COMMUNITY STADIA: A SUSTAINABLE PHENOMENON?

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Abstract

Influenced by urban entrepreneurial economic development policy, new professional sports stadia have been widely advanced as flagship developments that can generate jobs and wealth, support place branding and culture-led strategies, and host mega-events that collectively boost the economic competitiveness of their towns and cities. Public funding for stadia developments has been secured on these bases but also increasingly challenged as stadia costs are under-estimated and the benefits, particularly for lower income communities, exaggerated. Responding to these criticisms and with greater policy attention on establishing sustainable communities, the social and community benefits of new stadia developments have increasingly been promoted to secure and justify public investment. In the UK, community stadia have emerged in this context.

Community stadia are an intriguing phenomenon as, in theory, they enable professional sports stadia to deliver on community aims alongside their core sporting and commercial demands and the economic development aims stemming from their flagship development status. Public funding has followed with a number of community stadia built or planned; this despite the limited critical analysis of the stadium type and its impact. It is this gap in the literature that this research addresses, doing so through a critical realist, case study methodology of two community stadia: The Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster and The Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk. Specifically the research draws on the community-related literature and interviews with diverse stadia stakeholders to define community stadia by conceptualising the factors that characterise or influence community stadia, understand what communities they engage with and benefit, and critique whether they are a sustainable phenomenon that can genuinely deliver on sporting, commercial, community and economic development aims.

The research finds that community stadia have the potential to deliver across these four aims, with stadia's association with the world of professional sport facilitating engagement with multiple, diverse and 'hard to reach' communities. However, they are also complex phenomena that require imaginative but effective design, planning, governance and operational management. Indeed, civic leaders and stadia officials need to be attuned to the concepts of inclusive design, co-production, and space and place; as well as having a

diverse skill set spanning community engagement and partnership working to entrepreneurial and marketing skills.

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List of Abbreviations

AGP	Artificial Grass Pitches
AITC	Albion In The Community
ALEO	Arms-Length External Organisation
BHA	Brighton & Hove Albion
CARE	Culture, Amusement, Recreation and Entertainment
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
FC	Football Club
FIFA	Federation Internationale de Football Association
FiTC	Football in the Community
IRB	International Rugby Board
NEET	Not in Employment, Education or Training
RLFC	Rugby League Football Club
RUFC	Rugby Union Football Club
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UK	United Kingdom

Declaration of Originality

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

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Signature:

Copyright Statement

Chapter 1 – The Changing Face of the UK's Professional Sports Stadia

Section 1.1 Introduction

Community stadia – professional sports stadia with community-facing aims, facilities and services (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008 and Sanders et al., 2014) – have emerged in the latter half of an unprecedented era of new or redeveloped professional sports stadia in the UK. Delivering on sporting, commercial, economic development and community aims, the attraction of community stadia is that they seemingly provide a solution to the lofty sporting aspirations, human disasters, societal tensions and commercial demands and opportunities that have confronted Britain's professional sports stadia over the last 30 years. Indeed, turning the clock back to the 1980s, many stadia, particularly football stadia, were physically dilapidated, associated with the negative externalities of congestion, litter, anti-social behaviour and hooliganism, and attendances were falling (Bale, 2000; Paramio et al, 2008; Van Dam, 2000; Williams, 1995).

With many stadia now described as 21st century 'cathedrals' (Giulianotti, 2011), the modern, large capacity and commercially minded stadia found in major cities are very different. Community stadia are a departure from these stadia: developed with holistic aims but at a lesser scale to reflect their provincial professional sports clubs and the towns and small cities they are based in. Examples of community stadia can be found in Brighton, Chesterfield, Colchester, Doncaster and Falkirk – spanning male and female professional football, rugby league, rugby union teams – and their emergence is becoming something of a trend with further examples planned for Brentford, Cambridge, Castleford, Grimsby, Truro, Wimbledon and York.

Community stadia have therefore emerged in the last 10-15 years but their origins date further back. Understanding this modern history is important as political, sporting, social and economic drivers have all contributed to the investment in community stadia. Of these, the turning point in the UK was the 1989 Hillsborough stadium disaster. 96 Liverpool FC fans were crushed to death on the Leppings Lane terraced stand and this followed two other stadia disasters in 1985 (the Bradford City FC Valley Parade fire killing 56 fans and the Heysel Stadium disaster killing 39 fans). The resulting Hillsborough Stadium Disaster Inquiry report overseen by Lord Justice Taylor became a watershed and enforced

significant investment in British football stadia to improve their safety and security (Giulianotti, 2011). As Goldblatt (2014, pp14) states:

> *"Taylor not only called for a fundamental refit of the basic structures of the nation's stadiums, but argued that perimeter fences should be removed, that the clubs be required to have a designated safety officer and that the top divisions in England and Scotland, at the very least, should have all-seater stadiums. This turned out to be the single most significant change in British football's infrastructure, culture and economic model since the coming of professionalism".*

The Taylor Report was therefore the 'stick' to enforce change in Britain's professional *football* stadia but its influence extended to cricket, rugby league and rugby union because political and societal expectations of contemporary professional sports stadia had changed and been upgraded. The 'carrot' for stadia investments came from the increased professionalisation and commodification of sport. Domestic cricket, rugby league, rugby union and above all football all received increased television and media coverage. The influx of television monies, the attraction of foreign players and the wider professionalisation of sport all contributed to rising matchday attendances (Van Dam, 2000; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001). Larger, safer and more aesthetic stadia enabled clubs to meet this demand and, in turn, attract the players and investment that could deliver sporting success on the pitch (Kennedy, 2012).

New or redeveloped stadia were viewed as a means of fulfilling sporting ambitions but, closely associated with sporting success, was the need for stadia to deliver on a commercial front. Whether to fund stadia investments, service stadia finance arrangements, or support the financial sustainability of clubs, all professional sports stadia have had to increasingly enable and accommodate commercial and revenue generation activities (Ginesta, 2017; Kidd, 1995; Paramio et al, 2008; Williams, 1995). As KPMG (2011) note, the development and operation of professional sports stadia is capital intensive and many stadia owners and operators struggle to break even. With this in mind, KPMG (2011) highlight the need for stadia designs to be:

> '*Well tailored to the requirements of the corporate and consumer markets, built to an appropriate size, based on local market requirements, with the right product mix and*

> *appropriate supporting infrastructure for sustainable and profitable stadium operations'* (KPMG, 2011 pp20)

Contemporary stadia are therefore no longer the monopurpose sports venues of the 1980s and are instead buildings that seek to maximise revenue generation opportunities 'to the fullest possible extent' (KPMG, 2011), including through corporate and conference suites, hotels, museums, and centres for learning (Paramio et al, 2008), while another commercially-minded trend is the selling of stadia naming rights (Ginesta, 2017).

The societal tension is that professional clubs and stadia officials have gone too far with an imbalance in favour of the commercial that disadvantages the sporting fan. Rising ticket prices and the financial importance of attracting wealthier fans is one aspect of this with Brown (2009), Giulianotti (2011), Walsh and Giulianotti (2001) and Williams (1995) questioning whether stadia are now becoming exclusive places that price many young adult and working class 'traditional' supporters from attending. Wider than rising ticket prices alone, Kennedy (2012) notes the wider trend of stadia becoming increasingly secular, even calculative, with their fundamental focus being on generating revenue and developing the club 'brand', rather than expanding corporate social responsibility (CSR) and community actions. Bale (2000) summarises this position by suggesting that 'stadiums' are being turned into 'tradiums', while Walsh and Giulianotti (2001) contend that the 'hyper-commodification of sport' has widened the social and political gaps between those who *run* the clubs and stadia and those who *support* the clubs.

The criticisms surrounding 'tradiums' have presented clubs and stadia officials with a challenge, particularly when they are seeking public support, planning approval and investment for new stadia. To counter this, clubs and stadia officials have attached additional aims or layers of justification to their stadia proposals, with the community stadia phenomenon a manifestation of this. Chapter 2 explains how these additional aims have evolved over time, beginning with the economic development benefits that new North American stadia were claimed to bring (Baade, 1995; Baade et al, 2008; Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). However, as the stadia-led growth in wealth and jobs failed to materialise, the influence of urban entrepreneurial economic development policy led to more nuanced assertions tied to new stadia's contribution to competitive place strategies. Stadia were thus portrayed as symbolic

flagship developments, assets in culture-led and place branding strategies, and hosts of sporting mega-events (Doucet, 2007; Harvey, 1989; OECD, 2007). Yet, these benefits too were questioned and increasingly proponents have begun to advance the contribution of stadia to social and community aims and the development of sustainable communities (Coates, 2007; Eckstein and Delaney, 2002; Hone and Silvers, 2006; Hong et al, 2015; Slack, 2014).

In the UK, community stadia have emerged in this context and, on paper, are an intriguing phenomenon as they offer the potential for professional sports stadia to deliver on all the aims attached to them – i.e. sporting, commercial, economic development and community aims or, as this thesis conceptualises, the 'quadruple bottom line'. Furthermore the examples to date are found in the UK's towns and small cities, playing host to professional football, rugby league and rugby union, but not (with the recent exception of Brighton's American Express Community Stadium) the riches of English football's Premier League. Are they, therefore, a genuine model that can deliver on the quadruple bottom line facing mid-sized contemporary professional sports stadia in our provincial towns and cities?

1.2 Aims and Research Questions

The number of new professional sports stadia constructed or planned in the UK as 'community stadia' forms the motivation behind this research. The concern is that many community stadia are receiving public support and large sums of public investment on the grounds of their community aims, yet with very little critical appraisal or evaluation of the phenomenon's objectives and their impact. To explain, the construction of community stadia has typically been part-funded by public monies and, once constructed, public sector bodies (such as local authorities or arms-length external organisations: ALEOs) are involved in their ownership and management. In any economic climate it is important to understand what public resources are being invested and why, but this is particularly important in times of austerity.

The main motivation behind the research has been to critically assess whether community stadia are a sustainable phenomenon that public monies can justifiably be invested in. Drawing on the wider sports economics literature, one justification is that by hosting regular, professional sporting fixtures, stadia (and this could apply to all professional sports

stadia) promise greater, long-term benefits for their local areas than the disputed legacies of temporary sporting mega-events (Coaffee and Shaw, 2005; Gratton et al, 2005; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006; Jones, 2001; Roberts et al, 2016; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). Another, more intriguing characteristic is whether these buildings can capitalise on the prestige and kudos attached to professional sport and professional sports stadia (Morgan et al, 2017; Sanders et al, 2012; Spaaij et al, 2013) to engage with and attract multiple, diverse communities, and not just benefit those with a vested interest in the professional sports clubs.

Both of these justifications are explored in this thesis but, above all, there is a need to move beyond the existing, limited literature base surrounding community stadia (see City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008 and Sanders et al., 2014) to develop a deeper understanding of community stadia and the community or communities that they target. Once established, the bigger question of whether they are a sustainable phenomenon can be assessed. If they are found to be unsustainable in that the multiple aims attached to them cannot co-exist, then the community stadia phenomenon and the levels of public investment into them must be questioned. In order to achieve these overarching aims, the thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. What are community stadia?
2. What are the communities of community stadia?
3. In addressing the quadruple bottom line, can community aims co-exist with sporting, commercial and economic regeneration aims?

The research design and methodology adopts a case study approach into two ‘extreme’ community stadia (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Pratt, 2009; Ritchie et al, 2003): the Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster which plays host to Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC and Doncaster Belles WFC; and the Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk that is home to Falkirk FC. These cases act as a lens onto the reality of the community stadia phenomenon and help to explore how the complex relationships between the different aims attached to community stadia interact with each other and are managed by stadia officials. Qualitative methods in the form of interviews and focus groups with multiple stadia stakeholder types, together with desk-based reviews of stadia documentation, are used to provide a bottom-up, evidence-based perspective of this emerging stadia phenomenon.

1.3 Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, with each serving a particular function with regards to the overall aims of the research. **Chapter 2**, the first of two literature chapters, sets out and discusses the fluctuating urban economic development context in which new professional sports stadia have been constructed over the last 20-30 years. Indeed, professional sports stadia have variously been portrayed as generators of jobs and wealth (Jones et al, 2007: Soebbing et al, 2016), flagship developments that support wider competitive place strategies (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Bale, 1995; Bairner, 2003; Cuthbert, 2011; Coates, 2007; Davies, 2008; Hall, 2006; Jones et al, 2007; Reid, 2013; Rowe, 2008; Spirou, 2010; Thornley, 2002), and contributors to place making and sustainable communities (Alm, 2016; Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Bale, 1995; Gaffney, 2009; Hone and Silvers, 2006; Jones et al, 2007; Malcolm, 2000; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Spirou, 2010). However, many of the ex-ante justifications of new stadia have been challenged (Baade, 1995; Baade et al, 2008; Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). As a consequence, the chapter takes a critical lens throughout to both acknowledge the limited impact that flagship developments are typically found to have, particularly on more disadvantaged communities (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009), and the moderate scale and indistinctive design of many new professional sports stadia (Duke, 2002; Goldblatt, 2014).

The literature concerning community stadia is the focus of **Chapter 3**. However, given that there are few literature sources focused on community stadia to date (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al., 2014), the chapter considers other stadia- and community-related concepts. Spanning the concepts of healthy stadia; Corporate Social Responsibility / Football in the Community trusts; communities; community assets, buildings and gardens; and co-production, the chapter highlights some of the opportunities and tensions that civic leaders and stadia officials should be attuned to in the design, planning and operational management of community stadia. It concludes by setting out the research questions which later chapters address.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design and the methodology used to explore the community stadia phenomenon, beginning with a brief overview of the critical realist

philosophical framework that underpins the research. The chapter then outlines how the two case studies were selected and access to them gained, before explaining the case study design and the use of qualitative, semi-structured interviews and focus groups with multiple stakeholders. The chapter ends by explaining how the research interviews were conducted and analysed.

There are two empirical chapters. **Chapter 5** focuses on the first two research questions but begins by introducing the two stadia. Specifically it sets out the context in which the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia operate by offering an abridged history of their development, the aims tied to the stadia, their locations and their stadium management and ownership arrangements. Of key interest is the two stadia's role as flagship developments and their edge-of-town locations as both aspects potentially minimise community aims and use (Baade, 1996; Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009; Van Dam, 2000; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001). The two research questions are then considered. Building on the existing literature (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al., 2014), the research's definition of community stadia draws on the mapping of facilities and services housed within the stadia and stakeholders' conceptualisation of community stadia. A mapping of the communities using the stadia is then used to understand the communities of the stadia, with distinctions emerging between targeted and actual communities, and internal and external communities.

Chapter 6 debates the third research question by drawing on the Doncaster and Falkirk stakeholder interviews to assess whether the community ambitions align with the sporting, commercial or economic regeneration – a complex relationship that the thesis terms a 'quadruple bottom line'. In reviewing the evidence, key points of interest are whether a co-production approach has been taken that embraces the needs of the multiple and diverse communities of the stadia (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2008; Needham, 2008); whether the stadia facilitated the interactions necessary for place-making and sustainable communities (Duffy, 1995; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003; Massey, 2005; 2007); and the stadium management arrangements and skillsets required to maximise the points of alignment or mitigate the points of contention (Aiken et al, 2011; Anagnostopoulos, Byers & Shilbury, 2014; Bailey, 2012; Giulianotti, 2015; Hamil & Morrow, 2011; Marriott, 1997). The chapter therefore aims to get below the

surface to more fully understand whether community stadia can justifiably be portrayed as a sustainable model of contemporary professional sports stadia.

Chapter 7 forms the conclusion for the thesis and its key contribution is to offer a full conceptualisation of community stadia. Building on the empirical findings, the conceptualisation sets out 12 factors that characterise or influence community stadia, before reflecting on whether community stadia more closely align to a discourse of community entrepreneurialism rather than urban entrepreneurialism. This conceptualisation is the major contribution of the thesis to the literature and provides a framework to inform the planning and management of future community stadia, and research into this phenomenon. The chapter then concludes with two sections: one focused on the research limitations of this thesis; the other on directions for future research.

Chapter 2 – New Stadia Developments and Urban Economic Development Policy

2.1 Introduction

The core priorities of modern-day professional sports stadia are the sporting and commercial aims. However, to justify the significant levels of public investment in new stadia, additional aims have been attached to them and, as this chapter discusses, these typically align with the dominant urban economic development theory of the time. Noting that the last 20-30 years have seen an unprecedented era of new stadia construction, the chapter focuses on the theoretical dominance of urban entrepreneurialism. Section 2.2 introduces urban entrepreneurialism and its core components of investment in symbolic flagship developments (of which new stadia are one form) and the development of culture-led, mega-events and place branding strategies. The approach is built upon the notion the cities and towns are competing with one another for mobile skills, jobs, firms and investment, but this brings risks in that urban entrepreneurial investments may not attract these assets, while simultaneously disadvantaging existing populations through neglecting their interests or forcing them out through gentrification effects.

The era of new stadia construction has been strongly influenced by urban entrepreneurialism. Section 2.3 begins by explaining how the economic narrative surrounding professional sports stadia has moved beyond the highly contested direct income and jobs generator arguments that were first used, to one where the roles of stadia as flagship developments and contributors to culture-led, mega-events and place branding strategies are advanced. However, Section 2.4 finds that these urban entrepreneurial aims can also be contested, with the shortcomings identified of stadia very much in line with the criticisms levelled at flagship developments more generally – i.e. underestimated costs and exaggerated benefits.

At the turn of the millennium, UK urban economic policy did soften somewhat with the New Labour government shepherding a sustainability agenda where greater attention was paid to social, community and environmental impacts. As Section 2.5 explains, the prominence of local community needs increased within this more balanced and holistic policy approach, with community economic development, co-production and sustainable communities emergent theories and concepts. The aims attached to new stadia evolved and

softened during this period, with the community stadia phenomenon at the forefront of this. The sustainability agenda was, however, shortlived and Section 2.7 explains how the 2008 global economic recession and austerity economics has led to a renewed focus on urban entrepreneurial policy with inclusive, sustainable policies seemingly neglected again. In summary, this chapter sets the urban economic development context in which community stadia have emerged, with community stadia themselves the focus of the second of the literature review chapters.

2.2 Flagship Developments and Urban Entrepreneurialism

Flagship developments are physical developments of sufficient scale and spectacle that they deliver a symbolic and tangible statement on the strategic vision for a place (Turok, 1992; 1999; Doucet, 2007; OECD, 2007; Cuthbert, 2011). Examples of flagship developments range from architecturally bold and innovative buildings (e.g. the Guggenheim in Bilbao and the City of Arts and Sciences in Valencia), which can include new stadia; large-scale, mixed use city centre redevelopments (e.g. Birmingham's Bullring and Eurolille); to waterfront redevelopments (e.g. Baltimore and Salford Quays, Manchester). While predominantly found in larger cities, investing in flagship developments is also a strategy that is widely used by smaller city and town authorities (Soebbing et al, 2016).

The interest and investment in flagship developments came as part of the response to the challenges of de-industrialisation, economic decline and out-migration that affected many towns and cities in the 1980s. Needing a significant re-orientation of urban planning and economic policy, civic leaders shifted from a socially-oriented, redistributive managerial approach to adopt an **urban entrepreneurial approach** (Doucet, 1997; Harvey, 1989; OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017). Prioritising economic growth, the new approach had property-led economic development and flagship developments at its core as civic leaders aimed to create and initiate the conditions for economic growth (Harvey, 1989; Savitch and Kantor, 2004). England's Urban Development Corporations were early adopters of this approach in the 1980s (Turok, 1992) and demonstrated that, while termed public-private partnerships, private sector interests were prioritised. Indeed, in practice, only a limited group of professionals and members of the elite (architects, planners, developers, financiers and

business leaders) were allowed to take part in decision-making (OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017).

A key foundation of urban entrepreneurialism is the premise that **places are competing with one another** for 'mobile' skills, jobs, firms and investment (Florida, 2003; Savitch and Kantor, 2004). Cities, and increasingly towns, are therefore investing in their 'offer' to gain a competitive advantage and differentiate themselves from other perceived competitor cities (OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017). Flagship developments, such as new stadia, are a key mechanism in the development and external promotion of this 'offer' (OECD, 2007). Indeed, buoyed by the reported benefits and regenerative impacts of, for example, Bilbao's 'Guggenheim effect', the competitive drive and copycat behaviours of civic leaders has led to substantial and sustained levels of investment in flagship developments across the globe (Savitch and Kantor, 2004). Furthermore, they portray a departure from a traditional assets-based approach capitalising on natural resources, location or past reputation to an approach that uses new buildings and developments to project attractive images and symbols of a place and its future (Landry and Bianchini, 1995; Evans, 2003; Florida, 2003).

Economically, flagship developments are promoted as generators of income and jobs. At the construction phase, they are claimed to generate jobs and sub-contractor opportunities; while at the end use phase, the targeting of 'new economy' sectors helps to create professional, creative and consumption-based jobs that diversify town and city economies away from their industrial pasts. With regards wealth and income, the flagship development museums, galleries and stadia increase visitor and consumer spend within local hotels, restaurants, shops and bars. However, of greater long-term importance, the flagship developments are intended to attract *certain types* of residents, businesses and investors (Raco, 2003; Raco et al, 2008; Rogerson, 1999). Of individuals, the aim is to attract educated, creative and affluent professionals who have the skills and knowledge to be highly productive workers and successful entrepreneurs, or have the disposable income to spend in the retail, cultural and leisure sectors (Cantor and Rosentraub, 2012; Florida, 2003; Gospodini, 2006; Landry and Bianchini, 1995). Regarding businesses and investors, the task is to attract firms – ideally innovative, high growth businesses – that create high skilled, high wage jobs, contribute to the development of growth sectors and support the long-term economic growth of towns and cities (Porter, 1990; Turok, 2009).

Flagship developments play an important role in attracting these highly sought after and mobile residents, businesses and investors. Psychologically, they can (positively) challenge people's perceptions of places, which is particularly important in the re-imaging of economically depressed towns and cities impacted by deindustrialisation. The construction of architecturally innovative and spectacular buildings embody a positive and exciting trajectory of a place's ambitions, while it also demonstrates a local 'can do' attitude, ability to deliver and good leadership and governance (Evans, 2003; Davies, 2008; Jones, 2001; Raco et al, 2008; Siemiatycki, 2013). There are echoes here of the Victorian competition for symbolic civic architecture that was used to demonstrate the ambition and wealth of towns and cities – particularly across northern England (Evans, 2003). Beyond the psychological impact, the spaces provided by flagship developments are designed to meet the lifestyle and business needs of these groups. The contemporary residential properties and business premises, allied to the wider consumer, cultural and sporting mix, provide the types of spaces that attract these groups to choose one place over another.

Alluded to above, the investment in flagship developments has crossovers with other mechanisms used to stimulate urban economic revivals, namely culture-led approaches, hosting of mega-events and place branding (OECD, 2007; Spirou, 2010; Vento, 2017). Explaining each in turn, **culture-led approaches** vary in their scale but typically include investments in cultural flagship developments such as museums, galleries and concert halls, and the setting up of cultural events such as festivals and high profile exhibitions that collectively enhance the entertainment, leisure and urban tourism offer. In justifying the value of culture-led approaches, a narrow interpretation is to focus on the visitors attracted to the facilities and events, with their spend generating multipliers for local hotels, restaurants, bars, cafes and shops (Gosdopini, 2006). The cultural attractions therefore act as a stimulus to economic growth, while at the same time helping to diversify the urban economy away from traditional, declining industries and towards the growing service, consumption-based economy (OECD, 2007; Tallon et al, 2006; Yarker, 2018).

A wider interpretation is to view these cultural centres as the means by which to attract the highly sought after and creative classes to move to and live in a place (Florida, 2003). 'CARE' – culture, amusement, recreation and entertainment – attractions were therefore grouped by civic leaders into cultural quarters, clusters or zones that were intended to provide the mix of amenities and diverse cultural experiences that the creative classes are

believed to want (Gosdopini, 2006; Tallon et al, 2006). With examples including Belfast's Cathedral Quarter and Glasgow's Merchant City, these cultural quarters could vary in their form as places tailored their cultural offer depending on the range of cultural assets they have and the demographic they can realistically attract. Gosdopini (2006), for example, identifies a typology of cultural and leisure islands or 'epicentres'. There are 'high-culture epicentres' that provide a number of internationally prestigious cultural attractions within both cutting edge and heritage buildings alongside a variety of bars, restaurants and cafes; 'popular leisure epicentres' that are inner city concentrations of bars, restaurants, cafes, cinemas and theatres, shops and restaurants; and 'culture and leisure waterfronts' that have grown in the last two decades as cultural flagship developments.

If a culture-led approach is mainly built around the permanent cultural attractions that a place has, time bound **mega-events** are complementary in their ability to demonstrate vibrancy and offer new buildings and facilities. Introduced by Ritchie and Yangzhou (1987 pp19), they defined mega-events as:

> '*Major one-time or recurring events of limited duration, which serve to enhance the awareness, appeal and profitability of a tourism destination in the short and/or long term. Such events rely for their success on a uniqueness, status, or timely significance to create interest and attract attention'.*

Spanning cultural (e.g. European Capital of Culture), business (e.g. world Expos or major conferences) and sporting (the Olympic and Commonwealth Games to the opening stages of cycling's Grand Tours, Formula 1 Grand Prix, the America's Cup, and international championships of different sports), a number of cities have developed aggressive events strategies as a means of generating economic growth and showcasing their city to an international audience – particularly former industrial cities not widely recognised as tourist destinations (Gratton et al, 2005; Jones, 2001; Misener and Mason, 2006; Moen 1995). Proponents have also argued that mega-events generate positive social benefits by helping residents to feel better about their city, providing excellent 'legacy' facilities, and opportunities for civic engagement. These arguments are subsequently used to further justify the public investment into mega-events on the grounds that they are for the 'greater good of citizens' (Misener and Mason, 2006). In practice, however, Taks et al. (2015) find

that the strategic planning around the long-term impact of events is often limited and consequently the resulting outcomes are haphazard and unplanned in nature.

A further mechanism of urban entrepreneurialism is **place branding**. Its origins lie, in simplest terms, in our tendency to think of a place as a 'good place' or a 'bad place' and consequently position individual towns and cities on this spectrum (Schimmel, 2006). Place branding seeks to address this by constructing and then selling a positive and attractive image of a place to external audiences (Savitch and Kantor, 2004). Furthermore, place branding reverses the logic that jobs make a place better and instead builds on the belief that an attractive town or city creates more jobs (OECD, 2007). It can therefore be particularly important for post-industrial towns and cities as a new, contemporary image can counter previously held, negative perceptions of a 'declining, industrial city' and encourage individuals, businesses and investors to think again (OECD, 2007; Raco, 2003; Schulze Baing and Wong, 2018). Following on from this point, place branding is predominantly targeted at affluent, creative, middle class professionals to encourage them to move to, visit, invest or start a business in that town or city (Raco, 2003; Cuthbert, 2011). Campaigns typically highlight the assets that would most appeal to these individuals – i.e. vibrant cultural scene, diverse leisure offer, historic architecture, and spectacular flagship developments. The challenge is that astute marketing agencies and selective camerawork can portray any place positively in a 30-second advert or promotional leaflets. Civic boosterism in this respect is common (Schimmel, 2006), while campaigns can often be formulaic with the widespread use of buzz words, such as 'dynamic', 'cosmopolitan', 'diverse', 'vibrant' and 'cultural' (OECD, 2007).

2.2.1 Limitations of Flagship Developments

Seduced by the persuasive cases put forward by the proponents of flagship developments and the exemplar of Bilbao's 'Guggenheim effect', it is easy to see why the case for investing in flagship developments has been compelling for many civic leaders (Vento, 2017). However, as discussed below, the promises of increased wealth and jobs, enhanced cultural offers, hosting of mega events, enhanced place branding, and the attraction and retention of residents, visitors, businesses and investment cannot be guaranteed. Indeed, academic and evaluative assessments of flagship developments find a multitude of

challenges and shortcomings that civic leaders should be attuned to (Evans, 2005; Siemiatycki, 2013).

Operating in a highly competitive environment between places, urban entrepreneurialism necessitates risk-taking that may not succeed (Turok, 2009; Vento, 2017). As a consequence, Turok (1992) refers to flagship developments as intrinsically speculative and points to a number of examples where the drive for novelty, visibility and the spectacular has overridden rational analysis and the track record of many flagship developments, such as construction delays, cost overruns, vacant or underused properties and premises, and low visitor numbers (Bornstein, 2010; Siemiatycki, 2013).

Failing to deliver against expectations may damage the reputations of local civic leaders and the immediate financial return of developers and financiers, but the groups that are ultimately most affected are the resident and business taxpayers. Investing in flagship developments predetermines that monies have not been spent on education, social services, community development, public transport and other public service budgets that would likely have greater impact on local quality of life (Harvey, 1989; Vento, 2017). It also predetermines that one location has been prioritised over another, so concentrating investment in profitable zones and districts rather than distributing investment to attend to socio-economic problems across towns' and cities' more deprived areas (Doucet, 2007).

Where flagship developments are hailed as a success, one must then question whether this has been equally felt across all groups (Turok, 1992). Despite being promoted as developments for the 'public good', Duffy (1995), Harvey (1989), Raco (2003), Siemiatycki (2013) and Vento (2017) assert that the beneficiaries are the capitalist classes, i.e. political leaders, financiers, developers and the targeted professional and creative populations, rather than local residents and businesses. Of these 'secondary groups', the impact on these local populations is at best negligible as the flagship developments have little direct impact on their lives or businesses.

Psychologically, the architectural designs, prestigious locations and professional end user mix can lead to an 'otherness' for local residents (Cuthbert, 2011). The 'public' buildings and spaces are therefore not public as local populations neither feel a sense of belonging nor frequent them, while the new cultural offer does not reflect local identities (Massey,

2005; Yarker, 2018). Economically, job creation is cited as a positive impact, yet to what extent do local residents and businesses truly benefit? The construction phase jobs and sub-contractor opportunities are inherently short-term and insecure in nature (Turok, 1992), while the nature of the end user jobs can polarise the local labour market. Flagship developments may attract professional, creative and other 'new economy' firms and jobs but these are targeted at the highly educated, skilled, creative and mobile populations. More accessible to local populations are the consumption-based jobs of the museums, galleries, shops, restaurants and bars housed within the flagship developments. However, these jobs are typically low-paid, part-time, temporary and associated with the secondary jobs of the segmented labour market (Doucet, 2007; McTier and McGregor, 2018; Peck, 2005). The cumulative effect is that the segmented labour market is reinforced by flagship developments. Raco (2003), for example, states that the success of consumption-based forms of regeneration are dependent on the existence of marginalised communities who can provide the necessary low-cost labour.

At worst, flagship developments can disrupt and even displace local resident and business populations – a trend widely referred to as **gentrification** (Vento, 2017). Beginning with the land on which flagship developments are constructed, even seemingly derelict land may have been in economic or community use, and will consequently be disrupted. Raco and Tunney (2010) highlighted the impact of the London Olympic Park's construction on the small businesses that were previously operating from the Lea Valley site. The development plans and Compulsory Purchase Orders meant they were required to move, which disrupted their business base, networks and supply chain, and brought difficulties in securing equivalent premises due to higher costs and restrictive business zoning elsewhere in Greater London. Raco and Tunney's article primarily focused on the plight of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) that were *'written off as collections of 'old fashioned', uncompetitive firms whose decline is inevitable'* (2010, pp 2070), but the goods and services these firms provide are essential to balanced urban economies. Furthermore similar low cost, marginal premises, workspaces and commercial land are not just for 'old fashioned, uncompetitive firms' but are also popular among artisans, which are ironically the types of individualised, authentic and vibrant enterprises that appeal to the mobile creative classes (Evans, 2003; Raco and Tunney, 2010).

Once constructed, the high end nature of flagship developments means that the properties and business premises are typically beyond the reach of local resident and business populations. This may be a consequence of their design, e.g. 1-2 bedroom apartments that do not meet the needs of local families, contemporary flexible business spaces that do not meet the needs of more traditional businesses, and a lack of community facilities and services; or the high purchase and rental costs being beyond the means of local residents and businesses (Doucet, 2007; Raco et al, 2008; Schulze Baing and Wong, 2018; Turok, 1992; 2009). The exclusive designs and pricing strategies effectively distance local populations from the flagship developments and reinforce the psychological sentiment that these are buildings and places for 'others' (Raco, 2003). Nor are the gentrification effects confined to the physical boundaries of the flagship developments with the prices of neighbouring properties and premises also rising and potentially displacing existing local populations.

The consistent theme running through the discussion above is that local populations fail to benefit from, and are effectively excluded from, flagship developments (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009). Instead the beneficiaries are portrayed as the powerful elite who range from the politicians, financiers and developers that approve or fund the developments, to the residents, visitors, businesses and entrepreneurs who move to or use them. These may be the target beneficiaries but, returning to an earlier point, attracting these groups cannot be guaranteed and may in fact be undermined by the flagship developments. In the competition for skills, firms and investment, places are competing with one another to build a visually and culturally compelling offer, yet what makes a truly distinctive and compelling offer (Gospodini, 2006; Harvey, 1989; Savitch and Kantor, 2004)? Architecturally spectacular buildings and developments are one means but very few have the design and scale to be truly distinctive (Cuthbert, 2011). Where buildings are genuinely spectacular and distinctive, they run the risk that their aesthetic qualities have taken precedence over their functional ubiquity (Evans, 2005; Moss et al, 2009; Turok, 2009). A number of stadia used for FIFA World Cups fall into this group and can be labelled as unused 'white elephants' on account of their spectacular scale, design and location failing to reflect local needs and budgets.

The copycat mentality of civic leaders and use of a select number of architects means that there is homogeneity in what is constructed: steel facades, waterfront locations, *al fresco* dining, public piazzas, and so on (Doucet, 2007; Harvey, 1989; Savitch and Kantor, 2004; Siemiatycki, 2013; Turok, 2009; Yarker, 2018). This runs counter to the understanding that 'places' stem from ever-evolving and diverse local histories, legacies, interactions, interests and characteristics, rather than manufactured from top-down planning decisions (Harvey, 2003; Massey, 2005; 2007; Pike et al, 2007). Yet Evans (2005) finds that the integration of ethnic, regional or local cultures and interests in the design and operation of flagship developments have a tendency to fall off at the outset or all but disappear.

The manufactured homogeneity then runs counter to the interests and tastes of the professional and creative classes that civic leaders are seeking to attract. Instead of the artificially fabricated and homogenous 'clone cities', the creative classes are seeking authentic, quirky, diverse and individualised experiences that emerge organically (Florida, 2003; Turok, 2009). Greater onus must therefore be placed on enhancing and promoting the unique feel, ambience, atmosphere and spontaneity of places (Florida, 2003; Landry and Bianchini, 1995). At the same time, Peck (2005) questions the importance of cultural features. Good housing, transport, schools and low crime are in his view more important in attracting the creative classes, with cultural attractions simply an added bonus.

