, water rights;
- Public-facility improvements;
- Clearance activities;
- Public services;
- Interim assistance i.e. repair of streets, debris removal and snow removal;
- Urban-renewal completion;
- Relocation payments to individuals or businesses;
- Removal of architectural barriers (Levy, 1981).

In 1978, the Department of Housing and Urban Development created the Urban Development Action Grants to promote economic development in urban areas. The UDAG program basic eligibility requirements are the same as the CDBG, but these programs also differ in many ways. The largest difference is that UDAGs are discretionary. "UDAG funds may be made available only to communities which exhibit certain statistical indicators of distress" (Levy, 1981). Indicators of distress include a low per capita income, insufficient population growth, a high unemployment rate, poor housing conditions, and a high poverty rate.

UDAGs also go above and beyond the eligible activities of CDBGs. UDAGs funds may also be used to "finance small business investment companies and for a variety of assistance to local businesses, including working capital; capital for land, structures, and property improvement; obtaining of performance bonding for minority contractors" (Levy, 1981). UDAGs may also be used for rehabilitating housing, infrastructure development, and other activities that were associated with urban renewal.

Tax-exempt financing is another way that the federal government can provide financial assistance to urban areas. Tax-exempt financing differs from the federal grants in that no money flows from the federal government. Rather, all of the assistance involves tax-forgiveness. Tax-exempt financing is a popular tool for economic developers because "it delivers a large subsidy; it can be arranged quickly through an essentially non-bureaucratic, non-governmental procedure; and it is not competitive" (Levy, 1981). In order for a project to achieve tax-exempt financing the redevelopment project only needs to serve a public purpose such as providing jobs and increasing the tax base. Once the project meets state law and conforms to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) code, tax-exempt financing can accomplished.

Local governments undertake various projects by utilizing federal development grants and tax-exempt financing, however, this type of funding is not the only mechanism cities use to revitalize. While cities are unique, it is important to focus on local revitalization efforts and explore the successes of various cities in order to develop ideas for local economic development.

While most revitalization strategies involve development and redevelopment activities, other efforts have also being undertaken. These efforts include planning on a regional level, "human investment", investing in major facilities, and the use of sports facilities to revitalize downtown communities.

Local Revitalization Efforts

On the local level, cities have attempted to attack urban blight by implementing a myriad of strategies all with hopes of making the central core a vibrant center of human

activity. While the most predominant revitalization strategies are accomplished by investing in development activities, some cities have tried other strategies. While Portland, Oregon and Baltimore, Maryland have invested in development activities to revitalize their urban core, they have also experimented with other strategies. Portland has been very successful in revitalization due to its regional approach to planning. Baltimore has approached revitalization by undertaking various development activities, but is unique in that the city has also invested in the residents themselves. This type of strategy is known as the human investment.

Portland, Oregon

Portland is located in the eastern portion of Oregon where the Willamette River and Columbia River converge. Due to its geographical location, Portland was founded as a port town in 1851. The port was used for shipping timber and agricultural supplies. "Between 1883 and 1910, when Portland was connected by rail to Chicago and other points east, Portland was second only to San Francisco as the West Coast's largest city" (Wagner, 1995).

As early as 1958, Portland became committed to planning through the establishment of the Portland Development Commission (PDC). The PDC was created as a public nonprofit corporation to undertake complex developments and work with the city planning staff to develop long range comprehensive plans. In the 1970s and 1980s, Portland began to experience similar problems as other cities in the United States. Due to these problems, Portland undertook various revitalization activities including the preservation of historic districts, encourage and develop public transportation, improve

housing and encouraging new development. While Portland was engaging in these revitalization efforts, the State of Oregon was also interested in planning.

Oregon passed land use planning laws to protect and preserve farms and forests in locations adjacent to urban areas and to direct planning in the urban and suburban areas. Oregon also created the Metropolitan Service District (MSD) to serve Portland. "The MSD is a nine-member planning and administrative body that is elected form nine districts representing the urbanized areas of the Oregon side of the Columbia River" (Wagner, 1995). The MSD works in conjunction with strong state planning laws to administer a regional urban growth boundary. Essentially, the MSD guarantees that the growth and development of Portland takes place on the regional level to control sprawl and other haphazard types of development.

Throughout the United States academics and planning professionals revere Portland, Oregon as an urban revitalization success story. One reason is because Portland has a strong commitment to planning on the regional level. "Portland's commitment to revitalizing its downtown, preserving its historic districts, improving and restructuring its housing stock and encouraging new development is evident in the aggressive planning that has occurred throughout the years" (Wagner, 1995). Portland's aggressive commitment to planning is evident in the sixteen comprehensive plans that have been completed over the last thirty years.

The development of comprehensive plans alone does not indicate success, if that were the case, most of America's cities would be successful. Successful plans are the ones that have been implemented. Of the sixteen comprehensive plans that Portland has adopted, eight have been implemented. These implemented plans are responsible for

Portland's renaissance and for the revival of Portland's commercial, industrial and residential zones. While downtown Portland has benefited from the plans, the surrounding areas have also benefited from the regional planning approach.

While Portland's successful revitalization indicates a need for regional planning, Baltimore, Maryland has approached revitalization of its downtown through various mechanisms. These mechanisms include the traditional forms of revitalization through development and through investing in the residents.

Baltimore, Maryland

While a more in depth discussion will be presented on Baltimore, Maryland in the next chapter, it is necessary to give a brief history of the city. Due to its central location and access to the Chesapeake Bay, Baltimore was founded in 1729 as a center for commerce. In the mid-1800s, Baltimore became highly industrialized and attracted various industries including foundries, factories, machine shops and port activities.

Due to the large industrial base, European immigrants were attracted to Baltimore as a center for employment. This in migration of Europeans created ethnic neighborhoods that still exist today. African American made up a large segment of the city as well. During the Civil War, Baltimore had the nation's largest free African American population (Wagner, 1995).

Similar to most cities in the United States, manufacturing jobs left the central city after World War II and a people followed the jobs. The industrial decline in Baltimore was particularly difficult for the city. With the out migration of industry, the tax base and the population declined. Baltimore struggled to develop programs to respond to the

economic stagnation until the 1970's when major projects, including the Baltimore Inner Harbor, were completed.

While Baltimore has used major facilities such as the Baltimore Inner Harbor, to spur economic growth in the central city, physical redevelopment by itself is not enough to revitalize an urban community. The city of Baltimore has also chosen to make a "human investment". Human investment is an effort to make people more productive members of society thorough education and job training, providing health care, providing day care, all to the ends of making individuals self-sufficient. Baltimore's main approach to the human investment has been through education, in particular the transition from high school.

Education is key to making people self-sufficient. Unfortunately, the education system in Baltimore is inferior to its suburban neighbors. The schools lack adequate funding, have less experienced teachers, have a high student/teacher ratio, and have a high drop out rate. These educational problems indicated to the leaders in Baltimore that innovative programs needed to be developed to curve the current educational deficiencies.

Due to pressure from BUILD, a community-based organization that advocates the shifting of city priorities to human investment issues, the city of Baltimore has forged a partnership with the Greater Baltimore Committee (GBC), which is the local business community. This partnership is known as the Baltimore Commonwealth.

"The Baltimore Commonwealth offers a guarantee of opportunity for all students in the Baltimore public schools who maintain 95 percent attendance records during their junior and senior years" (Wagner, 1995). The opportunity for students is that each high

school graduate will be guaranteed three interviews from companies with memberships with the GBC.

Another aspect of the Baltimore Commonwealth is the establishment of the CollegeBound Foundation. The CollegeBound Foundation "works with students to encourage them to take the SATs, assist in college selection, fill out complicated financial aid forms and award deserving students last dollar financing" (Wagner, 1995). This is done with the hopes of increasing awareness about the application process, financial assistance, school options, and other opportunities that may assist in the transition to college.

The CollegeBound program has been very successful. According to CollegeBound officials, the percentage of Baltimore students taking the SATs went up 24 percent in 1990-1991 school year. Also, during that period, there was a 46 percent increase of high school seniors that completed financial aid forms and a 77 percent increase in seniors completing college applications.

While Baltimore has approached revitalization from the standpoint of traditional development activities, emphasis has also been placed on the individual through human investment programs. Unfortunately, most human investment programs lack adequate funding to be effective. Baltimore has benefited from the public/private partnership created in the human investment revitalization efforts.

Revitalization programs have many forms. The federal government has developed various strategies over the years to deal with urban economic depression including the development of Community Development Block Grants, Urban Development Action Grants and tax-exempt financing. Local municipalities have taken

advantage of the funds provided by the federal government and have developed various strategies to revitalize the urban core. Portland, Oregon has approached revitalization on the regional level to maintain the urban area and to prevent urban sprawl. Baltimore, Maryland, while utilizing traditional urban revitalization strategies such as physical development, has also undertaken a more personal approach by investing in the residents. These are two examples of what types of strategies are being utilized across the United States. As stated, most revitalization efforts involve the investment in physical development, particularly in the use of major facilities.

Public Assembly Facilities

For the purpose of this study, it is necessary to have a working definition of the types of major facilities that cities have used with the hopes of revitalizing the urban core. The major facilities that follow are public assembly facilities. Public assembly facilities include convention centers, theaters, and sports facilities such as arenas, stadiums and baseball parks.

The following section explores why municipalities need public assembly facilities, how they are financed, and outlines the differences between them. Each facility is defined in terms of the types of activities that they host and basic design principles. Following the definition of each facility is a brief case study that examines the development efforts of specific cities. Sports facilities are examined in more detail with a case study of Oriole Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore, Maryland in the following chapter.

Need for Public Assembly Facilities

Cities choose to invest in major facilities for various reasons. David Petersen, the author of *Sports, Conventions, and Entertainment Facilities*, explains that cities determine the need for public assembly facilities by analyzing the economic and non-economic factors of development. On the economic side, Petersen states that "the popularity, prosperity, or population size of a market area will influence the occupancy or financial success of its assembly centers" (Petersen, 1996). The non-economic issues that influence the development of a public assembly facility include, "team-owner motives, available sites, civic leadership, voter perceptions, and local political conditions" (Petersen, 1996). These are some of the factors that go into the decision making process, but benefiting the community is the main reason for a public assembly facility.

Projects can benefit the community in various ways. The creation of jobs, increasing the city's revenue in the form of sales tax and admission tax, and spin-off development are all benefits of investing in major facilities. The "primary motive for developing the facility may be to attract a large hotel or mixed use development, to provide downtown merchants with additional visitors or customers or to retain or lure a professional sports franchise"(Petersen, 1996).

While Petersen acknowledges that there are economic issues surrounding the feasibility of a public assembly center, he also states that the successes of facilities are rarely measured by operating profits. By acknowledging that public assembly facilities rarely generate income themselves, it is important to recognize that there are other important non-economic issues involving these types of developments. Thus, job

creation and economic growth are not the only community benefits associated with developing major facilities.

Other reasons for investing in public assembly facilities include "making the downtown a place for entertainment and visiting as well as for work, to have street life in the evenings and on weekends, to get rid of eyesores that the facilities would replace, and to preserve landmarks" (Frieden, 1989). This type of investment by the city can also utilize blighted historic districts, bring tourists back to the downtown core, and instill a sense of pride and place for the community.

When a community does decide to invest in a public assembly facility, site selection is an important consideration. The site should blend in with the local community, neighborhoods and infrastructure. The community should also be given the opportunity to voice concerns and ideas. This will insure community participation and hopefully acceptance of the project.

Another factor in site selection is that the facility should be located on a prominent site. David Petersen points out that, "these structures ought to be prominent on the urban horizon to celebrate civic pride, to symbolize the 21st century, or simply to justify the $250 million investment" (Petersen, 1996). Finally, success of the public assembly facility is dictated by proximity to the existing infrastructure of parking, mass-transit, hotels, restaurants, retail shops and other local destinations. Once the site has been selected, financing is an important aspect in the development of a public assembly facility.

Cost of Public Assembly Facilities

Public assembly facility development is an extremely expensive undertaking for a city. Therefore, it is essential to develop a sound financial plan before development takes place. In order to develop a financial plan a municipality should first perform a feasibility study. The feasibility study must begin with a listing of all costs for the planning development, operation, renewing or replacement, marketing and support facilities for the center (Peterson, 1996). The study is not complete until all factors of development have been accounted for. A careful study of similar development activities in other communities can insure that that all costs are included in the financial plan.

It is extremely important to identify all of the costs associated with the development activities to avoid underestimating the project. When development activities are underestimated, integral items such as parking facilities and reserves are cut from the budget. When integral items are cut from the budget, successful development of the facility is likely to be hampered. A sound financial plan will incorporate both the direct and indirect expenses.

Direct expenses include all the hard costs that are associated with the actual physical development of the project. These expenses incorporate such activities as construction, site acquisition, site improvements, demolition, and infrastructure development. Indirect expenses include the soft costs that are essential to development. Soft costs include predevelopment activities such as planning, architecture fees, engineering fees, legal expenses, and insurance. It is not uncommon for the soft costs to double the total cost of construction. Once all the costs are accounted for, different financing options must be evaluated.

Financing Methods

Municipalities utilize many different approaches to funding a public assembly facility. Usually, public assembly facilities are funded through state and local government bond financing. However, other innovative financing options have been explored. This section outlines financing options that are available to municipalities for developing public assembly facilities.

Naming rights is a type of financing that has become popular in recent years, particularly with sports arenas and stadiums. This type of financing involves a financial agreement between a municipality and a corporation for the naming rights to a facility. Usually, a corporation provides capital up front for the sale or the lease of a facility's name to help defray the development costs. Numerous public assembly facilities have been erected by using funds from naming rights. They include the MCI Center in Washington, D.C.; Hardee's Walnut Creek Amphitheater in Raleigh, North Carolina; and America West Arena in Phoenix, Arizona. Corporations also benefit from naming rights in the form of advertisement.

Another financing source that is popular with arenas and stadiums is the use of advertisements in and around a facility. Corporations buy or lease space within a facility for advertising purposes. This type of financing provides the facility with an annual source of income. Advertisement inside a facility includes the use of a scoreboard or billboards throughout the facility. Traditionally, baseball stadiums have used the selling of advertisement rights on the outfield walls.

The use of seat preference bonds or luxury boxes is also used as a financing tool for public facilities, particular for arenas and stadiums. Luxury boxes offer individuals or corporations a prime viewing location for specific events. Luxury boxes are usually purchased on a seasonal basis and provide the public facility with a good source of revenue.

While the previously listed sources of revenue do assist municipalities with decreasing the total amount of capital required for a public assembly facility, they are not the primary sources of income. Bonds, such as revenue bonds, general obligation bonds, and tax increment bonds are usually the primary source of capital for the development of public assembly facilities. Bonds are certificates of debt that carry interest. In the case of public facilities, bonds are issued to finance the development costs.

According to David Petersen, "revenue bonds are secured by defined or specific tax revenue sources" (Petersen, 1996). A "straight" revenue bond is the left over capital from a facility's operations after the expenses have been deducted (Petersen, 1996). Use-taxes in the form of admission tax, hotel tax, and vending tax often supplement the revenue bond to pay for the costs of the facility.

General obligation bonds are often used to finance public assembly facilities. General obligation bonds are issued and then paid for by "annual debt-service payments are made from the community's general fund" (Petersen, 1996). When the community's general fund is not enough to pay the bond's principal, the municipality must pay with whatever funds are available.

"Tax increment bonds or tax allocation bonds are secured by a pledge of the net increases in property taxes resulting from the added taxable buildings within a defined

redevelopment district" (Petersen, 1996). The municipality defines a redevelopment district when the decision is made to develop a public facility. This district is contrived with the hopes of attracting commercial and other types of development to increase the tax base.

Once financing is secured for a public assembly facility, development can take place. The next section outlines three types of public assembly facilities, convention centers, theaters, and sports facilities. Each of these facilities is distinct in size, shape, and the types of activities that take place.

Convention Centers

Convention centers are large public assembly facilities that consist of exhibition halls and a large number of meeting rooms. Convention centers are designed to accommodate large assemblies of people and host events such as automobile shows, receptions, banquets, and conventions. "Conventions bring people together to share information about a business or profession, check out new products and listen to sales pitches, or socialize over common interest in anything from cats to religion" (Frieden, 1989).

Economically, convention centers rarely yield a profit. "The purpose of a center, from the point of view of city officials, is not to turn a profit but to bring prosperous, fun-seeking conventioneers to town" (Frieden, 1989). Convention centers do perform a valuable economic function through job creation and increasing the local revenue through taxes and other spending. Bernard Frieden argues in *Downtown, Inc. How America Rebuilds Cities*, that "most jobs in these establishments (convention centers) do not

demand much training or experience, convention centers may do more for disadvantaged city residents than new office buildings" (Frieden, 1989). Frieden also points out that sales and hotel taxes produce revenue for the local government.

Conventioneers also spend money in the community by staying in area hotels and by spending money throughout the community. Table A-1 estimates the expenditure patterns surrounding various types of special-event or leisure-oriented visitors (Petersen, 1996). The reader will notice that convention delegates have a higher average expenditure per day compared to all but one category of visitor, the Super Bowl visitor.

San Diego, California Convention Center

The city of San Diego, California began construction of the San Diego Convention Center in 1987 and completed it in 1989. The site area consists of 11 acres in downtown San Diego. The city determined that the convention center was the most important aspect of the city's revitalization efforts so they located it in an activity area. The activity are consists of retail areas such as Horton Plaza and Seaport Village, a marina, and San Diego's historic Gaslamp Quarter.

Initially, there were 254,000 square feet of exhibit space, with a ballroom and 100,000 square feet of meeting space that totaled 760,000 square feet. The convention center was expanded in January 1998 that added 300,000 square feet of exhibit space, two ballrooms totaling 90,000 square feet, and 100,000 square feet of meeting space.

The San Diego Convention Center was funded by the Unified Port District and Sand Diego's transient occupancy tax or hotel tax. Initially, the convention center cost $164 million and the expansion cost $171 million. The San Diego Unified Port District

owns the land and leases the property to the city for $1 a year. In addition, the Unified Port District used revenue from its cash reserves to fund the entire $164 million of the original cost of the facility. The expansion of the convention center was funded in part by $4.5 million provided by the Unified Port District and by a 1.5-cent increase in the transient occupancy tax (hotel tax). "One cent will be earmarked for the convention-center expansion and will provide $6 million to $8 million annually for debt service, while the remaining half-cent is earmarked for a downtown sports arena" (Petersen, 1996).

The San Diego Convention Center has been a success for the revitalization of downtown San Diego. Currently, the convention center is recognized as one of the premiere convention locations in the United States. Retail areas have been revitalized as well. The Seaport Village has made expansion plans and the Gaslamp Quarter has enjoyed an increase in traffic and tourists. Convention quality hotels have also opened since the development of the center that added 2,700 new rooms in 1989 (Petersen, 1996).

Theaters

There are two main types of theaters, the typical theater and amphitheater. A typical theater is an "enclosed performing arts venue that accommodate audiences ranging in size from 300 to 3,500 in fixed seats which are arranged in an arc of less than 90 degrees on a sloped floor with sightlines directed to a permanent stage behind a proscenium arch" (Peterson, 1996). Theaters host many different performances such as theatrical productions, movies, symphony orchestras, bands, ballets, and operas.

Another type of theater is the amphitheater. An amphitheater is an open-air theater that serves audiences as large as 20,000. "A modern amphitheater accommodates about 40 percent of the audience in fixed seats under a permanent roof (no walls), while the remainder of the attendees are provided with a sloped lawn on which to stand, sit, or lie" (Peterson, 1996). Amphitheaters are popular during the warm months and host similar events as the typical theater.

Hardee's Walnut Creek Amphitheater in Raleigh, North Carolina

The City of Raleigh, North Carolina began planning the Hardee's Walnut Creek Amphitheater in 1987 and completed the development activities in 1991. Raleigh built the amphitheater on 77 acres of parkland in the city. This amphitheater was designed to host concerts and other similar activities from April to October. This translates into 35-45 performances per year. The capacity of the amphitheater is 20,000—7,000 fixed seats and 13,000 lawn.

The development activities cost the city $13.7 million and were financed through various mechanisms. "The city of Raleigh furnished $11.5 million, which it raised through the sale of certificates of participation" (Petersen, 1996). The city also created a nonprofit organization, the Walnut Creek Financial Assistance Corporation, to issue the debt and to enter into a twenty year lease with PACE, a concert promotion company based in Houston, Texas (Petersen, 1996). PACE provided $2.2 million for development activities and in accordance with the lease must provide the city 7 percent of the gross revenues.

The Hardee's Walnut Creek Amphitheater is regarded as one of the most successful amphitheaters in the United States. The first season of the amphitheater attracted over 275,000 people to Raleigh. In 1993, over 450,000 people attended shows at the amphitheater. Unfortunately, the amphitheater has not been a success on the neighborhood level. The amphitheater was built in an established, quite neighborhood and the residents often complain about traffic congestion and noise from the amphitheater.

Sports Facilities

Sports facility development is extremely expensive, yet cities seem eager to build new facilities or refurbish the older ones. Sports facility construction is happening at a frantic pace. Since 1990, 26 major professional sports facilities have been developed and 23 more are scheduled to be constructed by the year 2000. In comparative decades, the 1980's only had thirteen stadiums built and twenty-one in the 1970's.

Plate 1 illustrates the number of major sports facilities that have been constructed in the United States since 1990. The total cost of the development activities is approximately $9 billion. The pink dot indicates stadiums that have already been built as of 1997. The yellow dot represents the stadiums that are scheduled to be built before the end of the decade.

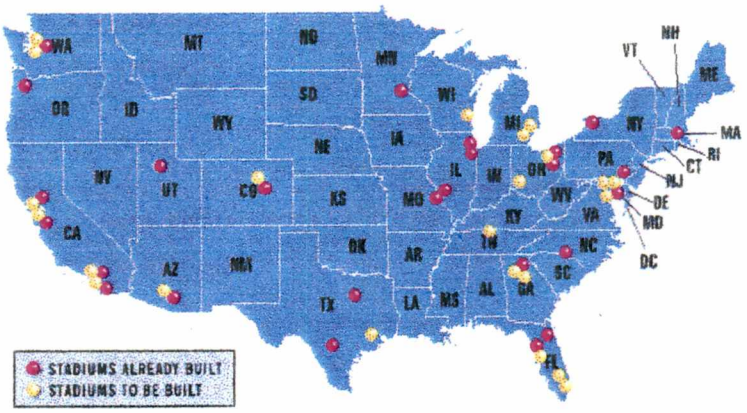

PLATE 1: STADIUMS BUILT IN THE 1990'S
Source: http://www.msnbc.com/onair/nbc/nightlynews/stadium/default.asp, 1997

Historically, sports facilities were owned and operated by the sports team owners. That trend has changed over the last forty years. More and more communities are investing in major facilities in the local revitalization efforts. Table A-2 shows the percentage of sports facilities owned in each of the professional leagues since the 1950s. Notice that the percentage of publicly owned facilities has continued to rise.

The major types of sports facilities are arenas, stadiums and baseball parks. Each facility is unique and hosts different types of athletic events. This section outlines the differences in the facilities and explores the reasons why municipalities invest in sports facilities.

Arenas

Arenas accommodate large groups of people for sporting events and other entertainment venues. The arena is "a flat-floor facility with 8,000 to 22,000 fixed seats configured in an oval shape on one or more tiers or levels" (Peterson, 1996). In the past, the expensive seats or premium seating were located in the highest location of the arena

known as "skyboxes". The current trend for arenas is to place premium seating "closer to the action" on the main concourse level or middle seating area.

Sightlines are configured to view a floor the size of a hockey rink because hockey requires such a large playing surface. Due to hockey's large playing surface, other events can also take place in arenas and the sightlines are not disturbed. Such events include basketball games, indoor soccer, arena football, indoor circuses, ice shows, and concerts.

Plate 2 illustrates a typical seating pattern for an arena. This is a seating chart for the MCI Center in Washington D.C. that opened in December 1997. The MCI Center is a state-of-the-art facility that is home to the Washington Capitals and Washington Wizards, National Hockey League and National Basketball Association teams, respectively. Notice that the floor area is large enough to accommodate both hockey and basketball.

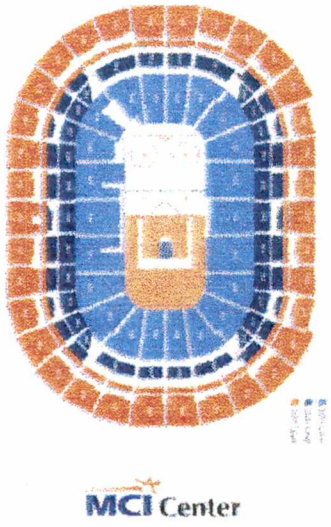

PLATE 2: TYPICAL ARENA FLOOR PLAN
Source: Washington Wizards and Washington Capitals 1997-98 Schedule

The United Center in Chicago, Illinois

In 1989, the owners of the National Hockey League Chicago Blackhawks and the National Basketball Association Chicago Bulls established a joint venture to develop the United Center in Chicago, Illinois. Development was complete in 1994. The United Center was built on a 45-acre site one mile from Chicago's loop. The arena's 1 million square feet of floor space was designed to accommodate major touring musical performances, athletic events and family shows. The arena also contains a retail store, a theater and four retail merchandise stands.

The United Center hosts more than 175 events annually and the capacity various according to the event. There are 24,500 seats available for concerts; 20,500 for hockey games; 21,500 for basketball games; 216 luxury boxes and 3,300 club seats.

The United Center is a state-of-the-art facility and development activities were expensive. While the development was expensive, $175 million, the owners of the Blackhawks and Bulls paid for the development with a loan from the First Bank of Chicago. The owners also raised funds by selling luxury suites before the groundbreaking to help pay for a lot of the construction costs and lower the financial obligation to the bank.

The United Center is a success mainly because the owners of the professional teams provided the substantial capital outlay. But the arena is also a success because it utilized the existing labor pool for development activities and gave the community a sense of place. "It was always anticipated that the United Center would have a high profile because it was built in a union town, using union laborers who took pride in their work and are avid home-team fans" (Petersen, 1996).

Football Stadiums and Baseball Parks

Football stadiums and baseball parks provide an opportunity for sports fans to gather and watch teams participate in competition. In the past, multipurpose stadiums were developed to house both football and baseball teams. This is no longer the trend and baseball and football teams are not willing to share a stadium. Separate facilities guarantee to the sports team owner that he/she will control revenue generated by the stadium.

Money is generated for the team through the selling of luxury boxes and owners do not want to share the money. Another reason for separate facilities is to make the stadium sport specific. Baseball and football fields have different dimensions and sport specific facilities provide better sight lines for optimal viewing.

Football stadiums seat between 65,000 to up over 105,000 in either a rectangular or oval stadium. Currently, the largest stadium in the United States is Neyland Stadium, located at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, which seats over 108,000 fans! Most major league baseball parks seat between 35,000 and 50,000 and seating is ideally "arranged in a boomerang shape behind home plate and parallel to the power alleys along the first- and third-base lines" (Peterson, 1996).

Ericsson Stadium in Charlotte, North Carolina

In 1987, Richardson Sports began planning a stadium for the expansion National Football League Carolina Panthers in Charlotte, North Carolina. Construction began in

1994 and Carolinas Stadium opened in June 1996. Ericsson Stadium was built on a 33-acre site in "uptown" Charlotte, the central business district.

Ericsson Stadium is a football only stadium that hosts only eight regular season football games per year. Carolina's Stadium is an open-air stadium and the field is composed of a natural turf. The stadium seats 72,500 fans. There are 23,000 seats and 10,000 club seats in the lower deck. There are 36,000 seats in the upper deck and 2,000 seats in the 135 luxury suites.

Ericsson Stadium is a state-of-the-art facility and the total cost of development was $160 million. The financing for the stadium was unique. The owners, Richardson Sports, sold permanent seat licenses (PSL's) which provided potential buyers with a right to purchase season tickets, luxury suites and club seats. "By the end of the first day of sales, all 8,314 club seats had sold out, at rental rates of $975-$2975 per year and all 104 luxury suites available at that time had been leased at $40,000 to $296,000 per year" (Petersen, 1996). A total of 49,000 PSL's were reserved which totaled $112.7 million! Nation's Bank and Wachovia also posted $30 million guarantees to buy the unsold PSL's which raised the total PSL revenue to $142.7 million. In 1996, LM Ericsson Inc. entered into a ten-year lease with Richardson Sports for the naming rights of the stadium. Ericsson paid approximately $25 million for the naming rights of the stadium, which helped with the rest of the costs.