Beyond the unimaginative designs, a further weakness of prioritising flagship developments is that the pro-market, capitalist focus does not attend to wider preconditions of growth, meaning that the economic impact of the developments will be smaller than expected (Turok, 1992). The long-term economic growth and prosperity of towns and cities require investment in the wider public budgets and services mentioned earlier. Education, health, social, public transport, environmental, community and other services all need to be invested in to bring about diverse, inclusive and sustainable places and mitigate against the risk of the mobile groups migrating to other competitor locations (Duffy, 1995; Harvey, 1989; Landry and Bianchini, 1995). Endogenous factors are critical, yet the urban entrepreneurialism and flagship developments of the 1980s and 1990s predominantly focused on external growth and exogenous factors (Doucet, 2007; Raco, 2003; Turok, 1992). Over time these shortcomings were increasingly highlighted by academics and recognised by civic leaders, with a consequent softening of the market-led approach towards a more holistic, sustainable vision of urban development. The emergence

and implications of a more sustainability-informed approach is discussed in Section 2.5 but let us first consider professional sports stadia as income and jobs generators and, increasingly, as flagship developments.

2.3 Era of New Professional Sports Stadia

Across the globe there has been significant investment in new professional sports stadia over the last 30 years. At the forefront has been North America. In a continent where supply exceeds demand in respect of the number of Major League sports franchises being fewer than the number of North American cities that would like to be home to a franchise, *new* stadia have been used as the carrot to retain or attract a franchise, resulting in 104 new Major League stadia constructed between 1990 and 2010 (Gratton et al, 2006; Spirou, 2010; Coates and Humphreys, 2011).

The construction of these new North American stadia has been widely dependent on the use of public monies (Siemiatycki, 2013; Soebbing et al, 2016), and this has led to a significant body of consultancy research studies that aim to justify the $ millions spent. Each new stadium proposal, for example, is invariably accompanied by an ex ante economic impact study that sets out the projected, positive economic impacts of the stadia (Gratton et al, 2006). These studies are then used to rally public support for new stadia prior to the raising of capital through, for example, local sales and hotel taxes (Spirou, 2010).

2.3.1 The Economic Arguments For New Professional Sports Stadia

The basic economic arguments for new stadia construction contained in ex ante economic impact studies are well-established. Through attracting many thousands of spectators on matchdays, income is generated through the purchasing of tickets, food and drink, merchandise, and accommodation from stadia and businesses local to them (Soebbing et al, 2016). The larger the stadia and more diverse their matchday and non-matchday facilities, the more they are used and the more the local economy benefits. The construction of *new* stadia and the modern facilities and comfort they bring is then seen to provide an additional attendance boost through the novelty effects they bring (Soebbing et al, 2016).

Alongside the income generated, stadia are generators of jobs with the number varying depending on the size of the stadia and the range of activities they host. In terms of the core or essential jobs created by all professional sports stadia, there are permanent full-time stadium management, marketing and ticket sales, and ground staff jobs. There are then the part-time jobs created on matchdays that ensure that stadia function efficiently and effectively in terms of managing the health and safety of spectators and also maximising the consumer spend of the spectators. Security and stewarding staff are therefore employed both inside and immediately outside the stadium, and catering and retail staff are employed inside the stadium at retail and food outlets. In total, these matchday jobs can exceed the permanent full-time workforce by 10 to 1. For example, Jones et al (2007) report that Cardiff's Millennium Stadium employs 70 permanent full-time staff and over 800 staff on matchdays. There are then jobs that serve spectators outside and independent from the stadia. These include food and drink vans, street vendors of club merchandise, and coach drivers contracted to bring supporters groups to the stadium. For the people employed or self-employed in these roles, the activities related to stadia would likely form a small part of their working week – unless their business was mobile and enabled them to serve a number of different stadia.

In addition to the core jobs outlined above, the modern multi-purpose professional sports stadia create a wide array of jobs across different occupations and skills levels. Business development roles and catering staff are required for banqueting and conference facilities; retail supervisory and shopfloor staff are required for on-site club shops; hotel management, catering, bar and cleaning staff are required for on-site hotels (e.g. at Bolton Wanderers FC's Macron Stadium and Chelsea FC's Stamford Bridge); curator and tour guide roles are required for club museums and stadium tours (e.g. Liverpool FC's Anfield Stadium); and community learning tutors are required for on-site community learning activities (e.g. at Brighton and Hove Albion FC's Amex Community Stadium).

2.3.2 The Critique of the Ex Ante Economic Arguments

The economic arguments are well-established but the substantial levels of public investment in new stadia have also led to many ex post econometric analyses by academic communities to critically assess the economic impact claims (Baade, 1995; Baade et al, 2008; Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). Across

these studies, the income and jobs generation claims are highly disputed – beginning with constraints related to the matchday spectators attending the stadia. First, and despite the ability of new stadia to attract a higher number of females, families and higher income groups, spectators are disproportionately younger and older, lower income men who typically only purchase tickets, transport, food and drink, and merchandise – not high-value, discerning goods and service (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Gaffney, 2009; Jones, 2001; Rowe, 2008; Saayman and Uys, 2003). The attire of sports spectators (replica shirts to weatherproof clothing) even provides a barrier to their partaking in higher value activities as they are not immediately dressed for higher cost restaurants, bars and cultural attractions (Rowe, 2008). Second, due to the efficiency of transport systems, spectators are typically only in the immediate stadia environs for a short time period (Duke, 2002; Gunter, 2011; Rowe, 2008). Visiting fans often arrive by coach and visit only the coach park and the stadia, which minimises their spend on local goods and services (Gaffney, 2009). Third, non-match going consumers may be deterred from travelling to areas close to stadia due to fears (real or perceived) of traffic congestion, lack of parking and anti-social behaviour (Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Baade et al, 2008; Davies, 2008). Their staying away does not only harm local businesses selling higher value goods and services. For example, in Paramatta, Australia, Rowe (2008) finds that the revenue of the sports social club located next to the Paramatta Stadium sees a drop in takings on matchdays as many of the regular clientele stay away. Similarly, Bale (1990) and the Greater London Authority (2015) report into stadium-led regeneration find little evidence of a positive impact on local trade. Bale's research found that of 766 retailers in the vicinity of 37 stadia, only 27% reported an increase in revenue on matchdays, while 65% reported no change and 8% a decrease in revenue. If this behaviour translates to town and city centres, then the potential loss of takings for shops and businesses can be significant, with this a concern raised of Cardiff's Millennium Stadium with its Saturday Autumn Tests impacting on pre-Christmas trade (Jones, 2001).

A second set of factors relates to the leakage of the revenue generated by the stadia away from the local economy (Baade, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). First, much depends on where stadia officials and clubs buy their goods and services from, which include food and drink, security, construction and maintenance, marketing, legal and accountancy services. Income is retained if these services are purchased from local businesses, but this will depend on the quality of the local business base and the commitment shown by stadia

officials or clubs to supporting local businesses (Whitson and Horne, 2006). Second, leakage refers to where the high earning beneficiaries of stadia live and spend their income. Players, managers and coaches tend to live away from the stadia environs due to the nature of the local area where stadia are located (Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). Their income therefore benefits shops, bars and restaurants in other parts of the region. Indeed, they are more likely to live near club training grounds which are often located in more affluent, suburban areas such as Cobham in Surrey (Chelsea FC), Milngavie (Rangers FC) and Carrington (Manchester United FC). Ultimately, of course, the revenue flows to the owners of the stadia, whether the owner is the club itself, development and investment companies, or public sector organisations such as local authorities (Jones et al, 2007). Of concern in England is the increase in foreign ownership, particularly in English football, which means the revenue generated is exported.

The third set of arguments states that an increase in consumer spend in stadia and their immediate environs is simply a displacement of spend from other cultural and leisure attractions (e.g. cinemas, theatres, and restaurants) in the wider regional economy (Baade, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Jones et al, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2003; 2011). Any increase in local revenue is therefore negligible when considered from a metropolitan perspective because of displacement effects. The exception to this is when international or extra-regional visitors are attracted because of their spend on overnight accommodation, food and drink (Gratton et al, 2005; 2006). However, in practice the number of international or extra-regional visitors staying overnight for a domestic league or cup fixture are very few (Allan et al, 2007). Periodic sporting fixtures – such as Six Nations fixtures, international cricket test matches or domestic cup finals – attract more overnight stays but these ‘mega sporting events’ are predominantly held in national stadia rather than the stadia of professional sports clubs (Jones et al, 2007). International cricket is the exception in the UK and the demand to host matches has led to significant redevelopment work in both the traditional test grounds (Lords, the Oval, Edgbaston, Headingley, Trent Bridge and Old Trafford) but also newly emerging competitors (Cardiff’s Sophia Gardens, Southampton’s Rose Bowl and Durham’s Chester-le-Street). Indeed, this is the clearest example in UK professional sport of supply exceeding demand along the lines of the North American franchise system.

There is then the uncertainty of the novelty effect of new stadia. Soebbing et al (2016) find an initial boost in attendance levels but that this fades over time, equated to be after 5-8 years. Notwithstanding the positive effect that a winning team has on attendance levels, stadia officials need to plan for falls in attendance levels as this will require other stadia-based facilities to generate revenue to service stadia debt repayment or maintenance costs (Soebbing et al, 2016). Longer term, sustainability planning of new stadia is therefore required.

For all the criticisms above, much of the economic debate depends on what is meant by 'local' (Baade, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Coates and Humphreys, 2011). A tight definition of 'local' covering the immediate neighbouring area experiences high leakage but less displacement of income. In contrast, a metropolitan or regional area definition would experience less leakage but more displacement. In the literature, Ahlfeldt and Maennig (2009), Coates (2007) and Van Holm (2018) find that almost all econometric studies have been carried out at the metropolitan level but in doing so fail to recognise that stadia are too small as 'businesses' to have any discernible impact at that spatial level. They instead argue that only studies at a neighbourhood scale can assess whether new stadia are key determinants in processes of urban renewal. Consistent with this finding, the impact of the two case study stadia that form the basis of this research are primarily assessed at the local spatial level as opposed to their wider metropolitan or regional geographies.

Turning to the critique of the jobs created, the jobs are widely perceived to be of a poor quality. While this arguably overlooks the diverse range of jobs created by contemporary stadia, the majority of the jobs created are low-skilled, low-paid and have limited career progression opportunities (Schimmel, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Davies, 2008). The matchday jobs then have the added layer of being part-time, temporary and seasonal in nature. In short, the jobs created align with the secondary jobs outlined in segmented labour market theory (McTier and McGregor, 2018) and can exacerbate existing structural problems in the local economy (Schimmel, 1995).

Reflecting on the economic justifications above, the ex ante economic impact studies of stadia proponents can be criticised for under-estimating the costs and over-estimating the benefits from stadium construction (Flyvbjerg, 2007; Horne and Manzenreiter, 2006).

Roberts et al. (2016) puts forward four summary criticisms: that studies are undertaken by parties with a direct interest in the magnitude of the findings (so potentially inflating benefits); studies focus on the short-term impacts; studies fail to properly account for the impact of spending at a club or by a club on a local economy; and studies struggle to identify additionality.

The scepticism of academic communities has filtered down to the wider public, which is significant in North America where public ballots are widely used to gain public backing for a new stadium investment. The public is therefore more attuned to the over-inflated claims attached to new stadia, but also disgruntled by the burden of the costs. Hagemann (2010) states that the costs of the new stadia are democratized, while the profits are privatized. To explain, local sales taxes are used to help fund new stadia but this means that the costs disproportionately fall more heavily on lower income residents than more affluent groups. Similarly, investing the monies in stadia represents an opportunity cost as stadia construction costs divert potential investment in alternative public facilities and services (Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Hall, 2006; Reid, 2013; Schimmel, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Whitson and Horne, 2006). There are therefore parallels here with the question of who benefits from flagship developments, with the powerful elites of professional sports clubs or franchise owners, stadia developers and civic leaders seemingly benefiting at the financial expense of more disadvantaged resident and business groups (Van Holm, 2018). Cantor and Rosentraub's (2012 pp220) research into San Diego's Ballpark District illustrates this point with the *'city and other public sector agencies investing more than the (professional) team's owner in a new facility, while the team receives most (or all) of the enhanced revenue streams'*.

The commercial demands on professional sports stadia then add a further dimension. As set out in the Introduction, the construction and operation of professional sports stadia is capital intensive and requires the needs of corporate and consumer markets to be met (KPMG, 2011), with particular focus on higher income markets. The stadia therefore become 'tradia' (Bale, 2000) that exclude traditional, local and lower income supporter bases (Brown, 2009; Giulianotti, 2011; Kennedy, 2012; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001; Williams, 1995).

2.4 Stadia as Flagship Developments

On account of the economic limitations and criticisms, Coates and Humphreys (2011) have identified a discernible change in how North American cities now justify the $ multi-millions invested in new stadia. Rather than citing ex ante economic impact studies, they increasingly refer to the wider benefits that stadia bring to cities and communities as flagship developments. In line with urban entrepreneurialism, they are held up as flagship developments through their ability to symbolise the future ambitions of a place (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Bale, 1995; Bairner, 2003; Cuthbert, 2011; Hall, 2006; Coates, 2007; Jones et al, 2007; Reid, 2013), as well as demonstrating local organisations' ability to deliver large-scale physical projects (Davies, 2008). Sunderland FC's Stadium of Light and Manchester City FC's Etihad Stadium[1] are leading examples of this in the UK as these are large-scale, new stadia built on inner city, brownfield sites as catalysts for the regeneration of their local areas (Davies, 2008; Rowe, 2008; Thornley, 2002). Both have capacities in excess of 45,000 spectators but stadia do not necessarily have to be as large to be termed flagship developments. In smaller cities or towns, architecturally iconic or innovative stadia can evoke the same impressions. Huddersfield Town FC's John Smith's Stadium and Bolton Wanderers FC's Macron Stadium are good examples of this and reflect the increasingly important role that architecture has begun to play in the construction of sports stadia. Referring to stadia like the Bayern Munich's Allianz Arena, Ahlfeldt and Maennig (2009) state that distinctive stadia can create 'new visiting cards' for places.

New stadia and the public investment in them were also increasingly justified in relation to their contribution to towns' and cities' culture-led approaches. Having been predominantly constructed on suburban, edge-of-town sites in the 1970s to benefit from extensive parking and good road connections, many stadia are now being built in central, downtown areas of US cities (Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Spirou, 2010) – a trend that can also be seen across some European towns and cities (KPMG, 2013). Partly this was in recognition of the negligible economic impact of peripheral stadia as evidenced by Baade (1996) but above all the change in approach was to help stimulate the revival of depressed downtown areas (Spirou, 2010; Whitson and Horne, 2006). Toronto's SkyDome, Baltimore's Oriole Park and Indianapolis' Lucas Oil stadium were built in city centre

[1] The Etihad Stadium was first constructed as the City of Manchester Stadium to host the 2002 Commonwealth Games, with the regeneration of east Manchester a key driver behind the staging of the Games.

locations so that the stadia's spectators could help stimulate and sustain the cultural and leisure offer that city authorities were seeking to develop (Coates, 2007; Kidd, 1995). Similar arguments have been used for the construction of Cardiff's Millennium Stadium (Jones, 2001) and could be used to demonstrate the value of long-established city centre stadia such as Newcastle United FC's St James' Park and Bath Rugby's Recreation Ground. In this respect, the spillover effects of matches and events at stadia supposedly benefit local retail, hospitality, cultural and leisure businesses – although one must question the net benefit of sports spectators in terms of the number that frequent these types of businesses versus the number of potential customers they deter from visiting the area.

Referring to the grouping of CARE attractions and epicentres (Gospodini, 2006), some cities have used stadia to anchor a distinct type of cultural zone – namely 'sport city' zones (Smith, 2010). Sport city zones are characterised by a clustering of sports facilities and can either take the form of designating one part of the city as a sports city (e.g. East Manchester) or branding the whole city as a sports city (e.g. Melbourne). In so doing, these zones supposedly attract urban, sports tourists (Rowe, 2008) or what Paramio et al (2008) call 'nostalgia sports tourists' where visitors seek to re-experience sporting memories. Soebbing et al (2016) also recognise a nostalgia effect but tie this to stadia nearing the end of their lifespans. Attendance levels at Boston's Fenway Park and Chicago's Wrigley Field were therefore seen to have increased due to the attraction of nostalgia sports tourists (Soebbing et al, 2016).

Stadia can also contribute to place branding and external imaging. Images of flagship stadia are widely used in promotional material as a symbol of the local sports and leisure offer, with their impact enhanced where stadia have an iconic, innovative design as it portrays a modern, progressive image of the city (Davies, 2008). The coverage of matches or concerts hosted at the stadia can also boost external awareness of the city (Eckstein and Delaney, 2002; Saayman and Uys, 2003), albeit the stadium is often the only landmark shown and does not help sell other local attractions (Jones, 2001b). For a select number of stadia, their profile and global reach is greater than that of the city itself and place branding efforts can prosper if they successfully tap into this awareness (Ginesta, 2017; Jones et al, 2007; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Thornley, 2002). For example, Barcelona's Nou Camp, Real Madrid's Bernabau, Manchester United's Old Trafford and Liverpool's

Anfield stadia are arguably more widely recognised than any other building or asset in those cities. Similarly Schimmel (1995) in referring to Indianapolis, suggests that stadia can provide a distinctive landmark for towns or cities with no natural geographical assets. In these examples, place branding should build on the colourful, vibrant and passionate characteristics of the stadia. Jones et al (2007) believes Cardiff's Millennium Stadium achieves this through the stadium conveying a 'warm welcome' and a strong sporting intent to a global audience that reflects the Welsh, 'cool Cymru' culture.

2.4.1 Overplaying of Stadia as Flagship Developments

The labelling of stadia as flagship developments and the extent of their impact can, however, be overplayed. Beginning with the importance of spectacular and distinctive architecture, how many of the new football stadia built in the UK since 1990 can genuinely be termed flagship developments in that they are memorable, distinctive and evocative of a new future for a town or city? Middlesbrough, Stoke City, Derby County, Coventry City and Leicester City all have new stadia of approximately 30,000 capacities but there is little distinctive about them aside from the colour of their seats. Duke (2002) notes the increased uniformity by stating that:

> '*Travelling to away matches used to involve visiting a unique ground steeped in history, with distinctive stands and strange, quirky corners and historical relics. Many of the new all seated stands at the old grounds are similar, and visiting one new relocated stadium is very much like visiting another'* (Duke, 2002 pp16)

Goldblatt (2014) is similarly disappointed:

> *"There is an increasing uniformity of aesthetics, architecture and choreography within the stadium, and that is a loss. Look now, while you can, at the last idiosyncratic gems in the grounds that have yet to be entirely redeveloped"* Goldblatt (2014, pp64)

In much the same way that the multitude of new shopping malls or waterfront developments across the UK has brought a uniformity to its towns and cities, so too do the conventional designs of new stadia. Indeed, to be considered a *bona fide* flagship

development, it would appear that stadia require a clear point of distinctiveness relating to their size or architecture (Davies, 2008).

The contribution of new stadia to other urban entrepreneurial mechanisms that enhance a place's competitive offer can also be questioned. Soebbing et al (2016) and Van Holm (2018) question whether new stadia are in themselves sufficient draws to attract the sought after, mobile groups that civic leaders target. Instead they contend that new stadia simply improve the quality of the experience for existing users.

Widening the critique to the 'sport city' zones that some new stadia anchor, Smith (2010) asks whether these zones are economically sustainable given that they tend to be artificial zones constructed out of necessity after major sporting events. Gunter (2011), for example, finds that the 2010 FIFA World Cup-initiated Ellis Park Sports Precinct in Johannesburg has simply become a transient space used only intermittently by sports fans, rather than the intended vibrant, multi-functional area. As Smith (2010) concludes, sport city zones appear to be land hungry, low density, one-dimensional, segregated phenomena, which are characteristics normally considered as the antithesis of sustainable urban development. These challenges are recognised by East Manchester stakeholders with their evidence to the Greater London Authority (2015 pp18) including the quote that:

> *'The next phase has to be how we do something that actually attracts people 365 days a year into east Manchester to create the footfall, to create the viability of spend and continuous spend, and make it a day-in, day-out destination venue in its own right*'.

Perhaps stadia's greatest cultural contribution is in relation to what they actually host. Whether weekly sporting fixtures or the rock and pop concerts that many stadia now stage, both are mass, popular cultural events that appeal to a wide demographic (Bale, 1995, 2000; Chase and Healey, 1995; Rowe, 2008). For example, Robinson (2010) cites that 38% of adults in the UK 'follow football'. The popularity of these events cannot be questioned but they do not necessarily align with the high culture theatres, galleries, museums, exhibitions, cosmopolitan cafes, bars and restaurants that towns and cities are targeting as part of their culture-led approaches to competitive place (Moen, 1995). Instead sports and popular concerts more closely align with the popular leisure or 'pub' culture that

some places are keen to distance themselves from (Rowe, 2008; Tallon et al, 2006). This leads Moen (1995) and Rowe (2008) to state that there is an uneasy, 'us and them' relationship between 'working class' sport (and therefore stadia) and 'bourgeoisie' culture – evidenced by place-based cultural strategies making little connection with sporting events, and vice versa.

While 'pub culture' sport and 'high arts' culture may not directly align with one another, they are not incompatible. At a practical level, sporting events typically take place at different times of the day than other cultural events – i.e. Saturday afternoons as opposed to Friday and Saturday evenings (Van Holm, 2018). As such the two both contribute to the development of a 24-hour cultural offer. At the sociological level, the popular culture spectaculars that stadia host bring social equality to a place's cultural offer with different interests catered for (Chase and Healey, 1995). As such, it is arguably more accurate to say that they are *complementary* cultural offers that typically operate independently of one another.

It is with regards to the hosting of mega-events that we would instinctively expect the stadia of professional sports clubs to be most prominent. However, in practice, they rarely are. The periodic nature of the largest sporting mega-events is one obvious reason for this as the Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games, FIFA World Cup, and UEFA European Championships are historically once in a decade events at best for any given country, which inevitably brings an infrequency to hosting mega-events. Furthermore, in countries such as England, France and Germany, there is an over-supply of fit-for-purpose stadia that could host World Cup and European Championship matches. This is illustrated by the 2015 IRB Rugby World Cup in England, where only two club rugby stadia (Gloucester's Kingsholm and Exeter's Sandy Park) hosted games despite the desire of other rugby clubs to do so. Instead, England's largest football stadia and Cardiff's Millennium Stadium hosted games to maximise the number of spectators watching and revenue generated from the World Cup. In short, only a very small percentage of professional sports stadia will ever host an internationally significant mega-event, which means mega-events can only be viewed as an extremely rare but welcome commercial and tourism boost for stadia and their towns and cities. For this reason, Allan et al. (2007), Jones (2001) and Roberts et al. (2016) recognise the value and importance of understanding and enhancing the impacts of seasonal sport (and the stadia which host these) as, compared to one-off mega-events. For

them, seasonal sports and their stadia have the potential to generate significant and ongoing contributions to their local economies, and the focus of this thesis on community stadia certainly aligns with this belief.

In summary, there is scepticism and criticism of the socio-economic impact of new professional sports stadia, as there is of other flagship developments. At the planning and construction phases, the private sector elite of club owners and developers benefit as the costs of the stadia are democratized and the benefits privatized. Then, at the end use stage, the stadia facilities of corporate boxes and conference facilities are targeted at higher income groups, so distancing traditional supporter bases and local populations. In recognition of these types of shortcomings that are evident across various flagship developments, urban economic development policy did begin to change and it is to this 'sustainability agenda' trend that the next section turns.

2.5 Widening to a Sustainability Agenda

Property-led urban entrepreneurialism has been the dominant discourse of the last 20-30 years but in the first decade of the millennium there was a softening of the approach. With the economic and gentrification impacts of urban entrepreneurialism and flagship developments increasingly criticised, greater policy attention was paid to the social, community and environmental impacts of these large scale and spectacular developments (Evans, 2005). In the UK and driven by the New Labour government, this led to the emergence of a sustainability agenda whereby a more balanced and holistic view of economic development was advanced (Pike et al, 2007; Raco et al, 2008). Policy aims therefore shifted away from the dominant economic focus to wider priorities of reducing social inequality, promoting environmental sustainability, encouraging inclusive government and governance, and recognising cultural diversity (Pike et al, 2007). Similarly, measures such as quality of jobs, quality of life, social cohesion and wellbeing were introduced alongside the established economic growth and development indicators (Pike et al, 2007; Pike et al, 2017).

A further implication of the sustainability agenda was the emergence of and support for locally conceived, bottom-up approaches to achieving economic development. The heterogeneity of places, their diverse populations and their individual needs and visions

were therefore embraced within more distinctive and context-sensitive approaches to local and regional development (Pike et al, 2007). **Community economic development** is one term that can be used to represent this policy shift. Defined by Leach (2013 pp.929) as *'economic development led by the community and based on local knowledge and action, with the aim of creating economic opportunities and better social conditions locally'*, it refers to a bottom-up approach to economic development where the community takes the lead in effecting local, positive change, as opposed to change being dictated by the 'problems' identified by external 'experts' and the 'solutions' they propose (Blackshaw, 2008; Haughton, 1998; Hawtin et al., 1994; MacIntosh et al., 2016; Massey, 2007; Mathie and Cuuningham, 2003; Pike et al., 2006; Roseland, 2012; Schulenkorf, 2012; Taylor, 2003).

A key determinant of community economic development is a rebalancing of planning and decision making away from civic leaders, financiers, developers and external experts towards local populations, groups and communities. Here there are strong parallels with **co-production** which, at its simplest, relates to the involvement of service users in the design and delivery of services. Expanding on this, co-production has been defined as *'the involvement of citizens, clients, consumers, volunteers and/or community organisations in producing public services as well as consuming or otherwise benefiting from them'* (Alford, 1998 quoted in Needham, 2008).

From these two definitions, co-production is a departure from the sometimes artificial community engagement derived from consultation exercises and community representation on boards, both of which retain the power imbalance between 'expert' officials and the 'community' users (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Needham, 2008). Instead, co-production is grounded on an equal relationship between officials and users where the assets, resources and skills of community members are recognised and utilised to design and deliver more effective and sustainable services (Boyle and Harris, 2009; Brandsen and Pestoff, 2006; Mitlin, 2008). There are close parallels here with Massey's (2005; 2007) view that places are continuously created through the constant interactions and negotiations between multiple stakeholders, as co-production offers the fora for these negotiations. Co-production also enhances the role of users from being consumers of services to also being producers of the services – i.e. from a passive to an active role (Needham, 2008).

Whether termed community economic development, co-production or sustainability planning, the end, desired outcome of the shift in policy and discourse was the creation of sustainable cities, towns and communities. Duffy (1995), for example, focused on how to create sustainable (yet still economically competitive) cities. For her, and with echoes of a managerial, redistributive approach to urban planning (Harvey, 1989), a well-run city should provide for all its citizens and not only those who prosper with business growth. This is achieved through taking a more cooperative approach to urban planning and service delivery, with success then qualified by understanding whether existing resident and business groups have benefited as well as the creative, professional classes. Indeed, by attending to all and building a more diverse and cohesive population, Duffy (1995) contends that cities are more likely to attract and retain the creative and professional groups that are so highly sought after.

For others, a more localised desired outcome is sought with the creation of **sustainable communities**. Rogerson et al. (2011) characterise such places as having the tangible aspects of a flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth; good quality local public services; buildings that can individually and collectively meet different needs over time; a diverse, vibrant and creative local culture; and good connectivity with other areas; but also the more intangible aspects of effective local engagement and participation, pride and cohesion among the community, and a developed 'sense of place'. These characteristics then contribute to Kearns and Turok's (2003 pp1) definition of sustainable communities as '*settlements which meet the diverse needs of all existing and future residents; contribute to a high quality of life; and offer appropriate ladders of opportunity for household advancement, either locally or through external connections. They also limit the adverse external effects on the environment, society and economy*'. Indeed, and in line with Duffy's assertion that sustainable cities are also competitive and attractive cities (1995), sustainable communities become *places of choice* – i.e. higher quality places that people choose to live in – due to their ability to meet people's diverse needs (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003).

2.6 Stadia within a Sustainability Agenda

The shift in urban economic policy could also be seen in how new stadia developments were justified. In view of the contested nature of the economic and flagship development justifications, stadia proponents placed greater emphasis on the positive social impacts and public good externalities of new stadia (Coates, 2007; Eckstein and Delaney, 2002; Hone and Silvers, 2006; Hong et al., 2015; Slack, 2014). To an extent, this shift has been forced upon them as government, supporters and other stakeholders increasingly expect professional sport to make a greater contribution to social agendae (Parnell et al., 2017). Some of the broader socio-economic impacts are intimated above, such as the creation of direct and indirect jobs and business opportunities in the local area, the contribution towards a more socially equitable cultural offer, and an improved profile of the local area so boosting local place attractiveness. However, arguably more has been made of the less tangible social impacts that stadia bring, with these outlined below.

First, stadia and their clubs provide a symbol of local identity and belonging that residents associate with and can even help unite diverse communities (Alm, 2016; Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Bale, 1995; Gaffney, 2009; Hone and Silvers, 2006; Jones et al, 2007; Malcolm, 2000; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Spirou, 2010). This relates back to the origins of professional sports clubs, as they were set up to represent and be expressions of their home cities, towns and neighbourhoods (Duke, 2002). While the traditional ties have diluted over time and traditional fans may be increasingly excluded from new stadia due to stadia relocation or higher ticket prices (Giulianotti, 2011), local residents are still likely to follow the progress of the team, supported by coverage in the local media, which provides a common interest and topic of conversation that reinforces a sense of local identity, while also building social capital within towns and cities (Bairner, 2003; Coates, 2007; Robinson, 2010).

Second, new stadia, particularly if they are spectacular in their design, can build civic pride through the enhanced image that the stadia bring for the local area (Hong et al., 2015). Civic pride is then further enhanced if the local club is also winning (Chase and Healey, 1995; Eckstein and Delaney, 2002; Sanders et al, 2014). The civic pride benefits have been widely used in justifying public investments in North American stadia as attracting a Major League franchise by means of a new stadium is seen to evoke a 'big city' status that can

embolden local residents and businesses (Coates, 2007; Hone and Silvers, 2006). Third, and already mentioned above, is the role of new stadia in boosting social capital. This can stem from increased local conversations about the stadia and its clubs and greater community use of the stadia, so enabling more opportunities for shared experiences among residents.

It is in this period of a more localised and sustainable urban planning discourse that community stadia emerged as a phenomenon. The focus of Chapter 3's literature review, the number of new professional sports stadia that were constructed or labelled as 'community stadia' since the mid- to late-2000s reflects the increased traction of community economic development, community empowerment, co-production and sustainability. However, as this chapter's final section sets out, their emergence was also promptly followed by a deep economic recession, austerity and a return to economic-driven urban planning. In this context, one must question whether the community aims and ambitions attached to community stadia can survive alongside economic demands and interests.

2.7 Austerity and the Return to the Economic

The onset of the 2008 global economic recession meant that the sustainability agenda was shortlived. In helping to stimulate economic recovery and growth, there has been a renewed focus on property-led urban entrepreneurial policy with the construction of seemingly evermore spectacular flagship developments at its heart (Pike et al, 2017). However, their construction is in a different political and economic environment. The UK government has changed from the New Labour administration that advanced the sustainability agenda, via a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition heavily focused on cutting public expenditure, to the current Conservative government that has maintained the period of austerity and (more recently) had to manage the UK's leaving of the European Union. For civic leaders and urban planners, an implication of these changes is the shrinking of the civic budget for new flagship developments, alongside a reduction of planning regulations designed to open up land for development (Panton and Walters, 2018). In response, civic leaders have sought alternative ways to finance developments that draw on the resources of different actors, particularly private financiers of pension and

private equity funds and overseas investors (Panton and Walters, 2018; Raco et al, 2016; Raco and de Souza, 2018).

While this means costs are increasingly privatized, a bi-product of private finance's increased role in the funding and construction of new flagship developments is the emergence of 'anti-political development machines' that distance local, community interests (Raco et al, 2016). By providing the finance, there is an ever-increasing shift of power and influence to the interests of the economic elite and away from local elected representatives, public authorities and the local resident and business population (Panton and Walters, 2018; Raco and de Souza, 2018). In terms of what is constructed, Raco and de Souza (2018) highlight the prioritisation of (profitable) residential units and consumerist developments, with alternative land uses for existing resident and business communities overlooked. In terms of power relations, urban planning and financial arrangements are increasingly opaque and hidden from local democratic structures and public accountability mechanisms (Raco et al, 2016; Vento, 2017). Panton and Walters' (2018) research into Tottenham Hotspur FC's new White Hart Lane stadium illustrates this relationship with views that the club was 'holding the (Haringey) council to ransom' and that 'the council are pandering towards Spurs'. Controversial decisions made by Haringey Council included the demolition of existing homes and businesses for a new walkway to the new stadium, reduction of Section 106 community infrastructure obligations, and the release of the 50% affordable housing requirement for properties built as part of the stadium redevelopment project (Panton and Walters, 2018).

Providing the financial capital is not the only means by which public accountability and transparency of flagship developments is diminished. Another post-recessionary trend is the increased outsourcing of public service delivery and the attendant use of third party agencies (Bornstein, 2010; Panton and Walters, 2018). At the planning stage, there is increased use of community engagement consultants or experts that are appointed to manage the community consultation process (Raco et al, 2016). Operating in the liminal governance space between private markets and the formal (public) planning system, the activities of these agencies suggest an interest in listening to local community interests and concerns, yet in reality are primarily fulfilling a technocratic exercise that assures planners that community interests have been considered (Raco et al, 2016). The end result is that opportunities for the making of sustainable places and buildings through negotiations

between the multiplicity of stakeholders are lost (Massey, 2005), while the flagship developments effectively proceed as planned, albeit with some minor concessions on points of detail (Panton and Walters, 2018; Raco et al, 2016; Vento, 2017).

The distancing of public accountability is also increasingly prevalent at the end use stage through the use of third party agencies to manage developments. Museums, galleries, libraries, leisure centres, stadia and other cultural facilities are commonly transferred to quasi-public, arms-length external organisations (ALEOs) of local authorities (OSCR, 2015). While ALEOs are theoretically accountable to democratic structures, to the wider public their governance and financial arrangements are generally opaque and confusing. Vento (2017), for example, describes them as the *'technocratic and privatized management of the public sphere'*.

Summarising the contemporary policy trend towards economic-led urban entrepreneurialism, existing resident and business communities are increasingly marginalised with the economic interests of the capitalist communities prioritised. Panton and Walters (2018) refer to flagship developments in this new era as a Trojan horse for gentrification with local people and businesses not consulted with and then pushed out of the local area due to their spaces being demolished and replaced with unaffordable properties and business premises. Paradoxically, however, the end outcome is that these policy interventions are corroding the diversity and creativity that generate the economic and cultural vibrancy and dynamism that attract and retain the sought after creative and professional classes (Raco and de Souza, 2018).

2.8 Conclusions

This chapter has set out and discussed the fluctuating urban economic development context in which new professional sports stadia have been constructed. Indeed, depending on the dominant policy and macroeconomic climate (e.g. economic buoyancy or recession) at different points in time, new stadia developments have either received strong political, financial and public backing or been subject to intense critique of their impact. With unfettered urban entrepreneurialism and fuelled by ambitious ex-ante appraisals, new stadia developments and other symbolic flagship development were heralded as the magnets of highly sought after mobile skills, jobs, firms and investment and, by extension,

catalysts of new jobs, wealth and urban economic development. However, when macro-economic pressures were greater and/or the voices of marginalised, local communities more vociferous, new stadia proponents have been pressed to demonstrate their wider impact on their communities. In the UK, the sustainability agenda initiated by the New Labour government led to new stadia developments being couched within community economic development, co-production and sustainable communities theories and concepts. The community stadia phenomenon can be traced back to this period.