Plate 3 is a photograph of Ericsson Stadium. Ericsson Stadium is a success for two primary reasons. First the stadium is located in the central business district in Charlotte which in turns brings people downtown. Second, the unique financing strategy

implemented was at no expense to the tax-payers because the money was raised through the selling of permanent seat licenses and by selling the naming rights.

PLATE 3: PHOTOGRAPH OF ERICSSON STADIUM IN DOWNTOWN CHARLOTTE, NC

Investing in Sports Facilities

Academics and politicians often debate the reasons given for investing in sports facility development. Supporters of sports facility development claim these facilities breathe new life into moribund central cities and that there are economic benefits associated with them. Opponents counter by arguing that there is no economic rationale for investing in sports facilities. In relation to revitalization, it is imperative to focus on both the economic and non-economic rationale for investing in sports facilities.

Economic Rationale for Investing in Sports Facilities

City leaders claim that sports stadiums provide the community with an economic boost and they have the statistics to back this claim up. City officials often utilize consultants to estimate the economic impact of sports facilities. The consultants try to determine the amount of direct and indirect economic impact that a sports facility has on

the economy. Direct impact is a result of spending by fans at the sports facility for items such as tickets, parking fees, concessions and souvenirs. Indirect spending is a measured by using a multiplier to ascertain how much revenue is generated for businesses in close proximity to the sports facility.

Many economists criticize city officials for adjusting the statistical impact of stadiums to promote a political agenda. These economists argue that the use of a multiplier is simply guesswork and that the numbers that are derived are inaccurate. Economists argue that there is not a good rationale for investing in a sports facility. These economists state that sports facilities usually do not produce revenue for the city and that sports are an insignificant part of a community's economy. "Simply put, sports is too small a component of any community's economy to be the engine that propels jobs and growth" (Rosentraub, 1996).

Robert Baade, a professor of economics at Lake Forest College has conducted numerous studies of the economic impact of sports facilities on communities. In one study, Baade analyzed 30 cities with stadiums from 1958 until 1987. Baade's study had two main findings. First, there was no relationship between city growth and the development of new stadiums in all 30 cities. Second, there was no relationship between stadiums and per capita income growth in 27 cities and a negative correlation in three (Riley, 1997).

Baade also conducted another study with Robert Dye, an economics associate at Lake Forest College, in 1988. This study again focused on sports facilities and area development. In the study, Baade and Dye conducted a financial analysis on sports facilities and found that for every $1 million of stadium debt, two dates per year of major

events are needed to cover the costs of construction and operation (Baade & Dye, 1988). Baade's studies suggest that there is no economic rationale for investing in sports facilities.

Another economist from Pepperdine University, Dean Baim also studied the stadium issue. In particular, Baim was interested in determining the investment value of a stadium. Baim analyzed the net accumulated value for fourteen stadiums to determine the value of the stadium. Net accumulated value is a comparison of the profits earned by a stadium versus the dollar value if the same amount of capital was invested in another project. Baim's study found that of the fourteen stadiums studied, thirteen had a negative net accumulated value.

Baim's study indicates that cities are losing money by investing in sports facilities. However, the role of the government is not to make money as a private industry would; rather it is to provide amenities by enhancing the physical and social foundation in the city. Capital invested in a sports facility should not be viewed as a financial loss if the urban core becomes more vibrant, promotes a sense of community pride, give the city a sense of place, and creates more opportunities. Thus, an analysis on actual value of a facility in terms of actual return on investment is flawed.

The most important economic rationale for sports facility investment is to spur development. Community leaders argue that new stadiums serve as a catalyst for economic development creating "spin-off" development. Spin-off development occurs after a facility is developed and other development begins to happen. Spin-off development includes the attraction of large hotels, restaurants, and other entertainment facilities. Spin-off development makes an area more vibrant and serves as a draw for

tourists and companies. Spin-off development is desired because the people who attend games or work for the team generate new spending in the community, which in turn expands local employment. In addition to spin-off development, city leaders hope that sports facilities create employment opportunities.

In the short-term, high paying construction jobs are associated with the development of sports facilities. After the development activities are complete, "stadiums and the teams that use them supply only a handful of local jobs for ticket sellers, groundskeepers, hot dog vendors and parking lot attendants" (Frieden, 1989). While this statement is over-simplified, the fact is that sports facilities do not have a significant impact on employment levels. Jobs created as a result of the sports facility are normally low wage, low skilled and seasonal positions. However, this is not to suggest that these jobs are worthless.

While temporary, low wage and low skill jobs do not represent quality employment in the minds of individuals conducting various studies; these jobs are positions that were not available prior to the development of the stadium. Seasonal jobs provide a great opportunity for students, retiree's, and other people with limited skills with an opportunity to work in a vibrant setting. These jobs also diversify the local economy.

There is little evidence that sports facilities provide the economic benefits that city officials would want the public to believe. However, even with all of the publicized criticism by sports facility opponents, citizens routinely vote to support municipality's plans to invest in these types of projects, even if it does mean an increase in taxes! Cities, much to the chagrin of economists, invest in sports facilities for reasons other than

economic development. "Attempts to evaluate (sports facility) projects solely in terms of economic return are misguided" (Johnson, 1996). Cities are interested in overall revitalization.

Non-Economic Rationale for Investing in Sports Facilities

When cities engage in revitalization strategies, it is important for the municipality to explore all options and develop projects that have intangible benefits or positive externalities. These issues cannot be measured by analyzing the rate of return on the investment; rather they are intangible benefits that enrich the city's image and civic life. Even one of the most vocal opponents of public investment in sports facilities, Robert Baade, acknowledges that "the most significant contribution of sports is likely to be in the area of intangibles" (Baade and Dye, 1988).

Intangible benefits are similar to the previously mentioned intangible benefits associated with all public facilities. Sports facilities and teams galvanize communities, provide residents and visitors a place to interact, and they enrich the city's image and civic life. They make the inner city a more vibrant entertainment center that attracts millions of people. "Sports teams clearly contribute to the cultural life of a city; and there may be psychological reasons for cities to pay some or all the costs of new stadium construction"(Bess, 1996).

Sports facilities are good for marketing a city as well. New facilities sharpen the image of a city as a place to live and do business. In addition, new sports facilities create a national presence for the community by making a city a "major league city". This is done through the media exposure generated during the season. During a season, sports

teams are constantly in the newspaper and on television. Every time a team is mentioned so is the name of the home city. Cities without sports teams would have to pay millions of dollars for that type of marketing. However, major-league cities get unlimited marketing simply because they host a professional sports team.

Having a sports team may attract businesses to relocate to the city as well. With a sports facility, "a city may increase the frequency with which the city is considered for corporate location, conventions or private vacation"(Rosentraub, 1996). Sports facilities provide a migration stimulus and businesses may find the community more attractive due to the perception of a high quality of life.

Sports facilities contribute to a community's spirit by getting fans closer to the action and providing national public exposure. It is also documented that teams actually get better when they move into a new stadium. "Communities do get better teams to root for – baseball teams with new stadiums have increased their average winning percentage from .452 two years before occupying a new stadium to .550 the year after" (Riley, 1997).

The next chapter will focus on Baltimore Oriole Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore, Maryland. Oriole Park serves as the case study for sports facility development. Oriole Park is revered as a success story for stadium development by academics and city officials alike. Other communities interested in sports facility development can take the general lessons learned by Baltimore and the State of Maryland and apply them to their own situations.

CHAPTER III

ORIOLE PARK AT CAMDEN YARDS: A CASE STUDY

Introduction

Similar to most major cities in the United States, Baltimore Maryland is struggling to maintain its population base, economy and civic pride. Baltimore has undertaken various development strategies to attempt to revitalize the downtown core. In the 1970's, the Baltimore Inner Harbor was redeveloped with the hopes of creating a festival market place that would be attract both tourists and local residents back into the inner city. The Inner Harbor area development included projects such as the National Aquarium, shops, restaurants and a science museum with an IMAX theater.

The Inner Harbor project has benefited Baltimore in that tourists and residents are attracted to the marketplace as a destination and spend money while visiting. However, the success of the Inner Harbor has not been enough to revitalize the entire city because individuals view the marketplace as a destination and do not venture very far beyond the harbor area. Thus, the City of Baltimore needed another project that would provide evidence that there is life beyond the Inner Harbor of Baltimore. That project was Oriole Park at Camden Yards.

In April of 1992, Baltimore Maryland opened Oriole Park at Camden Yards, a beautiful baseball-only facility, in the heart of its central business district. Oriole Park is a revolutionary step away from the cookie-cutter design used in recently developed stadiums to a more traditional baseball park design. With its skin of red-brick and pre-cast concrete, its sequence of rounded arches screening the walk-up, walk-down ramps,

the steel beams-and-truss upper deck, Oriole Park is remindful of Wrigley, Ebbets, Fenway and other traditional baseball facilities (See Plate 4). Oriole Park's classic major-league baseball diamond with a natural grass playing field and the green slat-back seats gives the stadium a feel from a past era (Forgey, 1992). This traditional baseball park design of Oriole Park allows for major-league baseball to be played as it is supposed to—under the sky, on natural grass and in the heart of the city.

PLATE 4: PHOTOGRAPH OF ORIOLE PARK AT CAMDEN YARDS

Not only is Oriole Park reminiscent of a traditional ballpark; there are many modern amenities that provide the fan with a pleasant atmosphere for optimal viewing of a game. There are ample food concessions and toilets, tables for pre-game picnics in a tree-shaded plaza, wider seats for more comfortable viewing, ramps to benefit both walkers and wheel chairs, great sight lines, electronically animated scoreboards, a jumbo video board, and even a no-smoking policy in the stands! All of these modern amenities help to give the fan a wonderful experience while at Oriole Park.

Oriole Park is heralded as a success not only for the traditional design, but also for the planning that went into the facility. Oriole Park ties in with the historical urban framework, the neighborhoods, the transportation system and the downtown activity zone. By tying into the existing framework, Oriole Park created a ripple effect that has carried outward and has brought life back to the streets and has been a successful tool in the revitalization efforts of Baltimore.

This chapter examines Oriole Park at Camden Yards and how it has been used as a tool in Baltimore's overall revitalization strategy. The first section provides a background of Baltimore that includes it geographical location, a brief history and an analysis of the current situation in downtown Baltimore. The second section explores Baltimore's "need" for a new baseball stadium by examining the Orioles previous stadium, Memorial Stadium, and the revitalization rationale given for the new stadium. The third section reports on the planning and development of Oriole Park with emphasis on site selection, development costs, financing and ends with a detailed description of the finished facility. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the impact and success that Oriole Park has had on revitalization efforts, particularly in regards to the economic and non-economic rationale.

Location

Baltimore, Maryland, the largest city in the state, is geographically located in northern Maryland at the head of navigation of the Patapsco River, near its mouth on Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore is easily accessible by land, air, and sea.

Baltimore is centrally located between two major metropolitan areas and is connected to these cities by an extensive interstate highway system (See the Appendix for Figure A1: Map of the Mid-Atlantic Region). Washington, DC is 39 miles to the south and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania is 98 miles north. Interstate 95 connects Baltimore to Philadelphia, Washington, DC and points beyond. Interstate 97 connects Baltimore with Annapolis. Interstate 83 connects with Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and points beyond. The Baltimore-Washington Parkway is maintained by the Department of Interior and is another connection to Washington.

By air, Baltimore is serviced by the Baltimore-Washington International Airport. Baltimore is also a major rail hub and has connections for both passenger and freight trains. Finally, due to its location and natural port, Baltimore is one of the busiest seaports in the United States.

History

Originally, Baltimore was inhabited by the Susquehannock, a Native American tribe and then settled by the British in 1661. The City of Baltimore was founded and named in 1729 for the barons of Baltimore who were the British founders of the Maryland Colony. Due to its location and ideal natural port, Baltimore was established as a trade center for agricultural products, particularly tobacco, with Europe and the Caribbean. Aside from being one of the major ports for the Colonies, Baltimore had a diverse industry base that included flour milling, shipbuilding, and agriculture. In the 1777, the Continental Congress met in Baltimore and in 1797 the city incorporated. The city was laid out in a grid pattern that was superimposed on a radial pattern of principle

arteries. The housing stock consisted primarily of brick row houses located close to the port.

The 19th century proved to be an exciting time in the history of Baltimore. Arguably the most historically significant event in Baltimore's history happened during the War of 1812. Between the period of 1812 and 1815, the British made an attempt to curtail the free commerce of the seas and to eliminate the privateers, a licensed piracy group out of Baltimore. In 1814, Fort McHenry was under a major attack. During this battle a lawyer and poet by the name of Francis Scott Key wrote perhaps the most famous poem in American History on the back of an envelope, *The Star-Spangled Banner* that eventually became the National Anthem of the United States.

In 1827, America's first railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio, was built to compete with the Erie Canal in New York by extending Baltimore's trade to the West. The Civil War was also a significant time in the history of Baltimore. Although Maryland did not secede from the Union, southern sympathy was prevalent in Baltimore. In fact, the southern sympathy was so strong in Baltimore that there were often riots and Union troops had to occupy the city.

In the mid-to-late 1800's Baltimore began to become heavily industrialized and there was a dramatic increase in the number of foundries, factories, machine shops and increased port usage. With the increase in industrial activity, there was also an increase in employment opportunities. African-Americans and immigrants were attracted to the employment opportunities, started to move into the area and began to form neighborhoods. During the civil war, Baltimore had the largest African-American

population in the country. The largest groups of immigrants to Baltimore were the Italians and Germans and their neighborhoods still exist today.

The 20th century was also an interesting time for Baltimore. In 1904 a major fire destroyed most of the central business district. Luckily, the area destroyed by the fire was rapidly rebuilt. The World Wars prompted even more industrial growth and prosperity for Baltimore with the increase productivity in steel works and oil refining.

Similar to other American cities, when World War II ended Baltimore experienced suburban movement. Manufacturing left the city and the population followed. City residents were also attracted to new housing developments beyond Baltimore's border. This suburban "flight" depressed the city's economy, particularly the downtown retail district. In the 1960's, Baltimore's inner city was as financially depressed as it was during the Great Depression.

During the 1970's Baltimore undertook various revitalization projects by establishing partnerships between the municipal government and business leaders. This partnership made the downtown area and many neighborhoods a top priority. Through this partnership, many of the downtown buildings were renovated. The most popular revitalization strategy during this period was the Inner Harbor Development.

The Inner Harbor development was a major undertaking in the revitalization effort of Baltimore. This project included the removal of the dilapidated piers and warehouses of the old harbor. Such buildings as hotels, the World Trade Center, and entertainment facilities such as Harbor Place, the National Aquarium in Baltimore, and Maryland's Science Center replaced these structures. The main goal of the Inner Harbor project was to bring people back to the downtown of Baltimore and it has worked.

History of Camden Yards

Meshed with downtown Baltimore and its history is the section of the city known as Camden Yards. Camden Yards' history began in 1781 when the "French General Comte de Rochambeau and thousands of French troops on their way to fight the Battle of Yorktown, camped there" (Rogers, 1993). Camden Yards was named for the two Maryland regiments that fought against the British on August 16, 1780 at the Battle of Camden in South Carolina. In 1783, Baltimore City annexed Camden Yards.

The most important aspect of Camden Yards is that it was the area that served as the cornerstone for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In 1856, a train station was completed in Camden Yards. The train station was named Camden Station.

Camden Station served as a beautiful showcase of the successes of the Railroad. Camden Station was vital to the Union Army in the Civil War as a transportation center and also served as a stop for the Underground Railroad for slaves escaping the South. "Between 1856-1876 the Station served as the only rail line to Washington DC from the North and during that period every President of the United States and Northern Senator and Congressman passed through Camden Station on the way to Washington" (Rogers, 1993).

In 1877, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad employees held a significant strike at Camden Station. This strike ended up being a bloody confrontation between thousands of workers and the Maryland National Guard and Federal troops. Rail cars and sections of the Station were burned and tracks were torn up. Ten strikers were killed and twenty-six soldiers were wounded in the confrontation (Rogers, 1993).

In 1901, construction began on the B&O warehouse. Completed in 1904, the year of the great Baltimore fire, the B&O warehouse measures 1,016 feet long and is 51 feet wide, which made it the longest building on the East Coast. The B&O warehouse consisted of more than 430,000 square feet for the storage of grains and other goods that were transported by the B&O Railroad.

Between 1906 and 1912, Babe Ruth's father, George Herman Ruth Sr. managed a saloon that was adjacent to Camden Station and the B&O Railroad freight yards. Babe Ruth's family lived above the saloon. The Babe did not spend a lot of time in the house because during the time the family lived there, he lived at St. Mary's Industrial School in Baltimore.

Camden Station remained active in World War I and II for the transportation of troops. Currently, Camden Station serves commuter trains between Baltimore and Washington, DC. Camden Station is also the main stop for the Light Rail system and the Maryland Commuter Rail (MARC). Currently, the area known as Camden Yards is now making history again, as home to Oriole Park (Rogers, 1993).

As previously addressed, Baltimore has a vast history and has relied heavily on its industrial base. The out migration of industry and the population has had devastating effects on Baltimore. The next section will examine the current population trends and some of the economic trends.

Current Conditions in Baltimore, Maryland

Since 1970, Baltimore's population has been steadily declining. In 1970, the population of Baltimore City was 905,739 and in 1995 the population was 691,131 (See

Figure 1). The population is primarily made up of Caucasians and African-Americans yet there are other minorities represented in the population.

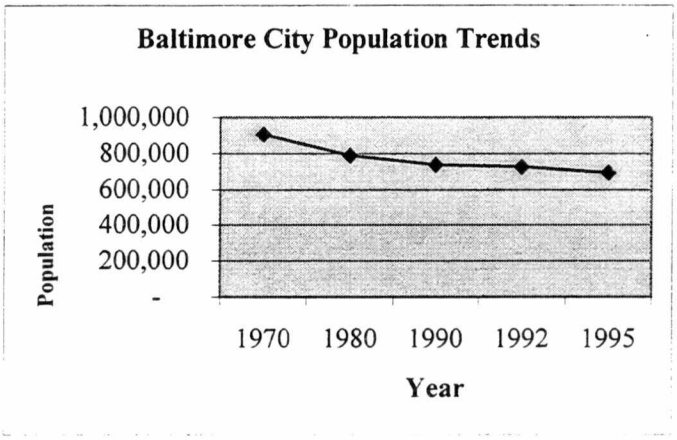

FIGURE 1: BALTIMORE CITY POPULATION TRENDS
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census

According to the 1990 census, 39% of the population was white, 59% African-American, approximately .3% Native-American, 1.08% Asian, and 1.03% Hispanic. In 1990 60.7% of the population were high school graduates and 15.5% were college graduates or higher. Although the numbers percentage is low, compared to the 1980 census, 48.4% of the population were high school graduates and 11.3% were college graduates or higher. The unemployment rate has also been fluctuating, but not dramatically. The poverty levels did not change significantly as well (See Table A-3).

Some generalizations can be made about Baltimore by examining the location, history and the population characteristics. The first generalization is that Baltimore relies heavily on its location and relationship with the Washington, DC area. The Washington, DC area is a major population center as well as an international tourism destination. Baltimore's transportation system links with Washington to provide fast and convenient travel on both the roads and rail system.

The second generalization is that due to its rich history and Inner Harbor area, Baltimore is an attractive tourism destination. Finally, the population demographics indicate that Baltimore continues to experience suburban flight and that the municipality needs to do more to revitalize the urban core, make the city more attractive and vibrant, in order to get people to come back into the heart of the city. Oriole Park at Camden Yards was an attempt to respond to each of these aspects of Baltimore location, history, and revitalization.

In order to examine the conditions and impact of Oriole Park, the rationale for the need of a new facility must be explored. Oriole Park replaces Memorial Stadium, the home to the Orioles for the 38-year period from 1954-1991. Memorial Stadium had become functionally obsolescent and was in dire need of replacement. From a transportation perspective, Memorial Stadium was difficult to get to. The Stadium was also located in a poor neighborhood where crime was a consideration for fans. The following section outlines the history of Memorial Stadium and the need for a new stadium for the Orioles.

Memorial Stadium

Memorial Stadium construction began in 1949 on the corner of 33rd Street and Ellerslie Avenue on the old Municipal Stadium site. In 1950, a single deck concrete grandstand was completed that consisted of 20,000 chair seats. Unfortunately, the external trappings from the previous stadium remained unchanged and it was still far from a big league stadium. Construction was stalled until 1953 when bond issues were approved to complete the construction of the stadium. The stadium was completed in

October 1953 and had a seating capacity of 47,700. The completed stadium was a combined football/baseball stadium. The cost of the facility was $6 million and was built on 29 acres of city owned property (Orioles Press Release, 1992).

While Memorial Stadium was completed in 1953, improvements continued on the facility throughout the life of the facility. In 1959, the Orioles dugout was moved from the first base side of the field to the third base side. In 1961, 2,600 field box seats were installed to give the stadium a warmer atmosphere. The new box seats created the need for new dugouts and forced the bullpens that were previously in plain view to move behind the outfield wall. In 1964, additional upper deck sections were added that again increased the capacity by another 2,600. In 1970, a new scoreboard was constructed that replaced the original squirrel infested one. In 1980, six new towers that housed new ticket windows and restroom facilities were completed. In 1985, the Orioles offices were expanded and a large state-of-the art video board was installed (Orioles Press Release, 1992).

Even with all of the improvements, Memorial Stadium was aging and becoming functionally obsolescent. As previously stated, Memorial Stadium was a combined football/baseball facility. Due to the differences in playing fields for the two sports, there were over 3,400 seats with partially obstructed views. The seats in Memorial Stadium were also narrow and quite uncomfortable.

Memorial Stadium was located in a residential section of downtown Baltimore and access to the facility was poor. Fans could expect to sit in traffic an hour before and after the game. Parking was also very limited. Neighborhood residents used to sell fans

parking spaces in their front yards! The neighborhood surrounding the stadium was also deteriorating which raised fan concerns about safety issues.

The poor access and deteriorating conditions of Memorial Stadium were two reasons given for the need for a new stadium in Baltimore. One reason that was not highly publicized is that the owner of the Orioles at the time, Mr. Edward Bennett Williams, wanted a new stadium. While Mr. Williams did not overtly threaten to take his team and leave the city, he did make it known that he wanted a new stadium.

Baltimore's Mayor at the time was William Donald Schaefer did not want to see the beloved Orioles leave the city as the National Football League Colts did in 1984, so he went to work to try and build a ballpark in the central business district. Mayor Schaefer had an "intense desire to plant the ballpark smack downtown"(Richmond, 1993). Mayor Schaefer's efforts came to fruition and resulted in Orioles Park at Camden Yards.

Oriole Park at Camden Yards

In July 1986, the Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA) was created by an act of the Maryland General Assembly. The powers given to the MSA were administrative and operational powers that included condemnation and establishing the financing mechanism to be utilized in building the new stadium complex. In May 1988, William Donald Schaefer, then the Governor of Maryland, announced that the Orioles and the MSA had reached an agreement on a 15-year lease for a new stadium facility. This announcement and agreement initiated the process necessary to acquire the site, relocate businesses, make financing arrangements and construct the stadium (MSA, 1989).

There were three initial development goals of Orioles Park at Camden Yards. The first was to plan the ballpark into the urban context of downtown Baltimore. The second was to create a unique, old-fashioned intimate ballpark that is state-of-the-art which will be the home to the Baltimore Orioles for many years to come. Lastly the plan of the new ballpark should accommodated future facilities and other related projects, specifically, the construction of a football stadium that is well-integrated into the unique fabric of Baltimore City (MSA, July 1989). The leaders of Baltimore and the State of Maryland were also hopeful that the stadium would contribute to the rebirth and redevelopment of downtown Baltimore.

Planning and Development

The planning that went into the development of Oriole Park was a success. In the site selection process, special consideration was given to locate the facility within the existing urban framework and transportation system. This was done to increase activity downtown and insure that access to the facility was convenient. After the site was selected by the MSA, community input was sought to insure positive community relations. The MSA also paid particular attention to preserving the historic buildings of the area.

While working closely with the principal architecture firm for the project, HOK Sports Facilities, Inc from Kansas City, Missouri, the MSA chose the 85-acre industrial area known as Camden Yards as the best location for Orioles Park. Camden Yards was chosen for its downtown location, excellent transportation access and close proximity to other area attractions. Orioles Park is bounded by Russell Street on the west, Camden

Street on the north, Howard Street and the B&O Warehouse on the east, and by Osten Street on the south.

By locating Orioles Park in the central business district, officials were attempting to push the revitalization efforts farther into the city. The Camden Yards location ties in nicely with the existing activity zone that includes museums, hotels, restaurants, and the Inner Harbor (See the Appendix for Figure A2: Map of Baltimore's Existing Activity Zone). Unlike other stadiums, Orioles Park is not the exclusive destination for fans...it is the City of Baltimore. When fans go to games, many of them have dinner and spend time and money at the Inner harbor or other area attractions. Transportation was also a paramount concern in the planning for the stadium.

The Orioles have a regional draw, particularly with Washington, DC. Washington residents embrace the Orioles because the Capital City lacks a major league baseball team of their own. Also, due to the extensive transportation system and the fact the Orioles are the only American league baseball team in the region, Baltimore has a five state regional market that includes Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia. The Camden Yards site is accessible by the entire region because of the extensive transportation network.

Transportation System

The stadium is easily accessible by automobile traffic traveling on Interstate 395 (that serves traffic on north and southbound Interstate 95), the Baltimore-Washington Parkway, Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard and the local streets in downtown Baltimore. There are five major entrance points to the stadium area, they are:

1. a ramp leading directly from northbound I-395/Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (serving traffic on north and southbound I-95),
2. Howard Street/I-395 at Conway Street,
3. Russell Street at Lee Street (serving both directions of Lee Street),
4. Russell Street at Hamburg Street (serving traffic on northbound Russell Street), and
5. Russell Street at Osten Street (MSA, 1990).

There is adequate parking for spectators who chose to drive to the games. There are over 5,200 non-bumper-to-bumper spaces available on the site. Additionally, there is in excess of 30,000 parking spaces in lots and garages within a reasonable walking distance of the stadium.

In addition to the exceptional street and highway access, Orioles Park is also easily accessible by mass transit. The mass transit service includes a central light rail line, the Baltimore Metro, Mass Transit Administration (MTA) bus service and the Maryland Rail Commuter (MARC) service from Washington, DC. The access to the public transportation also made the Camden Yards site a more appealing site for Orioles Park.

The Central Rail line has three stops that provide access to Orioles Park and it even passes within 300 feet of the facility. The Baltimore Metro has two stops located within a ten-minute walk of Orioles Park. The MTA bus service has 20 bus lines that pass with in several blocks of the stadium. MTA also has a bus staging terminal located on-site immediately east of the Camden Warehouse. Finally, the MARC is the State commuter rail lines has its Baltimore Terminal at the Camden Stadium complex. There are three tracks with high level platforms and a new station building. The MARC train connects the stadium with Washington DC's Union Station and the cost of a round trip ticket is $9 (MSA, 1990).

The proximity to the public transportation has been a benefit to Orioles Park by decreasing the amount of automobile congestion on Baltimore's roadways. Table A-4 shows that an average of 19% of the fans attending games at Orioles Park in 1992 used mass transit. That translates into an average of 7,170 person per game. Figure 2 illustrates the types of transportation used by fans to attend baseball games in 1992.