However, while urban economic development policy continues to fluctuate (with macroeconomic cycles and critiques of past flagship developments particularly influential), the more balanced and holistic approach of the sustainability agenda has rarely been the dominant theory. As can be seen currently with a new wave of urban entrepreneurialism following the 2008 global economic recession, the most consistent policy themes and discourses are the dominance of economic interests over social needs, the (ever growing) power imbalance between the urban elites and more marginalised communities, the fixation on attracting the mobile creative and professional classes above meeting the needs of existing populations, and the over-estimation of the benefits and under-calculation of the costs of flagship developments.

Chapter 3 shifts attention to the community stadia literature but it is important to consider their emergence within the urban economic development policy context outlined in this chapter. Indeed, the vision behind community stadia appears to be apposite to the dominant regressive policy themes and discourses, with greater emphasis on the stadia's use by and impact on their local communities rather than their contribution to hard economic measures. A question, therefore, is whether community stadia can deliver on their more inclusive and social aims in such an economically-driven climate.

Chapter 3: The Emergence of Community Stadia

3.1 Introduction

Community stadia have emerged as a stadia phenomenon during the era of urban entrepreneurialism and flagship developments discussed in Chapter 2. More specifically they have emerged in the UK during the post-millennium period of interest in sustainable development, straddling hard economic development aspirations *and* softer social impacts of enhanced local identity, civic pride and social capital. In this context, clubs and stadia officials of different sports have paid greater attention to the facilities and services that professional sports stadia can house – particularly those that can be used by community users as opposed to commercial users. At the forefront of this has been the number of new professional sports stadia spanning male and female professional football, rugby league, rugby union teams that have been constructed and labelled as 'community stadia' in the UK over the past decade. These include Brighton, Chesterfield, Colchester, Doncaster, Falkirk and Warrington, while future community stadia are planned in Brentford, Cambridge, Castleford, Cornwall, Grimsby, Wimbledon and York.

Their emergence in this policy climate means community stadia are an intriguing phenomenon to understand, particularly given their wide but seemingly more measured expectations of what professional sports stadia can realistically deliver in terms of direct and indirect economic benefits for the neighbourhoods, towns, cities and regions in which they are situated. However, with the community stadia-specific literature currently spanning just three sources (see City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008 and Sanders et al., 2014), there has been limited critical assessment of what community stadia are and the impact they are having. This despite the levels of public investment that have contributed to their construction, with a key proviso of this public investment being the positive impact these stadia are having on their communities. Here this gap in the academic literature begins to be filled by integrating the existing knowledge and summarising what is already known about community stadia in Sections 3.2 to 3.4, drawing extensively on the three sources outlined above to provide as comprehensive a review as possible of existing knowledge. By consolidating the existing knowledge of community stadia, the chapter highlights the gaps and shortcomings in our understanding for further investigation.

At the same time, the limited academic attention into community stadia means that there is a need to understand what can be drawn from wider stadia- and community-related concepts, including healthy stadia (Section 3.5), community outreach/Corporate Social Responsibility activities (Section 3.6), community (Section 3.7), community assets, buildings and gardens (Section 3.8) and co-production (Section 3.9). The chapter then concludes with an assessment of what is known about community stadia and, critically, sets out the gaps or weaknesses in the knowledge base that this research seeks to answer through the three research questions set out in Chapter 1.

3.2 Amex Community Stadium, Brighton

The only community stadium referred to within the academic literature is Brighton & Hove Albion FC's (BHA) 30,750 capacity Amex Community Stadium (Sanders et al, 2014). Located five miles from Brighton's town centre, its construction was the culmination of a nomadic and tumultuous journey for the club in which the relationship with its fans and the wider Brighton and Hove communities suffered. After selling its Goldstone Ground stadium in 1997, the club groundshared with Gillingham FC for two years and then played at the Withdean (athletics) Stadium in Brighton for 11 years before moving into the newly constructed Amex Community Stadium in 2012.

The Amex Community Stadium offered a significant opportunity for the club to re-engage with its communities, with the Albion in the Community (AITC) organisation a key asset on which the club could rebuild its relationship. AITC had been set up by the club "*to use the salience of football for community development"* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp422) and had established a strong reputation locally. By committing to a community stadium in which AITC could be based, "*The directors* (of BHA) *felt that there was an opportunity to embed their community development expertise* (of AITC) *within the core of the club, thus addressing criticism (directed at all clubs) that commitment to community engagement was little more than a side issue to the 'real' business of football."* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp422). Altruistic factors were also evident in the planning of the new stadium as it was not only intended to provide a permanent home for AITC but also become *'an education, health and cultural centre for the local community'* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp422). Such a community facility was deemed particularly important given that the stadium was constructed "*at Falmer, near to Moulescoomb (one of the most educationally and*

employment deprived communities in Brighton)" (Sanders et al., 2014 pp422). In summary, the article indicates that the rationale for BHA investing in a *community* stadium as opposed to a conventional football stadium was that it contributed to the club's sporting aims by enhancing the relationship between the club and its supporter base, and community aims by providing a permanent home for AITC and becoming a hub for the local Moulescoomb community.

The Sanders et al article also provides insight into what aspects define community stadia. Characteristics include their multifunctional use, as illustrated by the Amex Community Stadium becoming a sporting, education, health and cultural centre, and the presence of the club's community outreach/CSR organisation within the stadium. In this respect, Sanders et al find that:

> "*The community stadium thus appears to represent a distinct form of sporting space – far removed from trends found in the construction of other, larger, new football grounds"* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp415).

Less tangible characteristics are the stadia becoming a hub for the community or a 'place of the people'.

> *"The emergence of the 'community stadium'…attempt(s) to concretize the stadium as…a place of the people – as well being home to the football club itself.'* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp415).

Reflecting on these characteristics, Sanders et al. (2014 pp425-426) suggest, *'What we may be witnessing is a move towards the football stadium becoming more, rather than less, important as a community resource".* Indeed, they believe that community stadia could become the antidote to the 'tradium' trend of professional sports stadia identified by Bale (2000). This is achieved by:

> "*The community stadium…not, primarily, emphasiz*(ing) *claims about how paying supporters will benefit; rather, it reaches out to its immediate local environs, especially disadvantaged segments of the community whom, it is assumed, require special provision (e.g. health centres, community meeting spaces, classrooms, etc.)*

> *because they are unlikely – or unable – to engage with their local clubs in more traditional ways, such as attending matches"* (Sanders et al., 2014 pp415).

3.3 Cambridge and York Community Stadia

If Sanders et al. (2014) offer a developmental and theoretical view of community stadia, a more descriptive assessment of community stadia is provided by the PMP (2008) and City of York Council (2010) reports produced to support the planning submissions for the Cambridge and York community stadia, respectively. Drawing on their descriptions of community stadia, the characteristics identified align closely with Sanders et al.'s findings. Collectively hosting professional football and rugby league, there is agreement that community stadia are multifunctional buildings that can house diverse facilities and services beyond their core, professional sports functions (City of York, 2010). These facilities and services include,

> "*Health provision (including Primary Care Trust and health improvement services), leisure provision (community health and fitness facilities or larger scale commercial leisure opportunities), education facilities (e.g. Playing for Success centres, community classrooms and ICT suites), general community provisions (community halls, meeting spaces, libraries etc), sports facilities (indoor sports halls, outdoor pitches, etc.), as well as local retail and other businesses"* (PMP, 2008 pp2).

The two reports also find that community stadia can become a resource or hub for their communities. For example, "*A community stadium provides local communities with a hub facility and presents particular opportunities around community engagement, development and cohesion"* (PMP, 2008 pp2). Achieving such a status does not, however, just happen. Accessibility is one key characteristic with the City of York (2010) report highlighting the importance of stadia's physical and financial accessibility, "*The goal of many of these stadia is to become an accessible hub in terms of geographic accessibility and affordability for the community"* (City of York Council, 2010 pp7). The PMP (2008 pp.2) report also notes the importance of stadia's location but equally highlights the need for the stadia to *"accessible to the communities it serves at all times, during the day and evening, on weekdays and weekends".*

Another key characteristic is the provision of attractive and engaging facilities and services. Indeed, PMP (2008) find that the:

> *"Development and facilities that coexist within or alongside the core* (sporting) *facility…will determine whether the facility is embraced by the local community and extent to which it will be used outside of match days"* (PMP, 2008 pp56).

Achieving such an attractive and engaging facility and service requires stadia officials to seek out, listen and respond to what local communities want. "*Facilities should be provided based on local demand and necessity to ensure that they are specific to the communities that they will serve"* (PMP, 2008 pp2). The implications of this are two-fold: first, there ought to be mechanisms in place that enable the community to influence what community stadia offer; second, the consequence of local responsiveness is that each:

> *"Community stadia* (will) *differ between areas based on the local demand for particular facilities and services, and the key priorities of the partners involved in the development of the facility"* (PMP, 2008 pp2).

Collectively, these characteristics lead PMP (2008, pp2) to state that community stadia are *"markedly different from the typical sports stadium"*, so aligning with Sanders et al.'s (2014) view that they are a 'distinct form of sporting space', and also that they *"embrace the concept of a 'living stadium' designed to make a positive contribution to the local environment and community,…*(where they) *are accessed, used and embraced by the local community to a greater extent than traditional stadia"* (PMP, 2008 pp56). Furthermore, as multifunctional, accessible hubs for their communities, they can become assets for local partner organisations to attract and engage service users.

> *'Community stadia can also provide benefits for local authorities and services to engage with their local populations. Providing a critical mass of service provision creates opportunities for cross-fertilisation of users who may not typically have awareness of or access particular services'* (PMP, 2008 pp2).

3.4 Reflecting on the Community Stadia Literature

The number of published sources that focus on community stadia are few but they do support the notion that community stadia are an emergent, distinct type of professional sports stadia. From City of York Council (2010), PMP (2008) and Sanders et al (2014), community stadia are accessible, multifunctional buildings that, in addition to the professional sports they host, house a diverse range of facilities and services for the communities which they aim to serve. Placing the emphasis on their communities rather than commercial users is the key point of distinction and means that community stadia are a valuable and instructive stadia type that other stadia developers can learn from, albeit their positive characteristics and impacts currently lack a strong evidence base and one that this research aims to enhance.

Beginning with their design as multifunctional buildings, for example, the ways in which community stadia have balanced (multi-)functionality with form offers valuable learning, particularly when a number of flagship developments have compromised their functional ubiquity through their spectacular, aesthetic qualities (Evans, 2005; Moss et al, 2009; Turok, 2009). Of particular interest is whether community stadia have architecturally 'inclusive design' elements built into them. Defined as the *'design of…environments to be usable, to the greatest possible extent, by all people through their lifespan, without adaptation or specialised design,…and so contributes to sustainability'* (Heylighen, 2008 pp532), inclusive design is an architectural design approach that has equity and social justice at its core. The learning then has implications for other flagship development building types as Evans (2005 pp974-975) points towards a number of flagship developments that have been *'poorly designed using uninspiring 'municipal' interiors or expensive materials and fittings which require high maintenance or fail'*.

The community stadia literature also suggests that the needs and interests of local residents, community groups and clubs' traditional supporter base have equal, or even greater, influence than those of club owners and directors, financiers, civic leaders and higher income residents and businesses. If achieved, the arrangement would indicate that there has been a participatory, co-production design process whereby the demands and insights of local populations have been sought and incorporated to deliver inclusive and accessible community stadia that house an attractive and engaging facility and service offer

(Heylighen, 2008). Furthermore, and understanding that places (in this case community stadia) are constantly (re)created through ongoing social interactions and negotiations between multiple stakeholders (Massey, 2005; 2007), the participatory process ought to continue throughout the stadia's lifespan so that the facility and service mix offered reflects the changing needs of stadia's diverse communities. Given that flagship developments have marginalised existing, local resident and business populations, community stadia can potentially offer extremely valuable learning into how a co-productive relationship across multiple and diverse stakeholder groups can be achieved and sustained.

However, while portrayed as a distinct type of professional sports stadia, one must be cautious in declaring that community stadia are a fundamentally new phenomenon and a radical departure from other professional sports stadia. One cannot claim that *only* community stadia can house wider, accessible facilities and services. Professional sports stadia often house a number of wider facilities and services that the community can access (Brown and McGee, 2012), yet they are not claimed to be 'community stadia'. All stadia, for example, offer the opportunity for their facilities to be hired for conferences, meetings, weddings and private functions – all of which can be for community use. The aforementioned high profile, off-season pop concerts and other events also appeal to the local community (Chase and Healey, 1995), while some stadia have facilities 'designed in' to them for community and commercial use, such as a private gym within Huddersfield's John Smith's Stadium (Brown and McGee, 2012). Another interface is professional clubs' involvement in community outreach/Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities, although the relationship between these activities and stadia is discussed later in Section 2.7.

The improvements in pitch technologies have also led to renewed interest in artificial grass pitches (AGPs) as these can transform the use of the pitch and stadia by local communities[2]. May and Parnell (2016)'s research into Maidstone United FC's AGP find that its new AGP pitch is used 70-80 hours per week, compared to the five hours per week use of its previous grass pitch. This almost constant use of the AGP by its first team, 45 youth teams and other local teams generates increased revenue (via the stadium's bar and

[2] Artificial Grass Pitches are not currently an option available to English professional football clubs due to league rules prohibiting their use due to fears over player safety and welfare.

catering facilities), boosts awareness of the club among the resident and business community, and enables Maidstone United to be a profitable, sustainable business (May and Parnell, 2016).

Most professional sports stadia therefore house some community-facing activities, but the specific nature and impact of these vary. Furthermore, Jones (2001) finds that the political elite often view the presence of community facilities within new stadia as a given and fail to scrutinise the existence, use and impact of these facilities as closely as they should. If not closely scrutinised there can then be criticism that the term 'community' is inappropriately used. For example, 'community' being used as a meaningless public relations prefix to overcome any local opposition to the cost, size or location of stadia (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). This research is approached with a similarly critical mindset as it is underpinned by the belief that genuine community stadia should have a community purpose, use and impact that exceeds that of typical professional sports stadia.

3.5 Healthy Stadia

A more academically established stadium phenomenon that can be learned from is that of the 'healthy stadia'. Building on evidence that stadia could influence the health of its communities, the healthy stadia concept was coined in the mid-2000s through a Merseyside partnership approach across stadia operators and partner organisations from health, education, transport, and food and drink suppliers (Philpott and Seymour, 2011). Building on the local success, the European Healthy Stadia Network was subsequently formed as a facility for sharing good practice and research among clubs, stadia management and wider stakeholders (Parnell et al., 2017). The Network now consists of over 170 stadia and organisations from across 12 European counties.

Healthy stadia are defined as stadia which:

> *'Promote the health of visitors, fans, players and employees and the surrounding community…places where people can go to have a positive healthy experience playing or watching sport'* (cited in Parnell et al., 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011).

The concept is therefore based on the understanding that stadia are ‘settings’ or assets that are capable of engaging with and influencing a diverse range of people (Drygas et al., 2013; Philpott and Seymour, 2011). Elaborating on this, stadia are considered ‘icons’ in the local area, lack the stigma of traditional healthcare settings and are either centrally located or easily accessed, all factors that help to engage people (Morgan et al., 2017; Parnell et al., 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011). The association with a professional sports club is also important with Morgan et al. (2017 pp276) reporting that ‘*being aligned with the legendary and celebrated nature of the club (Wolverhampton Wanderers FC) has its own rewards for some participants*’, which in turn imbues a sense of pride and likely contributes to the high attendance rates at the health projects located there. The healthy stadia concept builds on the additionality of stadia by then adopting and promoting healthy practices within the stadia to raise awareness of and influence the health behaviours of stadia communities (supporters and local residents, businesses and organisations) (Drygas et al., 2013; Parnell et al., 2017). Of particular interest is the fact that many supporters are males from lower socio-economic backgrounds, groups that health providers, interventions and educational campaigns have traditionally found hard to reach (Philpott and Seymour, 2011).

Considering both the healthy stadia and community stadia phenomena, there are a number of similarities that can inform the development of the community stadia phenomenon. First, both are contested terms. Community stadia struggle to balance community and commercial aims, while healthy stadia are faced with the dichotomy between the ‘healthy’ offer for players (healthy food, specialised medical, nutritional and psychological care, and best in class sports equipment) and the ‘unhealthy’ products targeted at supporters (fast food, carbonated drinks and alcohol). Furthermore, a high proportion of professional sports’ sponsors are fast food, alcohol and carbonated drinks producers, and online gambling companies (Drygas et al., 2013). Clubs and stadia management need to weigh up their commercial needs to generate income from naming rights and sponsorship (with ‘unhealthy’ sponsors to the fore) and revenue from food and drink (with unhealthy products offering a higher profit margin and meeting the consumer demands of spectators) against healthy activities and practices that are for the public good of stadia communities. In this economic climate, clubs and stadia officials would be extremely brave to commit to all stadia practices being wholeheartedly healthy.

Second, both phenomena are gaining traction with clubs and stadia management, with the healthy stadia phenomenon leading the way as evidenced by the 170+ stadia and organisations involved in the European Healthy Stadia Network. The adoption of a number of good, healthy practices across many European stadia has been the result, including providing healthy catering in stadia and their immediate surroundings, opening up players' sports facilities for public use, developing green transport access routes to stadia, offering cycle parking, launching car-pooling for players, staff and fans, establishing smoke free zones with supporting smoking cessation drop-in centres, and delivering targeted health (e.g. diabetes) programmes within the stadia (Drygas et al., 2013; Morgan et al., 2017; Parnell et al., 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011). There is therefore an appetite among clubs and stadia officials to move beyond the sporting and commercial core business of professional sports stadia and contribute to wider policy agendae, particularly where the stadia have something meaningful to offer with regards their 'iconic' status locally and ability to engage with hard to reach groups.

Third, and acknowledging that they contribute to wider policy agendae, neither healthy stadia nor community stadia activities are completely altruistic in nature. Both support a coherent business case for stadia officials through helping to engage with wider communities, build new partnerships, offer positive public relations, and secure additional sources of funding (Philpott and Seymour, 2011). In this regard, the two phenomena can potentially provide a win-win situation for clubs and stadia officials.

Finally, and despite the increasing adoption of healthier practices, the evidence base around the impact of healthy stadia activities is currently limited (Parnell et al, 2017). This is a challenge for both healthy stadia and community stadia as there is a need to evidence what impact(s) they are having on their local communities, and how the level and type of impacts differs from that of other conventional stadia. The answer lies in developing and implementing effective monitoring and evaluation techniques, something which Giulianotti (2015) states is entering difficult terrain given the lack of related technical skillsets within stadia organisations and the difficulty evidencing impacts and additionality, particularly at the local level.

3.6 Community Outreach/Corporate Social Responsibility Activities

Another established and related phenomenon that can be learned from is professional sports clubs' increasing involvement in corporate social responsibility (CSR) activities. These may span sports, health, education, employability, crime reduction and community cohesion activities, and further demonstrate the trend for professional sport to be engaged in non-sporting and non-commercial activities (Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al., 2015; Mellor, 2008). The development of these voluntary activities stems from a combination of external and internal pressures. Externally, clubs (from players to directors) are increasingly subject to media attention and scrutiny, fans are showing increased interest in social aspects of club operations, while businesses see value in partnering with professional sports clubs to deliver their CSR activities (Breitbarth et al., 2015; Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al., 2015; Levermore and Moore, 2015). Internally, many clubs view the community (and by extension CSR) as an integral part of the club and so feel strong commitment to giving something back to the community (Jenkins and James, 2011). In addition, there is also a strategic sporting case for CSR activities as they can help clubs (re-)engage with and better understand the communities that surround them, attract latent support, talent scout and develop players of the future and, more generally, provide good public relations (Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015; Giulianotti, 2015; Kolyperas et al., 2015).

In relation to community stadia, where CSR activities are delivered in stadia, then there is clearly close alignment with the emerging community stadia characteristics. Indeed, the Sanders et al. (2014) research into the Amex Community Stadium indicated that one key characteristic of a community stadium could be the presence of a club's community outreach/CSR organisation within the stadium. However, this arrangement is not a given as the extent to which the CSR activities of clubs are actually delivered in stadia themselves varies. This variation stems from the fact that CSR activities are not widely delivered by professional sports clubs themselves. Instead the CSR activities are increasingly delivered by independent, not-for-profit charitable status organisations – 'community trusts' or 'community foundations' – that have evolved (in football's case) from clubs' Football in the Community (FITC) departments (Anagnostoulos et al., 2015; Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al., 2015; Mellor, 2008).

Under the 'Trust model', and noting that these trusts remain 'black-boxes' because the research into them has not kept up with their growth (Anagnostoulos et al., 2015), trusts have a direct association with their professional clubs, yet at the same time have structural, financial and strategic independence, including a separate board of trustees (Anagnostoulos et al., 2015; Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015; Jenkins and James, 2011). Clubs, at their discretion, may support the trusts by allowing use of their name and brand, providing facilities and equipment, agreeing to player and manager appearances, providing representation at Board level and potentially underwriting any losses (Anagnostoulos et al., 2015). Indeed, license agreements may be developed between clubs and trusts to set out the resource commitments of clubs to the trusts (Jenkins and James, 2011). However, the key point is that the trusts are separate legal entities from the clubs and the stadia.

This independence is seen to bring a number of advantages. These include allowing the trust a greater degree of structural autonomy and responsibility for its own strategic and financial directions, protection from the financial pressures of the club, greater access to public funding streams (e.g. local government, grant-making trusts and the general public), favourable tax rates, and being monitored and guided by the Charity Commission[3] (Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015; Hamil and Morrow, 2011; Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al., 2015). For Kolyperas et al. (2015) communities also benefit from the 'Trust model' as these organisations spend more hours in community activity and work with a greater number of community partners than clubs with in-house CSR departments.

Independence can, however, also lead to more complex structures and a decoupling of CSR activities from clubs. The trusts may professionalise through establishing a larger, dedicated team and see less need to engage with their clubs, while the requirement to secure external funding may see their strategic focus align more closely to the objectives of funders (e.g. local authorities, health boards and Big Lottery) than the objectives of their clubs (Jenkins and James, 2011). For the clubs, the trusts may see them absolve responsibility for CSR activities (Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015) and engage in contradictory practices such as low-paid, zero hours contracts for club employees (Giulianotti, 2015), yet benefit from the good public relations that an effective trust with a flourishing programme of activities can bring (Mellor, 2008). The decoupling is a problem

[3] The equivalent to the Charity Commission in Scotland is the Office of the Scottish Charity Register (OSCR).

as a joined-up, strategic approach to community relations offers a better chance of positive impact (Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015). Collaboration between the club and the organisation, potentially under a unified governance model, is strongly advocated as the preferred approach (Castro-Martinez and Jackson, 2015; Kolyperas et al., 2015).

Returning to the implications for community stadia, for CSR activities to be delivered in stadia, there needs to be mutual agreement between stadia officials and the trust to do so. For club and stadia officials, this is dependent on their true and full commitment to the CSR agenda and weighing up the opportunity cost of allocating space within stadia to trusts, as opposed to other sporting and commercial functions. For the trusts, their agreement is dependent on whether stadia provide them with the accommodation they need to deliver their activities and at a cost they can afford. Some stadia may not be able to offer the space to accommodate the scale and diversity of activities (e.g. they can accommodate classroom activities but not sporting activities) or the space is too costly relative to other locations. Indeed, the constraints of some stadia mean that some trusts do not operate from them or only base their management, non-service user facing functions there with their CSR activities delivered elsewhere. In these cases, the stadia should not be termed community stadia as they are not enabling accessible community facilities and services to be delivered within the stadium itself.

The unpicking of community outreach/CSR activities of professional sports clubs is important in relation to community stadia as the profile, reach and achievements of a community outreach/CSR trust could easily be conflated with a perception of a stadium being a community stadium, irrespective of whether the community outreach/CSR trust is based in the stadium and whether community-facing activities are actually delivered in the stadium. For genuine community stadia, the presence of community outreach/CSR activities would appear to be a key characteristic but the nature of the stadium-based activities needs to be understood. At the same time, the presence of stadium-based community outreach/CSR activities would not necessarily have to be a determining characteristic as other community-facing facilities and services could fulfil the community stadia objectives instead.

3.7 Understanding the 'Community' of Community Stadia

Returning to the community stadia phenomenon, understanding what is meant by the 'community' of community stadia is critical. Without clarity, the earlier criticism of the term's inappropriate and cynical use hardens (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). However, this is no easy task as community is viewed as an extremely elusive and complex term, which has been interpreted in many different ways (Herbert and Raine, 1976; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). Nonetheless, the wider community literature does suggest that community refers to a common sense of attachment between individuals, with the attachment spanning common place of residence, age groups, religion, ethnicity, health issues and disabilities, professions, political interests, sports and leisure pursuits, and beyond (Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Hawtin et al., 1994; Schulenkorf, 2012; Taylor, 2003). There are therefore multiple themes of attachment but the determining factor behind whether a community exists is whether individuals perceive themselves to have a meaningful connection and 'common interests' with other individuals based on a feature of their lives (Taylor, 2003). Living in a specific place can infer common ties between individuals and form the basis of a community, but equally communities can be aspatial and not confined to a shared place of residence (Herbert and Raine, 1976; Lawson and Kearns, 2014).

The aspatial dimension of community is of particular relevance to professional sports clubs as their supporters have a shared interest through their support for their club (Brown et al, 2008; Schulenkorf, 2012), with Duke (2002) identifying four different groupings of fans: core fans, regular supporters, occasional supporters, and distant supporters. Building on Duke's 'distant supporters', this community can stretch across the globe as traditional, core fans (and subsequent generations) have migrated away from the club's local area, while global televised coverage of matches have attracted new supporters with no direct attachment to the local area in which the club has originated. The Manchester United supporters community, for example, is no longer restricted to people living in Salford and instead stretches from Seoul and Sydney to Seattle and Santiago. Furthermore, these global supporters communities are vitally important to clubs due to the money they spend on merchandise, satellite subscriptions and (potentially) match tickets.

In relation to community stadia, an important distinction can be made between the supporters communities of professional clubs – what we may term 'communities of the club' – and 'communities of the stadium'. 'Communities of the club' span the four groupings identified by Duke (2002) and importantly can be aspatial. In contrast, 'communities of the stadium' are essentially spatial communities as their shared interest is the stadium itself, as opposed to the club more widely. Brown et al. (2008) and Hamil and Morrow (2011 pp145) also recognise this distinction, with the latter arguing that:

> '*A club's community is made up of two inter-related and often overlapping dimensions. First, a direct community of supporters and, secondly, a wider notion encompassing people and groups who can be affected either directly or indirectly by the existence and operation of a football club within a particular space, usually geographical but also potentially religious or social'*.

3.7.1 'Communities of the Stadium'

The 'communities of the stadium' is most closely aligned to the community stadium literature. For example, PMP (2008) state that '*a community focused stadium can be achieved by locating the facility (i.e. the stadium) within the heart of the community'*, so reflecting a localised, neighbourhood conception of community. The report then goes on to say that '*facilities should be provided based on local demand and necessity to ensure that they are specific to the communities that they serve'* (PMP, 2008 pp2). The local, spatial conceptualisation of community therefore appears to be the 'community' that community stadia seek to engage with, be used by and impact on, but how far does it stretch geographically and who makes up this community?

Beginning with how far the spatial demarcation of the 'communities of the stadium' stretches, the community stadia literature did not offer any spatial boundaries beyond mention of serving local areas. Sanders et al. (2014) referred to Moulescoomb, which is 3km from the Amex Community Stadium. From the wider stadium literature, Bale (1990) talks of living 'in the shadow of the stadium', which he goes on to define as living within 2km from the stadium. For a large city, a 2-3km radius demarcates specific parts of the city but, for a town or small city, a 2-3km radius may encompass the whole settlement. The lack of precision is therefore important as each community stadia should be responsive to

local circumstances and geography. Physically demarcating the spatial community or communities that community stadia are intended to serve can also be unwise as other communities may feel excluded from its use and such demarcation does not reflect the open and porous nature of spaces (Massey, 2005; 2007).

In terms of who makes up the spatial 'communities of the stadium', they are unlikely to be composed of single, homogenous groupings. Instead there may be different and heavily localised spatial communities that neighbour each other or different thematic community groupings within a single geographic area – for example, different communities grouped or organised by age, gender, ethnicity and interests (Hawtin et al., 1994; Kearns and Turok, 2003; Lawson and Kearns, 2014; Massey, 2007; Taylor, 2003). The number and diversity of the local 'communities of the stadium' brings complexity for stadia officials because of the multiple needs and demands of these different communities. Given that places, and by extension community stadia, are continually being (re-)constructed through the interactions and negotiations between their multiple and heterogeneous communities (Massey, 2005; 2007), stadia officials must consider whether to facilitate and harness the diverse views and energies and how to do so.

A particular issue is how stadia officials engage with females (Kelly, 2010) and marginalised communities, such as disabled and ethnic minority groups. Like many other public buildings and spaces, Massey (2005; 2007) would assert that professional sports stadia are gendered and privatized. The dominance of masculine, professional sporting and commercial interests means professional sports stadia are heavily associated as male, elite spaces that other population groupings would be deterred from accessing. The extent to which community stadia officials recognise and address the gendered nature of stadia is therefore of key interest in assessing their sustainability.

Another important aspect to consider is where community stadia are physically located as this strongly determines the 'communities of the stadium'. A weakness of the existing literature is that it implies that community stadia are physically located in the heart of a local community or communities. As discussed earlier, this is an outdated view of where modern stadia are located. Traditionally stadia were located in the urban heart of the working class communities in which the clubs originated but this has since changed due to two key trends (Brown et al., 2008). First, the size of the working class communities in

which the clubs and stadia originated and drew much of their support from have either reduced in size on account of the decline of traditional primary and manufacturing industries, or have dispersed as residents have moved away (Goldblatt, 2014; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001). In their place, and reflecting the continual reproduction of places (Massey, 2007), has come a more culturally diverse mix of residents, so reinforcing the heterogeneity of the local 'communities of the stadium' (Jenkins and James, 2011). A related implication is that 'home' supporters are increasingly drawn from a far wider catchment area, so weakening the need and strategic case for retaining a historic, heart of the community stadium site.

Second, many central, urban sites of traditional stadia were seen to be no longer viable. In contrast to the belief that stadia can act as anchors to the cultural and economic regeneration of town and city centres (Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Spirou, 2010), the negative externalities associated with professional sports stadia, such as traffic congestion, noise, litter and anti-social behaviour, means many residents are not in favour of them (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Bale, 1995; Chase and Healey, 1995). Indeed, stadia may not be a source of pride for local residents but instead a sign of stigma and nuisance. While somewhat dated and perhaps not reflective of modern stadia and the changing supporter profile, Bale (1990) found that 55% of residents living within 0.5km of stadia viewed them as a nuisance and 17% a serious nuisance, with these percentages falling to 41% and 8% respectively when expanding the radius to 2km.

Alongside local dissatisfaction with negative stadia externalities, the financial case for moving to a new, state-of-the-art stadium on an edge-of-town location was often strong. Clubs could sell their central urban stadium site to developers (e.g. for housing and retail developments) and reinvest the sale proceeds into a more peripheral site where land costs were cheaper (Van Dam, 2000). Edge-of-town locations with abundant car parking were also more attractive to wealthier supporters drawn from wider catchments (Brown et al., 2010; Williams, 1995). However, the economic arguments for edge-of-town stadia location can be questioned (Baade, 1996) with their locations arguably further excluding traditional working class supporters (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001) and Landry and Bianchini (1995) warning that car parks – a design feature of edge-of-town stadia locations – are *'usually a drab expanse of soulless tarmac...places to be avoided'*, and so not conducive to the place making of sustainable communities.

Summarising the discussion above, and whatever the push or pull factors involved, most newly constructed professional sports stadia – and therefore community stadia – are located on edge-of-town sites (Brown and McGee, 2012). This means that they are unlikely to be at the physical heart of a local community or communities. Indeed, it is possible that newly constructed community stadia do not have local, resident communities in their immediate vicinities (Thornley, 2002) – so raising the question of whether there are any local communities? Similarly, if there are local communities, what type of communities are they? Van Dam (2000) notes the suburbanisation of many English and Scottish football clubs, meaning that stadia may be located in or near affluent, edge-of-town suburban housing estates where levels of socio-economic need are minimal. They may also be located in or near edge-of-town business parks and commercial sites where the business community, which will also be heterogeneous and potentially include 'old fashioned, uncompetitive firms' and SMEs (Curran et al., 2000; Raco and Tunney, 2010), outnumbers the resident community (Jenkins and James, 2011). These are very different types of community to serve and, if community stadia are expected to have facilities and services that are based on local demand and necessity (PMP, 2008), then each community stadium will be very different in its facilities and services offer.

The lack of clarity around who or what the 'community' are supports Alonso and O'Shea's (2012) assertion that the 'supply side' of sports-related community outreach organisations is gaining academic attention (for example, through the research into CSR and 'healthy stadia') but there is a dearth of knowledge on the 'demand side' – i.e. the communities these organisations and activities are seeking to engage with. Brown et al. (2008) also note the lack of precision over clubs' definition and demarcation of the term community. Alonso and O'Shea therefore state that professional sports organisations would benefit significantly from developing a better understanding of their communities and stakeholders. In particular, if seeking to maximise their impact, the focus may be on understanding and engaging with the more vulnerable 'communities of need' (Jenkins and James, 2011), 'communities of disadvantage' (Brown et al., 2008) or 'neighbourhood dependent' groups (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001), such as the elderly, ethnic minorities, unemployed, women and children, who are more dependent on their local area. The Amex Community Stadium's location near to Moulescoomb, which Sanders et al. (2014) refer to as one of the most educationally and employment deprived communities in Brighton, is consistent with this perspective. Nor should engagement with communities be a one-off

exercise as the constant reproduction of communities and places (Massey, 2007) means that the interactions and negotiations between stadia officials and communities should be ongoing.

3.8 Community Assets, Buildings and Gardens

Moving beyond the sports-related phenomena of healthy stadia and community outreach/CSR activities, there is much to learn from the community assets literature that incorporates community buildings and community gardens. Community assets are buildings that host a range of services and activities (such as health, social work, childcare, education and training, sports, retail and workspace activities or services) with the intention of meeting local needs (Bailey, 2012). Cited examples include village halls, community centres, libraries, sport centres, school buildings, shops and pubs. A closely related phenomenon are community gardens (Aptekar, 2015; Cumbers et al, 2018; Firth et al, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014) which are communal green urban spaces, often on derelict or vacant urban land, that are characterised by their open and non-exclusionary nature. Professional sports stadia in this context of community buildings and gardens may be quite large buildings in comparison but they can achieve the community asset status as there is no single, fixed typology that must be met.

Where established, community assets can provide a wide range of benefits for their local communities. These include soft outcomes such as meeting local community needs and increasing local confidence, wellbeing, social cohesion and social capital (Firth et al, 2011; Marriott, 1997; Moore & McKee, 2014; Moss et al, 2009) to harder outcomes of job creation, learning and training opportunities, the setting up of new enterprises and, in the case of community gardens, increased food security and environmental improvements. Of these, it is their role as community hubs or social anchors that increase opportunities for social interaction that is arguably most important. Through these social interactions, local and diverse residents can mobilise themselves towards community-driven, endogenous improvements (Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Coalter et al., 2000; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Volker et al., 2007). Furthermore, there is purported to be an egalitarian, co-productive backdrop to the community assets, which empowers marginalised communities as their voices are more strongly listened to, valued and acted upon.