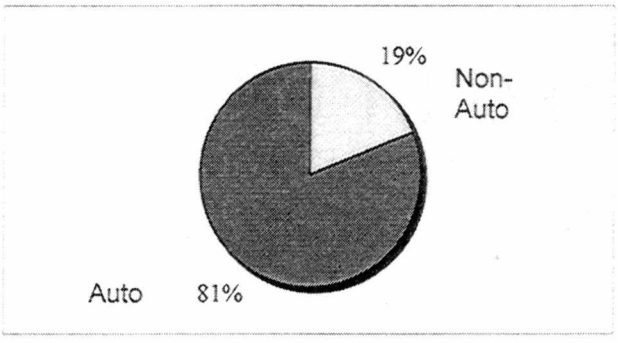

FIGURE 2: TRANSPORTATION TO ORIOLE PARK AT CAMDEN YARDS

A good pedestrian system that ties in with both the urban framework and the transportation system was also integrated into the plan. Another unique feature to Oriole Park is Eutaw (pronounced "Utah") Street. Eutaw Street separates the outfield wall and the B&O Warehouse. Eutaw Street is a pedestrian only area of the stadium and ties the stadium in with the surrounding area. In addition, Eutaw Street has a market feel and is a place where concessionaires and others sell their goods during a game. On non-game days, as in Plate 5, Eutaw Street is also alive with activity and tourist who are drawn to Oriole Park.

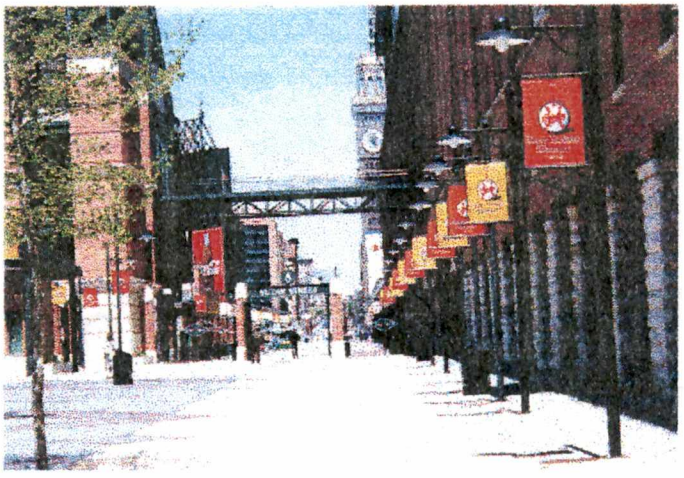

PLATE 5: PHOTOGRAPH OF EUTAW STREET

Community Participation

The MSA also made community participation a priority throughout the development of Orioles Park. Mr. Bruce H. Hoffman, the Executive Director of the MSA in 1989, indicated that it was important for the MSA to be a good neighbor to the community. "The goal of the Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA) is to maintain good community relations and keep the public informed throughout the design and construction phase of the new Baltimore Orioles Ballpark at Camden Yards" (MSA, 1989). Mr. Hoffman did not say those words to appease the public; he meant what he said. The MSA created a stadium task force that met once a month to talk to the community about their questions and concerns.

Initially there was a lot of opposition to the facility because neighborhood residents, particular those living in adjoining neighborhood of Ridgely's Delight, were convinced that the stadium would destroy their way of life. With the establishment of the stadium task force, neighbors voiced their concerns about traffic, parking and excessive

noise. According to Mr. Bill Reuter, a community leader who lives in Ridgely's Delight, the MSA helped the residents develop a permit-parking plan. Mr. Reuter also pointed out that none of the community's fears came to fruition and that the stadium has been a good neighbor.

The MSA asked for community input during the design process as well. Mr. Reuter stated that residents were shown the plan and asked for input throughout the process. In fact, the MSA actually used the ideas generated by a fan during the design process for the bullpen design.

Initially, the MSA planned to build conventional bullpens behind the outfield wall. During community and fan input, the MSA decided that they liked a fan's idea better. The idea was to place the bullpens beyond the outfield wall in left-center field in a side by side configuration that was elevated. The elevated bullpens would provide fans with optimal viewing of the pitchers in their warm-up routines. The first bullpen is elevated four feet above the playing field and the other is six feet higher (Hyman, 1991).

Historical Preservation

As examined previously, Camden Yards is rich in history and the MSA made it a priority to preserve that history. Immediately adjacent to the park are the B&O Warehouse and Camden Station. Both buildings are important to the history of the area and have been preserved as a part of the development of Orioles Park.

Constructed in 1904, the B&O Warehouse is a 1,016 feet long, 51 feet wide building that consists of 430,000 square feet of space. The Warehouse was constructed to store grain and other goods transported by the B&O Railroad.

While the Warehouse was extremely expensive to preserve (over $30 million), it serves as on of the most distinctive features in major league baseball. The Warehouse holds the executive offices for the Orioles, the exclusive Camden Club on the seventh floor, a restaurant, a bar, and the Orioles retail store. There are also other offices that are used for private corporations. Plate 6 illustrates the Warehouse that is also a landmark for the City of Baltimore.

PLATE 6: PHOTOGRAPH OF THE B&O WAREHOUSE

Camden Station is located just north of the Warehouse in close proximity to the ballpark. Camden Station was built in 1853, is on the National Register, and has also served as a landmark to Baltimore. Camden Station's exterior was beautifully restored for $2.2 million. The interior was not refurbished because the MSA was hoping a private organization would use the building as an office and pay for the interior renovations. Although the Station is not functional, it serves as a wonderful "front door" for the stadium (Gunts, 1992).

Development Timeline

Securing a location for the stadium was a major hurdle for the development process. Once that was done, development could occur. The actual planning for the stadium began when the Maryland General Assembly created the MSA in 1986. Site acquisition by the MSA began in June 1989 and demolition began on June 18, 1989. All of the property located on what is now Orioles Park was acquired by September 1989.

All of the properties within the baseball stadium footprint were demolished by the end of July 1990. In January 1990, the contract for the foundation of the stadium was awarded and construction continued until February 1992. Finishing touches continued on the stadium until opening day on April 6, 1992. Figure 3 illustrates the timeline of the development activities.

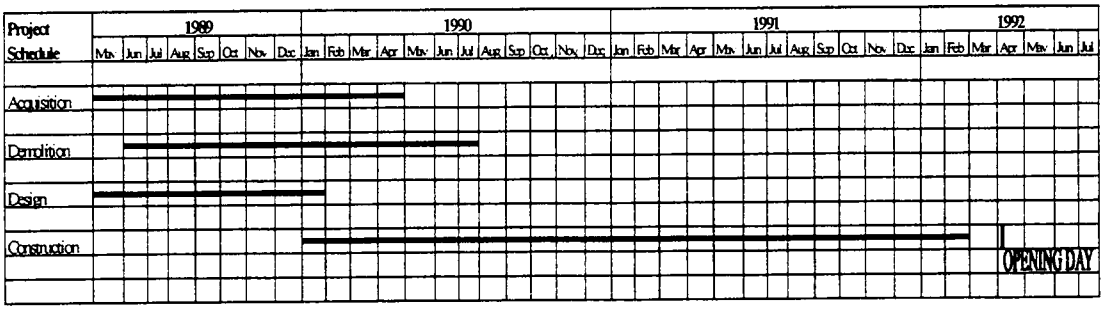

FIGURE 3: TIMELINE OF DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES
Source: Maryland Stadium Authority, 1990

Description of Ballpark

When all of the development activities were complete, the Orioles moved into the new facility in March 1992. The following section is a physical description of the actual stadium. The stadium has a capacity of 48,262 and columns do not obstruct any of the seats.

The seats have between 32-33 inches of legroom and a seat width of 19-21 inches. In comparison, Memorial Stadium had 24 inches of legroom and the seat width was 16 inches. The added space in the seats provided a much more comfortable atmosphere to watch a baseball game. Another comfort feature of Oriole Park is the restroom facilities. There are over 28 facilities for both men and women and the time spent waiting in line for the facilities is diminished (MSA, 1997).

The playing field at Orioles Park is consists of Prescription Athletic Turf (PAT) which is composed of three different types of bluegrass. The PAT posses a sophisticated drainage and irrigation system that is designed to reduce the number of rainouts and shorten the actual rain delay time. The drainage system can remove up to 75,000 gallons of rainwater from the field an hour. The irrigation system is also state-of-the art because it has both a sprinkler system and sub-irrigation mechanisms. The sub-irrigation system waters the grass at the root and even allows for the field to be watered during a game (Orioles Press Release, 1997).

The actual playing field features asymmetrical dimensions. From home plate the left field wall is 333 feet, 319 feet to the right field wall, and 410 feet to the deepest part of the park, left-center field. To compensate for the short distance to right field, a 25-foot high, 100 feet long outfield wall was constructed that is reminiscent of the "Green Monster" in Boston's Fenway Park. The rest of the outfield wall is 7 feet high. The outfield walls are decorated with advertising signs that is reminiscent of an era that has been lost, the last park to have advertisements in the field of play was Philadelphia's Connie Mach Stadium, which closed in 1970 (Orioles Press Release, 1997). Plate 7 is

photograph taken from inside Oriole Park. Notice the asymmetrical dimensions and the advertisements on the outfield walls.

PLATE 7: PHOTOGRAPH OF THE INTERIOR OF ORIOLE PARK

The stadium also has many state-of-the-art features. There are two major electronic information centers located in center field. There is an out of town scoreboard, located in the field of play in right field that keeps fans cognizant of scores around the Major Leagues. The sound system consists of 1,000 speakers that distribute sound throughout the park.

The bullpens are also an interesting feature to the stadium. The bullpens are located beyond the left-center field wall. The first bullpen is raised three feet above the filed level and the second is raised six feet higher. This configuration gives fans the opportunity to watch pitchers prepare for the game. The bullpens measure 80 feet by 30 feet and include an 18 foot heated dugout, a phone, water fountain, a restroom facility, cable television hookup and two pitching mounds (MSA, 1997).

Stadium Costs

Building the premiere ballpark in North America is an expensive ordeal. The actual cost associated with the development includes property acquisition, ballpark construction and extra construction costs. The cost does not include the amount of money spent by the City of Baltimore for road and mass transit improvements, including the new light rail system. These improvements were already in the 10-year plan for downtown Baltimore and were going to be undertaken regardless of the stadium. The stadium just accelerated the process.

The total cost of the development activities for Oriole Park was $225 million. $99.9 million was spent to acquire the property on the site (including the $11 million for the Warehouse), demolish the existing structures and relocate the business from the site. $106.5 million was spent on the construction activities that includes the $15 million for the renovation of the northern two-thirds of the Warehouse. The additional $18.6 million was spent on extra construction costs that include the $2.6 million for the renovation of the Camden Station, exterior renovations to the Warehouse and work on the railroad tracks in just outside of the stadium.

Financing

The ballpark was financed by the sale of taxable and tax-exempt revenue bonds. Bonds were available for public investment in $5,000 denominations from any of the Authority's many underwriters. The bond sale successfully completed the financing package for stadium construction.

Debt service for the bonds is paid through revenues from special sports lotteries, a contribution from the City of Baltimore and revenues generated by the Maryland Stadium Authority and the Orioles. Revenues are generated from the Orioles, the leasing of Camden Station and the B&O Warehouse, parking and other site development opportunities. The Orioles pay rent based on the financial success of the club. No tax dollars were spent to build the new ballpark (MSA, 1991).

The MSA obtained AA ratings for its long-term Bonds from Moody's Investors Service, Standard and Poor's Corporation and the Fitch Investors Services. On May 17, 1989, the Maryland Stadium Authority issued the Sports Facilities Lease Revenue Notes Series 1989 A, B and C to finance the acquisition of property for the construction of the Stadium. Principal and interest on the Series 1989 Notes are payable primarily from the basic rent to be paid by the State of Maryland. On November 9, 1990, the MSA issued the tax-exempt Sports Facilities Lease Revenue Bonds Series D to finance the construction of the Stadium and to refinance, in part, the costs of acquiring and preparing the property at the Camden Yards Site. The Bonds mature serially in varying amounts through 2019 (MSA, 1990).

Success

Oriole Park was used a tool in Baltimore's overall revitalization efforts. The success of the ballpark is based on both an economic and non-economic basis. In analyzing the economic or non-economic success of Oriole Park, attendance is a key factor. If people don't go to the park and games; the ballpark will not be successful. In 1992, the first year the facility was operating, the ballpark had 59 consecutive sellouts

and more than 3.5 million fans that attend games over the course of the season. By the 221st game in 1995, over 10 million fans had passed through the gates of Oriole Park.

Maryland Economic Impact Study

The Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development released a study in October 1992 that indicated that Oriole Park had a very positive impact on the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland. The economic and fiscal impacts resulting from the Orioles' home games at Oriole Park are summarized below and are expressed in 1992 dollars.

Expenditures

During the 1992 baseball season, fan expenditures on such items as tickets, concessions, souvenirs, gifts, parking, transportation, lodging and other travel-related incidentals as well as visiting team expenditures directly supported $117 million in gross sales, $44 million in employee income and over 1,500 full-time jobs or work years. Table A-5 shows the economic impact by visiting teams, overnight fans and daytrip fans. Table A-6 shows the economic impact by industry (Ahmadi, 1992).

Economic Impact

Total statewide economic impact of visiting teams and fan expenditures (the sum of direct and secondary economic impacts) amounted to over $226 million in annual gross sales, $77 million in employee income and over 2,340 full-time equivalent jobs or work years (Ahmadi, 1992). (See Tables A-5 and A-6)

Tax Receipts

During the 1992 baseball season, expenditures by fans and visiting teams generated about $9.4 million in state tax receipts and over $6.4 million in local tax receipts. Therefore the combined annual recurring state and local tax receipts amounted to an estimated $15.8 million in 1992 dollars (See Table A-7). The state tax receipts include revenues from retail sales and personal income taxes, while local receipts include revenues form personal income surtax, hotel occupancy tax, admission tax and parking tax (Ahmadi, 1992).

Baltimore City Planning Department Survey

The Baltimore City Planning Department also conducted a study of the economic impact of Orioles Park at Camden Yards. This study was based on the results of a fan spending survey for the 1992 season. Approximately 1000 fans that attended games at Orioles Park were surveyed.

The survey found that Orioles Park had quickly become a tourism destination. Nearly 1.6 million out-of-town fans traveled to Baltimore to see a game at the Orioles Park (See Table A-8). The money spent by the fans at local hotels, restaurants and bars is a source of economic benefit to Baltimore. Out-of-town fans staying overnight in Baltimore generated nearly 45,000 room-nights in the downtown hotels.

The study also indicated that Oriole Park had produced the anticipated spin-off benefits. Approximately 35 per cent of all fans combined their trip to the ballpark with pre- or post-game activities in the downtown area, generating about $12.3 million to the downtown economy (See Table A-9). Parking revenues raised this figure to $14 million.

Many local businesses indicated that the stadium had increased their business during game days as well. Notable establishments with increased business include the Sheraton Inner Harbor Hotel (+21 per cent), Tremont Plaza Hotel (+20 per cent), Babe Ruth Museum (+110 per cent), and the National Aquarium (+8 per cent) (Baltimore City Department of Planning, 1992).

Non-Economic Success

Oriole Park's success is not limited to just the economic aspects of revitalization. The success in the non-economic or intangible factors of revitalization is just as important to the community as a whole. Oriole Park has succeeded in bringing people back to the Central Business District, promoting civic pride and image, and has integrated within the historical and urban fabric of the city.

The predominant aspect of revitalization efforts in any city is to bring people back into the city to make the area a more vibrant center for human activity and interaction. By tying into the existing tourism-activity zone of the Inner Harbor, Fells Point and Little Italy, Oriole Park has attracted people from all over the United States, particularly from the Washington DC area, to Baltimore. In doing so, visitors have noticed other aspects of Baltimore. Mr. Reuter believes that some of the people that come downtown for games have a good time and decide that the city is not that scary so they come back when there is not a game.

According to Jonathan Yardley, a writer for the Washington Post, Oriole Park has done something of incalculable importance: It has brought people downtown. "Pull out of the stadium lot after a Saturday night game, inch your way eastward along Pratt Street,

and you're in the midst of crowds the likes of which the old center-city hasn't seen since...since when? Since never, in all likelihood" (Yardley, 1992). Mr. Yardley continues to emphasize that the crowds of people are bringing more to the community than just dollars, they are bringing a renewal of interest in the center-city.

Civic pride and the overall image of Baltimore have also been raised to new levels since the opening of Oriole Park. Baltimore is known to have wonderful baseball fans, regardless of the stadium, but the intimate nature of the Park encourages fans to get excited about the Orioles and brings the city together. Regardless of whether or not people from the city actually go to the games, Oriole Park is a recognizable, beautiful landmark that provides a sense of pride and re-establishes Baltimore as a Major League City.

As stated throughout this chapter, Oriole Park integrates with both the history and urban framework that promotes the facility as a landmark for the city and region. The stadium ties in with the history of the Camden Yards area and preserves both the Warehouse and Camden Station. The design of the stadium promotes an historical feel and makes the fan feel as though he/she has stepped back in time and is watching a game the way it ought to be watched; outside, on grass and in the heart of the city.

Tying in with the existing city framework was an important aspect in the planning and development of Oriole Park. By tying into the city as a whole, the Park belongs to the city and provides the fan with a sense of belonging to the city. One cannot watch a game at Oriole Park and ignore the breath taking views of the city. Plate 8 is an aerial photograph of Oriole Park that shows how it has integrated into the fabric of Baltimore.

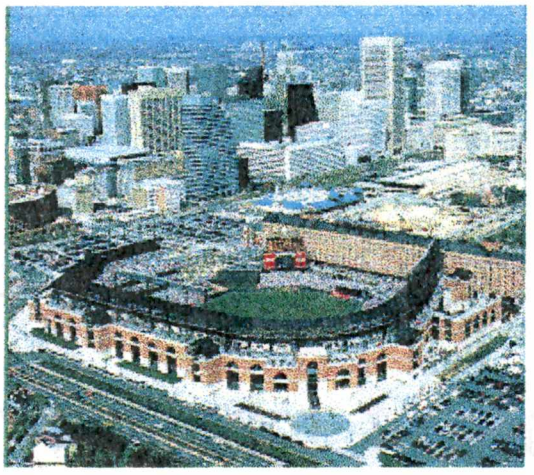

PLATE 8: AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF ORIOLE PARK
Source: Orioles Press Release

Lessons can be learned from the planning and development successes that Baltimore has had in developing Oriole Park at Camden Yards. Other cities have used the experience gained in the development of Oriole Park and have applied them to their own stadium development. Regardless of the size of the city or whether or not the city has a Major League baseball team, good stadium planning can benefit the city in innumerous ways. By combining the literature reviewed in Chapter II and the lessons learned from Oriole Park, the next chapter creates a model for communities to examine when planning a baseball park in their own downtown districts.

CHAPTER IV

PLANNING MODEL

Introduction

Since 1990, 26 major sports facilities have been developed and 23 more facilities are scheduled to be built before the year 2000. In the past, the facilities were primarily owned and operated by the sport's team owners. This trend has changed and cities are willing to do whatever it takes to attract and/or retain a professional sports team.

There are many reasons a community decides to invest in a sports facility. One reason is to insure that the team remains in the community. Another reason is to replace an older facility that has out lived its functional life. Finally, professional sports team owners want new facilities and they are willing to relocate the team to a new area in order to get a new facility. Whatever the motives are for investing in sports facilities, it is imperative to develop a good planning strategy for the development activities.

This chapter focuses on the planning activities essential for successful baseball stadium development. The first section of this chapter provides a brief background of the evolution of baseball ballparks. The second section serves as a model for baseball stadium development and concludes with a description of the model.

Background

The traditional baseball stadiums, such as Chicago's Wrigley Field, Boston's Fenway Park and Detroit's Tiger Stadium, are exemplars of urban ballparks. These

facilities are located in urban physical and cultural settings, within mixed land-use activities, and are pedestrian-friendly. These facilities are also built with little set back from the street and were shaped according to the physical constraints of the urban block. The traditional facilities tie in with the urban framework and provide a sense of place and civic pride for the community (Bess, 1996).

The trend to locate facilities downtown changed in the 1970's and 1980's. Baseball facilities were no longer located in the center cities; rather they became destinations unto themselves. These facilities were usually only accessible by automobile. Fans would go to the games, park their cars and drive home without spending any time in the area surrounding the facility.

The design of the facilities was not creative nor did they tie in with the architectural style of the adjacent area. The stadiums developed during that time period are often referred to as having a "cookie-cutter" design because the stadiums built across the United States were so similar. Currently, the trend is changing once again and cities are beginning to develop facilities in the downtown urban framework.

While there has been a push to develop stadiums in the downtown area, the actual planning for baseball parks has been limited. In most cases, planning has been limited to hiring an architect to design the baseball stadium, identifying a parcel of publicly owned land that is large enough to accommodate the facility, and finally hiring a developer to build the facility. Most of the effort goes into the actual design of the facility and cities do end up with beautiful baseball parks. Unfortunately, the baseball parks developed often do not tie into the existing urban framework and continue to serve as destination points unto themselves. This type of stadium development occurred in Norfolk, Virginia.

The City of Norfolk, Virginia developed Harbor Park in 1993 to provide a stadium for the Norfolk Tides, the AAA team for the New York Mets. HOK Sports, Inc, the same firm that designed Oriole Park in Baltimore, Maryland, designed Harbor Park. Although Harbor Park is a beautiful facility that meets all of the modern standards, the park was not planned to tie in with the community.

According the Norfolk Department of Civic Facilities, a comprehensive study was not conducted to plan for the facility. The Park is located downtown but is separated from the city by an Interstate highway and railroad tracks. Attendance at games has risen since the stadium was built, but the facility has become a destination for fans and has done little to make downtown Norfolk a more vibrant center for activity. Harbor Park was the product of good design but poor planning.

Successful stadium development is not the product of good design alone; it must also benefit from good planning. If the most beautiful stadium is not located properly, it will not benefit the community. "If you put a stadium in the right place the benefits are phenomenal; if you put it in the wrong place it's a colossal waste of money" (Bess, 1996).

Model

When planning a stadium with the hopes of revitalizing an area, there are four primary factors that contribute to the success of the facility. These factors include location, community benefit, design and financing. These four variables contribute to the following formula, providing an interesting means of analysis. Figure 4 illustrates how these primary factors contribute to successful stadium development.

$$S = f(L+C+D+F)$$

S= Successful Stadium Development

L= Location
C= Community Benefit
D= Design
F= Financing

FIGURE 4: RECOMMENDED FORMULA FOR SUCCESSFUL STADIUM DEVELOPMENT

To illustrate this formula, Figure 5 is a graphic representation of a planning model for successful stadium development. Oriole Park at Camden Yards serves as an exemplar in successful stadium planning and development. The photograph in the figure was taken from the interior of Oriole Park and illustrates all of the factors that go into successful stadium development: location, community benefits, design and financing.

Location considerations include transportation, site constraints, infrastructure requirements, existing land use activities, and a tourism activity zone. Community benefits are a product of participation, revitalization of an area, promotion of civic pride and enhanced community image. Architectural style and modern amenities influence successful design of a stadium. Financing a successful stadium is expensive, so it is necessary to minimize the cost to the taxpayers and to explore all financing options. The appropriate combination of all of these factors during the planning process contributes to the overall success of the project.

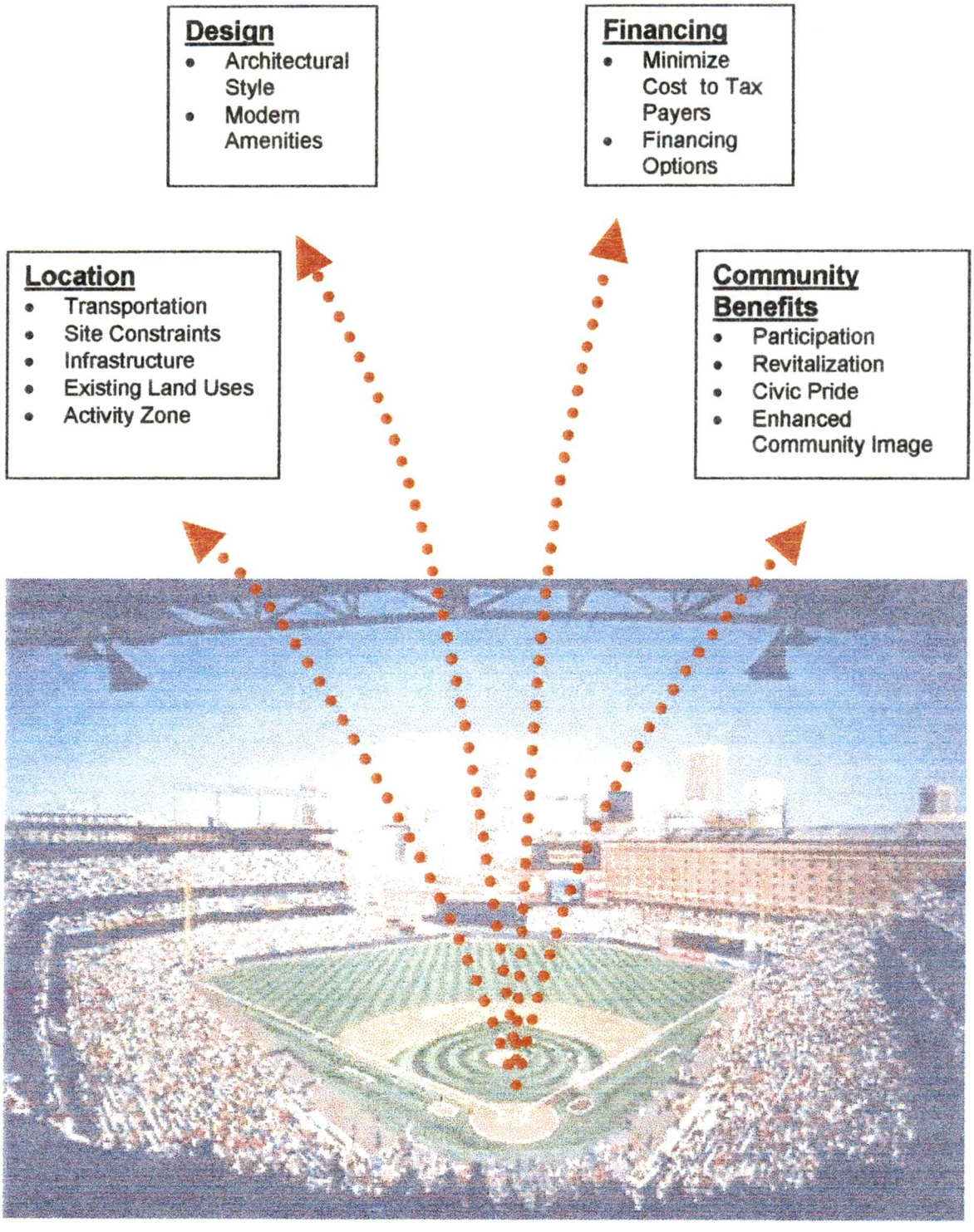

FIGURE 5: PLANNING MODEL FOR SUCCESSFUL BASEBALL STADIUM DEVELOPMENT

Location

Location is the *key* component to a successful baseball facility. In the revitalization rationale, the proper location of a baseball park can contribute to the rebirth of an area so it must tie in with area hotels, restaurants, and entertainment facilities. A success stadium depends on a central location to attract a sufficient fan-base to justify the investment. The stadium location must also attract people from the major population centers of the region.

A successful baseball stadium should be accessible from both the roadways and a mass-transit system. By road, it is necessary for a stadium to be located near an arterial highway or regional transportation system. This increases the visibility of the stadium and increases visitation. It is also important to insure that the stadium is accessible to fans who prefer to use mass-transportation. Mass transportation includes bussing, light rail, and other forms of transportation that accommodate a large number of people. A conveniently located stadium usually guarantees good attendance. Attendance drives revenues for the team and community; thus a good transportation system is essential for a successful baseball facility.

Site constraints are also a consideration when determining a good location for a baseball stadium. There must be no obvious physical site constraints. Physical site constraints include floodways, floodplains and other sensitive environmental features. When there are severe site constraints it is important to consider other site alternatives.

A good stadium location must have adequate infrastructure in place. Infrastructure is necessary in order for development activities to occur. Like any major development

project, stadiums require the necessary utility hook-ups for water, sewer, electric, and telephone services.

A stadium must be compatible with the existing land uses of the area. It is essential to integrate the stadium with the downtown area, the surrounding neighborhoods and the activity zone. This insures that the stadium does not negatively impact the adjoining areas and that the area financially and socially benefits from the development.

Community Benefits

It is important to have community input throughout the planning process for a baseball stadium. By encouraging community participation, citizens can share their thoughts and concerns about the stadium. The input gained during community participation may have a positive impact on the stadium design and final product by reflecting the community's values.