Collectively the benefits outlined above help to form what has been termed a functional community around the community asset – i.e. a community based on social interaction around a point of conflux (the asset) within the local area (Herbert and Raine, 1976). Massey (2005; 2007) would refer to the multiplicity of interactions as creating 'places'. Similarly community assets can help make the local area a 'community of choice' (Aiken et al, 2011) or 'place of choice' (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003) that makes it a more attractive proposition than other places. This, however, leads to a point of contention with community assets that is highlighted in the community gardens literature. For some, community gardens are a force for good that builds communities and empowers marginalised communities but others view them as (unintentionally) reinforcing neoliberal policy, urban entrepreneurialism and gentrification effects by opening up new spaces for private-led investments and developments (Cumbers et al, 2018; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014).

A further point of contention surrounds the egalitarian relationships referred to above. Again drawing on the community gardens literature, multiple groups are interacting with one another but their voices are rarely equal. Indeed, they can be contested spaces where visions for the gardens clash, and where social hierarchies and conflicts of gentrification are reproduced (Aptekar, 2015). The typical outcome is that the highly educated with access to different networks are found to dominate other users and take prominent roles in the design, management and running of the gardens – in effect marginalising less assured groups. Over and above these internal struggles, the grassroots communities (unified or not) then have the added challenge of promoting their needs and interests among other, more powerful urban and economic interests (Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014). Aptekar (2015) refers to community gardens as sites of confrontation between city-backed developers and local residents who are fighting to preserve these spaces of alternative production, community and ethnic expression.

Community assets are therefore contested spaces but the positive communal vision ascribed to them is consistent with the aspirations of community stadia. To restate the quote from Sanders et al. (2014 pp425-426):

> *'What we may be witnessing is a move towards the football stadium becoming more, rather than less, important as a community resource…It is important to go beyond*

> *generic ideas of the stadium per se and to acknowledge the role that the specific aspects of its built environment – such as study areas, community spaces and health centres – can provide. This is why the birth of the Community Stadium arguably has opened up a new means of 'attaching' local communities to their professional football clubs'.*

To move beyond the 'generic ideas of the stadium', it is important to understand what transforms professional sports stadia into community assets. Here the literature highlights that the building design is important with community assets needing to be aesthetically attractive, have identity and character, have 'inclusive design' that is adaptable to different uses, and in a good state of repair (Heylighhen, 2008; Kearns and Turok, 2003; Marriott, 1997; Moss et al, 2009). A building's state of repair is particularly important to consider given that local governments are all too keen to dispose of poorly maintained and unprofitable assets – with transfer of assets to community ownership one option (Football Association, 2012; Moore & McKee, 2014). Aiken et al. (2011) therefore highlight the need for community assets to be fit for purpose and without crippling maintenance costs.

Second, a building's location is important given that a key purpose of community assets is to provide a public place where local residents can associate with each other, so helping to strengthen local communities (Marriott, 1997). To play such a role, community assets need to be accessible (Asset Transfer Unit, 2011) – a dimension that can only truly be achieved through close consultation with the community to understand the interplay between service provision, location and ease of accessibility (Roseland, 2012; Skinner et al., 2008). However, as discussed in Section 3.7.1, many community stadia are located on peripheral, edge-of-town locations that would seemingly restrict their ability to become community assets.

Third, and the literature's most important determinant, is the quality and effectiveness of the governance and management of the community assets. Beginning with who provides the management, and in response to their own question of whether they are *'run for the community, run by the community, or just happen to be located in certain communities?'*, Firth et al (2011) states that they ought to be internally driven and so managed by participants from the community. Similarly Ghose and Pettygrove (2014) see locally initiated design and management as critical in encouraging local ownership and use of the

assets. Management from within is therefore important, a feature that runs counter to the trend of out-sourcing management functions to ‘anti-democratic development machines’ such as arms-length external organisations (ALEOs) and other non-accountable third party agencies (Raco et al, 2016; Vento, 2017). However, even if internal community management is achieved, the earlier discussion suggests that this function is unlikely to be held by more marginalised groups (Aptekar, 2015).

In terms of the skills required, Aiken et al. (2011), Bailey (2012) and Moss et al (2009) highlight that effective management of community assets require a wide range of technical, financial, managerial, human resources, entrepreneurial and community building skills. Similarly, the Football Association’s (2012) guide to the transfer of sporting assets to community ownership highlights the need for negotiation; financial, budgeting and business planning; project management; strategic planning and community consultation; fundraising; managing human resources (including volunteers); marketing; operational management; and legal skills; plus connections with technical professionals, architects, surveyors, and planners. This is a demanding and expansive skillset, yet one that is needed to overcome the challenges that community assets commonly encounter, including gaining buy-in from their communities, managing community expectations, overcoming internal sources of conflict, working constructively with external partners, and ensuring the buildings do not become financial liabilities due to high maintenance costs (Aiken et al., 2011; Marriott, 1997). However, it does raise the question of the extent to which these skills can realistically be found from within the community or requires external management expertise.

3.9 Co-Production

Cutting across the different determinants of community assets – design, location, and governance and management – is the need for meaningful community engagement in a manner that is consistent with (bottom-up) community economic development theory. Indeed, and as introduced in Section 2.5, there is value in taking a co-production approach to the design and delivery of community stadia.

The benefits of a genuine co-production relationship are many and, above all, reciprocal in nature (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012). If applied to community stadia, stadia officials benefit

from gaining a stronger understanding of community needs and aspirations (Halzidimitriadou *et al*., 2012; Needham, 2008) and are actively supported by users (the community) to design and deliver more effective, better utilised and sustainable stadia-based facilities and services (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Needham, 2008). In this regard, Boyle and Harris (2008) suggest that co-production can 'humanise' services, which is potentially invaluable for community stadia officials who are in the main accustomed to sporting and commercial activities, not community-related activities. They can also benefit from a sharing of risks, responsibilities and accountability if the community directly contribute to the running and staffing of some facilities and services (e.g. through volunteering), which in turn can reduce the financial costs of these facilities and services (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Gibson and Cameron, 2001). For the community, they become more informed, skilled and empowered, so boosting the human capital of individuals and the social capital of the community as a whole (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle et al., 2006; Mitlin, 2008; Needham, 2008), and having stadia-based facilities and services that they have directly contributed to and consequently meet their needs and aspirations.

Achieving a genuine co-production relationship is not straightforward. Much is dependent on the breaking down of the power imbalance between stadia officials and the community. Of stadia officials, the critique of flagship developments highlights the need for stadia officials to recognise that social and community needs are of equitable value to their own sporting and commercial needs and interests. Stadia officials – the 'elite' – also need to upgrade their view of their communities from grateful, passive and dependent consumers to well-informed, well-resourced assets that have an active, valued and ongoing role in the design and delivery of community stadia (Boyle *et al*., 2006; Boyle and Harris, 2008; Halzidimitriadou *et al*., 2012; Needham, 2008). For the communities, they need to overcome the scepticism and distrust they may hold of stadia officials and become sufficiently confident to work with officials on an equal footing (Boyle *et al.*, 2006; Halzidimitriadou *et al*., 2012; Mitlin, 2008). Lawson and Kearns (2014), for example, define community empowerment as having a well-informed, language-savvy and critically aware community.

Genuine co-production also takes time. At the initial design stage, space is needed for different partners' competing viewpoints to be debated so that a negotiated, mutually beneficial arrangement is found (Halzidimitriadou *et al*., 2012). Then moving into

implementation, and reflecting the continual reproduction of places (Massey, 2005; 2007), the dialogue should be ongoing, interactive and renegotiated (Mitlin, 2008; Needham, 2008), which can be difficult to sustain over the longer term when the initial excitement of the design stage ends or key individuals move on to different developments or roles.

Despite the difficulties of co-production and working within the contested space of top-down and bottom-up priorities (Ledwith, 2011), it is in the interests of stadia officials that community stadia meet the needs of their communities (PMP, 2008). If community stadia and the facilities they house are well used and become established as community assets, then the stadia can generate important additional, non-matchday revenues for stadia officials and deliver on their wider socio-economic objectives. In summary, there ought to be a mutually beneficial relationship between community stadia and the communities they aim to serve.

3.10 Community Stadia as Contributors to Place Making and Sustainable Communities

The chapter has so far focused on the ways in which community stadia can engage with and be used by their communities, i.e. how the servile function of community stadia can be maximised. An alternative perspective is to consider the generative or formative role that community stadia can potentially play in place making and establishing sustainable communities. To structure our thinking here, Kearns and Turok (2003) put forward four required components of sustainable communities – services, economy, residential and environmental, and social – and, as discussed in turn below, community stadia could conceivably contribute to each of these.

Beginning with services, community stadia are found to house a variety of facilities and services that could contribute to the development of sustainable communities. Examples of these facilities and services include lifelong learning, health and social welfare services, local retail and consumption facilities, and cultural, leisure and sports facilities (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008). The additionality that community stadia can potentially offer for these facility and service types is that these stadia are local, accessible and non-statutory venues, which are characteristics which support local community engagement and attendance. Furthermore, professional sports stadia possess a profile, professionalism

and even ‘glamour’ which makes them an even more attractive hook for local residents – so helping to engage with the harder to reach (Sanders et al, 2014; Spaaij et al, 2013). Indeed, the professionalism and sporting success of clubs or stadia can potentially rub off on learners in terms of increasing their own confidence and aspirations (Sanders et al, 2014; Spaaij et al, 2013).

The second factor is economy and community stadia can contribute in a number of ways. Building on the *services* factor above, the services and facilities housed in community stadia can generate local jobs for local residents to access. Furthermore, the jobs created by these services can be of a higher quality than the part-time and temporary security, stewarding and catering jobs that are traditionally associated with professional sports stadia. For example, community stadia may offer full-time, permanent opportunities for education, health and community development practitioners. Alongside the diverse employment opportunities created, community stadia can provide supply chain opportunities for local businesses – such as food and drink, accountancy, legal, IT and marketing businesses. In short, community stadia can be significant local businesses that contribute towards sustainable local economies, particularly if the community stadia management are committed to the ‘virtuous circle’ of recruiting local residents and buying goods and services from local businesses (Coalter et al., 2000; Leach 2013). As an example of this level of commitment, and while not claiming to be a community stadium, West Ham United FC had a target of 75% of the 720 jobs created in its move to London’s Olympic Stadium to go to local, Newham residents (Greater London Authority, 2015).

Community stadia’s contribution to the residential and environmental factor is less apparent as there are only tentative examples of community stadia providing housing for residents to purchase or rent. Brentford FC aim to build 910 homes around its new community stadium but these are not affordable homes and are instead designed to finance much of the stadium construction costs (Greater London Authority, 2015). However, if community stadia are aesthetically appealing and innovative in their design, they can be visually stimulating for local residents and contribute to a more attractive local environment. Furthermore, stadia can bring improved connectivity to other areas and so help overcome communities’ real or perceived isolation (Kearns and Turok, 2003; Rogerson et al., 2011). Taylor (2003) talks of creating ‘permeable places’ that promote physical and other ways of tying excluded areas into their surrounding areas. Community

stadia can contribute to this as the road, rail and other transport infrastructure that serves new stadia can equally be used by local residents to access other areas (Giulianotti, 2011; Jones et al., 2007; Van Dam, 2000). In addition, by attracting people to the stadia (whether fans or service users), community stadia can boost the external perception of areas and bolster investor confidence in them (Coalter et al, 2000; Kearns and Turok, 2003).

The final factor proposed by Kearns and Turok (2003) is their social function. Like all professional sports stadia, community stadia can provide a shared sense of identity and belonging for residents via a common attachment to the stadia and the club(s) they host. They can also instil pride and inspiration if the community stadia are designed to a high quality (Kearns and Turok, 2003; Moss et al, 2009). However, the additional value community stadia bring is first their housing of services and facilities that are available to use on a daily basis, rather than the typical fortnightly pattern of professional sporting fixtures. The increased regularity of interactions between residents and communities are a key ingredient in the building of social capital and sustainable communities (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Roseland, 2012; Volker et al., 2007). Second, their profile or 'glamour' combined with their diverse facilities and services mix encourages multiple, heterogeneous communities to interact with one another. Community stadia therefore become an important nexus for the continual production and (re)negotiation of places and communities (Massey, 2005; 2007), albeit the experience of flagship developments and community gardens highlight that not all views are considered equally with more powerful, skilled and organised groups and communities often dominating.

The discussion above has highlighted the positive, formative contributions that community stadia can potentially make to the development of sustainable communities. However, one must be cautious in not overstating the contributions that buildings of their size can make. The majority of the existing or planned community stadia referred to at the start of the chapter are small- to mid-sized stadia with capacities typically in the range of 5,000 to 20,000. Such size and scale of community stadia dictates that any place making would be at the local spatial level and not at the metropolitan scale (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Coates, 2007; Van Holm, 2018). Another implication is that community stadia cannot bring about sustainable communities on their own as they lack the scale to house or generate the full mix and volume of services, jobs and business opportunities that

sustainable communities require. For this reason, community stadia are best viewed as one community asset within wider place making strategies.

3.11 Conclusions

Community stadia have emerged towards the end of an era of significant investment in newly constructed and upgraded professional sports stadia. More accurately, they have emerged at a time when previous justifications for sizeable public investments in stadia, and flagship developments more generally, have begun to be challenged. In response to criticisms of exaggerated jobs and wealth generation claims, Chapter 2 explained how greater emphasis has been placed on stadia as contributors to competitive place approaches and as a provider of social benefits. Community stadia most closely align with the latter and are seemingly distinctive from other professional sports stadia, including healthy stadia, through their increased ability and commitment to serve their communities. These community ambitions have then been sufficient to attract substantial levels of public funding into the construction of several community stadia in the UK. Yet academic analysis of the phenomenon has been lacking, while evidencing these softer, public goods are notoriously difficult to measure and consequently achieve parity with the harder economic justifications (Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Coates, 2007).

The research aims to address this knowledge gap and do so by seeking to answer three key questions. The first is to more fully understand ‘what are community stadia?’. From the existing literature, community stadia are accessible, multifunctional buildings that house a diverse range of facilities and services for the communities which they aim to serve. The optimum scenario would be for the stadia to become *de facto* community assets, designed and operated through a co-production relationship between stadia officials and communities of the stadia. The bottom up, localised approach to their development means each community stadia ought to differ in their respective designs and offers, with a heavily prescriptive definition of community stadia unhelpful.

Given the importance of working with and responding to community needs in establishing genuine community stadia, the second research question aims to understand ‘what are the ‘community’ of community stadia?’. From the literature, a local, spatial ‘communities of the stadium’ conceptualisation is appropriate, as opposed to aspatial ‘communities of the

club'. Nevertheless the edge-of-town location of many new professional sports stadia brings complexity as there may not be local residential communities and, if there are, they may be affluent, suburban communities and not the disadvantaged communities of need that would be more immediately associated with community stadia.

The final key research question is to assess whether community stadia are a sustainable phenomenon. To achieve this status, the stadia must not only deliver on community aims, but also the core sporting and commercial needs facing all professional sports stadia, plus economic regeneration aims if also deemed to be flagship developments. Sustainability can therefore be defined as delivering on a *'sporting-commercial-community-economic development quadruple bottom line'*. This is, however, no easy task given that the sporting and commercial worlds are so competitive and delivering on these two alone is difficult. Spirou (2010), for example, finds that commercial and corporate interests typically dominate stadium projects, leaving wider stakeholders and interests reacting rather than leading stadia plans. While local government influence should increase if (part-)financing community stadia, the experience of flagship developments and community gardens do raise the question of how the aspirations and needs of local, marginalised communities can compete (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001)?

The Methodology chapter that follows sets out how the primary research of this thesis has sought to answer the three key research questions and consequently enhance the existing community stadia knowledge base. Indeed, building on the findings from the two community stadia cases that the primary research focuses on, the empirical chapters return to the literature discussed above to again reflect on the research questions and assess what of the existing knowledge base can be verified, contested and updated and where there is still a need for further research in relation to community stadia.

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4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Community stadia are an emerging phenomenon with a limited literature base dedicated to them. Building the knowledge base surrounding this stadium type is the motivation for this research, particularly given that £ millions of public monies have already been invested in community stadia with little apparent critical appraisal of their form, functions and impacts. Furthermore, and in spite of the lack of a critical evidence base, more community stadia with the promise of public finances investment are planned. Addressing this knowledge gap is at the very core of this research and has led to the development of three key research questions: what are community stadia; what is the 'community' of community stadia; and are community stadia a sustainable phenomenon such that community aims can be delivered alongside sporting, commercial and economic development aims?

This chapter sets out the research methodology that has been adopted to answer these questions. It does so with the understanding that the emerging nature of the community stadia phenomenon dictates an exploratory research design that contributes to the knowledge base, as opposed to developing and affirming empirically tested knowledge. The chapter begins by outlining the philosophical underpinnings of the research, which informed the case study approach and the methods used. The following section then outlines which methods were chosen and why. The research design opted for a case study approach involving interviews across diverse stakeholder types, supported by a review of relevant documentation. The next section then sets out why the two case studies – the Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster and the Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk – were selected and how access to them was achieved, with the importance of supportive gatekeepers highlighted. The chapter ends by explaining how the research interviews were conducted and analysed.

4.2 Context

From a research design perspective, the emergent nature of community stadia predetermines some of the parameters for the research. For example, it encourages a critical, reflective stance that moves beyond the positive, ex-ante proclamations of community stadia proponents to learn from the actual experience of existing community

stadia. It also encourages a bottom-up research design that learns from the real, local experiences of community stadia 'on the ground', as opposed to a wider, top-down national study of community stadia that may simply recycle the limited knowledge presented in the literature review. An interpretivist ontological approach is well suited to a reflective, bottom up research study because of its need for inductive, qualitative research that explores in depth how phenomena, such as community stadia, have been developed (Bryman, 2004; Cepeda and Martin, 2005). Specifically a critical realist ontology has been adopted.

4.2.1 Critical Realist Ontology

Critical realism is based on the belief that a real world is out there that is observable and independent of human consciousness (Sayer, 1992; Hoggart *et al.*, 2002; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Stadia, as real, physical buildings, form part of this real world and can be termed as 'real objects' (Sayer, 1992). An aim of the research was to take this one step further by considering whether community stadia were a distinct, 'real object' stadium type on the grounds that they are a more complex and impactful phenomenon than conventional professional sports stadia. The existence of community stadia as a *distinct* stadium type is dependent on the understanding, actions and behaviours of individuals. They can only truly exist as a genuine, distinct stadium type if people's knowledge of them classifies them as such. In line with critical realism, community stadia therefore become socially constructed phenomena or 'thought objects' (Sayer, 1992).

The challenge for researchers concerned with the study of socially constructed phenomena is that knowledge of them can never be universal in the manner of that established through the positivist ontology of 'real objects' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Instead, knowledge of socially constructed phenomena differs from individual to individual – and hence is fallible and evolves over time (Del Casino Jr et al, 2000; Easton, 2010; Sayer, 1992). Critical realist researchers therefore need to design and implement a methodology that produces the most robust and credible understanding of these phenomena, typically one that captures the views of multiple individuals to generate practically adequate knowledge and theories (Sayer, 1992; Hoggart *et al.*, 2002; Dubois and Gibbert, 2010).

Sayer (1992) offers a choice between ‘intensive’ and ‘extensive’ research designs (see Table 4.1). The former is primarily concerned with understanding causal factors usually from in-depth study of a small number of cases, while the latter seeks to discover common properties and general patterns across a population as a whole. Given the research’s aim of understanding how community stadia have been established and then sustained, an intensive research design was adopted. In doing so, qualitative research, involving a purposefully selected sample of research participants, using interactive means of data capture and corroboration is promoted (Sayer, 1992) The application of these aspects is explained in the remainder of this chapter.

Table 4.1: Intensive and Extensive Research

	Intensive Research	Extensive Research
Research question	How does a process work in a particular case or small number of cases? What produces a certain change? What did the agents actually do?	What are the regularities, common patterns, distinguishing features of a population? How widely are certain characteristics or processes distributed or represented?
Relations	Substantial relations of connection	Formal relations of similarity
Type of groups studied	Causal groups	Taxonomic groups
Type of account produced	Causal explanation of the production of certain objects or events, though not necessarily representative ones	Descriptive ‘representative’ generalisations, lacking in explanatory penetration
Typical methods	Study of individual agents in their causal contexts, interactive interviews, ethnography Qualitative analysis	Large-scale survey of population or representative sample, formal questionnaires, standardized interviews. Statistical analysis
Limitations	Actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be ‘representative’, ‘average’, or generalizable. Necessary relations discovered will exist wherever their relata are present, e.g. causal powers of objects are generalizable to other contexts as they are necessary features of these objects	Although representative of a whole population, they are unlikely to be generalizable to other populations at different times and places. Problem of ecological fallacy in making inferences about individuals Limited explanatory power
Appropriate tests	Corroboration	Replication

Source: Sayer (1992 pp243)

4.2.2 Qualitative Research Epistemology

The emergent nature of community stadia and the fact that they are socially constructed phenomena lent itself to a qualitative research approach. In particular, gaining an in-depth and critical understanding of people's knowledge of community stadia was required because they have initiated the emergence of community stadia, rather than being passive bystanders of a phenomenon that has happened naturally (Easton, 2010).

In further justification, Snape and Spencer (2003) put forward the following characteristics of a qualitative research epistemology. Specifically, qualitative research provides an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants; generates detailed and rich information; supports analysis which is open to emergent concepts and ideas; and produces outputs which tend to focus on the interpretation of social meaning through mapping and 're-presenting' the social world of research participants. These characteristics align closely with the thesis' research aims, particularly that qualitative research builds knowledge and supports analysis on emergent concepts. Snape and Spencer (2003) also provide guidance on how to generate interpretive, qualitative data by outlining the importance of drawing on small, purposively selected samples and using data collection methods that involve close contact between the researcher and research participants, are interactive and developmental, and allow for emergent issues to be explored. The next section explains how this research has applied this guidance using a case study methodology.

4.3 Case Study Methodology

Case study research is an investigation and analysis of a single or multiple cases, intended to capture the complexity of the object of study (Hyett et al, 2014). Case studies are therefore a widely used method for generating knowledge of complex, socially constructed phenomena (Yin, 2003). Consistent with a critical realist ontology, case studies can provide detailed, bottom-up knowledge of phenomena in the context that they have developed and are functioning (Dubois and Gibbert, 2010; Easton, 2010; Gerring, 2007; Riege, 2003). Case studies can draw on quantitative and qualitative data but they are particularly conducive to inductive, qualitative research studies because there is the opportunity to consult with multiple stakeholders. The gathering of multiple viewpoints

enhances the credibility of the knowledge captured, particularly so if the different viewpoints are triangulated to identify commonalities and divergences in the knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Hoggart et al, 2002; Lewis, 2003; Perry, 1998; Riege, 2003; Ritchie, 2003; Yeung, 1997; Yin, 2003).

While there are some criticisms surrounding the empirical rigour of case studies (Dubois and Gibbert, 2010; Gioia et al, 2012), a small number of strategically selected cases can build knowledge of socially constructed phenomena provided that the research is well-designed and conducted (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Gerring, 2007). Consistent with this, the following design features have been adopted. First, more than one case study was used as multiple or cross-case analysis enables more robust theory building (Bryman, 2004; Perry, 1998; Yin, 2003). Elaborating on this, the factors surrounding each case will differ and, if common issues are identified, then the findings and resulting theory can be more justifiably generalised (Yin, 2003). However, a multiple case study approach does add a further layer of selection issues. As outlined in Ritchie *et al.* (2003) the selection should be symbolically representative, but also with as much diversity as possible. To explain, this means that each case study should be representative of a community stadium, but individually they are distinctive to optimise the chances of identifying the full range of factors or features associated with community stadia. By diversity, options could include variations in size of stadium, age of stadium, location of stadium and main sport of stadium.

Second, there was a need to select which case study type was most appropriate for the research aims, noting that Gerring (2007) identifies nine classifications of case studies – *typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, crucial, pathway, most-similar,* and *most-different.* Considering these different categories, Flyvbjerg (2011), Pratt (2009) and Ritchie et al (2003) find that extreme cases are well suited for the study of new phenomenon and theory development because they help to understand the limits of existing knowledge and develop new concepts and theories. As Gerring (2007) notes, extreme cases are prototypical or paradigmatic of the phenomena of interest. Similarly, crucial cases can be useful as they can either confirm or falsify existing theories, with the falsification or revision of preconceived assumptions particularly important. This is consistent with a critical realist approach as the non-occurrence of an event when one is expected is as, if not more, insightful than the theory being proved (Easton, 2010; Gerring, 2007). However, given the exploratory, knowledge building aims of the research, extreme case studies are

the most appropriate case study type for this research. They will help uncover how far the community aims, facilities and services of stadia stretch to in reality and consequently provide benchmarks to guide the developments of other stadia.

Third, a mixed methods approach was deemed consistent with a critical realist ontology. The use of multiple case studies is consistent with a mixed methods approach and so too is the analysis of primary and secondary data (Cresswell, 2011). The primary data was generated through qualitative interviews and focus groups with multiple local stakeholders (discussed below) and the secondary data from available documentary evidence connected to the stadium. The use of quantitative secondary data was considered (e.g. through small area statistics that help to overcome the shortcomings of the US economic impact of stadia research conducted at a metropolitan area level) but was discounted beyond the use of small area statistics for providing contextual information. This was because community stadia are small business entities for which it is difficult to attribute any change in headline economic statistical indicators to. Furthermore, community stadia are intended to impact on economic *and* social objectives. While economic impact can potentially be measured through business and employment indicators available at the local level, social impacts are harder to measure and typically require qualitative techniques.

Fourth, qualitative interviews with multiple stakeholders were held. Qualitative interviews with key stakeholders were needed to make sense of or interpret complex phenomena through the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2011). Furthermore, given that every individual views phenomena differently, interviews with multiple stakeholders were necessary (Del Casino Jr et al, 2000; Easton, 2010; Healy and Perry, 2000). For community stadia, engaging with multiple, diverse stakeholders was particularly important given the range of communities potentially engaging with community stadia (Curran et al, 2000; Jenkins and James, 2011; Raco and Tunney; 2010; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001), and to help understand whether the experience from other flagship developments of elite needs and interests taking precedence was similarly apparent for community stadia (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009). Through triangulation, and consistent with a mixed methods approach, the areas of convergence (i.e. where there is accepted knowledge or understanding of community stadia) *and* divergence (i.e. where there are conflicting viewpoints) could then be identified. Indeed, the points of

divergence can be particularly insightful as they help to define the boundaries of socially constructed phenomenon (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2011).

4.4 Case Study Selection

Having established the case study selection criteria, a systematic, four-stage approach was adopted to progressively narrow the possible stadia case studies to the final selections. Such a sequential approach added an iterative dimension to the research, so aligning with the critical realist belief that knowledge evolves over time and 'reality' is subject to modification and revision (Easton, 2010; Pratt, 1995). Through the sequential use of different research techniques, deductive and inductive ideas could be developed and tested over the course of a research study (Perry, 1998; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2011). For example, beginning with the emerging theory from the community stadia literature, the four-stage case study selection process, followed by the completion of the case studies, all offered opportunities to generate and test knowledge and theory that helped to develop a more nuanced understanding of the community stadia phenomenon. Throughout the research study, therefore, the process of conceptualisation and reconceptualisation was central (Pratt, 1995).

Detailed below, the four-stage approach was to establish the initial stadia sample; carry out an initial screening out of stadia; conduct an e-survey to identify potential case studies; and to finalise the case study selection.

4.4.1 Establish Initial Stadia Sample

As a recent phenomenon, community stadia are most likely to be found among newly constructed stadia. With this rationale, it was decided that the starting sample would be professional sports stadia newly constructed in the UK between 2000 and 2015. Further rationale for selecting new stadia constructed post-2000 were that it would be easier to source supporting documentary evidence data (e.g. planning documentation relating to the aims and objectives of stadia) and identify and conduct meaningful interviews with stakeholders; for pre-2000 stadia it was feared that the documentation would be limited and memories of interviewees dimmed. The 15-year timeframe provided a sample of 30 stadia, which in itself demonstrated the continued, substantial investment in new stadia

following the publishing of the post-Hillsborough Taylor Report in 1990. Table 4.2 (overleaf) provides a summary overview of the initial 30 stadia sample, their characteristics (e.g. home sports club(s), year of construction, cost of construction, stadium capacity, community facilities and services, and location by quintile in national deprivation rankings[4]), and the decision made on their inclusion or exclusion as a case study.

[4] Quintiles measured as the deprivation ranking of the Lower Super Output Area or Datazone that the stadia are located in (i.e. 1st quintile equates to stadia being in one of the 20% most deprived localities). For England and Wales, the Index of Multiple Deprivation was used, and for Scotland, the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation was used.

Table 4.2: Case Study Selection Process of Newly Constructed UK Stadia of Professional Sports Clubs (2000-2015)

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
Final Case Study Selections							
Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk	Falkirk FC	2003		6,000	Home to Falkirk Football Foundation Tenants in the stadium are: Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit (who deliver the Business Gateway contract), Falkirk Community Trust (details on OSCR), Falkirk Chamber of Commerce and a childcare nursery Café and soccer centre also on site Concerts	2nd	Selected as case study
Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster	Doncaster Rovers FC Doncaster Belles WLFC Doncaster RLFC Doncaster Athletics Club	2007	N/A	15,231	Home to Doncaster Rovers Community Sports and Education Foundation – delivering sports and youth activities New classrooms being constructed as part of a larger Community Hub Other facilities include fitness club and all weather 5 aside pitches Concerts	2nd	Selected as case study
Shortlisted as Potential Case Studies							
The Proact Stadium, Chesterfield	Chesterfield FC	2010	£13m	10,600	Home to Chesterfield FC Community Trust The Hub – flexible community facility located within the stadium. Includes small sports hall, classrooms and children's play centre Located on former Dema Glassworks site and part of wider regeneration including Tesco store Concerts	2nd	Contacted to participate as a case study but no commitment from stadium partners

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
American Express Community Stadium, Brighton	Brighton & Hove Albion FC	2011		22,374	Home to Albion in the Community, which provides education, health, sports participation, disability and inclusion activities Next to University of Sussex campus – university's careers service works with the stadium and football club to enable students to benefit from job opportunities Concerts	1st	Contacted to participate as a case study but no commitment from stadium partners
Completed E-Survey but Limited Evidence of Community Stadium							
King Power Stadium, Leicester	Leicester City FC	2002	N/A	32,262	Home to LCFC in the Community Education suite in the stadium Approval given in 2014 to host concerts Stadium recognised as a 'community asset'	2nd	Screened out following e-survey as not deemed to be an extreme community stadium case
Halliwell Jones Stadium, Warrington	Warrington Wolves RLFC	2003	£12m	15,000	Home to Warrington Wolves Charitable Foundation, who run the Community Floor of the stadium. Activities delivered include Playing for Success out of school hour courses, healthy living and lifelong learning courses. Warrington PCT healthcare (now Bridgewater Community Healthcare NHS Trust) facility in one of the stands. Base for more than 90 PCT staff. Provides cardiac and stroke rehabilitation services, a continence service and a falls prevention service for older people. Other services include smoking cessation, exercise for health, sexual health, physiotherapy, speech and language therapy, an acquired brain injury team, podiatry, orthopaedic triage, and children's eye clinics	1st	Screened out following e-survey as not deemed to be an extreme community stadium case

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
Cardiff City Stadium, Cardiff	Cardiff City FC	2009	£48m	33,000	Cardiff City FC Community and Education Foundation is based in the Cardiff City House of Sport that neighbours the stadium. The Foundation delivers a number of sports, social inclusion, education, employability and disability projects Wider site includes Cardiff International Sports Stadium (athletics), retail development and a hotel Concerts	2nd	Screened out following e-survey as not deemed to be an extreme community stadium case
AJ Bell Stadium, Salford	Salford Reds RLFC Sale Sharks RUFC	2011		12,000	Home to Salford Red Devils Foundation Private gym All weather pitch for hire	1st	Screened out following e-survey as not deemed to be an extreme community stadium case
Non Completion of E-Survey							
St Mary's Stadium, Southampton	Southampton FC	2001	£32m	32,589	Home to St Mary's Training Centre which delivers range of courses, including employability, stewarding, customer service, first aid Home to Saints Foundation which delivers range of disability, education, homelessness and youth projects Concerts	1st	No response to e-survey
KC Stadium, Hull	Hull City FC Hull RLFC	2002	£44m	25,586	Learning Zone hosted with full-time courses from Hull College in sport, public services, and travel and tourism. Learning Zone includes a gym and café Home to Tigers Sport and Education Trust Neighbouring the stadium is a sports arena Concerts	1st	No response to e-survey

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
Liberty Stadium, Swansea	Swansea City FC Ospreys RUFC	2005	£27m	20,520	Home to Swansea City AFC Community Trust Concerts	1st	No response to e-survey
Ricoh Arena, Coventry	Coventry City FC	2005	£113m	32,609	Home to Sky Blues in the Community Rent dispute with Coventry City FC (recently been resolved after playing for one season at Northampton Town FC)	2nd	No response to e-survey
Stadiummk, Milton Keynes	MK Dons FC	2007	N/A	30,500	Home to MK Dons Sport and Education Trust (MK Dons SET) which delivers a wide range of health, education, social inclusion, participation and football development programmes Part of wider mixed-use development that includes multi-purpose sports and spectator events stadium/arena (including community hub and conference facilities); retail and hotel	2nd	No response to e-survey
Parc y Scarlets, Llanelli	Llanelli Scarlets RUFC	2008	£23m	14,870	Café Attached indoor barn is available for community and sporting activities, with a 3G pitch. Can also be divided up into smaller areas for hire, while floor can be covered and also used for large scale community events	2nd	No response to e-survey
Globe Arena, Morecambe	Morecambe FC	2010	£12m	6,476	Home to Morecambe FC Community Sports which works with schools and local organisations All weather pitches for hire	1st	No response to e-survey
St Mirren Park, Paisley	St Mirren FC	2009	N/A	8,023	Home to St Mirren in the Community which provides employability and training (e.g. Work Club and employment programmes), healthy living, sports participation and community garden	1st	No response to e-survey

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
New York Stadium, Rotherham	Rotherham United FC	2012	£20m	12,000	Home to Rotherham United Community Sports Trust	1st	No response to e-survey
Langtree Park, St Helens	St Helens RLFC	2012	£25m	18,000	Home to Saints Community Development Foundation Foundation runs DWP/Jobcentre Plus projects (e.g. Off the Bench and Feeling Better Moving Forward projects) and children's Fit4Life programmes from stadium	1st	No response to e-survey
Screened Out Before E-Survey							
Bet Butler Stadium, Dumbarton	Dumbarton FC	2000	N/A	2,020	None	3rd	Screened out before e-survey because stadium deemed too small to be multi-functional venue
Ageas Bowl, Eastleigh	Hampshire CCC	2001	N/A	15,000	Home to Hampshire Cricket in the Community (HCiTC) Orbit study centre and physiotherapist clinic Concerts	5th	Screened out before e-survey due to location in affluent area
Kassam Stadium, Oxford	Oxford United FC	2001	£15m	12,500	Administrative base for Oxford United FC Youth and Community Sports Trust	1st	Screened out before e-survey due to no evidence that community activities are held in the stadium
New Douglas Park, Hamilton	Hamilton Academicals FC	2001	N/A	6,078	No desk-based evidence of community sports trust	1st	Screened out before e-survey due to no evidence of community arm
Northern Echo Arena, Darlington	No professional club	2003	N/A	25,000	Private gym, physiotherapist and nursery Concerts Darlington FC Football in the Community Limited (ceased to exist in 2012)	1st	Screened out before e-survey due to stadium not hosting a professional club

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
Etihad Stadium, Manchester	Manchester City FC	2003	£150m	47,805	Part of SportCity Home to City in the Community (CITC) Foundation which delivers programmes in football and multisports; skills and enterprise; health and activity; community cohesion Site includes Connell Sixth Form College and community hub Concerts	1st	Screened out before e-survey due to international status and size of the stadium
Sandy Park, Exeter	Exeter Chiefs RUFC	2006	£15m	10,744	Holds regular business networking events	4th	Screened out before e-survey due to location in affluent area
Emirates Stadium, London	Arsenal FC	2006	£470m	60,338	Home to Arsenal in the Community which delivers range of education, training, employability, sport and social inclusion projects Concerts	1st	Screened out before e-survey due to international status and size of the stadium
Greenhous Meadow, Shrewsbury	Shrewsbury Town FC	2007		9,875	Home to Shrewsbury Town Community Football Trust which delivers community sports, health, education and inclusion activities Concerts	4th	Screened out before e-survey due to location in affluent area
Western Homes Community Stadium, Colchester	Colchester United FC	2008	£14m	10,000	Stadium has office accommodation for Colchester United Community Sports Trust, a community ICT centre, cafe and training/conference facilities capable of hosting up to 400 people. Community events can hire facilities for free with catering at cost value Concerts	3rd	Screened out before e-survey due to evidence that Colchester United Community Sports Trust no longer operating.
Scotstoun Stadium, Glasgow	Glasgow Warriors RUFC	2012	£18m	9,708	Part of Scotstoun Sports Campus run by Glasgow Life	5th	Screened out before e-survey due to location in affluent area

Stadium	Club(s)	Year	Cost	Capacity	Community Facilities and Services (identified from desk-based documentary and website review)	Index of Multiple Deprivation Quintile	Case Study Selection
Allianz Park, Barnet	Saracens RUFC Shaftesbury and Barnet Harriers Barnet District Athletics Club	2013	N/A	10,000	Home to Saracens Sport Foundation, which delivers range of community programmes including: • Rugby Roots - young people • Get Onside – NEETS (working in prisons, youth offenders institutes, schools and colleges) • Saracens Sport for All – disability sports • East Well, Live Well – healthy lifestyles • Schools of Cheer – dance project • Active for Life – physical activity for 50+ Sports teaching and research facility in partnership with Middlesex University	4th	Screened out before e-survey due to location in affluent area

4.4.2 Initial Screening Out of Stadia

Of the 30 newly constructed professional sports stadia, it was anticipated that the community-related aims, facilities and services of each would vary significantly (PMP, 2008). As a consequence, the second-stage was primarily concerned with screening out the stadia which had **no documentary evidence of being (or aspiring to being) a community stadium**. The screening out exercise was conducted through a desk-based review of the websites and published documentation (e.g. annual reports and accounts) of both the professional sports clubs and their community outreach/CSR organisations (including those published on the Charities Commission and Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator), and planning documentation lodged relating to the stadia developments, with the aim of identifying evidence of community use of stadia. Where no evidence was identified, these stadia were screened out.