A successful baseball stadium also benefits the community by serving as a tool in the city's overall revitalization efforts. A baseball stadium can make a city more vibrant, increase tourism to the area and attract a large number of people back to the downtown area. A baseball stadium can also reuse abandoned buildings, develop vacant land and clean up blighted areas of the city. Finally, the community can benefit from the new baseball stadium by increasing civic pride and enhancing the community's image as a major league city.

Design

It is imperative that a baseball stadium fit in with the existing architectural style of the city. By tying into the existing architectural framework and style, the baseball stadium will not stand out as an "eye-sore" in the community as the cookie-cutter stadiums did. Oriole Park fits in nicely with the traditional architectural style in Baltimore. However, it should be noted that this style fits with Baltimore and it may or may not fit the architectural style of another city. Each city should analyze their unique situation and architectural style and develop a stadium accordingly.

It is also important to develop a stadium with all of the modern amenities that fans appreciate. Modern amenities that have become necessary include adequate restroom facilities, good sight lines without disruption, state-of-the-art electronic scoreboards and a quality sound system. Modern amenities contribute to the positive experience that fans have while attending ballgames.

Financing

While it would be desirable to have a benevolent sports team owner that would incur all of the costs associated with a new baseball stadium, it is unrealistic. Cities all over the United States are willing to pay for new facilities in order to attract a major league baseball team. Therefore if a city wishes to retain the baseball team, it is necessary to finance the cost of a new stadium.

Once a city decides to invest in a new facility, various financing mechanisms should be explored. When examining the different types of financing packages, it is important to minimize the total costs to the taxpayers. Four ways to minimize the cost to

the taxpayers include naming rights, advertisements, luxury boxes and the issuance of Bonds.

In order to decrease the costs of baseball stadium development, some cities have sold or leased the naming rights to a corporation for a large source of capital. When the naming rights are sold or leased, a corporation will usually chose to name the facility. North Americare Park in Buffalo, New York is an example of a baseball stadium that sold the naming rights.

Advertising rights are also sold in and around the facility. Corporations lease space for advertising signage and provide another source of annual income for the stadium. Oriole Park has sold advertising rights. Companies have bought the rights to place their marketing materials along the outfield walls and throughout the facility.

The use of luxury boxes is also another source of capital. Luxury boxes are purchased on a seasonal basis and provide a good source of capital. Most modern stadiums have luxury boxes. Corporations often purchase these boxes to entertain clients and employees.

Finally, bonds are the primary way the cities pay for stadium. Revenue bonds, general obligation bonds and tax increment bonds are the most frequently used source of capital to pay for the development activities. Use-tax is a good source of income for cities to pay back the issued bonds. These taxes are in the form of admission tax, hotel tax and vending tax. Another mechanism to pay back the bonds is in the form of state lotteries. The Maryland General Assembly passed legislation that allowed the Maryland Stadium Authority to conduct special state lotteries to pay back the bonds. While state

lotteries are controversial, they provide an excellent source of capital to pay the bonds and have helped defray the cost to the taxpayers.

The variables that go into successful stadium development interact and when combined form the basis for a solid planning model. These variables are location, community benefit, design and financing. Each of the variables has sub-categories that interact as well. Figure 6 illustrates the interactions of the different variables and how they impact the planning for a successful stadium and local revitalization efforts.

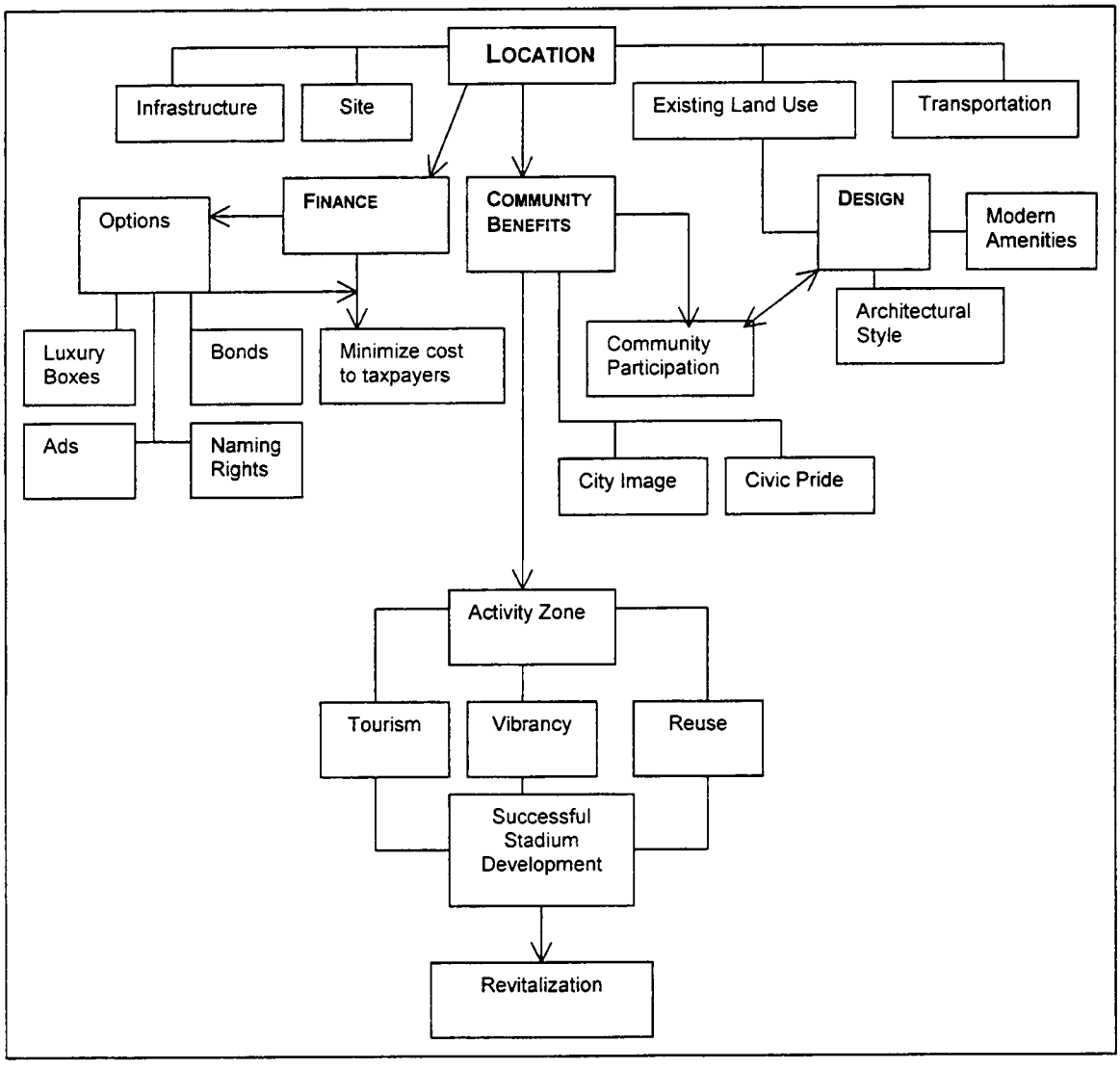

FIGURE 6: INTERACTION MODEL FOR SUCCESSFUL STADIUM DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Revitalization Tools

Cities have undertaken many strategies with the hopes of revitalizing the urban core. Traditionally the projects emphasized the use of physical development projects; however, cities have also explored other strategies. These strategies include regional growth management and investing in the city's residents through educational initiatives and job creation. All of the efforts are undertaken with the hopes of creating opportunities in the central city as well as making it a more vibrant center of human activity.

One tool many of the cities in the United States have used in their revitalization efforts has been to invest in major facilities such as convention centers, theaters, and sports facilities. Sports facilities have been the focus of this study. Cities are building sports facilities at a frantic pace. These facilities are extremely expensive projects and in most cases municipalities sustain the expense of the development activities. This has sparked debate between residents, civic leaders and academics.

Sports Facility Debate

The debate regarding the investment in sports facilities revolves around the issue of what the impact is on the community. Proponents of sports facility investment argue that facilities breathe new life into central cities and that there are economic benefits

associated with them. Sports facility opponents' counter by stating that there are no economic benefits associated with sports facilities. Regardless of the argument, taxpayers have sometimes voted to approve measures that allow municipalities to invest in sports facilities.

Economic Argument

The economic argument surrounding the investment in sports facilities is a sound one. Robert Baade has successfully argued against the civic investment in sports facilities on two fronts. First Baade found that there is no relationship between city growth and the development of new stadiums. The second finding is that there is no relationship between stadium and per capita income growth.

Stadiums usually do not provide the economic benefits that city officials claim. However, some jobs are created by stadium development that would not exist if the stadium were not developed. Unfortunately, these jobs are mostly seasonal, low-skilled and low-waged positions. Sports are just too small of an activity to be a driving force of the economy. While sports facilities are not a driving force of a city's economy, their success is not measured by operating profits. Rather, the success of sports facilities is based on the intangible or non-economic benefits and how the facility fits in with the overall revitalization efforts of the city.

Proper Planning

When planned properly, the use of sports facilities can be used as a tool for a city's revitalization strategy. These facilities have the potential to attract millions of area residents and tourists back into the center city, create street life on weekends and evenings, and promote the city as a place for entertainment and excitement. Sports facilities can get rid of some of the "eyesores" of urban blight, reuse abandoned buildings and develop vacant land. When integrated into the existing urban landscape and neighborhoods, sports facilities can serve as a landmark for the community and promote a sense of pride in the residents.

Oriole Park's Success

The original plan for Baltimore Oriole Park at Camden Yards had two objectives. The first objective was to plan the ballpark into the context of downtown Baltimore, Maryland. The second objective was to create a unique, old-fashioned intimate ballpark that is state-of -the-art which would be home to the Orioles for many years to come. In both of these areas, Oriole Park was a success. Oriole Park was also the product of good planning and has bad a positive effect on the overall revitalization efforts of Baltimore.

Successful revitalization occurs in both the economic and non-economic areas. Studies conducted by the Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development and the Baltimore City Planning Department in 1992 suggest that Oriole Park has benefited the city of Baltimore economically. These studies indicate that

Baltimore has become a tourism destination and that baseball fans have had a significant impact on the city.

The primary reason for this success is that Oriole Park is unique from other stadiums in the United States because it ties in with the existing activity zone of hotels, restaurants, local museums and the Inner Harbor. The studies conducted by both the State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore show that thirty-five per cent of fans that attend Orioles games participate in pre and post game activities in the activity zone surrounding the stadium. On game days, the Inner Harbor Hotel reports a twenty-one per cent increase in business, the Babe Ruth Museum a one hundred ten per cent increase, and the National Aquarium an eight percent increase. These fans produced more than $12.3 million in revenue for the city in 1992.

Oriole Park meets all of the factors in the successful stadium development model, location, community benefits, design and financing. Oriole Park's location ties in with the excellent regional transportation system and the urban fabric of downtown Baltimore. Oriole Park benefits the community by revitalizing the urban core and reflects the community's values. The design of Oriole Park fits with the architectural style of the adjacent neighborhoods and is also a state-of-the-art facility with all of the modern amenities. Financially, Oriole Park was developed at minimal cost to the taxpayers.

Implications for Other Cities

Cities across the United States that are interested in developing a new sports facility can look at the planning of Oriole Park as a success. While Oriole Park is

beautifully designed, it is the product of good planning. While tying in with the existing neighborhoods and the activity zone in Baltimore, Oriole Park attracts over 3 million fans and tourists annually which make the city much more vibrant. Oriole Park indicates that successful stadium development can serve as a tool in a city's overall revitalization efforts.

While Oriole Park can serve as a model to other cities, cities should be cautious not to simply copy the design of the stadium. Oriole Park worked in Baltimore but that does not guarantee that a replica of the facility placed in another city would have the same impact. It is important for cities interested in stadium development to perform a comprehensive study and analyze the factors of location, community benefits, design and finance and apply these factors to their own unique situations. These factors will help a community successfully plan for a stadium. A properly planned stadium can serve as a tool in a city's revitalization strategy and can be enjoyed by the community for years to come.

This study has focused on the impact that a public sports facility, in this case Oriole Park at Camden Yards, has on the economy, revitalization efforts and image of the city. It should be noted that there are other concerns that arise from investing in sports facilities and other public assembly facilities that were not addressed in this study. These concerns include the trickle-down economic impact on surrounding neighborhoods, the impact on low-income citizens, and other citizens. Specifically, a future study should investigate whether or not the residents of the surrounding neighborhoods and the city as a whole benefit from these types of investments.

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Communications with Phradeep Ganguly, Director, Office of Business and Economic research, Maryland Department of Business and Economic Development, Baltimore, Maryland, July, 1997.

Communications with Bill Reuter, Ridgely's Delight Community Leader, Baltimore, Maryland, July, 1997.

Communications with David Warner, Department of Legislative Affairs Office of Policy Issues, Maryland General Assembly, Annapolis, Maryland, July, 1997.

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Communications with M. Carol Salmon, Assistant Director for Public Information and Administration, Maryland Stadium Authority, Baltimore, Maryland, August, 1997.

Communications with Nolan H. Rogers, Tour Director and Special Projects, Maryland Stadium Authority, Baltimore, Maryland, September, 1997.

Communications with Barbara J. Bonnel, Director of Information, City of Baltimore Development Corporation, Baltimore, Maryland, October, 1997.

Communications with Evans Paull, Executive Planner, Strategic Planning Division, City of Baltimore Department of Planning, Baltimore, Maryland, October, 1997.