Further criteria used for screening out stadia at this stage were their size, their location in an affluent area, and the lack of a professional sports club. Taking each of these in turn, and beginning with **size of the stadia**, it was decided that small stadia of less than 6,000 spectator capacity lacked the physical scale to provide a 7-days/week multi-functional community offer (City of York, 2010). Conversely, very large stadia (at over 40,000 spectator capacity) were viewed as being too (inter)nationally significant, noting that these can and do host the riches of Champions League football, to be consistent with the community economic development aims of community stadia. With regards **location of the stadia**, the community economic development aims imply that community stadia are best considered and will have a more demonstrable impact in more deprived neighbourhoods (Brown et al, 2008; Jenkins and James, 2011; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Sanders et al, 2014). It was therefore decided that stadia located in the UK's more affluent areas should be screened out because they are operating in a less challenging environment and any positive local impact harder to evidence. Using the Indices of Deprivation in England, Scotland and Wales, stadia located in the 40% least deprived areas in their respective countries were omitted, even if they had characteristics of a community stadium. Finally, **stadia that did not have a professional sports club** based at it were excluded as these cannot be classified as sustainable stadia on sporting grounds. One stadium was omitted for this reason, namely Darlington's Northern Echo Arena, because Darlington FC had relocated due to a club and stadium ownership dispute, so leaving amateur Mowden

Park RUFC playing there. Summarising the outcome of the four criteria, 12 stadia from the initial sample were screened out at this stage.

4.4.3 E-Survey to Narrow Case Study Selection

With 18 stadia still in scope based on the desk-based documentary review, a bespoke e-survey was designed in SurveyMonkey and distributed to the 18 remaining stadia to help collect additional, primary data that would inform the final case study selection decision. Drawing on the emerging community stadia characteristics identified in the literature review, the survey (see Appendix 1 for the full survey schedule) included the key questions of: which professional, amateur and reserve sports teams use the stadium; what non-matchday facilities are housed in the stadium that the public can access; which public, private and third sector organisations are based in or deliver from the stadium; are specific groups of individuals or specific geographical areas targeted; would they class their stadium as a 'community stadium'; and how would they define a community stadium?

The e-survey was sent out in January 2015 to a named individual within the stadium management, professional sports club or community outreach/CSR organisation, with these individuals identified during the previous desk-based research stage. A three-week survey deadline was set, with one reminder phone call and email used to help increase the response rate. In total, the survey was completed for eight stadia (a response rate of 44%).

The value of the e-survey was four-fold. First, the fact that stadia officials were completing the survey indicated that the community stadium phenomenon is one that has traction within the UK professional sports industry, so justifying this research. Second, the information provided in the eight completed surveys enabled a more informed decision to be made on which stadia were extreme cases. Third, where the survey was not completed, this was taken as a local lack of interest in participating in the research – so screening them out from becoming a case study. Fourth, the eight survey returns provided additional information on the aims, facilities and services of community stadia, with these survey findings reported in Chapter 5 to build our understanding of community stadia.

4.4.4 Final Case Study Selection

The final stage of the sequential approach was to use the survey results to identify the extreme cases (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Pratt, 2009; Ritchie et al, 2003). This was done by calculating an aggregate, unweighted count of the number of different community-related facilities, organisations and target community groups reported by each stadia (see Table 4.3). In doing so, the stadia with the highest aggregate count were interpreted as being an extreme case because they reportedly offered the widest range of community-related facilities and services to the widest range of community groups. Three extreme cases were identified – Chesterfield, Doncaster and Falkirk – followed by Brighton and Warrington. Of these five, four were taken forward as case study options, with Warrington screened out on the basis that the survey respondent did not classify the stadium as a community stadium within the e-survey.

Table 4.3: Non-Matchday Facilities Housed In and Communities Targeted By Surveyed Stadia

	Brighton	**Cardiff**	**Chesterfield**	**Doncaster**	**Falkirk**	**Leicester**	**Salford**	**Warrington**
Number of Non-Matchday Facilities	7	2	11	11	9	2	6	2
Number of Public Sector Organisations	0	0	8	3	2	0	-	2
Number of Other Organisations	1	1	6	5	3	1	-	5
Number of Community Groups Targeted	6	-	7	7	7	3	-	5
Number of Geographic Focus Areas	3	-	4	2	4	2	-	3
Total	**17**	**3**	**36**	**28**	**25**	**8**	**6**	**17**

Note: - means no response provided

For the four case study options, the identified named individual at each stadium was contacted to thank them for completing the e-survey and to ask whether they would be prepared to become a case study for the research. The task of securing case study agreement was not taken lightly and an initial, face-to-face scoping out meeting was proposed to provide the survey respondent, someone I regarded as a potential 'gatekeeper' to the research (Clark, 2011; Das and McAreavey, 2013), with a more informed understanding of the research motivation and aims, and what the case study would involve

(such as providing relevant documentation and facilitating access to potential interviewees). The meeting was also viewed as a prime opportunity for me to demonstrate my credibility to the gatekeeper. I did this by setting out my academic and professional background and by offering to produce a research or consultancy report for the stadium management as a bi-product of the research.

Of the four case study options, positive responses were received from Doncaster and Falkirk and face-to-face meetings were soon arranged with the named individuals. Both meetings lasted 2½-3 hours and were extremely productive as I built a strong rapport with the gatekeepers. Both were keen to support the research and, to illustrate their interest and commitment, concluded the respective meetings by giving me a guided tour of the stadium and its community facilities and services. The Doncaster gatekeeper was also keen to take up the offer of a consultancy report as the stadium management was keen to have an external assessment of their community objectives, and this research provided an excellent opportunity to do so in a mutually beneficial arrangement for the stadium management and me.

In contrast, the named Brighton and Chesterfield individuals were non-committal and, despite follow-up emails and phone calls, it was clear that there was insufficient buy-in from them to justify the selection of Brighton's American Express Community Stadium and Chesterfield's Proact stadium as case studies

4.4.5 Reflections on Case Study Selection

The four-stage process led to two case studies being selected: Doncaster's Keepmoat Stadium and Falkirk's Falkirk Stadium. Proceeding with two case studies did, however, raise the question of whether two cases was a sufficient number to answer the research questions. Determining the appropriate number of cases is a contentious issue for all researchers engaged in case study research, with the need to weigh up the greater knowledge that can potentially be gained through multiple case studies versus practical issues such as gaining buy-in from multiple case studies, securing equitable access to research participants across multiple case studies, and managing the available resource for the research across multiple sites.

Balancing these competing tensions with regard to this research, it was decided that two case studies was a valid number for the following reasons. First, the research was focused on learning from extreme cases (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Pratt, 2009; Ritchie et al, 2003) and, by implication, the number of extreme cases should be small as the cases ought to be outliers that stretch the boundaries of a phenomenon. As Table 4.3 showed, both Doncaster and Falkirk could justifiably be classified as extreme cases of community stadia. Second, two cases studies offered cross-case analysis to identify commonalities and differences in research findings, albeit to the minimum number (Perry, 1998). Third, Gerring (2007) notes that multiple cases means that at a certain point it is no longer possible to investigate each case as intensively. Given the resources available for the research, it was decided that two case studies could be investigated and conducted to an equitable depth (e.g. multiple interviews in both locations). An additional case study could have led to resources being spread too thinly with the risk of insufficient insight captured in one or more of the case studies. Finally, the four-stage selection process led quite naturally to Doncaster and Falkirk becoming case studies, while the non-committal responses from Brighton and Chesterfield indicated that securing and then completing any additional or alternative cases would have proved very challenging.

A further reflection on the two cases – Doncaster and Falkirk – is that they appeared to be insightful comparators. As towns, both are sizeable provincial towns with similar socio-economic challenges of higher worklessness and lower qualifications base (see Table 4.4 for a summary of headline statistics), but also similar ambitions to regenerate their economies and communities following the decline of traditional industries. Both towns are the main settlements within their respective local authority areas (Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council and Falkirk Council), so meaning that there is substantial local political, business and media interest in the futures of these towns. Finally, both stadia are the largest in their local authority area and play host to the undisputed main professional club(s) in their areas – i.e. Doncaster Rovers FC and Doncaster RLFC, and Falkirk FC.

Table 4.4: Headline Doncaster and Falkirk Socio-Economic Statistics

	Doncaster Town	Doncaster Local Authority Area	Falkirk Town	Falkirk Local Authority Area	Great Britain
Population, 2016	117,000	306,400	53,200*	159,400	63,785,900
Jobs density (employment per 1,000 adults), 2016	NA	492	569	504	585
Qualifications (% 16-64 year olds with S/NVQ Level 4), 2016	NA	24.7%	NA	34.9%	38.2%
Worklessness (% of working age population in receipt of out-of-work DWP benefits), Nov 2016	11.4%	11.1%	11.3%	9.9%	8.4%
% of localities in England/Scotland's 20% most deprived, 2015	39.4%	35.6%	33.3%	15.4%	NA

Source: Population Estimates (NOMIS); Business Register and Employment Survey (NOMIS); Annual Population Survey (NOMIS); DWP Work and Pensions Longitudinal Study (NOMIS); and English Indices of Multiple Deprivation (Office of National Statistics)

Note: Localities refer to Lower Super Output Areas in England; and Datazones in Scotland.

4.5 Researcher's Lens

Advancing from the case study selection stage to identifying research participants and conducting the qualitative interviews, my lens as a researcher became important to recognise. In line with critical realism, it is necessary to set out and recognise the layer of subjectivity I brought – particularly my academic and professional background – as this influenced who was interviewed, how they were interviewed, and how the interviews were transcribed and analysed (Del Casino Jr et al, 2000; Josselson, 2013; Pratt, 2009; Riege, 2003).

Beginning with my academic background, PhD study provided progression from a joint Geography and Politics undergraduate degree and a Local Economic Development postgraduate degree. Both degrees involved teaching and study into how to maximise economic opportunities (e.g. new investments, physical infrastructure and developments,

and sources of jobs) for the benefit of more economically marginalised individuals and communities. This academic interest has then be taken forward in the study of community stadia as a key focus of the research is to understand the extent to which these stadia truly benefit their local communities.

Professionally, the PhD has been completed on a part-time basis alongside full-time, university-based research and consultancy jobs. Working across many and varied contract research projects, my first role involved working closely with public and third sector organisations to develop multi-agency economic development strategies or evaluate interventions designed to address market failures. My second role again focused on supporting more marginalised communities but with the focus on enhancing multi-agency children's services (e.g. health visiting, education and social work services) for the benefit of vulnerable children and families.

I perceived the professional experience, training and skills developed from these two roles as an asset in conducting this research. To explain, I had a professional, working knowledge of local economic development and community development structures and functions in both England and Scotland, so meaning that the technical language and acronyms used (e.g. Community Planning Partnerships or Local Enterprise Partnerships in Scotland and England respectively) were familiar. For the research participants, this background helped to demonstrate my credibility, which is critical to establishing a constructive relationship between researcher and interviewee in qualitative research interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The two roles have also provided me with extensive interviewing experience, whether conducting one-to-one, group, face-to-face or telephone interviews, and interviewing individuals at different power levels, whether chief executives and elected members to the unemployed and school pupils. My interview experience meant I was comfortable and relaxed in my interview style, while also able to adapt it to different scenarios as they arose, which in turn helped to put participants at ease.

My professional experience was an asset but conducting academic research for this thesis also required different or more attuned skills and techniques. In comparison with contract research studies where one effectively responds to the research questions set by the research commissioners, there has been substantially more investment in the peer-reviewed academic literature in order to situate the research in a wider literature, identify gaps in the

literature and accordingly construct my own research questions. Similarly, while contract research studies typically give expectations of what the methodology should consist of, much greater attention has been paid in this research to the development and implementation of a rigorous methodology that ensures that the case study selections and research participants interviewed were consistent with the critical realist ontology and qualitative research epistemology.

Another key difference relates to the power balance with research participants. In contract research, a researcher benefits from the power and esteem of those commissioning the research – i.e. the research is on their behalf and is for an explicit business, political or community 'real world' purpose. For thesis research, there is less compulsion for people to participate as the direct impact of the research can be less apparent and there is not the backing from research commissioners. Thesis researchers therefore have less power than contract researchers. Furthermore, with regards to my two case studies, I was Glasgow-based with no previous Doncaster-based professional or personal connections and only a small number of Falkirk-based professional interactions (through Falkirk Council's Employment and Training Unit). This meant that I could not draw on an existing network of contacts to help initiate the interview process. Participants' willingness to engage in the research was therefore largely based on their interest in the research subject, the clarity of my communications (e.g. emails and phone calls) to request an interview, and the esteem that the 'gatekeepers' were held in locally as they could potentially open up interview opportunities through their networks. In short, the ability to engage interview participants was a significant risk to the research. For this reason, I placed significant importance on the initial follow-up meeting with the Doncaster and Falkirk gatekeepers to build a strong and trusting relationship with them. This relationship was particularly invaluable in the completion of the Doncaster case study as, with mutually beneficial research outputs agreed, the gatekeeper played an active role in arranging a number of the interviews.

4.6 Case Study Completion

With the Doncaster and Falkirk cases selected, the task now was to design and conduct both case studies to sufficient depth and rigour to answer the research questions. This section sets out the interview sampling process, the interview arrangements, and the

interview question schedule, before concluding with how the interview transcripts were analysed.

4.6.1 Interview Sampling

In line with critical realism, multiple participants were sought but, at the same time and on a practical basis, the resource available for the case studies meant that a purposive sampling be taken. Stakeholders were therefore identified for interview that would have a developed understanding and/or experience of the stadia and consequently have an informed perspective on the research questions – as Baxter and Eyles (1997) would refer to as 'information rich cases'. Specifically the purposeful sampling sought to engage with stakeholders who would have insight into the design and delivery of the stadia's sporting, commercial, community and/or economic regeneration aims. The following stakeholders were therefore identified for inclusion: stadium originators or funders; stadium management; owners or directors of the professional sports club; tenant organisations within the stadium; stadium users; members of the local community, whether local residents, organisations or businesses; and local elected members.

With the sampling framework set, participants were sought through two routes. First, the sampling framework was shared with the Doncaster and Falkirk gatekeepers for them to populate the categories through their network of contacts. Both agreed to this and suggested 12-15 individuals for possible interview. I then reviewed the suggested individuals to assess their case for inclusion and to identify any gaps in the categories. Where gaps existed, typically in the 'stadium user' and 'local community' categories, I took the second route of undertaking a web-based mapping of community organisations located close to the stadia before contacting these to ask for an interview and to facilitate access to some of the organisation's service users or customers. A Microsoft Excel database was developed at this stage to record key information for each potential interviewee, e.g. name; organisation; position within organisation; telephone number, email address, and interview status (e.g. contacted for interview, agreed to interview, interview scheduled, interview completed). As a final point, this paragraph implies that identifying potential interviewees was a one-off event but in practice it was an iterative and reflective process that assessed the extent to which the completed and scheduled interviews

would answer the research questions, and identify stakeholder gaps to fill so that theoretical saturation could be achieved (Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Fusch and Ness, 2015).

4.6.2 Invitations to Participate

Potential interviewees were initially approached by email and then followed up by telephone. In line with the research's ethics application (see the Plain Language Statement in Appendix 2), the email introduced the research, my background and interests, the key research questions, what the interview would involve (e.g. length and venue of the interview), and explained that their participation was voluntary, anonymous and could be withdrawn from at any stage. In the main, I managed the invitations but the Doncaster gatekeeper volunteered to do this for some of the participants he had personally suggested. While this approach could have presented a risk to the research if the gatekeeper had weak relationships and/or credibility with the potential participants, I interpreted this offer as a welcome and genuine intervention. This trust was borne out through the number, diversity and quality of interviews that were completed through this route.

4.6.3 Ethical Considerations

Researchers have a moral and ethical obligation to ensure that participants, and the data they share, are treated with respect and confidentiality (Greenwood, 2016). Consistent with this, and guided and approved by the University of Glasgow's Ethics Committee, participants were informed about the purpose of the research and its ethical dimensions through three mechanisms: in the introductory email inviting them to take part in the research; in the Plain Language Statement (see Appendix 2) that participants were given time to read before interview; and, once read, I reiterated the key points of the Plain Language Statement.

Across all three of the mechanisms, participants were informed about the aims of the research (i.e. to critically appraise the community stadium phenomenon as part of a PhD thesis and, in the case of the Keepmoat Stadium, to provide external consultation to Club Doncaster on whether the stadium is viewed by local stakeholders as a community stadium); their role (as interviewees or focus group participants); the means by which the interview or focus group would be recorded; and the voluntary nature of their participation and their right to withdraw from the research at any time. Participants were then given the

opportunity to ask any questions about the research before the interview or focus group began.

The design of the research questions (see Section 4.6.4) and completion of the interviews and focus groups (see Section 4.6.5) reinforced the purpose and ethical dimensions of the research. Each question was designed so that it was simple to understand and had direct relevance to the research aims and purpose articulated to participants. This brought a transparency to the interviews and focus groups as participants could see how their views and experiences contributed to building a more informed understanding of community stadia. As an example of the respectful and voluntary nature of the research, participants were not pressed to answer a question they felt unable to. Instead, I simply moved on to ask another question.

With regards to the data they shared, no transcribed or recorded data was shared with anyone except the participant. At the end of the interview, participants were informed that the transcribed note could be emailed to them to check for accuracy and for further consent on the use of the interview data generated. In practice, two participants asked for the transcribed interview note to be sent to them and both approved the record of the interview. The transcripts were then stored securely, either in a private, locked filing cabinet or on password protected electronic files.

Protecting the identity of participants in the analysis and write up of the data was also deemed important given that community stadia require trusting relationships between partners. Views could, for example, be attributed to specific individuals if the empirical data was referenced in the thesis to the level given in Table 4.5 (i.e. job title and type of organisation), thereby potentially compromising working relationships. As a consequence, and discussed in more detail in Section 4.6.6, participants were allocated to and referenced using one of three stakeholder groups: internal, connected and external stakeholders (see Section 4.6.7).

4.6.4 Interview Questions

Building on the findings from the literature review and the e-survey, an interview schedule was developed (see Table 4.5). The questions posed to participants are set out in the first

column but Table 4.5 also shows how the interview schedule aligns with and contributes to the key research questions established from the literature review. This ‘logic modelling’ process later helped in the analysis of the interview material (see Section 4.6.7)

Two further key aspects to note about the interview schedule are that there was only one and it was semi-structured in format. Only one interview schedule was developed as this enabled the research to more effectively capture and identify commonalities and divergences in the knowledge held by the different stakeholder groups, which is consistent with a critical realism ontology (Fusch and Ness, 2015). However, using a single interview schedule can be challenging and requires a skilled interviewer who is able to refine ‘in the moment’ how individual questions are asked so that each question posed makes sense to the participant. A semi-structured design facilitates this as there is scope to adapt the wording of questions provided the meaning of the questions is retained. The first question(s) in the schedule are therefore vital in helping to identify at the outset the parameters of the participants’ knowledge and experience, so enabling a tailoring of the questions to the individual.

Table 4.5: Interview Schedule and Application to Research Questions

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE		CONNECTIONS TO KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS		NOTES
YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE STADIUM 1. What is your or your organisation's involvement with the stadium? • e.g. do you live near it; use its facilities; work in it, etc?		Q1 contributes to **'What are community stadia?'** as the responses provide an understanding of the different ways that the stadium is used by participants. Q2 contributes to **'Are community stadia a sustainable phenomenon such that community aims align with sporting, commercial and economic development aims?'** because it encourages participants to reflect on the breadth of aspiration connected to the stadium, as well as the challenges put forward that could impact on the stadium's sustainability. Q3 contributes to **'What is the 'community' of community stadia?'** by asking participants to consider which communities were (or ought to have been) consulted during the planning stage.		Q1 is designed to be an accessible introductory question that all participants can answer. Their involvement with the stadium is then used to frame and contextualise later questions. The responses to Qs 2-3 will vary according to participants' interest or involvement in the planning of the stadium. It was anticipated that stadium management, local authority officials and longer-term community members would have greatest insight here.
PLANNING THE STADIUM 2. What were your thoughts about the stadium when you first heard about what was planned? • What were the opportunities and/or positive aspects? • What were the problems and/or negative aspects? 3. To what extent were the views of local communities sought and listened to during the planning stage?				
STADIUM AIMS AND OBJECTIVES 4. What would you say are the main aims of the stadium? • Sporting, commercial, economic, and social/community? • Have these changed over time? 5. Do local communities use and/or benefit from the stadium?		Qs 4-6 contribute to **'Are community stadia a sustainable phenomenon such that community aims align with sporting, commercial and economic development aims?'** as they enable participants to outline of what the different aims of the stadium are, before being pressed on the relationship(s) that local communities have with the stadium. In doing so, participants are given a further opportunity to discuss		Like Qs 2-3, the response to Q4 will vary according to participants' interest or involvement in the planning and management of the stadium. Qs 5-6 are questions that all participants can answer, whether based on their own direct experiences or the experiences of others. Appreciation of the different types of

• If so, please give examples. • If not, why not? 6. In terms of the stadium connecting with and benefiting local communities: • What has worked well – and why? • What has not worked well – and why? • What could they do differently in the future?		**'What is the 'community' of community stadia?'** by considering which communities have been involved and how.		communities (e.g. resident and business) is needed here as some participants will likely be referring to a type of community in their answers.
COMMUNITY STADIA 7. Would you say that this stadium is a 'community stadium'? • If so, why? • If not, why not? 8. How would you define a community stadium? 9. How does a community stadium differ from a conventional professional sports stadium? 10. From a community perspective, what needs to be done to ensure a community stadium truly is a stadium that is used by and benefits the community?	 	Qs 7-9 contributes to **'What are community stadia?'** as participants can reflect on their experiences of the stadium to consider whether it aligns with their understanding of what a community stadium should be. Q10 contributes to **'Are community stadia a sustainable phenomenon such that community aims align with sporting, commercial and economic development aims?'** by asking participants to consider how the sustainability of the stadium can be achieved, with particular focus placed on meeting community needs.	 	Qs 7-9 need to be couched with the understanding that there is not an agreed definition of what community stadia are – and that this is one of the aims of this research. Any views expressed by participants are therefore of value and probing may be needed to extract what participants truly think here (i.e. the knowledge they hold). Q10 is similar to Qs7-9 in respect that there are competing views on how to engage communities effectively. Any participant views or experiences on this matter are therefore valuable.

4.6.5 Interview Completion

Table 4.6 shows that 25 interviews and 1 focus group of six participants were held with Doncaster stakeholders and 16 interviews and 3 focus groups of 11 participants with Falkirk stakeholders (i.e. 58 participants across the two case studies). Typically each interview and focus group lasted 1 hour and were conducted face-to-face[5] in a location convenient for the participant(s) (e.g. their own offices or a public space within the stadium). The number of interviews and focus groups was a strength of the research because multiple viewpoints were obtained yet not so many that there was too much data to analyse and interpret (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Pratt, 2008). A further reflection is that the latter interviews and focus groups conducted were not generating new, additional data, so indicating theoretical saturation (Fusch and Ness, 2015).

Each interview and focus group took the same format. In line with Josselson (2013) and Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), they began with a clear but concise introduction where the participant was thanked for agreeing to the interview, and informed that the interview was voluntary, anonymous and could be withdrawn from at any time. I then introduced myself, the motivation behind the research and the key questions that the research aims to answer. The format of the interview was then explained, before assuring participants *'there are no right or wrong answers, I'm just keen to hear your views'*, to help portray their role as experts. Finally the participant was asked whether they had any questions about the research or how the interview would proceed, be analysed or reported.

Building on my interviewing experience (see Section 4.5), the interviews and focus groups were conducted in an informal, reflexive and conversational style, with the semi-structured interview schedule providing an underlying structure to the conversations. This approach meant participants had time to express their views and steer the conversation to their main areas of knowledge without being interrupted by a series of pre-set questions (Gioia et al, 2012; Josselson, 2013). My skill lay in tracking which questions had not been covered by participants so that these could be returned to. Where participants said they were unable to answer a question due to their limited involvement in that area, I assured them that this was absolutely fine and simply moved on to the next question.

[5] Two interviews were completed by telephone for the convenience of the participant

Table 4.6: Doncaster and Falkirk Interview and Focus Group Participants

	Doncaster	Falkirk
Professional Sports Club(s)	• Chief Executive Officer, Club Doncaster/Doncaster Rovers FC • Chief Operating Officer, Club Doncaster/Doncaster Rovers FC • Chief Executive, Dons RLFC • General Manager, Doncaster Belles WFC	• Chairman, Falkirk FC
CSR Foundation	• Chief Executive Officer, Club Doncaster Foundation • Principal, Club Doncaster Sports College	• Chief Executive Officer, Falkirk Football Foundation • Finance Director, Falkirk Football Director
Other Tenants of Stadium	• Headteacher, Hall Cross Pupil Referral Unit • Chief Executive Officer, Doncaster Chamber of Commerce • Head of Community Development, Doncaster Culture and Leisure Trust • Chairman, Doncaster Athletics Club	• Stadium Manager, Falkirk Stadium Ltd • Chief Executive Officer, Falkirk Community Trust • General Manager, Falkirk Community Trust • Proprietor, Little Stars Nursery
Local Authority	• Two Elected Members, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council • Head of Communities, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council • Strategic Development Officer – Active Doncaster, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council • Public Health Commissioning Manager, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council • Director Stronger Families Programme, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council	• Director Growth and Investment Unit, Falkirk Council • Principal Officer, Falkirk Council Employment and Training Unit • Manager, Falkirk Council Employment and Training Unit
Partner Organisations	• Partnership Manager, Selby College • Assistant Director Communications and Engagement, NHS Doncaster • Chief Superintendent, South Yorkshire Police • Headteacher, XP School • Depute Headteacher, XP School • High Sheriff of South Yorkshire	• Business Development Manager, Forth Valley College • Curriculum Manager Care, Health and Sport, Forth Valley College • Depute Headteacher, Graeme High School
Local Businesses	• Business owner and Local Enterprise Partnership Board Member • Business owner	• Operations Manager, Falkirk CVS
Local Residents / Stadium Users	• Focus group with six Club Doncaster Sports College students • Former Club Doncaster Foundation beneficiary	• Two focus groups with six Falkirk Football Foundation participants • Focus group with five Forth Valley College students • Chair, Falkirk Supporters Association

		• Manager, Westfield Community Centre

The interviews and focus groups were recorded through note-taking. This approach was selected for two reasons. First, it became quickly apparent that note-taking ensured a consistent approach to data capture across all interviews. To explain, of the early interviews, one stakeholder did not want the interview to be audio-recorded, one stakeholder was interviewed by telephone, and one interview was held in a café setting where the quality of the audio recording was poor. Note-taking offered a data capture solution to all these scenarios. Second, my job roles mean I am highly experienced in simultaneously conducting an interview and taking a detailed note. Indeed, I see many advantages from high quality note-taking as it helps to maintain interview concentration during interviews (Phillippi and Lauderdale, 2018); tracks points to return to later in the interview; gives participants opportunities to divert their gaze away from the interviewer and put greater thought into their answer, so challenging the view that note-taking is distracting for participants (Gall et al, 2010; Josselson, 2013; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009;); and, compared to the length of transcripts that follow from audio-recording, generates a more manageable volume of data for analysis (Clausen, 2011).

At the end of the interviews or focus groups, participants were thanked for their participation and openness in expressing their views and experiences. I then explained that their views would be analysed alongside those of other participants and reiterated that their views would be anonymised in the write-up.

4.6.6 Interview Transcription

Consistent with Clausen (2011) and Phillippi and Lauderdale (2018), the handwritten notes from the interviews and focus groups were typed up as Word documents within 24 hours of the interviews to become a permanent record of each interview. This is another advantage of note-taking as a reflective, analytical review of each interview is quickly undertaken, whereas there can be lengthy delays between audio-recording, full transcription and transcript analysis (Gall et al, 2010; Phillippi and Lauderdale, 2018). The typed-up transcripts were organised under the 10 interview schedule questions and consisted of bullet points of the key points made and key quotes. In total, the typed-up

transcripts amounted to a total of 28,500 words across the Doncaster and Falkirk interviews.

While accepting that note-taking transcription does not provide a completely accurate account of the interviews, it was consistent with the core purpose of the interviews and focus groups. The intention was not to forensically analyse the specific wording, inclination and pauses in the interviewee responses (i.e. content analysis), but instead to understand and extract the views, experiences and knowledge of community stadia – something that high quality note-taking offers. Furthermore, qualitative-based case studies consist of multiple layers of subjectivity that are tied to the quality and credibility of the researcher. For example, the case study selection process, the design of the interview schedule, the selection of interview participants, and how the interview questions were asked all have degrees of subjectivity associated with them (Josselson, 2013; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009); hence, the importance attached to understanding the researcher's lens (see Section 4.5). In this context, the use of high quality note-taking is consistent with the qualitative nature of the research.

4.6.7 Analysis of Interviews

The interviews and focus groups were initially typed up under the 10 interview questions but, to enable analysis of the data in the empirical chapters, the data was subsequently reorganised under the three key research questions (in line with the logic model presented in Table 4.4). The data was then screened for the key findings or themes that emerged. The narrative of the empirical chapters focused on the main points of consensus and divergence, with key quotes identified to illustrate the sentiments expressed. Outlier views held by one or two stakeholders were removed from the analysis, unless they provided a valuable, alternative interpretation of the community stadia phenomenon. In these cases, the small number of stakeholders offering the opinion is clearly stated.

In interpreting the data, there was also a need to provide an analytical structure that enabled different views to be understood by stakeholder type. Table 4.5 provided an initial seven stakeholder category structure to organise the views of the 56 research participants but the danger of this large number of categories is that key findings become lost in the complexity of the analytical structure, while the validity of the findings for each of the

seven categories could be contested due to the smaller number of participants in each of the seven categories. To address this, stakeholder classifications within the management literature were considered to identify a more meaningful analytical tool. Of those reviewed, the internal-connected-external stakeholder categorisation developed by Kaplan (2012) was adopted due to the close fit with the stakeholder types interviewed.

The value of the internal-connected-external stakeholder categorisation was that it offered the opportunity for comparative analysis across a manageable number of stakeholder groupings. The scaling up to three categories also enhanced the validity of the findings. Figure 4.1 shows how participants have been organised under the three internal-connected-external stakeholder categories, with the Venn diagram helping to depict the assumption that there will be commonalities and divergences in the knowledge held of community stadia, with these so important to capture and understand under a critical realist ontology. Of particular interest was to assess the alignment of views and experiences between the internal stakeholders (i.e. those who led in the design and running of the stadia) and the external stakeholders (i.e. the local communities that community stadia should engage with and be used by).

Figure 4.1: Stakeholder Categorisation of Research Participants

Adapted by author from Kaplan (2012): http://kfknowledgebank.kaplan.co.uk/KFKB/Wiki%20Pages/Stakeholder%20analysis.aspx

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the research design and methodology that informs the thesis. Underpinned by critical realism and acknowledging that community stadia are an emerging phenomenon, a qualitative, case study methodology was adopted. However, what this chapter has sought to highlight is the various research steps and processes involved in progressing from the selected methodology through to its completion. Spanning initial sampling to gatekeeper support to analysis of interview data, the process has combined the systematic and sequential to the iterative and developmental, thereby reflecting the need for both planning and agility in delivering qualitative case studies. The quality and richness of the data generated through the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia case studies bears out the approach taken, and it is to the analysis of the empirical evidence that the following two chapters turn to.

Chapter 5: Community Stadia and the Communities They Serve

5.1 Introduction

This chapter, the first of two empirical chapters, focuses on addressing the first two research questions – namely, *'what are community stadia?'* and *'what are the communities of community stadia?'*. Both questions are derived from the literature review where some emerging community stadia characteristics were identified, namely that they are multifunctional buildings that house diverse and attractive facilities and services beyond their core, professional sports functions; are accessible in terms of location; and become a resource or hub for their community (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014), noting there are close parallels with the characteristics identified of community assets, buildings and gardens (Aptekar, 2015; Bailey, 2012; Cumbers et al, 2018; Firth et al, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014; Marriott, 1997). Other potential characteristics were the presence of the professional club's Football in the Community/Corporate Social Responsibility trust (Sanders et al, 2014), being mindful of the distinction between trusts delivering community-facing services and activities within the stadia versus only basing their management and office-based functions there, and their commitment to becoming a healthy stadia that promotes the health of its communities (Parnell et al, 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011).

The chapter has four main sections. The first section provides an introduction to both the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia through abridged histories of their development and construction, the aims tied to the stadia, their locations and their stadium management and governance arrangements. Reflections on the similarities between the two stadia are then made. Section 5.3 maps the different facilities and services housed within the stadia, with this exercise repeated in Section 5.4 but with the focus instead on mapping the different communities that are using the stadia. These two descriptive mapping exercises then provide the basis for reflecting on and analysing how different stakeholders define and conceptualise community stadia, which is consistent with critical realist ontology and the generating of knowledge of social constructed phenomena (Del Casino Jr et al, 2000; Easton, 2010; Sayer, 1992). The different strands of evidence presented and discussed throughout the chapter are then drawn together in Section 5.6 where, building on the emerging characteristics identified by City of York Council (2010), PMP (2008) and

Sanders et al (2014), an enhanced, evidence-based definition of community stadia is proposed.

5.2 Introducing the Case Study Stadia

5.2.1 The Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster

The £30 million 15,200 capacity Keepmoat Stadium was completed in 2006. Pictured in Figure 5.1, it is a modern, enclosed stadium that is immediately surrounded by a football complex, athletics stadium, car parks and the landscaping of the Lakeside area. Across the road from the stadium on the right hand side of Figure 5.1 is the Lakeside outlet shopping centre that forms part of the mixed use Lakeside regeneration area.

Figure 5.1: The Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster

Source: https://footballtripper.com/keepmoat-stadium-doncaster-rovers/

Plans for a new stadium in Doncaster began to be drawn up at the turn of the millennium when Doncaster Rovers Football Club was 'out-performing' its stadium. Following promotion back to the English Football League, it became increasingly clear that the Belle Vue stadium lacked the capacity and modern commercial opportunities to reflect and support the club's ambitions. Structural concerns had also led to parts of the stadium being closed on health and safety grounds.

At the same time, the influence of urban entrepreneurialism and the notion that Doncaster was competing with other north of England cities and towns could be seen (Doucet, 1997;

Harvey, 1989; OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017). Specifically, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council was investing heavily in four flagship developments that were collectively designed to act as economic catalysts in the regeneration of Doncaster. These developments were Doncaster Sheffield Airport[6], Doncaster Racecourse, Doncaster's central civic realm (e.g. CAST theatre and the Civic Square) and the aforementioned Lakeside area as a mixed-use destination. Focusing on the ambitions for Lakeside, a number of new developments had been constructed there by the early 2000s with it becoming established as a business and retail destination. However, there continued to be local political and public interest in establishing a sports complex centred on Lakeside's manmade lake (Peat, 2015), albeit a complex of a smaller scale than the 'sport city' zones identified by Smith (2010). The prospect of constructing a new stadium that met the needs of Doncaster's main sports clubs (Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC, Doncaster Belles FC and Doncaster Athletics Club) to anchor the sports complex was therefore very attractive and one that the Council was prepared to fund.

With political backing for the new stadium in place, and reflecting the sustainability agenda of the New Labour government (Pike et al, 2007; Raco et al, 2008), the ambition was for it to become a community stadium that served a number of purposes. Specifically, it was to provide a fit-for-purpose and modern home stadium for Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC, and Doncaster Belles FC; a mini-stadium with six lane running track for Doncaster Athletics Club and smaller local teams; sporting facilities for residents in the form of a gym and grass and all-weather pitches; multifunctional spaces; meeting and conference facilities; an outdoor amphitheatre; and car parks available to paying customers for events and car boot sales (DMBC, 2012; Peat, 2015). The facilities are therefore in line with those emerging from the City of York Council (2010), PMP (2008) and Sanders et al (2014) studies but with the additional inclusion of the amphitheatre, which could contribute to Doncaster's cultural offer alongside the flagship CAST theatre development, and the use of the car parks for car boot sales, which can support the development of sustainable communities (Kearns and Turok, 2003; Rogerson et al, 2011) as car boot sales are widely used by marginalised communities (Crewe and Gregson, 1998).

A further reflection of the sustainability and participatory agenda of the millennium years was that aspects of the stadium plans were put to public consultation, albeit the

[6] The airport was formerly known as Robin Hood Airport

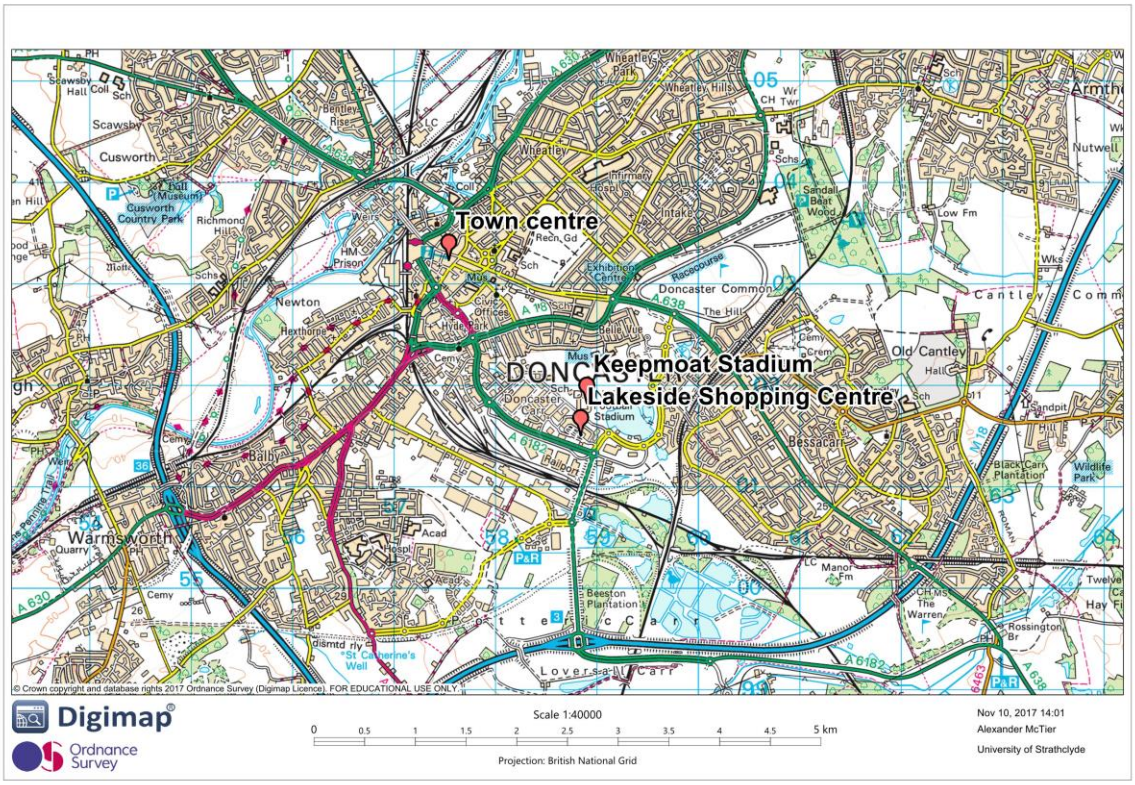
consultation fell short of a fully co-productive approach consistent with community economic development theory (Leach, 2013; Needham, 2008). To explain, the consultation question was set by 'expert' officials and not grounded on an equal negotiation of design and functions between civic leaders and communities (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris; Needham, 2008; Massey, 2005; 2007). Notwithstanding this, Doncaster residents were asked whether to increase the stadium capacity from 10,000 to 15,000 and whether to include more facilities (BBC News website, 2004). Of the 3,300 people who participated, 99% agreed with the scaling up of the stadium and the plans were subsequently approved by the council (BBC News website, 2004; Peat, 2015). With planning and design agreed, the £30 million stadium cost was funded by Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council (DMBC)[7] and stadium naming rights were signed with Keepmoat, a Doncaster-based national construction company, that same year.

The Keepmoat Stadium's Lakeside location can be described as a major area-based and mixed-use regeneration project on the south east edge of Doncaster. It comprises a 60-unit outlet shopping centre, leisure complex including a cinema, chain restaurants and hotels, offices (including Keepmoat construction company's headquarters), an outdoor amphitheatre, the National College for High Speed Rail and the Keepmoat Stadium all located around a manmade lake. More recently, new 3- and 4-bedroom housing targeted at families has been constructed in the Lakeside area but, prior to these, there was no housing in the immediate vicinity of the Keepmoat Stadium. The Lakeside is therefore intended to be a place of choice (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003) that combines a culture and leisure waterfront epicentre (Gosdopini, 2006) with a sports complex/zone centred on the Keepmoat Stadium. Furthermore, and reflecting on the criticism of flagship mixed-use developments (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009), the accessible and popular nature of many of Lakeside's assets (e.g. the cinema, college, and chain restaurants) means it has been planned as a genuine public place of choice for multiple groups and not only the highly sought after, mobile population groups (Cuthbert, 2011; Massey, 2005; Yarker, 2018). The pervasiveness of gentrification is also negated as prior to development the Lakeside area was a multi-acre, edge-of-town former industrial site with no existing residents and businesses that might have been disrupted or forced out (Raco and Tunney, 2010; Vento, 2017).

[7] The total cost of the stadium was £32 million, with the Football Foundation providing a £2 million grant

Map 5.1 shows Lakeside's edge-of-town location approximately 2 km from Doncaster's town centre, with other factors to note being that it benefits from good road links with the A1(M) and the M18 both within 3 kilometres of the stadium, so improving accessibility for a wider Yorkshire catchment. It is also close to Doncaster Rovers FC's former Belle Vue Stadium, so potentially reducing any resentment of the new stadium on grounds that it is detached from its previous location (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001).

Map 5.1: Doncaster and the Keepmoat Stadium



Source: Author developed using Digimap

The community assets, buildings and gardens literature highlighted the importance of governance and management to their sustainability (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Firth et al, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014) and the Keepmoat Stadium's arrangements have changed. The Keepmoat Stadium was originally run by The Stadium Management Company, an Arms Length External Organisation (ALEO) that was set up by Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council to manage and maintain the stadium's facilities for the benefit of all users. Debt free at the outset but described as '*a self-serving organisation, which is fine, but not the right thing for a community stadium"* (Doncaster, external

stakeholder), it had accrued losses of £2.1 million by 2012 and alternative management arrangements were sought (DMBC, 2012). Of the options considered by the council, it was decided that a 99-year agreement be signed with Doncaster Rovers FC whereby the club would be responsible for the stadium. This arrangement continues but with the lease now held by Club Doncaster, a limited company established in 2013 that brings together into a single structure Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC, Club Doncaster Foundation (including the Club Doncaster Sports College) and the Keepmoat Stadium. The organisational structure means Club Doncaster has strategic control of the Keepmoat Stadium, its main professional sports clubs, and the community outreach/CSR organisation.

The change in governance and management arrangements has been central to a revival of the Keepmoat Stadium's community aims. For example, "*Through Club Doncaster, its management and particularly the Foundation, they have started to reinstate the values of the stadium"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder) and *"It feels like a community stadium now but for a while it was seen as the stadium for the Rovers that the council paid for. Having education here and the* (Club Doncaster) *management in that partnership space has turned things round"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder). However, the transfer of governance and management arrangements from The Stadium Management Company to Club Doncaster does not fundamentally address the criticisms that ALEOs and other anti-political development machines lack transparency and distance local, community interests (Raco et al, 2016). Club Doncaster is a large, multi-business organisation and, while committed to local community aims, its own governance and management arrangements do lack transparency and consequently impact on communities' abilities to engage with and influence the running of the stadium.

5.2.2 The Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk

The 8,750 capacity Falkirk Stadium, which was initially named the Falkirk Community Stadium, was completed in 2004. Pictured in Figure 5.2 it is a three-sided stadium that is immediately surrounded by car parks and greenfield land. While it is three-sided, all the stadium's non-matchday facilities and services are housed in the Main Stand (on the right hand side of the Figure 5.2). The two end stands are used for matchdays only and have limited space for alternative use. The small stand to the left is a temporary stand that is

rarely erected, but there are plans for this side of the pitch to be developed (and these are referred to in Section 5.5.1).

Figure 5.2: The Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk

Source: https://footballtripper.com/falkirk-fc-stadium-scotland/

The origins of the Falkirk Stadium stemmed from Falkirk FC's sporting aspirations to be promoted to Scotland's top tier of professional football (the Scottish Premier League; SPL). League rules at the time[8] dictated that clubs had to have a 10,000 all-seater stadium to be admitted to the league, something that its former Brockville Stadium did not offer. Also on a sporting front, there had been discussions about Falkirk being the site of a stadium for Scotland's joint (and ultimately unsuccessful) bid with the Republic of Ireland for the 2000 UEFA European Championships. The proposal was to build a 35,000 seater stadium that could then be scaled down post-championships. Redeveloping the former Brockville Stadium to meet these ambitions, despite its popular town centre location, was not a viable option. On planning grounds, Brockville Stadium was tightly situated alongside a railway line so constraining development options. The selling of the Brockville site was viewed as the only means of financing the construction of a modern stadium – particularly as its town centre site was attractive to developers. Indeed, bids were received from two supermarkets, with one of these securing the Brockville site.

A new site was required and financial, accessibility and strategic rationales led to the Falkirk Stadium's location. Financially, the new stadium's edge-of-town, greenfield site

[8] Stadium size has since been reduced to 6,000 all seater capacities.

(see Map 5.2) was owned by Falkirk Council and they approved use of the land at no cost. Furthermore the Council approved that the funds generated from the sale of the Brockville site could be put into the new stadium's construction costs, albeit as a £6 million loan to be paid back. Accessibility and transport links were vastly improved by the new site as the Falkirk Stadium is directly served by the main arterial road between Falkirk and Grangemouth[9], is less than 1 kilometre from the M9 that connects Edinburgh and Stirling, and provides extensive on site car parking. Strategically, the location aligned and contributed to the strategic plans for Falkirk, most notably Falkirk's economic development strategy – *My Future's in Falkirk* (Falkirk Council, 2002) – which was strongly influenced by urban entrepreneurialism (Doucet, 1997; Harvey, 1989; OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017). One of the strategy's main projects was to develop the Falkirk to Grangemouth corridor, termed the 'Falkirk Gateway', and the Falkirk Stadium was to be a flagship development that reflected the ambition for the area and help change people's perceptions of Falkirk. This vision for the 'Falkirk Gateway' has since been reinforced by the Helix Park and the Kelpies that are close to the Falkirk Stadium. Constructed after the stadium's construction, both are popular tourist attractions and the stadium's car park is often used by visitors to them.

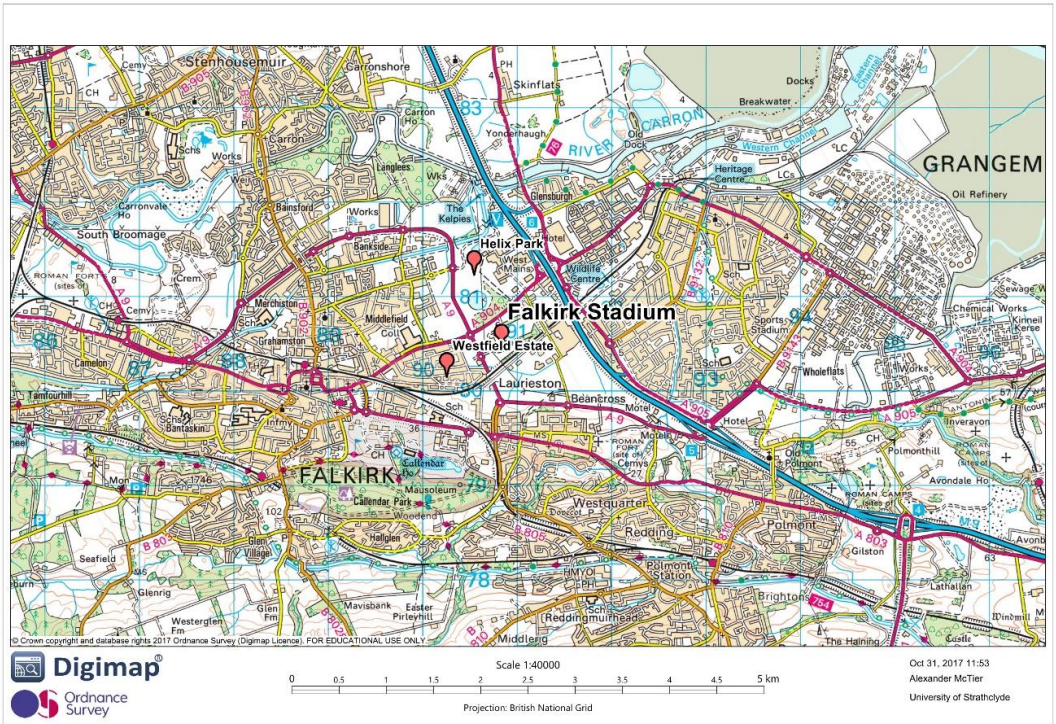
One final aspect to note regarding the Falkirk Stadium's location is that it neighbours the Westfield estate. Separated from the stadium by an arterial road and a patch of typically waterlogged land, Westfield is one of Falkirk's most disadvantaged communities with 16% of the working age population claiming DWP out-of-work benefits[10] and all three of its datazones in Scotland's 30% most deprived datazones[11]. The only other neighbours to the stadium are a local fire station and a car showroom.

[9] Grangemouth is the other main settlement in Falkirk local authority area and is home to the INEOS oil refinery

[10] November 2016 DWP Work and Pensions Longitudinal Study data.

[11] Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2016 data.

Map 5.2: Falkirk and the Falkirk Stadium



Source: Author developed using Digimap

Falkirk Council was both the landowner of the new stadium site and financier of the stadium and this gave it a strong influencing voice in the aims attached to the stadium. Like Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council, it too was keen to see the stadium deliver on the sustainability agenda and required the stadium to contribute to wider Council-related objectives and not simply become a conventional stadium that only served the needs of Falkirk FC. However, consistent with the flagship developments literature (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009), the interests of the powerful elite (Falkirk FC and Falkirk Council) were dominant – and these are reflected in the two quotes below – but not the views and needs of Falkirk's communities as these were not explicitly sought.

> '*Erection of a community stadium (West and East stands) with ancillary sports, leisure and recreational facilities, health and fitness suite, conference centre and football goods retail unit…at Westfield Falkirk*' (Stadium Planning Application: 2002; Falkirk Council Planning & Building Standards website, accessed August 2015).

> *'The stadium's not just for football – it's a multi-use, seven-day-a-week centre, and it will be home for several important businesses. What's more, its innovative, high quality design and build will make it an icon for the regeneration of the area….Chairman of Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd explained, "It's a very striking building. It demonstrates the vision and ambition in the Falkirk community. It would have been very easy just to build a football stadium, but we wanted something more. All of the partners involved were keen to create a bigger, better community facility that would be used every day and could make a real contribution to the future of Falkirk"*". (My Future's In Falkirk - Winter 2004 Newsletter).

The aims of Falkirk FC and Falkirk Council are brought together in the Falkirk Community Stadium Limited Outline Business Plan (Falkirk Council and Falkirk FC, 2003), see Table 5.1. For clarity, the Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd was established in 2004 as a joint venture company to run the stadium on the behalf of Falkirk Council and Falkirk FC and generate revenue to pay back to Falkirk Council the stadium's £6 million construction cost.

Table 5.1: Objectives for The Falkirk Community Stadium

Falkirk Council Objectives	Falkirk Football Club Objectives
• To achieve an increase in the level of community participation in leisure pursuits. • To assist in the improvement in economic development of the Falkirk area. • To bring to Falkirk a suitable location for future concerts and public events. • To allow for the economic regeneration of the Brockville area of Falkirk. • To increase the level of business space available to commercial organisations within the Falkirk area. • To increase the profile of Falkirk within Scotland.	• To provide a new home for the Club. • To present a successful team, i.e. one capable of competing in the SPL. • To have suitable income streams that ensure the Club is viable and sustainable in the future. • To play a more dynamic and active role in the wider community.
Mutual Interests and Benefits • To increase the profile of Falkirk within Scotland. • To provide a location that offers a range of economic development opportunities including enabling Falkirk FC to become, and remain, a vibrant and strong business. • To provide a location that offers a range of leisure activities and programmes that appeal to and involve many people. • To develop a cohesive partnership, initially between Falkirk Council and Falkirk FC, to ensure successful management and delivery of the Stadium and the wider project proposals. To seek and secure involvement of other partners where appropriate.	
Outcomes • A home for Falkirk FC that will become and remain SPL compliant. • A range of revenue generating leisure uses including 5-a-side football, health and fitness centre, conference and meeting rooms and associated ancillary facilities. • Opportunities for business development including centres of excellence. • Opportunities for a broad range of educational learning and training initiatives. • Other appropriate commercial developments.	

Source: Falkirk Council / Falkirk Football Club (2003) Falkirk Community Stadium Limited Outline Business Plan

The two quotes and Table 5.1 show that there were multiple aims attached to the Falkirk Stadium, including professional sport, business and commercial development, education and training, community leisure facilities, and a catalyst for Falkirk's economic regeneration. Like Doncaster's Keepmoat Stadium, the intended facilities align closely with the community stadia characteristics emerging from the City of York Council (2010), PMP (2008) and Sanders et al (2014) studies, but with the addition of it becoming a location for concerts and public events, thereby enhancing Falkirk's cultural offer, and to offer business premises. Both are positive features as the staging of pop concerts appeal to a wide demographic (Chase and Healey, 1995; Rowe, 2008), while the needs of business communities (particularly SMEs) are typically overlooked in flagship developments (Curran et al, 2000; Raco and Tunney, 2010).

Concluding with the stadium ownership and management arrangements that are critical to the sustainability of community assets (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012), these are fragmented. Falkirk Council and Falkirk FC initially agreed to set up Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd, a joint venture company (i.e. another ALEO), to own and manage the stadium, with both Falkirk Council and Falkirk FC having 50% of Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd's shares. This arrangement ran from the stadium's construction in 2004 to 2008 when Falkirk FC withdrew from the joint venture company. Since then, Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd has had responsibility for Falkirk Council's shares, which in physical terms means having ownership of the non-pitch facing spaces of the Main Stand (i.e. offices, conference space, and café), the 5-a-side football pitches and the car park. Falkirk FC owns the pitch, floodlights, the seating of the Main Stand and the two end stands. In summary, the stadium's ownership is split with the division between Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd (with Falkirk Council as its sponsor) and Falkirk FC largely unknown by the stakeholders interviewed. The stadium's governance and management structure is therefore opaque (Raco et al, 2016; Vento, 2017) and hidden from Falkirk's communities.

5.2.3 Comparing Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia Aims, Size and Locations

There are many similarities between the aims and locations of the two case study stadia, and with the stadia characteristics identified in the literature review (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014). Beginning with their aims, the reality of the

sporting-commercial-community-economic regeneration quadruple bottom line is clearly evident for both stadia. On a sporting front, a key driver in the publicly-funded constructions of the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia was that they enable Doncaster Rovers FC and Falkirk FC to achieve and sustain, respectively, Championship and SPL status. Commercially, both stadia had aims related to the development of income streams that build the financial sustainability of their professional clubs and, in the case of the Falkirk Stadium, to pay back the stadium's £6m construction costs. On the community front, and reflecting the sustainability agenda of the millennium period when both stadia were planned (Pike et al, 2007; Raco et al, 2008), both were conceived as 'community stadia' that offered a range of facilities for the Doncaster and Falkirk communities. Documents sourced from the stadia's planning and construction phases included references to gyms and health and fitness centre, business space, multifunctional spaces, 5-a-side football pitches, and hosting of concerts, public events and car boot sales.

The fourth aim relates to the continued dominance of urban entrepreneurialism (Doucet, 1997; Harvey, 1989; OECD, 2007; Vento, 2017), noting that the sense of competition between places is equally evident among towns as it is among cities. Both stadia were intended to be flagship developments in the economic regeneration of their strategic edge-of-town locations (Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway respectively) and, by extension, their towns. Their architectural scale and design, though not as iconic or innovative as Huddersfield Town FC's John Smith's Stadium and Bolton Wanderers FC's Macron Stadium, were intended to symbolise a new future for their towns (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Bale, 1995; Bairner, 2003; Cuthbert, 2011; Hall, 2006; Coates, 2007; Jones et al, 2007; Reid, 2013). The extract from the *My Future's in Falkirk* newsletter, for example, stated that the Falkirk Stadium's *'innovative, high quality design and build will make it an icon for the regeneration of the area'*. Of the other aspects of urban entrepreneurialism, their staging of pop concerts and, in the case of the Keepmoat Stadium, anchoring a culture and leisure waterfront epicentre (Gosdopini, 2006) and sports complex/zone (Smith, 2010) was intended to contribute to their towns' culture-led approaches; and both stadia have been used in place branding and external imaging exercises to portray a modern, progressive image of Doncaster and Falkirk (Davies, 2008).

Beyond their aims, both stadia are located on edge-of-town locations approximately 2km from their respective town centres. The rationales for their locations are similar to those of

other stadia with cheaper land costs and enhanced accessibility and transport links prominent (Brown and McGee, 2012; Van Dam, 2000), but also noting their roles as flagship developments within their Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway regeneration areas. The edge-of-town locations do, however, bring complexity and greater heterogeneity to their 'communities of the stadium'. The neighbouring resident population is smaller than that experienced by the predecessor Belle Vue and Brockfield stadia, with the Falkirk Stadia's closest community being the disadvantaged Middlefield community, while the Keepmoat Stadium has a large local business community (Jenkins and James, 2011; Thornley, 2002).

The final issue to note is that, in the relatively short lifetimes of the two stadia, their ownership and management arrangements have both changed. Initially both stadia were managed by newly established, arms-length 'stadium management companies' but the Keepmoat Stadium's company was closed after accruing high levels of debt, while the Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd's responsibilities halved when Falkirk FC withdrew from the joint venture company. Moving to their current arrangements, their situations are quite different. Club Doncaster now provides holistic ownership and management of the Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC, Club Doncaster Sports College and Club Doncaster. In contrast the ownership and management of the Falkirk Stadium is fragmented with Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd and Falkirk FC each having 50% control of its facilities. However, in neither case are Doncaster's or Falkirk's communities actively involved in the management and running of the stadia as would be sought within a genuine co-production approach (Boyle and Harris, 2009; Bransden and Pestoff, 2006; Mitlin, 2008), nor are the stadium governance and management arrangements clear and transparent to their wider communities. The arrangements therefore indicate that the power imbalance between the urban elite of council and professional sports club officials and the community users remain (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Needham, 2008).

5.3 Mapping the Community Stadia Facilities and Services

Having provided the context in which the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia have developed and operate in, this section sets out the different facilities and services that were either housed within the stadia or were immediately adjacent to them at the time of the primary research. Through the desk-based review of stadium documentation, the stakeholder interviews and

the tours of the two stadia given by the stadia 'gatekeepers' referred to in Chapter 4, the different facilities and services have been recorded and then presented in Table 5.2. Organised under the thematic headings of sport and leisure, education and training, and business and enterprise, the two overriding findings from Table 5.2 are that, first, there were many similarities in the facilities and services housed across the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia and, second, there were similarities with the sporting, leisure, education, health, cultural and business facilities identified in the studies of the Brighton, Cambridge and York community stadia (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014). The convergence across the different community stadia examples is important in helping to develop the definition of community stadia that is formulated at the end of this chapter.

Beginning with the sport and leisure facilities, the most obvious facility of any sports stadia is the pitch. Clearly both the Keepmoat Stadium and the Falkirk Stadium have a main pitch but the extent to which their respective pitches are used differs markedly. Mirroring Maidstone United FC's example (May and Parnell 2016), Falkirk FC have invested in a 3G pitch for the Falkirk Stadium and this has led to extensive community use of the pitch, as well as enabling Falkirk FC's first team squad to be based and train at the stadium. In contrast, and under English Football League rules, the Keepmoat Stadium has a grass pitch and the need to protect it means that its level of use is far less. However, the pitch is still used for Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC and Doncaster Belles WFC home matches and, from a community perspective, for local schools finals and charity matches – so demonstrating an openness to community use of the pitch where practically possible.

Beyond use of the pitch, a number of other sporting and leisure facilities were housed in or adjacent to the stadia. These included 5-a-side football complexes, a gym (in the Keepmoat Stadium) and various community events held on the stadia car parks. All these uses are primarily community-related with the 5-a-side pitches targeted towards local hires, the gym run by the Doncaster Culture and Leisure Trust (DCLT) and available for all DCLT members to use, and the car boot sales, circuses, fun fairs and fireworks displays in the stadia car parks all for wider communities. Reflecting on these facilities, the sporting and leisure use of both stadia is not confined to the exclusive use of the professional clubs. Instead both stadia accommodate regular (even daily) use by their communities and,

specifically, diverse communities that range from concert goers and 5-a-side footballers to car boot sellers and gym members.

Another sporting and leisure use of the stadia, albeit far less frequent than the use of the facilities above, is the staging of pop concerts (e.g. Elton John and Tom Jones) and lesser international sporting fixtures (e.g. U21 and 'A' football and rugby internationals). While such events lack the scale of major mega-events (Ritchie and Yangzhou, 1987; Rowe, 2008), the pop concerts in particular are significant local and regional events that contribute to Doncaster and Falkirk's culture-led and place branding economic development strategies. However, these events have been periodic in nature, partly due to the need to schedule these at dates that do not disrupt the professional sporting calendar (i.e. in the summer months) and partly due to the financial risks of staging such concerts. Indeed, learning from the financial risks of staging these concerts – '*the Ronan Keating concert was the death knell of the Stadium Management Company*' (Doncaster, internal stakeholder) – they are now left to external promoters and events companies who pay a fee to lease the stadium from Club Doncaster and Falkirk FC.

Education and training was the second thematic facilities and services type found across the two stadia and, with six different education and training providers operating in the two stadia, it appears that this use is highly compatible with community stadia. Furthermore, the stadia are not simply compatible with one type of education or training. Table 5.2 shows that the stadia house a wide range of education and training types from the early years learning of the Little Stars Nursery, to the full-time teaching of 11-19 year olds of XP School, Learning Central Pupil Referral Unit and Club Doncaster Sports College, to the employability training of adults as part of the community outreach/CSR (i.e. Club Doncaster Foundation and Falkirk Community Football Foundation) portfolios. Importantly, and clarifying a point of uncertainty emerging from the community outreach/CSR literature (Anagnostoulos et al, 2015; Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al, 2015; Mellor, 2008), all of the above providers delivered learning in the stadia. This therefore runs counter to the possibility that providers used the stadia for their management and administrative functions but delivery was only through outreach away from the stadia.

The final thematic use was the business and commercial use of the stadia and Table 5.2 shows that this too was extensive. Both the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia housed the

offices of their professional sports clubs and, in line with Sanders et al. (2014), their associated community outreach/CSR trusts. They also housed their club shops and had a range of conference and meeting facilities for hire. However, these uses are found across many professional sports stadia and do not in themselves define community stadia. Instead their point of distinction lies in community stadia providing business and office spaces for companies to operate from. Both stadia had such spaces and, as well as public sector business development agencies (e.g. Doncaster Chamber of Commerce and Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit), these were taken by a selection of diverse, independent businesses, such as a telecommunications company, a health and beauty salon, and a private nursery.

With reference to the facilities and services identified in the community stadia literature (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014), one notable gap in those housed in the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were health-related services, such as GP surgeries or health centres which were evident in Warrington Wolves RLFC's Halliwell Jones Stadium (see Table 4.1) and Macclesfield Town FC's Moss Rose Stadium (Pringle and Sayers, 2004). The lack of health-related services might suggest that the community stadia and healthy stadia phenomena are distinct and with different aims. Furthermore, neither stadia were signed up as 'healthy stadia' within the European Healthy Stadia Network.

However, one must acknowledge that healthy stadia are defined as *'places where people can go to have a positive healthy experience playing or watching sport'* (Parnell et al, 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011). Therefore healthy stadia do not necessarily require the in-stadium presence of specific health services but rather the promotion or provision of positive health-related activities. Taking this wider conceptualisation, many of the community outreach/CSR trusts' projects, the 5-aside pitches and the Keepmoat Stadium's gym all contribute to healthier lifestyles. Indeed, with specific reference to the Keepmoat Stadium, the potential of the stadium and its professional sports clubs had been recognised with the NHS Primary Care Trust having run prostate cancer, breast cancer and mental health campaigns through matchday programmes, large in-stadium TV screens and clubs' social media channels. Looking forward, other initiatives were being considered such as '*A Fit Fans project where fans are referred to sessions at the stadium, which is a more attractive venue than a gym, and also having simple, quick Health Checks – such as for*

BMI or cholesterol – on matchdays' (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). If these initiatives are implemented, then the Keepmoat Stadium could justifiably be classified as a healthy stadium.

Table 5.2: Keepmoat Stadium and Falkirk Stadium Facilities and Services

Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster			Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk	
Sport and Leisure				
Main pitch	As well as being the home pitch for DRFC, Dons RLFC and Doncaster Belles FC, the grass pitch hosts schools finals and charity matches. The pitch has also been used for local fighter Jamie McDonnell's IBF boxing fight. The pitch has also staged major concerts including Elton John and McFly but no future concerts are planned.		**Main pitch**	Originally a grass pitch, in 2014 Falkirk FC invested £400,000 in a FIFA 2-Star 3G artificial pitch. Since the artificial pitch was laid, Falkirk FC's first team squad have moved to be based at the stadium and train on the pitch. Outside Falkirk FC's use, the pitch is widely used by the Foundation and can be privately hired by local, amateur teams. The pitch has also staged Elton John, Status Quo, Ronan Keating and Tom Jones concerts.
Football complex	Adjacent to the stadium, there are 3G and grass pitches (full size and 5-a-side pitches) for hire which offers facilities for the Foundation's Academies and community groups. Changing facilities are available in the stadium.		**5-aside pitches**	Adjacent to the stadium, there are six 5-a-side pitches, with changing facilities available in the Main Stand. The pitches were 11 years old at the time of the research and coming to the end of their operational use. Their long-term future is uncertain.
Public gym	The Doncaster Culture and Leisure Trust (DCLT) operated gym is located in the North Stand. The gym can be used by all DCLT members and also has a small café.		**Community events**	The stadium car park which was extended, refurbished and landscaped in Summer 2015 using TIF monies to improve parking facilities for the stadium and the neighbouring Helix and Kelpies. The car park is widely used for a weekly car boot sale, fun fairs, circus, and a car wash and valet business.
Community events	The stadium car park and immediate surroundings stage a number of community events including a weekly car boot sale; annual fireworks display; funfair and circus.			
Athletics stadium	The athletics stadium is adjacent to the Keepmoat Stadium. Managed by Doncaster Athletics Club, which has over 500 members, the athletics stadium stages athletics meetings and coaching sessions, while the interior pitch is available for hire and used by local, amateur football and American football teams.			