APPENDIX

TABLE A-1: DIRECT ECONOMIC IMPACT PER TYPE OF VISITOR

	Type of Visitor							
	Fair/ Exposition	**Professional Sports**	**Concert/ Cultural**	**Independent Tourist**	**Tour-Bus Tourist**	**Convention Delegate**	**Super Bowl**	
Average Expenditure per Day	$24 (or less)	$36 (or less)	$42 (or less)	$60	$96	$114	$252	
Percent Requiring Overnight Accommodations	5-10% (or less)	5-10% (or less)	5-10% (or less)	50-80%	70-80%	80-95%	90%	
Weighted Average Length of Stay (days)	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.0	3.0	3.5	5.3	
Total Direct Economic Impact per Visitor	$24 (or less)	$36 (or less)	$42 (or less)	$300	$288	$400	$1,335	
Relative Degree of Impact through *New* Dollar Generation	Low	Low	Low	High	High	High	High	

Source: Petersen, David C. (1996). *Sports, Conventions, and Entertainment Facilities.* Washington, DC: ULI-The Urban Land Institute

TABLE A-2: PERCENTAGE OF SPORTS FACILITIES PUBLICLY OWNED BY DECADE

League	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
AL	12	37	75	86	86
NL		50	67	83	75
NBA	46	62	71	76	65
NHL			42	52	65
NFL	36	60	81	96	93

Source: Quirk and Fort, *Pay Dirt*, 1992

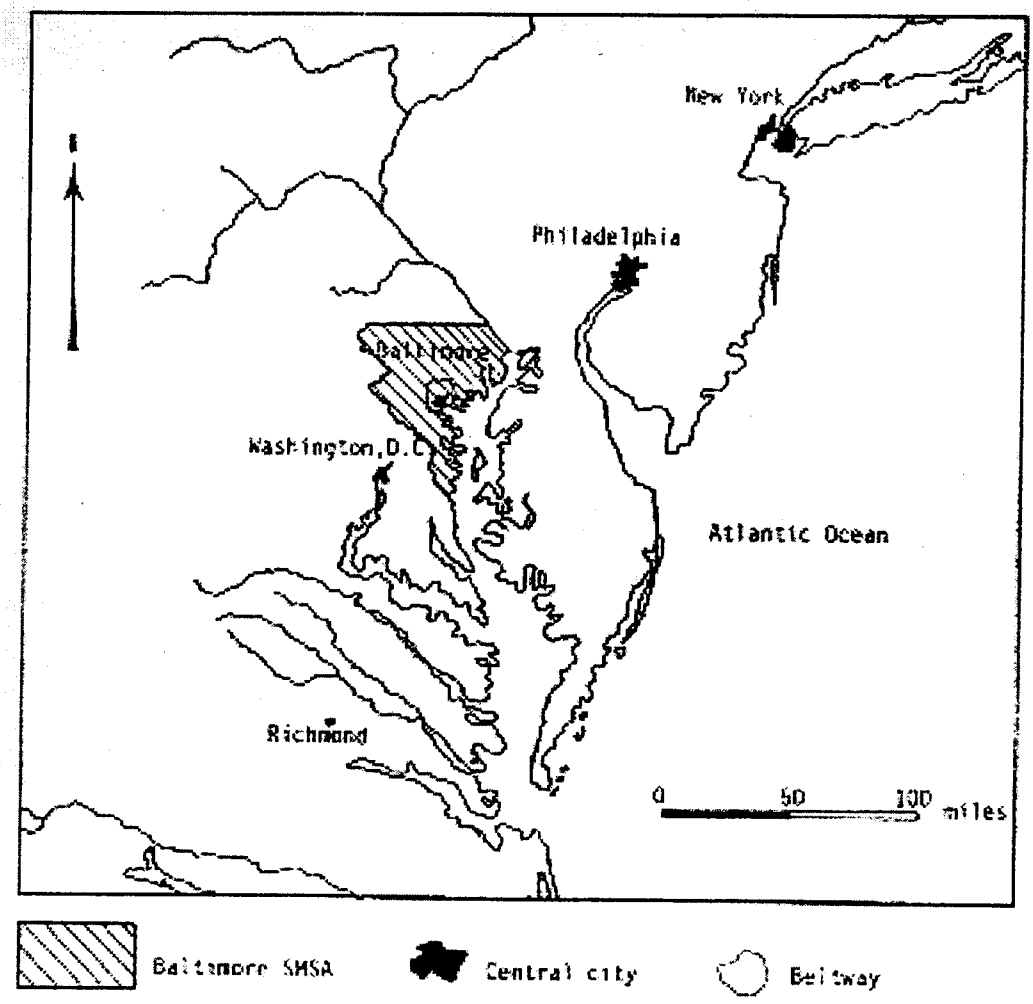

FIGURE A1: MAP OF THE MID-ATLANTIC REGION

Source: Friedrichs, Jurgen, Goodman, Allen C. et al. (1987). *The Changing Downtown: A comparative Study of Baltimore and Hamburg.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

TABLE A-3: BALTIMORE POPULATION TRENDS

Baltimore, Maryland Population Trends					
	1970	1980	1990	1992	1995
Total Population	905,759	786,741	736,014	726,096	691,131
Racial Make-up					
% White	49.80%	41.70%	39%	N/A	N/A
% African American	47%	51%	59%	N/A	N/A
% Native American	N/A	0.27%	0.30%	N/A	N/A
% Asian	All foreign	0.63%	1.08%	N/A	N/A
% Hispanic	born=3.2	0.97%	1.03%	N/A	N/A
Education					
% High School Graduate or Higher	34.30%	48.40%	60.70%	N/A	N/A
% College Graduates or Higher	9.40%	11.30%	15.50%	N/A	N/A
Labor Force	367,000	343,916	346,634	346,634	319,075
Unemployment Rate (%)	4.60%	8.00%	9.40%	9.40%	8.70%
% of Persons Below Poverty Level	18%	22.90%	21.90%	See 1990	See 1990
% of Families Below Poverty Level	N/A	18.90%	17.80%	See 1990	See 1990

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Census: Census of the Population 1970, 1980, 1990.
U.S. Bureau of Census: County Business Patters 1992, 1995

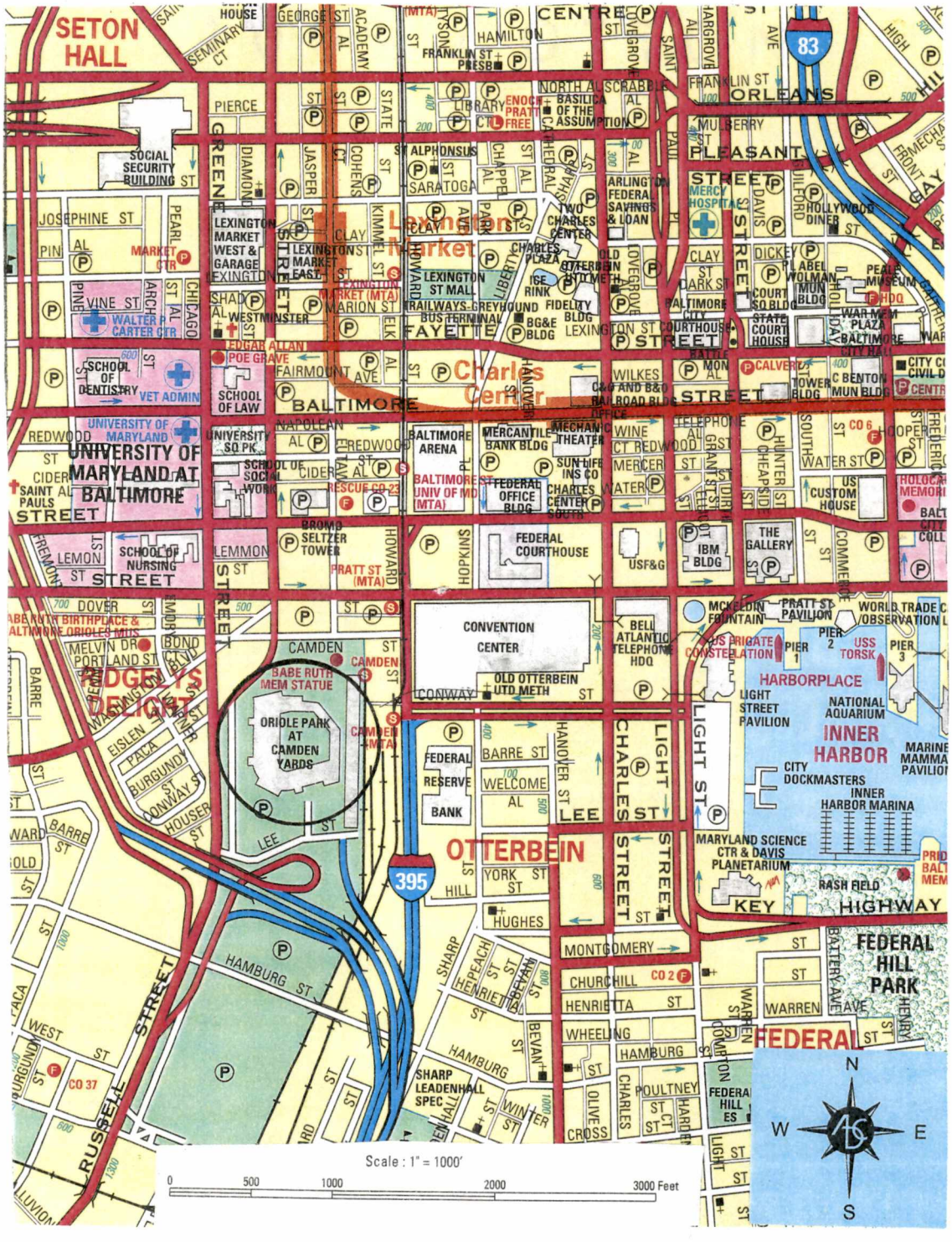

FIGURE A2: MAP OF BALTIMORE'S EXISTING ACTIVITY ZONE

Source: ADC of Alexandria, Inc. (1996). *Visitors Map of Baltimore, Maryland 3rd Edition.*

TABLE A-4: MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION TO BALLGAMES IN 1992

	Means of Transportation to Ballgames		
	1992 Season		
	(Average Per Game)		
Mode	**Persons**		**% of Attendance**
			(44,700 per game)
Light Rail	2,980		6.7%
Metro	1,490		3.3%
Express Bus (Park n'Ride)	1,470		3.3%
MARC	930		2.1%
Bus (Regular Routes)	300		<1%
Subtotal: Transit	7,170		16%
Charter Bus	1,310		3%
Subtotal: Non-Auto	8,480		19%
Auto:	36,220		81%

Source: Maryland Stadium Authority, 1992

TABLE A-5: ECONOMIC IMPACT OF BALTIMORE ORIOLES IN 1992

The Economic Impact of Baltimore Orioles 1992 Season in Maryland 1992 Dollars							
		Direct Impact			**Total Impact**		
Impact Category		**Gross Output ($Millions)**	**Employee Income ($Millions)**	**Employment (Jobs)**	**Gross Output ($Millions)**	**Employee Income ($Millions)**	**Employment (Jobs)**
Visiting Teams		$ 0.59	$ 0.18	9	$ 1.32	$ 0.38	14
Overnight Fans		$ 45.69	$ 14.92	664	$ 98.10	$ 29.73	989
Daytrip Fans		$ 70.32	$ 29.28	850	$ 127.07	$ 46.59	1340
TOTAL		**$ 116.60**	**$ 44.38**	**1,523**	**$ 226.49**	**$ 76.70**	**2,343**

Source: Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development, Office of Research, 1992

TABLE A-6: ECONOMIC IMPACT ON INDUSTRY IN 1992

The Economic Impact of Baltimore Orioles 1992 Season on Maryland Industries								
1992 Dollars								
		Direct Impact				Total Impact		
Impact Category		Gross Output ($MM)	Employee Income ($MM)	Employment (Jobs)		Gross Output ($MM)	Employee Income ($MM)	Employment (Jobs)
Transportation Services		$ 0.39	$ 0.10	6		$ 0.75	$ 0.20	13
Communications		$ 0.01	$ -	0		$ 0.01	$ -	0
Wholesale Trade		$ 11.15	$ 4.59	143		$ 18.48	$ 6.76	222
Retail Trade		$ 9.26	$ 4.30	194		$ 18.24	$ 6.80	266
Hotels and Lodging Places		$ 24.66	$ 7.11	360		$ 57.74	$ 16.38	534
Personal & Repair Services		$ 1.32	$ 0.50	24		$ 2.71	$ 0.89	34
Business Services		$ 1.30	$ 0.56	13		$ 2.15	$ 0.82	19
Eating & Drinking Establishments		$ 25.26	$ 7.32	427		$ 53.86	$ 15.06	631
Automobile Repair and Leasing		$ 9.36	$ 2.31	50		$ 13.96	$ 3.96	84
Commercial Sports and Amusements		$ 33.91	$ 17.58	306		$ 58.59	$ 26.11	539
TOTAL		**$ 116.62**	**$ 44.37**	**1,523**		**$ 226.49**	**$ 76.98**	**2,342**

Source: Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development, 1992

TABLE A-7: TAX REVENUE FROM ORIOLES FANS IN 1992

Fiscal Impact of Baltimore Orioles 1992 Season in Maryland				
1992 Dollars				
Category			**Tax Receipts (Millions)**	
State Taxes				
Sales			$ 6.52	
Income			$ 2.85	
Subtotal			$ 9.37	
Local Taxes				
Income			$ 1.43	
Hotel			$ 1.48	
Entertainment			$ 3.39	
Parking			$ 0.14	
Subtotal			$ 6.44	
TOTAL			**$ 15.81**	

Source: Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development, 1992

TABLE A-8: FANS' PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Fans' Place of Residence			
Oriole Park at Camden Yards 1992			
Location			**# of Visitors**
Baltimore SMSA			1,860,000
Washington DC SMSA			752,000
Other/out-of-town			835,000

Source: Baltimore City Department of Planning, 1992

TABLE A-9: SPENDING BY ORIOLES FANS IN 1992

1992 Total Spending by Location ($Millions)				
Spending in Downtown (excluding at Ballpark)				
Residents of:		**Pre/Post Game**	**Overnight**	**Total**
Baltimore SMSA		$ 5.25	n/a	$ 5.25
Washington SMSA		$ 2.26	$ 3.67	$ 5.72
Other Out-of-Town		$ 4.85	$ 16.08	$ 19.22
Total		**$ 12.36**	**$ 19.75**	**$ 30.19**

Source: Baltimore City Department of Planning, 1992

VITA

Lawrence Hemphill Watson, III was born on May 17, 1971 in Washington, DC. In June, 1989, he graduated with an Advanced Studies Diploma from T.C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Virginia. He entered The George Washington University in Washington, DC during August, 1989 and pursued a degree in Criminal Justice. In May, 1993, he received his Bachelor of Arts Degree in Criminal Justice with a Psychology minor. Lawrence enrolled in the Graduate School of Planning at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August, 1996. He received his Master of Science in Planning degree in May, 1998.