Education and Training			
Club Doncaster Sports College	Rebranded in Autumn 2015 as the Club Doncaster Sports College and part of the Club Doncaster Foundation, the college is based in the East Stand. In 2015/16, it had 124 students across four full-time study options: a 26 week *Traineeship* programme; *Active IQ Level 2 Award in Sport and Leisure* (includes Fitness Instructing Qualification); *Active IQ Level 2 Diploma in Health & Fitness* (includes Personal Training Qualification); and *BTEC Level 3 90 Credit / Extended Diploma in Sport & Exercise Science*. Alongside their studies, students could take part in the DRFC Foundation Football Academy, The Dons Foundation Rugby League Academy and other sports and community-related extra-curricular activities. Students also had access to Selby College facilities as Club Doncaster Sports College is a delivery partner of Selby College.	**Falkirk Football Community Foundation**	Falkirk Football Community Foundation is a registered charity, established following Falkirk FC's entry into administration in 2010 that works in partnership with Falkirk FC to deliver social, education, employability and sports programmes throughout the Forth Valley region. Located in the ground floor of the Main Stand and with three classrooms, the Foundation has 10 full-time members of staff, 12 coaches and 70 volunteers – noting that not all staff are based in the stadium. The learning centre is the only registered Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA) centre in Scottish football, which allows it to deliver and assess SQA modules in the stadium. Funders of the Foundation's programmes included Falkirk Council, Department for Work and Pensions, Big Lottery, Children in Need, as well parents paying privately for holiday football camps.
Club Doncaster Foundation	Club Doncaster Foundation works alongside DRFC, DRLFC and wider partners to deliver sport, physical activity and health and wellbeing activities in communities and schools across Doncaster. Its East Stand offices predominantly act as the organisation's management and administrative base.	**Little Stars Nursery**	The Little Stars Nursery is a privately-run nursery that was established in the ground floor of the Main Stand in 2004. Understood to be the only nursery in the country based in a stadium, in 2015/16 it was licensed for 74 children and employed 22 members of staff.
Learning Central	Also located in the East Stand, Learning Central is a pupil referral unit serving three Doncaster secondary schools. It provides additional support to Key Stages 3 and 4 pupils (i.e. ages 11 to 16) to re-engage them in mainstream education.		
XP School	XP School is a free school for secondary pupils. Established in 2014/15, it started up in the East Stand of the stadium where 50 Year 7 pupils were schooled for a full academic year.		

	In October 2015, the school moved to a new building adjacent to the Keepmoat Stadium in order to house its target 350 pupils by 2020. The school's former stadium classrooms have subsequently been used by Club Doncaster Sports College.			
Business and Enterprise				
Club Doncaster offices and club shop	Club Doncaster's offices are based in the stadium and provide management, marketing and ticket functions for Doncaster Rovers FC, Doncaster RLFC, Club Doncaster Foundation and the Keepmoat Stadium. The Club Shop is also located in the stadium.		**Falkirk Football Club offices and club shop**	Falkirk FC has 50 members of staff based in the stadium, with these including the first team squad (who train at the stadium), management, academy coaches administration and shop staff. Volunteers also make an important contribution to the functioning of the club. On matchdays, there are 35-40 volunteers.
Chamber of Commerce	Doncaster Chamber moved to be based in the Keepmoat Stadium in 2015. Working out of two offices in the South Stand of the stadium, the Chamber has 16 members of staff. The Chamber also uses the stadium as one of its locations for business meetings and conferences.		**Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit**	Falkirk Council's Growth and Investment Unit (GIU) is responsible for delivering the Business Gateway contract in Falkirk, developing and delivering both Falkirk's economic development strategy and tourism strategy. 20 members of staff are based in the stadium. The stadium is used to deliver a range of Business Gateway workshops and seminars for local businesses, holds one-to-one meetings with businesses and prospective investors in its own 2nd floor office or its own My Future's in Falkirk themed meeting room on the 3rd floor, and hosts business breakfasts and networking events – often using Café Westfield to do so.
Small Businesses	A small number of businesses are based in the stadium, including the telecommunications company JibbaJabba and health and beauty company Lakeside Beauty.		**Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd offices**	Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd is the limited company that owns the Main Stand (but not the seating) including the business units, conference and meeting room facilities, Café Westfield, the six 5-a-side football pitches, and the car park. Its offices are located on the ground floor of the Main Stand. As the employer of Café Westfield and conferencing facilities staff, it employs 20 members of staff, all of whom are located in the stadium.

Conferencing and Meeting facilities	Centreplate are the stadium's hospitality and catering contractors covering matchday and non-matchday (e.g. conferences) events.		**Café Westfield**	Café Westfield is situated on the third floor of the Main Stand and offers views onto the pitch. It is open to the public from 8.30am to 8pm on non-matchdays, while on matchdays the café is used as a supporters bar. Now run by the Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd, it is well-used, employs 20 staff and generates a small annual profit.
			Falkirk Community Trust	Falkirk Community Trust is an arms-length external organisation (ALEO) of Falkirk Council responsible for the management and operation of community-facing sports, recreation, arts, heritage and library services across the Falkirk local authority area. It is headquartered on the first floor of the Main Stand and has 60 staff based there carrying out senior management, administrative and accounts functions. None of the Trust's community-facing activities or services are delivered from the stadium.
			Conferencing and Meeting facilities	Managed by Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd, the stadium has eight conference and meeting rooms of different sizes, including four private boxes overlooking the pitch.

5.4 The Communities of Community Stadia

Having mapped the different facilities and services housed in the stadia, this section presents a similar mapping of the communities that use the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia. In doing so, the research helps build understanding of what is meant by the 'community' of community stadia. This is important because 'community' is a complex term that is defined in multiple ways (Herbert and Raine, 1976; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). Nonetheless, in relation to community stadia, the literature review did suggest that a distinction could be made between 'communities of the club' and 'communities of the stadium' (Brown et al, 2008; Duke, 2002; Hamil and Morrow, 2011), with the latter the focus of this research. Furthermore, communit*ies* were viewed as a more appropriate lens to take because community stadia could potentially engage with multiple resident and business communities (Hawtin et al, 1994; Kearns and Turok, 2003; Lawson and Kearns, 2014; Taylor, 2003), particularly if located on an edge-of-town site (Brown and McGee, 2012; Thornley, 2002; Van Dam, 2000). This section therefore aims to understand what in practice the communities of the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia have been, with the distinction made between the communities that were targeted and the communities that actually use the stadia.

5.4.1 Targeted Communities

To understand the communities of community stadia, the discussion begins by trying to establish which communities were the target communities for the stadia to engage with and attract. Understanding which communities were targeted at the stadia planning stage is important as it reflects the extent to which civic leaders and stadia officials took a community economic development approach and sought to work in partnership with their diverse local communities in a co-production relationship (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2008; Leach, 2013; Needham, 2008). If committed to such an equal relationship, the interactions and negotiations between the different communities and interests would lead to stadia designs, facilities and services that meet local needs and demands (City of York Council, 2010; Massey, 2005; 2007; PMP, 2008).

The starting point for understanding the target communities is to refer back to Section 5.2 where the documented aims of the stadia were discussed. Reviewing both the Keepmoat

and Falkirk Stadia planning documentation, there was reference to their respective towns or *'the wider community'* but no reference to any specific target communities, whether geographic, demographic or other, in the manner that Brighton's Amex Community Stadium sought to become a centre for the local Moulescoomb community (Sanders et al, 2014). Naming specific communities within the planning documentation of such publically-funded large-scale physical developments can however be risky as local politicians and groups may resent some communities being explicitly targeted over other communities. As a consequence, it was expected that the stakeholder interviews would provide greater insight into the target communities – and specifically the internal stakeholders given their strategic roles in planning and managing the two stadia. It was, however, apparent that across the two stadia there was a clearer sense among Doncaster's internal stakeholders of their target communities compared to Falkirk's internal stakeholders.

Beginning with the targeted Doncaster communities, the stakeholder interviews explained that specific Doncaster neighbourhoods and demographic groups have received more focused attention. These included Doncaster's more disadvantaged neighbourhoods (e.g. "*our target areas are Central ward, Toll Bar and Bentley, Edlington, Baldby, and Rossington which is the biggest village in UK*" [Doncaster, internal stakeholder], demographic groups (particularly young people) and ethnic minority groups. *"For our* (Club Doncaster's) *wider activities, our community is defined as the youth – and we have expertise here – but also the disadvantaged, like Doncaster's Asian community"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). The attention paid to Doncaster's more vulnerable 'communities of need' (Jenkins and James, 2011), 'communities of disadvantage' (Brown et al, 2008) and 'neighbourhood dependent' groups aligns with the sentiment that community stadia should serve more disadvantaged communities, as opposed to more affluent supporters and communities (Sanders et al, 2014). It also indicates that the Keepmoat Stadium's internal stakeholders recognised the importance of understanding what appeals to these different groups. Consistent with Alonso and O'Shea's (2012) view that professional sports organisations would benefit significantly from developing a better understanding of the 'demand side', the quote below demonstrates the commitment to understanding the heterogeneous nature of Doncaster's communities.

> *"To be successful we know we have to understand the ways that our communities differ. For example, our nearest communities are those in Doncaster Central ward, which was on the 'Benefits Street Britain' programme and has a large Asian- and African-Caribbean community"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

A good example of their 'demand side' understanding working in practice was using Doncaster RLFC rather than Doncaster Rovers FC to encourage use and attendance of the Keepmoat Stadium by Bentley residents because *"Bentley was where the rugby league team was based and so we have to major on the rugby league when we're engaging people there"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). However, while these examples demonstrate interest in the 'demand side', there was no indication that relationships with any of the communities had evolved to a co-productive relationship where community members were equal partners in the design, management and operation of the stadia and its services and facilities. Drawing on the community gardens literature, civic leaders and stadia officials have the prominent roles and the interests and needs of communities remain marginalised (Aptekar, 2015; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014). The earlier discussion of aspects of the stadium plans being put to public consultation is a further illustration of the unequal power relationships. The consultation question on stadium capacity and facilities was set by 'expert' officials and not grounded on an equal negotiation of design and functions between civic leaders and communities (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris; Needham, 2008; Massey, 2005; 2007).

The paragraphs above find that some attention was paid to specific Doncaster communities but, overall and as illustrated in the quote below, the ambition was for the Keepmoat Stadium to engage with all Doncaster residents.

> *"Overall we want everyone one step removed to have a connection with the stadium and its clubs. We want the club or the stadium to be important to everyone in some way – and that they take a pride in it"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

The 'town-wide', civic ambitions were even stronger with regards the Falkirk Stadium as there was no indication from the Falkirk stakeholder interviews that there was any targeting or understanding of specific communities – this despite the Westfield community, characterised by levels of disadvantage and deprivation, being in the 'shadow of the

stadium'. For the Falkirk Stadium, the strategy was that any opportunities to engage different communities and users would be taken, whether local or regional. *"Our community is Falkirk but, for conferences and events, we'd look to attract people from Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling etc due to its central* (Scotland) *location and good transport links"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Adopting a town-wide or regional approach is justified by the relatively small population sizes of Doncaster and Falkirk as this dictates the need to engage widely. *"Falkirk is such a small area that you need to spread activities out wide. You need access to all and not target specific areas"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The strategy is also a consequence of the spatial dispersion of traditional supporter bases, improved transport connections and personal mobility, and edge-of-town stadia locations (Thornley, 2002; Van Dam, 2000). The 'communities of the stadium' has therefore expanded from the spatially tight 2-3km radius advanced by Bale (1990) that was tied to the urban working class neighbourhoods in which the stadia and clubs originated (Brown et al, 2008; Goldblatt, 2014; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001). For community stadia, the expansion of their 'communities of the stadium' is also driven by the need to meet sporting, commercial, community and economic development aims as these require multiple community types to be engaged. The question is whether the multiplicity of aims can be balanced in such a way that the civic-wide strategy does not impact on the ability to respond to the needs and demands of local, disadvantaged communities, with this a key focus of Chapter 6 (Brown et al, 2008; Jenkins and James, 2011; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Sanders et al, 2014).

One final point is that there was no explicit mention across either stadia of targeting business communities – this despite the Section 5.3 finding that business use of the stadia was prominent. Their omission as a targeted group is surprising given that both stadia, like many other new stadia (Curran et al, 2000; Raco and Tunney, 2010), have edge-of-town locations and with economic development aspirations attached to them. An explanation, and this is returned to in Chapter 6, is that stadia officials were uncertain whether and how to promote their stadia as 'open for business' when set against the 'community stadia' label and aspirations.

5.4.2 Actual Communities

With a civic-wide strategy to targeting communities largely taken, this section considers the communities that were actually using the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia. By presenting and discussing the different users that were reported by the research participants, the aim is to provide an evidence-based picture of who the communities of community stadia are. The analysis does not, however, provide quantitative data on the size of the different user types – although some data is provided where it was given by participants or where sourced through secondary research.

The different groups using the two stadia are presented in Table 5.3 and, consistent with the civic-wide strategy, the overriding finding is that there were multiple and diverse users. In keeping with all professional sports stadia, there are the spectators that attend throughout the season, i.e. the communities of the club. Average home attendances for 2015/16 were 6,500 for Doncaster Rovers FC and 4,669 for Falkirk FC, which are not insignificant numbers given the populations of the two towns and show the wide demographic appeal of professional sport (Bale, 1995; 2000; Robinson, 2010). There are then the clubs' playing, management and coaching staff along with the supporting retail, catering, stewarding and security staff. The local community is particularly important for the stewarding and security roles, as a Falkirk internal stakeholder highlighted that many of Falkirk FC's 35-40 matchday volunteers are local residents and play a critical role as the club would struggle to pay the equivalent wages. Volunteers fulfilling low-skilled roles and functions does not overcome the critique that community members have an unequal relationship with stadia officials (Aptekar, 2015; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014), but in line with co-production theory it does demonstrate that communities can directly contribute to the running and staffing of the stadia (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Gibson and Cameron, 2001). In this respect, local communities are not merely passive users of the stadia but can also be active players.

While acknowledging the matchday communities of the two stadia, the focus of the research is on the non-matchday users as it is these stadium users who help to differentiate community stadia from typical professional sports stadia. In the same vein, the research pays little attention to the (non-matchday) conferencing and meeting facilities because most professional sports stadia also have these (Paramio et al, 2008). However, some

stakeholders felt that community stadia should enable and encourage local residents and community groups to use these facilities, perhaps through discounted rates, thereby helping to address the criticism that stadia are increasingly hyper-commodified tradiums (Bale, 2000; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001).

Putting the matchday and meeting and conference users to one side, Table 5.3 still shows that the non-matchday users are many and varied. The community outreach/CSR organisations (Club Doncaster Community Foundation and Falkirk Football Foundation) attract the most diverse types of users – from young people not in employment, education or training, to adults with a disability, substance abuse or mental health issues, to pensioners. In addition, these organisations will also be building people's associations and connections with the stadia through their outreach activities in the community, so reinforcing the benefits identified by Castro-Martinez and Jackson (2015), Giulianotti (2015) and Kolyperas et al (2015).

Beyond the community outreach/CSR organisations, other stadium-based facilities and services were also found to attract multiple and diverse communities. These included young people in education, blind groups, nursery age children, mother and toddler groups, and concert goers. An excellent example of this is provided by the young people attending the pupil referral unit located in the Keepmoat Stadium.

> *"Knowing the nature of the kids here* (at Learning Central PRU)*, if I was running the stadium I might not want them here. They don't necessarily reflect the image of the stadium* (that they would want to promote)*. They've* (the management) *not done that and instead they have some of the more challenging kids in the borough using the stadium every day."* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Collectively, many of the diverse users come from 'hard to reach' communities and groups that services and buildings often struggle to engage with, so demonstrating the additionality and kudos of professional sports stadia that community stadia and their services and facilities can capitalise on (Sanders et al, 2014; Spaaj et al, 2013). Furthermore, the fact that the stadia were being used by females and disabled groups runs counter to the view that community stadia are gendered and exclusionary places on the

basis of their masculine, professional sport and commercial associations (Kelly, 2010; Massey, 2005; 2007).

Use of the stadia also extended beyond the resident community to business use. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, both stadia had strengths as business locations and these have contributed to both stadia securing a diverse tenant base of public, private and third sector organisations (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3). Indeed, if combined with the stadium management, professional clubs and community outreach/CSR trusts, there are estimated to have been c.200 stadium-based full-time equivalent jobs in each. Furthermore, there is a diversity in the skills and pay levels of these jobs, which helps to counter the view that stadia may create jobs but are criticised on the grounds that these are of a low quality (Schimmel, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Davies, 2008).

In addition to the jobs created, the stadia-based businesses meant that the stadia were being used by their customers and business networks, and the business development services (Doncaster Chamber and Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit) brought wider business people into the stadia. For example, Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit reported that it had used the stadium for business breakfasts, meetings, workshops, seminars and conferences. Referring back to the gendered labelling of stadia (Massey, 2005; 2007), the levels of use by businesses indicate that community stadia have still managed to retain the masculine, professional sport and commercial associations that appeal to many businesses, something that other community buildings and assets (e.g. community centres, libraries and schools) do not have.

Table 5.3: Stadium Users by Organisation / Facility

	Keepmoat Stadium, Doncaster	Falkirk Stadium, Falkirk
Professional clubs (Doncaster Rovers FC, Dons RFLC, Doncaster Belles WFC / Falkirk FC)	• Core members staff – players, management, coaching, administration retail staff • Stewarding and security • Catering staff • In 2015/16, Doncaster Rovers FC had 6,500 average attendance and Doncaster RLFC had 1,215 average attendance.	• 50 core members staff – players, management, coaching, administration retail staff • Stewarding and security – including 35-40 volunteers each matchday • Catering staff • In 2015/16, Falkirk FC had 4,669 average attendance
Community outreach/CSR Foundations (Club Doncaster Foundation / Falkirk Football Foundation)	• 15-17 year olds through National Citizens Service • Offenders through the Registered Offender Temporary License (ROTL) programme • Substance abusers through Drug and Alcohol programme • Wide range of outreach programmes across schools and community venues, though these are delivered outside of the stadium	• Schools and community youth teams, including 12-15 year olds at risk of becoming NEET and school leavers • 16-24 year olds through youth employability programmes • Lone parents through DWP-funded employability programme • 'Silver Bairns' programme that uses memories of Falkirk FC to include elderly people at risk of isolation and/or early dementia • Young carers referred by social work for life skills and wellbeing activities • Mental health group through Get Onside project that uses football to encourage team working and decision making • Pan-disability group • Children sport holiday camps • 22 employees and 70 volunteers, though not all will be stadium-based
Club Doncaster Sports College	• 124 students in 2015/16 (mainly 16-19 year olds) • Parents of students • 12 staff across management, sports lecturers and teaching assistants • Yoga groups	• N/A
Learning Central Pupil Referral Unit	• Key Stages 3 and 4 pupils (i.e. ages 11 to 16) who are outside of mainstream education • Parents of pupils • Teaching and support staff	• N/A
Public sector offices	• Customers (local businessmen, entrepreneurs, partner organisations)	• Meeting, seminar and workshop attendees (e.g. local businessmen,

(Doncaster Chamber / Falkirk Council Growth and Investment Unit, Falkirk Community Trust)	• 16 employees of Doncaster Chamber	entrepreneurs, partner organisations) • 60 employees of Falkirk Community Trust • GIU employees
Small and Medium Enterprises	• Customers • SME employees	• Customers (74 nursery children and their parents in 2016/16) • 22 employees.
Conference and Meeting Facilities	• No information sourced	• No information sourced
Café	• N/A	• Customers – widely reported to be well used by stadium workers, local residents (including mother and toddler groups and older people) • 20 employees
Pitch	• N/A	• Falkirk FC academy and youth teams • Amateur community football teams • Two mental health groups • Jobcentre Plus groups • Blind group • Disabled group
Sporting facilities (5-aside football pitches and gym)	• Local residents (including Doncaster Culture and Leisure Trust members using the gym)	• Local residents • Pupils of local primary school
Car park and immediate surroundings	• Car boot sellers and customers • Cycling club	• Car boot sellers and customers • Dog walkers • Cycling initiatives – e.g. Bikeability participants
Other events	• Concert goers • Doncaster Pride • Asian markets • Fireworks goers • Circus	• Concert goers (estimated at 80,000 concert goers, including 18,000 for Rod Stewart and 15,000 for Elton John) • Fair and carnival goers

5.5 Defining Community Stadia

Having set out the historical background to the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia, the diverse facilities and services housed in them, and the communities using them, this section considers how stakeholders defined the community stadia phenomenon. In asking for their views, stakeholders were assured that community stadia are an emerging phenomenon and no existing, agreed definition currently exists. The common themes and characteristics from across the Doncaster and Falkirk stakeholder interviews have then been used to develop a definition of community stadia. As a preface to the stakeholder views, the section begins by briefly presenting the definitions expressed in the e-survey that formed part of the case study selection process as the responses received provide an additional layer of knowledge concerning community stadia.

5.5.1 E-Survey Definitional Insights

Five survey responses were given to how participants would define community stadia and, reading across these, there were two broad areas of agreement. The first is that community stadia serve wider communities than meeting the needs of the professional sports club only. Reference was made to '*facilities for community groups'*, '*For the general benefit of the local population*', '*to serve the local and wider demographic*', '*for all ages, minority and disadvantaged groups*', and '*defined by the wide range of users*'. Interpreting these responses, all of which align with the definitions provided by City of York Council (2010), PMP (2008) and Sanders et al (2014), there appears to be both an inclusive and non-discriminatory theme running through them, meaning that community stadia are aiming to reach out to and serve all community types but with particular attention to disadvantaged groups. Referring back to Section 5.4.1 and which Doncaster and Falkirk communities were targeted, these few survey responses are arguably more explicit in the importance of meeting the needs of local, disadvantaged communities and not the civic-wide strategy advanced by the internal stakeholders interviewed.

The second broad area of agreement is in relation to the provision of multiple facilities that are used by the wider community. From the responses provided, community stadia are not mono-function and instead '*provide facilities…outside matchdays*', '*hosts a number of sporting, leisure and business activities*', and '*is defined by the usage of facilities on*

matchdays and particularly non-matchdays'. The views expressed reinforce the understanding that the presence of a range and diversity of facilities, and above all non-matchdays facilities, are a key characteristic of community stadia (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014), particularly when the facilities are able to appeal to and be used by diverse community groups.

5.5.2 Stakeholder Definitional Insights

The stakeholder interviews further reinforced the views expressed in the e-survey by stating the importance of community stadia serving a wider community and being multifunctional. Encapsulating the views of many was the quote:

> *"(*A community stadium is) *a stadium that is easily accessible for the community. As a football stadium, it's automatically going to have football but it is also open to other things. It should be open to the public and they're able to access any service they want"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

With regards the importance of serving a wider community, the stakeholder interviews raised a number of factors to consider. For example, one stakeholder highlighted the need for the stadia to exude an open and welcoming atmosphere. *"A community stadium should be welcoming for everyone, family friendly, and used by the community – like for birthday parties and conferences"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). Furthermore, there is a need to be proactive in reaching out to different community groupings and promoting its welcoming and inclusive atmosphere. *"A community stadium must reach out to the community and bring them in to use it"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The open and welcoming nature of community stadia aligns closely with the characteristics of community assets, buildings and gardens (Aptekar, 2015; Bailey, 2012; Cumbers et al, 2018; Firth et al, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014) and, in doing so, helps to overcome the feelings of otherness and exclusion of many 'public' flagship developments (Cuthbert, 2011; Massey, 2005).

Openness and welcoming is also tied into the notion that community stadia are accessible. In the main, accessibility was conveyed in spatial terms with stakeholders referring to the location of the stadia and the extent to which they were *'in the heart of the community'*. Some stakeholders also highlighted the financial dimension of accessibility. For example,

there was the view that community stadia require the removal of financial barriers to stadium use, so helping to reverse the trend towards hyper-commodified tradiums (Bale, 2000; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001).

> *"A community stadium is something that is accessible to all aspects of the community without any discrimination, and finance should not be the bar to accessing those facilities"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

If successful in developing such a welcoming, accessible and inclusive atmosphere, a further and related community stadia characteristic is that they become a focal point or hub for the communities they aim to serve, with parallels here to the community assets literature (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Marriott, 1997). *"A community stadium is a focal part of the community and all types of people attend and use it"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). In conveying the importance of this, stakeholders also made reference to the range of facilities and services that community stadia should offer so that multiple communities use it.

> *"A football ground where the majority of people in the town see it as the place to go for a range of activities – and not just football. It becomes a focal point."* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

A multifunctional offer that extends beyond the core professional sports-related and is *'accessible to the communities it serves at all times, during the day and evening, one weekdays and weekends'* (PMP, 2008 pp2) is therefore a key characteristic of community stadia. However, one stakeholder felt that wider facilities and services should not be a substitute for the community use of the main asset of stadia, namely the pitch. *"For me, a community stadium becomes a community stadium when it provides access to the pitch, because that's the key asset in a stadium"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). Use of the pitch could be a defining characteristic of community stadia if, like the Falkirk Stadium and Maidstone United FC's ground (May and Parnell, 2016), the stadia have a 3G pitch that enables such use but use of the pitch cannot be a universal definitional characteristic of community stadia due to the need to maintain and preserve grass pitches.

Reflecting on the definitional characteristics discussed above – serving a wider community, multifunctional, open and welcoming, proactive in reaching out, accessible and becoming a community focal point or hub – are all *tangible* features that can be identified by visiting different stadia and observing how they are promoted and used. Less evident but arguably more important in defining community stadia is the *intangible* attachment of local communities to the stadia. Expanding on this, a number of stakeholders highlighted the importance of communities feeling ownership and pride in the stadia.

> *"A community stadium is something that the community is proud of and proud to shout about. There is a sense of pride in it. 'It is Doncaster's stadium' where we as residents of Doncaster play sport, meet friends and have a good time"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

Furthermore, the ownership of and pride in the stadium should extend beyond pride in the professional sports club and be directed to the stadium itself. By becoming a genuine public building (Massey, 2005) or community asset (Bailey, 2011; Moss et al, 2009), the community sees the stadium as theirs as opposed to that of the professional sports club or other members of the civic elite. *"It's a stadium that makes people feel that it is for them and that it's not just for football"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). *"A community stadium is when it is seen as a 'stadium for the community' rather than a community stadium. What I mean is that the focus or bias of the stadium is to the needs of the community and not to football"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The sentiment here is that serving their communities should be of equal or even greater importance than serving the professional sports clubs, so demonstrating *'a move towards the football stadium becoming more, rather than less, important as a community resource'* (Sanders et al, 2014 pp425). The challenge this evokes, and turned to in Chapter 6, is how to balance community needs with the sporting, commercial and economic development aims of stadia when there has been a widening of the social and political gaps between those who run the clubs and stadia and those who support the clubs (Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001).

The views expressed above indicate that there should be a close, psychological attachment between the community stadia and the multiple communities they aim to serve. Qualifying these views, the communities referred to are predominantly the 'external' communities living in the town or region in which the stadia are located. However, one stakeholder

offered a different perspective of community by stating that community stadia should nurture and imbue a sense of community among their 'internal' communities, specifically the organisations and workers based in the stadium.

> *"A community stadium involves more integration of tenants* (tenant organisations in the stadium) *and brings spin-offs for all. So you would have greater collaboration, like the same suppliers which could reduce costs, or a regular stadium newsletter to help hear about other tenants and things going on in the stadium"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

For Massey (2005; 2007) interactions between the multiple tenant organisations and staff of the community stadia would help to create such an 'internal' community and turn the stadia from a physical space into a 'place'. If effectively developed, the implication is that this common, internal sense of community could be mutually beneficial as shared interests and opportunities could be jointly explored within a more collegiate environment.

Irrespective of whether external or internal communities should be the focus of attention for community stadia, the key point is that close, psychological attachments to the stadia should exist. Such feelings of ownership do not, however, simply happen and, as one stakeholder emphasised, it requires a commitment to meaningful community consultation.

> *"A* (community stadium is a) *stadium which is part of the community and is seen as such by the community. It's a clever idea and other clubs could learn from it but it needs a willingness to meet community needs and respond to these. Community consultation is difficult and it can just be a sham if it is not meaningful. As I say, community consultation is really important and it cannot be tokenistic"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

Committing to meaningful community consultation is in line with the community economic development (Blackshaw, 2008; Haughton, 1998; Hawtin et al., 1994; Leach, 2013; MacIntosh et al., 2016; Mathie and Cuuningham, 2003; Pike et al., 2006; Roseland, 2012; Schulenkorf, 2012; Taylor, 2003) and co-production literature (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Needham, 2008) but the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia histories presented in Section 5.2 indicate that such levels of meaningful co-

production did not extend beyond a one-off consultation on the Keepmoat Stadium's capacity and facilities.

5.5.3 Comparator Community Stadia and Buildings

In helping to define community stadia, some stakeholders gave examples of other stadia and other building types that they perceived to be community stadia or community buildings. For the Falkirk stakeholders, finding comparator examples appeared to be a more straightforward exercise as a number referred to the Broadwood Stadium, which is located 10 miles from Falkirk on the edge of Cumbernauld, North Lanarkshire. Constructed in 1994, and so not considered as a potential case study for this research due to it falling outside the post-2000 selection criteria, stakeholders highlighted the different sports and leisure facilities housed within and surrounding the Broadwood Stadium, though notably there was no mention of *non*-sporting or leisure facilities.

> *"Broadwood Stadium – it's got a fantastic gym, astroturf pitch with the SRU* (Scottish Rugby Union) *using it, a gymnastic pod, whole network of footpaths around it, a BMX track, and tennis courts. It's a vibrant place – a sports and community hub, though not business facing"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

In referring to the Broadwood Stadium, some stakeholders also saw parallels to the experience of the Falkirk Stadium and the division of ownership between Falkirk FC and Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd. For example, tensions were identified in the relationship that the main club (Clyde FC) had with the stadium (which is owned and managed by North Lanarkshire Council), though this could partly be due to Clyde FC's contested relocation from Glasgow to Cumbernauld in 1994 as opposed to the management and wider sporting use of the stadium.

> *"Broadwood* (Stadium) *has been run well since North Lanarkshire Council committed to it. It has dance studies, a gymnasium, and the SRU* (Scottish Rugby Union) *moving into it. Ok, it's not perfect as it's still got some difficulties and Clyde FC* (the home league football club) *is being edged out of it but Cumbernauld Colts* (a local amateur football club) *play there and Queen of South* (Dumfries-based professional football club) *train there"* (internal stakeholder).

A further reflection on the quote above is that the Broadwood Stadium had only achieved its current 'community stadium' standing due to the commitment (and management) of North Lanarkshire Council, so echoing the critical importance of effective ownership and management arrangements in the sustainability of community assets (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012) and the experience from Doncaster where Club Doncaster's management of the Keepmoat Stadium has seemingly reinvigorated the community ambitions connected to the stadium.

The other stadia mentioned were Stenhousemuir (but their mention is mainly related to the club's Football in the Community activities as opposed to the use of its stadium), Chesterfield (which *"has been talked about as community stadium because of its town centre location, its proactive club ownership and because it has its supporters trust close to the club*" [Falkirk, external stakeholder]), and Spartans Academy which provides valuable learning, albeit for a smaller scale stadium that hosts an amateur team.

> *"Spartans Academy's stadium is definitely a community stadium because it is the hub of the community. We actually likened it to a modern day church or a cathedral with floodlights instead of a steeple and church bells. It is open for everyone to use and the community do not need to pay to use it. It thrives and lives all the time"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Reading across the Stenhousemuir, Chesterfield and Spartans examples, the key community stadia characteristics identified are the stadia having a close relationship with the community outreach/CSR trust, an accessible location enabling it to become a community hub, and proactive management and ownership arrangements in place.

Reference to comparator stadia from Doncaster stakeholders was less forthcoming and the two sporting-related examples were arguably quite distinct from the community stadium phenomenon being explored. One was Manchester's Sport City, which was also discussed in Chapter 2, and is of a larger scale to community stadia as it includes Manchester City FC's Etihad Stadium, the National Squash Centre, the 6,500 seat Manchester Regional Arena, English Institute of Sport, Manchester Velodrome, Tennis Centre and gymnasium (www.sportcity-manchester.com).

> *"Having worked there, Manchester's Sport City is a public facility that everyone can and do use. It is also a genuine meeting point and, for me, the social element where people can meet is really important"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

The second comparator given was Leeds Rhinos RLFC but predominantly as an exemplar of a community club that is effective at reaching out to its communities rather than a community stadia.

> *"For us, Leeds* (Rhinos) *is the benchmark as they are a very community driven club. Its strong because it has Club Ambassadors, a schools programme and all these things help to sell the heritage of the club while always helping them to interact with the supporters"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

Some non-sporting sites were also given as comparators on the grounds that they are community buildings and therefore offer learning for community stadia. Wakefield Council's new central offices (Wakefield One) were suggested because they "*are in the middle of the town and are really multi-use with the public library, museum and café on ground floor. What's good is that it brings things together and it makes the council more accessible"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder). West Lothian's Partnership Centres were seen to be another excellent example of public-facing services co-locating in accessible community buildings. Services include libraries, GPs, police, community spaces, swimming pools and gym facilities, and cafés. More leftfield as a suggestion was Hillington Park which is a business park on the M8 motorway between Glasgow and Paisley. However, the external stakeholder highlighted it as being a *de facto* 'community business park' because it has strong relationships between tenants, a well-read newsletter and even allotments that tenants and staff can upkeep. From that stakeholder's perspective, the interactions facilitated by Hillington Park's management have helped to transform a business park into a 'place' (Massey, 2005; 2007).

The diverse range of comparator 'community buildings' suggested by stakeholders reinforce the literature review finding that community stadia are not a widespread phenomenon (City of York, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014). However, there are opportunities to learn from the designs, uses and experiences of other 'community buildings'. Indeed, reflecting on the learning from the different examples given above, the

characteristics that emerge are the multifunctional nature of the buildings, which is supported by facilities and services co-locating with one another within the building; their openness and accessibility which enables the buildings to become focal points or hubs for their communities, and the need for effective management and ownership arrangements that show genuine commitment to their communities.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to learn from the two case studies and the e-survey to provide a more detailed understanding of *'what are community stadia?'* and *'what are the communities of community stadia?'*. Having established that both stadia were intended from the outset to be community stadia, the chapter has sought to contribute to the literature by developing a more informed definition of community stadia. Drawing on the characteristics identified from the literature (City of York, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014), the Keepmoat Stadium and Falkirk Stadium case studies and the other community buildings referred to by the stakeholders interviewed, the following definition is put forward.

> *"Community stadia are accessible, multifunctional buildings that work with their communities to offer a diverse range of non-matchdays facilities and services for their communities, alongside meeting the sporting and commercial demands that face all professional sports stadia."*

Assessing the two case study stadia against this definition, the evidence presented in this chapter primarily related to the first half of the definition, i.e. '*Community stadia are accessible, multifunctional buildings that work with their communities to offer a diverse range of non-matchdays facilities and services for their communities'.* Section 5.3 showed that both stadia hosted a wide and diverse range of facilities and services – sporting and leisure, education and training, and business and commercial – that extend beyond the professional sports facilities. From a critical realist ontology, the multifunctional status was also widely acknowledged by the stakeholders interviewed, as expressed in the quote:

> *"Yes, it's a community stadium as there's a lot for the public. You can rent the pitch, there are different classes on, there's the café. Also there are the concerts which get*

> *a good turnout, M&Ds funfair, and the car boot sale"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

At the same time, places are not static and are in a constant flux of production and (re)negotiation (Massey, 2005; 2007), and the need to continually review and develop the facility and service offer was highlighted by some stakeholders. In the case of the Falkirk Stadium, there were plans to develop the vacant side of the pitch into a community sports hub development that will help embed its community stadium status more fully.

> *"To some extent* (it is a community stadium) *but it will become more of a community stadium when the Community Sports Hub gets built. The plans for this are for a new stand, a gym, a second pitch and classrooms. It's exciting"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Massey's conceptualisation of places being in a constant state of (re) negotiation is important as it leads onto the question of *'what are the communities of community stadia?'*. Community stadia will primarily evolve in response to the needs, interests and interactions of the communities that have ownership and power with regards the stadia. The criticism of urban entrepreneurialism and flagship developments is that the power is held by the elite and the developments therefore meet their needs (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009). If community stadia took a different approach and followed community economic development and co-production theory, then we would expect to see far greater power and influence over stadia design, management and running among typically marginalised communities (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Needham, 2008). The findings from Section 5.4 indicate, however, that this more equal, co-productive relationship has not taken hold with limited evidence of stadia officials seeking to understand, target and involve Doncaster's and Falkirk's heterogeneous communities. Instead a civic-wide strategy has been adopted to appeal as widely as possible, which can be justified given the relatively small size of the Doncaster and Falkirk populations, but has the risk that more disadvantaged communities and groups do not use the stadia.

A passive consumer rather than a valued active contributor view of communities dominated in the design, management and running of the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia.

Nevertheless, the mapping of actual user communities presented in Table 5.3 showed that both stadia were engaging with and being used by multiple and diverse communities. Particularly noteworthy was that traditionally harder to reach groups, such as young people in the NEET group and older males, were using the stadia (Sanders et al, 2014; Spaaj et al, 2013), as too were females and disabled groups that are widely deterred from professional sports stadia on the grounds of their masculine, professional sport and commercial associations (Kelly, 2010; Massey, 2005; 2007). Similarly noteworthy is that these marginalised resident groups and communities are using the stadia alongside business use of the stadia, so suggesting that community aims can co-exist with the commercial aims of community stadia.

The evidence presented in this chapter builds greater understanding of the community stadia phenomenon among professional sports clubs, civic leaders and potential partners, and highlights the potential they hold – particularly in engaging with and supporting marginalised and disadvantaged groups and communities. However, what this chapter does not convey are the complexities involved in delivering on the community ambitions when there are other demands placed on community stadia. It is the complex relationships and interactions between the sporting, commercial, community and economic regeneration aims that are turned to in the next chapter, with a particular focus on where there is alignment and tension between community aims and the other quadruple bottom line aims.

Chapter 6: The Quadruple Bottom Line – Community Co-Existing With Sporting, Commercial and Economic Regeneration Aims

6.1 Introduction

The Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia are both multifunctional buildings that host facilities and services that engage with a wide and diverse range of communities. Indeed, Chapter 5's detailed snapshot of the two stadia illustrates to other clubs, civic leaders and stakeholders what current 'extreme' examples of community stadia look like. What the chapter did not articulate, however, is how the community aims have been delivered or managed alongside the other sporting, commercial and economic regeneration aims attached to the two stadia. Tensions identified from the literature include the dominance of the needs and interests of the sporting and political elite (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009); commercial needs taking priority and excluding use by lower income communities (Kennedy, 2012; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001; Williams, 1995); the low quality of the stadium-based jobs reinforcing the problems of the segmented labour market (Schimmel, 1995); and edge-of-town locations that support economic regeneration aims but reduce accessibility for local, resident communities (Thornley, 2002; Van Dam, 2000).

It is the balancing of the quadruple bottom line aims that this chapter focuses on. In particular, it draws on the Doncaster and Falkirk stakeholder interviews to consider whether the community ambitions align with the sporting, commercial or economic regeneration, and how the stadium management either maximised the points of alignment or managed the points of contention. The chapter therefore aims to get below the surface to more fully understand whether community stadia can justifiably be portrayed as a sustainable model of contemporary professional sports stadia.

The chapter has four main sections. The first three sections consider in turn the extent to which the sporting, commercial and economic regeneration aims align or co-exist with the community aims of community stadia. Section 6.2 focuses on the architectural design implications of stadia, the primacy of the professional sports club, the associations (positive and negative) of professional sport, and the contribution that community aims can have on sporting ambitions. Section 6.3 looks at the alignment between community and

commercial aims, particularly whether efforts to attract commercial revenue and the charging of commercial rates, which can displace community use, can be justified if community stadia deliver value for money. Section 6.4 considers the alignment between economic regeneration and community aims, including the extent to which community stadia are genuine flagship developments that become an economic catalyst for the local area. The chapter then concludes with a consideration of whether the balancing of these multiple and competing aims has enabled the two stadia to become community hubs and, in so doing, helped establish places or communities of choice (Aiken et al, 2011; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003).

6.2 Aligning Sporting and Community Aims

6.2.1 Stadium Design Challenges

For professional sports stadia to be multifunctional community assets as defined by Bailey (2012), there is a need for them to be aesthetically attractive, have identity and character, be adaptable to different uses, and in a good state of repair (Aiken et al, 2011; Heylighen, 2008; Kearns and Turok, 2003; Marriott, 1997). In the context that the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were intended to be flagship developments that could support economic regeneration, both stadia could be described as aesthetically attractive and (as recently constructed) in a good state of repair but lacking the design and scale to have a truly distinctive identity and character (Cuthbert, 2011; Duke, 2002; Goldblatt, 2014). However, the key question is the extent to which the stadia are adaptable to different uses. Evans (2005), Moss et al (2009) and Turok (2009) highlighted that flagship developments often give precedence to aesthetic qualities over functional ubiquity, meaning that use can be compromised. With regards to community stadia, the design challenge is heightened because they are to not only host professional sport to the high standards expected by players and spectators, but also be used for multiple facilities and services purposes.

For truly inclusive design, Heylighen (2008) states that the aim is to create buildings that are usable for all end users without the need for repeated adaptation. Achieving this for community stadia where there is a need to balance the sporting with wider multi-functional use presents an inherent design challenge. First and foremost, professional sports stadia exist as a mass spectator venue for professional sport and consequently the pitch is the

focal point of stadia design. Around the pitch, stands are constructed so that a maximum number of spectators are accommodated in safety and the revenue generation opportunities from these spectators can be maximised, both through high value corporate boxes and high volume catering and merchandise sales.

In the interior of stadia, large triangular-shaped spaces are formed under the stands. Some of this space is used for matchday catering and services but other spaces remain. These spaces offer the opportunity for wider, non-matchday uses but, being located under concrete stands, these spaces are dark, irregularly shaped and do not immediately lend themselves to wider uses. As a consequence, in many stadia these spaces become unused voids.

There are also aesthetic and adaptability issues relating to stadia exteriors as they cannot be designed to be universally open and accessible to their outside surroundings. The exteriors need to have secure entry systems for spectators on matchdays and this means that the exterior walls are strong, secure and punctuated by turnstiles which are locked on non-matchdays. Linked to this point, the risks of violence and anti-social behaviour (Bale, 2000; Van Dam, 2000; Williams, 1995) from thousands of spectators converging on stadia mean that glass frontages, large public entrances and a multitude of windows (at least on the ground floor) are not compatible with professional sports stadia. These design features can make professional sports stadia appear impregnable and as 'gated' buildings that are designed to exclude rather than encourage people into the stadia. The exterior design also further limits the amount of natural light coming into the internal stadium spaces.

These design challenges held true for the two case study stadia. There were some features that facilitated wider, non-matchday uses, specifically glass-fronted entrances (for players, officials and hospitality guests on matchdays and enabling access for non-matchday users) and 'windowed' hospitality boxes and office space in upper parts of the stadia, but other features constrained wider use. For example, the Keepmoat Stadium's enclosed bowl design and secure exterior closed off the pitch and distanced users from its main asset. The Falkirk Stadium's three stands meant the pitch felt more accessible but its two end stands were only used on matchdays and locked at all other times. Internally, both stadia had a number of void spaces and, where there was multi-functional use, stakeholders reported of spaces being dark and unconducive to their activities. *"The classrooms are good but*

they're not the best learning environment because of the lack of windows" (Falkirk, internal stakeholder) and:

> "*There are no windows and it can get really warm in here. Also with the brickwalls it can get pretty boring as there's nothing to look at. To be honest, the rooms aren't great"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

These architectural shortcomings are found across conventional stadia designs but the stakeholder interviews also highlighted missed opportunities for tailoring the design of the two case study stadia to better accommodate multi-functional, community use. Two Doncaster stakeholders, for example, noted the traditionalist mindset of those leading the stadium design process. Referring back to Section 5.5.3 and the value of co-locating facilities and services, one stakeholder stated that *"Co-location was too out there at the time and its not been built as a multi-use asset"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder), while the other similarly noted that the stadium was primarily built for sporting purposes rather than business (or other) use, *"It wasn't built with business use in mind – for example, its not like Bolton's Reebok stadium where its got a hotel"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Of the Falkirk Stadium,

> *"A problem is that there were weaknesses in the stadium's design in terms of* (encouraging) *community use. There were no kitchens in the stadium and really limited office space. It was a very football club-focused stadium"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

The stadium design issues can be attributed to two factors. First, community stadia continue to be a new phenomenon with few previous exemplars to learn from, as demonstrated by the limited literature base and the small number of community stadia examples referred to by stakeholders in Section 5.5.3. Second, and stemming from Section 5.4's finding that there was limited attention paid at the design stage to what the stadia's target communities would be, there was no commitment among stadia officials and civic leaders to the co-design or co-production of the stadia that would help meet the needs of end users, although one must also acknowledge that the co-production literature emerged

after the stadia's construction (Bovaird and Loeffler, 2012; Boyle and Harris, 2009; Needham, 2008). Third, the strongest voice at the design stage was the professional clubs and their focus on delivering a larger, safer and more aesthetic stadium that reflected their sporting ambitions (Kennedy, 2012). Hence, and referring back to earlier quotes, no '*co-location'*, no *'multi-use'* (including 'business use'), '*no kitchens'* and *'really limited office space'*. As one Falkirk stakeholder reflected,

> *"I was not involved in the stadium at that stage but knowing Falkirk's (Football Club) Board members, they would not actively have set out to build a community stadium"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

The implication is that the design weaknesses identified of other flagship developments, specifically 'form over function', unimaginative and homogenous 'copycat' designs, and the needs of the dominant elite presiding over the needs of other users, have been similarly evident among the case study stadia with wider communities viewed as grateful, passive and dependent consumers (Boyle and Harris, 2008; Doucet, 2007; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Savitch and Kantor, 2004; Siemiatycki, 2013; Turok, 2009; Yarker, 2018).

The dominance of the sporting aims on the initial stadium designs have compromised the multifunctional uses of the two stadia but some of these issues have not been insurmountable. Club Doncaster's approach to transforming the irregularly shaped, dark, void spaces that they inherited when taking ownership of the Keepmoat Stadium into high quality, multi-purpose space is a prime example of this. They used England's Education Funding Agency (EFA) Year 1 start-up monies for new 'Free Schools', alongside their own investment, to develop high quality classroom facilities in the upper tiers of the stadium. The classrooms were initially used by the XP (free) School but were then taken up by Club Doncaster Sports College when the XP School's new build adjacent to the Keepmoat Stadium was completed. Their example of capitalising on emerging (funding and service delivery partner) opportunities and retrospectively negotiating and developing community-centred design solutions to facilitate greater multi-functional use shows the value of creativity, partnership working and negotiation in the management of community stadia (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012).

6.2.2 Primacy of the Professional Sports Club – One Amongst Equals?

The primacy of the professional sports clubs at the design stage has been highlighted above and this mindset has continued in the ongoing running and use of the stadia, so compromising rather than supporting multi-functional, community use. Of the two stadia, criticisms were stronger in relation to Falkirk FC with some stakeholders reporting a narrow and self-centred view of who can use the stadium. Two views expressed were:

> *"They* (Falkirk FC) *are not the only user and they need to consider other users, such as clearly communicating their matches/events as these will affect others. In reality, clubs want new stadia, sign up to things and then forget about them"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder) and..

> *"The stadium's run by traditionalists. Their focus is on the Board and on the pitch and the 1st team. It's a closed shop with little outreach to the wider community and actors"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

These views reinforce the power imbalance identified at the design stage and also highlight the risk to other community stadia developments that ideas of 'community', 'accessible' and 'multi-functional use' are initially signed up to by professional sports clubs in order to secure public investment and support for a new stadia, but with little commitment to such objectives over the longer term (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). At the same time, the critical views expressed of Falkirk FC could have been an outdated perspective as a club official acknowledged that Falkirk FC did have an *"old-fashioned, top down management style to it but the atmosphere has changed and it is now far more positive"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). Expanding on this, the club now views itself as a community club and they are *"100% promoting the stadium as a community stadium"* with the investment into the 3G pitch demonstrating this (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). Yet, even with the 3G pitch in place, one stakeholder questioned the club's more inclusive mindset as other sporting use of the pitch appears to be discouraged. "*The college has tried to use the pitch for a multi-sport event but they were discouraged. It really is for football only"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

The primacy of the professional sports club was less evident for the Keepmoat Stadium because Club Doncaster has oversight of the stadium; Doncaster Rovers FC being the largest of the clubs under the Club Doncaster umbrella. This arrangement means that any dominance of the professional sports club may be wrapped up within criticism of Club Doncaster. Conscious of this, Club Doncaster received little criticism and the quality of its management was widely praised. Nonetheless, one stakeholder did feel like *'we're the little guys'* when dealing with Club Doncaster. *"I feel Club Doncaster run roughshod over us – like not managing bookings correctly and not discussing maintenance work and the impact it might have on us. Rovers have priority"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). The same stakeholder also reflected that *"The partnership* (with other community organisations) *is not as strong as it could be. We see inconveniences – parking restrictions, being pushed to one side when matches or events are on"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). Even if this view is an outlier, combined with the Falkirk Stadia findings, it does show how the needs and wants of the professional sports club tend to take precedence over multi-functional, community uses. There is therefore a significant change necessary within the Boards and directors of professional sports clubs if a genuine co-production relationship is to be established with other stadia tenants, users and communities, beginning with greater respect and acknowledgement of these groups and the importance of effective communication and negotiation with them.

6.2.3 Sporting Association – Positive or Negative Impact on Community Use?

Alongside the direct impact that clubs have in the design and use of the stadia, the wider public perception of professional sport was also found to impact (negatively and positively) on the levels of multi-functional, community use of the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia.

Beginning with the negative impact, some stadium-based services reported that they struggled to engage some of their target service users on account of being located within a professional sports stadium. Education providers found it difficult to get some pupils, students and their parents to look beyond the sporting façade and appreciate the wider learning opportunities and experiences that are on offer. This view was expressed by both the college *"The club is the USP but that can also be damaging for us as the* (Club Doncaster Sports) *college can be seen as a way to just play football all day. As a result,*

our PR needs to sell our academic performance as well – particularly to convince parents" (Doncaster, internal stakeholder) and the school *"With the school being in a stadium, the connotation that it is that all we do is PE, sport and football"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). Referring back to Section 5.4.2, there is a tension here between community stadia being highly effective in attracting hard to reach groups, particularly young males disillusioned with mainstream education settings that are in or at risk of becoming NEET, while at the same time attracting higher attaining students. Can the needs, expectations and aspirations of these two groupings be simultaneously met, or should one group be prioritised over the other? The compatibility of different stadia users is common theme of this chapter and is a key strategic issue for stadia officials to consider and respond to.

Another group that the stadium-based education providers struggled to engage with were young females. Consistent with Kelly's (2010) and Massey's (2005; 2007) views that females are widely deterred from professional sports stadia on the grounds of their masculine, professional sport and commercial associations, the number of female students enrolled were very small. As one Doncaster stakeholder noted, this can be difficult to overcome *"Gender equality is a problem. They've* (Club Doncaster Sports College) *tried different things such as a dance route but it will predominantly be guys who study here"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). Again the strategic question arises that, if community stadia are effective at engaging young males in the NEET group, is the lack of female engagement a weakness for stadia officials and partners to address if the needs of young females can be met in other education and community settings within the local authority area?

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered in engaging some target service user groups, Section 5.4.2 highlighted the multiple and diverse groups using the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia. Many stakeholders viewed the sporting association as hugely positive and influential in doing so. Take the two case study stadia, their edge-of-town locations mean neither are immediately amenable for passers-by to walk in off the street. Their use of the stadia requires deliberate planning by communities to do so and, by extension, a rationale for travelling to and using the stadia. This raises the question of why the multiple and diverse groups identified in Section 5.4.2 are attending stadium-based organisations and services, particularly 'hard to reach' groups given the challenges that services typically face engaging with them (McTier and McGregor, 2011; Sanders et al, 2014; Spaaj et al,

2013). What is it about the community stadia that encourages 'hard to reach' groups to attend stadium-based facilities and services, yet be less likely to attend the same facilities and services in other community venues? In short, what is the additionality of the Keepmoat Stadium and Falkirk Stadium?

Stakeholders widely acknowledged that the stadia had something additional that attracted multiple and diverse users, including hard to reach groups. The different factors that attracted stadium users were found to be the positive impact of co-locating with professional clubs, the kudos attached to professional sports stadia, and the view that stadia are an atypical building. Across all three, the sporting association is the common theme.

Beginning with the **co-location alongside professional clubs**, the opportunity to rub shoulders with the players or experience something of their daily lives (including use of the pitch) was seen to be a key attraction. Morgan et al (2017) found this in relation to Molineux stadium-based health projects capitalising on Wolverhampton Wanderers FC's presence in engaging males, but the case studies found that the impact was particularly strong among the young people consulted with. *"It feels cool going there* (the stadium). *The team plays there and they're like almost famous"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). Another quote conveys this excitement but also notes that the novelty can wear off. *"In Week 1 its exciting being here. You get a tour of the stadium, you bump into players, but after a bit it's just normal. You get used to it and in the end it's just a building"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

The initial excitement is reinforced by the welcoming and open attitude of the players and club staff when their paths cross with other stadium users.

> *"As a Falkirk fan and season ticket holder, being here* (in the stadium) *you're always bumping into players and managers and that's great. They're really welcoming and happy to stop and chat for a bit. As a fan it's a real bonus being here"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

This is a positive finding and could be a reflection of the esteem that the community outreach/CSR organisations are held in by the clubs or the importance placed by the clubs in building strong relationships with their local communities. Irrespective of how this

culture has come about, and building on the community assets, buildings and gardens literature (Aptekar, 2015; Bailey, 2012; Cumbers et al, 2018; Firth et al, 2011; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014), such a community-oriented culture among players and club staff is arguably an essential feature of community stadia as it purveys a sense that everyone is equally entitled to use the stadia with no hierarchy in user types.

As well as the opportunity to rub shoulders with the players, stakeholders also referred to a **kudos of professional sports stadia**, which in turn attracts users to them.

> *"The students like coming here. For them, the Keepmoat is a novelty and there is an appeal about coming to the stadium…you know, something they could brag about to their mates"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Another stakeholder made the cause and effect even more explicit, *"Some lads apparently applied for the school because it was in a stadium"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

The *'appeal'*, *'novelty'* or *'prestige'* may appear to be stronger among young people (particularly young males) but one stakeholder highlighted the attraction to older males, even if the actual event or activity delivered in stadia (e.g. a pensioners lunch club) was the same as it would be in a different building.

> *"For older males, they probably see the stadium as a bit different. They are attracted to it because it's not just another lunch club and it's easier to say to others that you're 'just going down to the stadium'" (Falkirk, external stakeholder).*

The prestige referred to also points to a lack of negative stigma attached to community stadia, with them instead being viewed as attractive and even alluring places to visit and use. This too was found in the healthy stadia literature with the stadia considered 'icons' in their local area and lacking the stigma of traditional healthcare settings (Morgan et al, 2017; Parnell et al, 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011).

> *"Because it's a stadium, people don't associate it with education and training. It's instead seen as for fun and sport, so there's no stigma with it. It's fancy going to it, a*

> *prestige to it, more up market than the wee hall down the road" (Falkirk, external stakeholder).*

Linked to the above, some participants viewed the stadia as an **atypical building**. In particular, reference was made to the stadia being non-traditional learning environments compared to schools or colleges, which makes them attractive places of learning, especially for young people who have had a negative relationship with mainstream school and post-school education (Hutchison et al, 2016; Pemberton, 2008).

> *"Education* (in the stadium) *is a good fit, especially in engaging with disaffected pupils. They don't view it as a school or a seat of learning. Instead they see it as fun and somewhere to enjoy themselves"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Helping to illustrate how it differs, the following quote shows how the stadia can be used in quite innovative ways, *"We can do lessons in the stands and we can use the concourses for lessons that don't really work in the classroom."* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). Such examples may not be the result of inclusive design principles at the design stage (Heylighen, 2008) but again it shows that creative and imaginative use of space can help to retrospectively facilitate multi-functional, community use of stadia. Another related feature mentioned was the on-site sporting facilities where doing sport is widely encouraged,

> "*They're* (stadia) *somewhere where pupils can tap into the other facilities and assets of the clubs and the stadium, even rub shoulders with the stars of the local area and that can inspire them"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

From the views expressed above there is clearly an additionality associated with the two stadia that helps to attract the multiple and diverse communities, and some of the stadium-based services have actively sought to build on this and embrace the stadium environment within their delivery. The approach taken by the Falkirk Community Football Foundation for their youth programmes most strongly demonstrates this,

> *"We* (the Foundation) *look to mirror the journey of the professionals in our programmes – so you'd sign an initial contract with Peter Houston* (the Falkirk FC manager)*; you'd get the club kit after 2-3 weeks, and so on. Doing these things,*

> *we're trying to replicate the professionalism of the club and capitalise on the assets of the stadium to benefit and build up our young people"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Indeed, there was a view that the positive association with the stadium and the professional club could be further maximised to market key initiatives, such as apprenticeships. *"The stadium is a seen as quite a sexy facility and this could make apprenticeships* (offered at the stadium)*, which are seen by many as a secondary route, to be seen as a really good option for them"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder).

Summarising the discussion above, the direct association with professional sports (whether the clubs or the stadia themselves) are a significant asset in attracting multiple and diverse communities as users of the community stadia. The iconic status or kudos, atypical building type, lack of stigma of traditional settings, and potential to 'rub shoulders with the stars of the local area' all bring an additionality that has been particularly effective at engaging hard to reach groups (Morgan et al, 2017; Parnell et al, 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011). At the same time, the positive impact of professional sport needs to be balanced as multi-functional, community use of the stadia has been compromised by the dominance of the professional sports clubs' design needs, while the masculine, sporting associations of professional sport has been found to deter use by young females (Kelly, 2010; Massey, 2005; 2007). For community stadia officials and stakeholders, it is important that they understand the positive and negative features that professional sport brings to community stadia and either look to capitalise on the unique selling points or mitigate against inhibitory factors.

6.2.4 Community Aims Contributing to Sporting Aims?

Sporting aims contributing to community aims is a positive finding but, for a strong relationship to form, a reciprocal impact would ideally be in place. Without a mutually beneficial relationship, professional sports clubs may question what value community stadia bring to them. Indeed, the selected verbatim quotes from a 2014 Falkirk FC Fans' Survey indicate that some supporters feel community aims have been to the disadvantage of the club's sporting performance. "*The Club seems to think more about community involvement than they do about putting an entertaining team on the pitch"* and:

> *"I couldn't care less about the community schemes we have in place, I want to see FFC entertain and that takes a winning team from the Board of Directors to the coaching staff and to the players"* (Falkirk FC Fans Survey, 2014).

The counter argument would be that community stadia's engagement with and use by multiple and diverse communities leads in turn to increased community connection and association with the professional sports club, higher matchday attendances and support, increased revenue for the club, and consequently improved sporting performance through a higher playing budget. *"We may not be that successful on the pitch but we can be great in other ways. By doing so, we can win people over to come here on matchdays"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). The challenge, however, is that such a cause and effect relationship is hard to evidence. As one Falkirk internal stakeholder noted there is *"no evidence that community work has an impact on matchday attendances – though I would like to think it would do"*. In fairness, the stakeholders interviewed did not put forward such a cause and effect relationship. Instead those that felt community aims could impact positively on sporting aims offered more nuanced assessments of the relationship. For example, one explained that the community aims would help grow and diversify the club's supporter base for the long-term sustainability of the club, reflecting the dilution of the traditional supporter base (Giulianotti, 2011).

> *"Part of the rationale for engaging new communities is strategic economic planning. Our main fan base are males aged 65 plus who will not be around forever. We need to attract a new generation and the community work helps us do so"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

This strategy was then reinforced by Doncaster Rovers FC's matchday experience and ticket pricing where families and younger supporters are embraced. "*Our family offer on matchdays includes good food, a nice atmosphere, small queues for food, Nintendo Wiis to play on, etc. We then want to keep our U16s* (supporters) *and have a staggered season ticket when they hit 16, that way they've not got an immediate price hike to the adult rate"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). Attracting a new and wider fan base was also given as a rationale for the staging of concerts.

> *"The concerts have got about 80,000 people into the stadium and 80% have Falkirk postcodes. For many it will be the first time they have been to the stadium, so it's good advertising for us and hopefully they'll come back"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Community use of the stadium was therefore viewed as a means of building community attachment to the professional club and diversifying the supporter base but, returning to the earlier point, there is no clear evidence of this and a potential future area of research would be to longitudinally track whether the likelihood of attending matches increases among non-matchday users of the stadia compared to other local residents.

Another argument for committing to community stadia and community activities, and one advanced by an internal Doncaster stakeholder, is that the shared costs of community stadia across multiple tenants means that the stadia maintenance costs placed on professional sports clubs are reduced. The savings made can then be invested in the playing squad. Club Doncaster's model embraces this and then takes it a step further by enabling core services (e.g. accounts and marketing) to be shared between its different entities.

> *"Our model means that we can spread overheads which allows more money to be invested into the teams and on the pitch. Take the Dons, they were on the verge of bankruptcy and now breakeven because of the Club Doncaster structure. They're now close to promotion and will have the biggest playing budget in the league. We have absorbed their overheads"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

Club Doncaster's experience therefore shows that there can be a more tangible, positive relationship between community aims and sporting aims if allied to astute financial management, thereby highlighting another key aspect of effective community stadia management. Such an organisational and financial model is not in place with regards to the Falkirk Stadium and this could explain the earlier examples of fan dissent to community aims.

6.3 Alignment of Commercial Demands and Community Aims

Community stadia, like all professional sports stadia, are costly buildings to construct and maintain. Whether construction finance needs to be paid back (e.g. Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd's task to pay back the £6 million stadium construction costs) or not, the ongoing maintenance costs of medium- to large- sporting stadia are high. Generating commercial revenue, particularly for lower league teams that do not benefit from high matchday, sponsorship or TV deal revenues, is therefore critical to assuring their financial sustainability (Kidd, 1995; KPMG, 2011; Paramio et al, 2008; Williams, 1995). The question that stems from this is to what extent does the need for commercial revenue impact on community stadia's ability to engage with multiple, diverse communities – particularly more marginalised communities?

Summarising the predicament facing community stadia officials, one stakeholder noted that *"It is a stadium to serve the community in any way it can – but also survive financially"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). This quote suggests that commercial activities exist in order to enable community facilities, services and activities, and the stadium more generally, to survive. An alternative view was that *"Community stadia are a marriage of convenience for football clubs but they are arguably the only way to proceed given that they* (new stadia) *are hugely expensive to run"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder). Under this viewpoint, community aims, facilities and services enable the stadia to be sustainable because the tenancies and community use generates revenue and helps to share costs. However, the 'marriage of convenience' analogy also suggests that professional sports clubs and stadia officials would not automatically advance and support community use of the stadia, but do so to secure a new stadium or to ensure their financial sustainability.

6.3.1 Attracting Commercial Revenue

In terms of balancing commercial and community aims, the internal stakeholders and business-minded stakeholders interviewed tended to pay more attention to the commercial needs and opportunities facing the stadia than other stakeholders interviewed. Here, and following on from Section 6.2.4, the value of having multiple tenants was again raised by internal stakeholders. However, more immediate than diverting savings to sporting aims

referred to in that section, the quote below suggests that the rental income and shared overheads derived from multiple tenants would simply be used to help manage stadium costs, thereby is primarily in the interests of stadia officials. *"For the stadium management, the wide range of functions brings extra tenants and so help to make the stadium commercially sustainable"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). However, high tenancy levels can also benefit existing and prospective tenants as *"More stadium tenants means lower rates as costs are shared"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

Alongside attracting tenant organisations, stakeholders also highlighted the need to attract paying, non-matchday users, which aligns with KPMG's assertion (2011) that modern day stadia are commercial buildings that must maximise revenue generation opportunities *'to the fullest possible extent'*. A local Doncaster businessmen stated,

> *"Stadia are expensive to run and so need to get as much money from them as possible, 24 hours a day – whether that be a café, restaurant, laser quest, crèche, whatever draws people in"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder).

A Falkirk stakeholder also agreed with the need for different uses and hires of the stadium but questioned whether a more selective approach to non-matchday commercial hires be taken rather than *'whatever draws people in'*. The stakeholder's experience was that *"FCS Ltd are keen to get hires of the stadium and they've got the fair in, the circus and the car boot sales but these are small scale and not very imaginative"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). However, taking this perspective, who selects which uses are acceptable? With flagship developments criticised for benefiting the powerful elite and effectively excluding local communities (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009), the implication from the quote above is that popular but lower order uses, such as car boot sales, are dismissed because they do not meet the professionally competitive, flagship development image that some stadia officials and users aspire to. The outcome is that use by local communities, particularly marginalised communities, is reduced and the community aims compromised.

At the time of the research, there appeared to have been only one example of popular but lower order uses being vetoed. As the Falkirk Stadium example shows, its use as a large

indoor entertainment space was brought to an end because it was not seen to align with Falkirk Council's ambitions for the stadium.

> *"On the 2nd floor of the Main Stand there is a large space that was temporarily used as a conference, Christmas party and wedding facility with an indoor marquee put up. It was successful but was not seen to meet community aims and the Council ended it after eight months"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

The Keepmoat Stadium did, however, provide examples of a selective approach being taken around 'incompatible' stadia uses. Stakeholders reported of vetoes on the stadium being used for a casino and politically or ethically contentious events. The rationales given for these vetoes lay mainly in reference to the core values attached to the stadia by the ownership and management. The two Doncaster quotes below clearly demonstrate this:

> *"Hosting a politically-minded organisation or ethically questionable event would be very closely scrutinised by the Foundation's board because we want the stadium to be seen as a 'kitemark' and politically neutral facility"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

> *"We've got real scope in what we can take on but we're also bound by morals, so we're not going to have a casino here. The Board have a social conscious and are modern day philanthropists, so there are things they will not go with"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

The exclusion of casinos and politically and ethically contentious events can be justified on the 'public good' grounds alluded to above, but they do again highlight the question of who is making the judgements on what uses befit community stadia and which do not. For both stadia, the decisions have been made by stadia officials and not through dialogue and negotiation with local communities (Massey, 2005; 2007). Like other flagship developments, therefore, the stadia or 'places' that have taken shape from the initial design stage through to operational stages primarily reflect the visions and interests of the powerful elite.

6.3.2 Charging of Commercial Rates

Community stadia need to be financially sustainable and, by extension, the facilities and services housed within the stadia also need to be financially viable. For facilities and services dependent on revenue rather than grants and other forms of public funding, this will mean the need to charge commercial rates – as illustrated by the two quotes below:

> *"What it* (a community stadium) *is not is 'everything is cheap'. Pitch hire and so on should all be at commercial rates and not discounted for community use"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

> *"We've increasingly had to look at commercial revenues. If it's not going to make a profit, then we're not going to run it – community aims in itself are not enough"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

A direct consequence of this was Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd's decision not to replace or refurbish the 5-a-side pitches adjacent to the stadium because there was no projected financial return from doing so. Another example is the use of the stadia for concerts. The financial risks of hosting concerts were previously mentioned in Section 5.3, but there is also the opportunity cost of hosting them. *"Concerts are good for the area but they do mean that the pitch is out of use for two weeks either side of concert"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). The disruption and the commercial risks of staging concerts meant that officials of both stadia were more wary of hosting concerts, but again this decision has been made by stadia officials in response to their own financial needs, as opposed to a joint, negotiated decision made with local communities and partners charged with the culture-led economic development strategies of Doncaster and Falkirk.

The optimal arrangement would be for community facilities and services to charge at a level that is accessible to local communities and also commercially viable. As one stakeholder stated, "*It is OK if facilities* (in the stadium) *are commercially run if it* (the stadium) *meets community needs"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The danger is, however, that commercial rates are beyond the financial means of some communities – particularly communities of need (Brown et al, 2008; Jenkins and James, 2011; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). The matchday exclusion of lower income groups due to higher ticket

prices is already widely reported (Brown, 2009; Giulianotti, 2011; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001; Williams, 1995), but this would also exclude their use of non-matchday facilities and services. Such exclusionary practices, whether intentional or not, that lead to the privatization of public spaces means community stadia may be little different from other flagship developments (Cuthbert, 2011; Doucet, 2007; Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Rogerson, 1999; Turok, 2009).

Connected and external stakeholders recognised the scenario above, particularly in relation to the Falkirk Stadium where opportunities to engage and connect with the neighbouring, deprived Westfield community have not been maximised. An illustrative viewpoint was:

> "*The Falkirk Stadium now – it's a typical stadium with high prices. It's not easily accessible for local people, I mean this (Westfield) is a disadvantaged area."* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

The criticisms relating to costs also extended to the prices of individual facilities and services within the stadium. With reference to the café, an external stakeholder noted *"The café is a bit expensive, actually no, it's very expensive – I mean a tuna baguette is £5"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). However, the main criticisms related to the costs of the conference and meeting facilities, which were seen to be too high for local Third Sector organisations.

> *"We've used the conference facilities but they're quite expensive for community groups. It would be good if they could be used by youth groups"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

> *"We* (a Third Sector organisation) *use it* (the stadium) *for meetings and development sessions – but the costs of rooms can be high. It would be good if there was scope to have discounts for community groups"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

At the same time, other Third Sector organisations empathised with the commercial pressures of community stadia but highlighted the impact this was having on community aims. The two quotes below therefore demonstrate that exclusionary practices not only affect lower income individuals but also organisations that serve their needs.

> *"Unfortunately the stadium's prices have shot up ridiculously. They've got their cut backs and we've* (a Third Sector organisation) *got ours and that's brought an end to it"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

> *"The conferencing needs to charge commercial rates and they are well used by the paying* (private) *sector, but the initial aspiration was for it to be a meeting hub for the voluntary sector and it's* (the stadium) *not really achieved that"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

6.3.3 Delivering Value for Money

An alternative view was that higher rates could be justified where community stadia offer value for money. Using the café as an example, reference was made to its quality of service and environment *"The café is a bit expensive but the staff are friendly, it's calm and relaxed up there, and it's used by older people, players and the people who work here"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). From the tenants' perspective, and as discussed in Section 6.2.3, there was the added value of being associated with the professional football club.

> *"There are high rent costs and we could get far cheaper premises in the town centre but the flip side is the connections with the football club. That brings real added value and has benefit. For us, being here is a price worth paying"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

A second tenant emphasised the value derived from the quality of the premises and the stadium's location.

> *"We initially signed a 10-year lease and we've just signed another 10 year lease. Of my five premises, this is the most expensive rent per square foot and the service charge is greater – but it's a great location for us, it's secure with no break ins to date, and we've got the Helix next door"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

The higher cost, value for money strategy makes commercial sense and is not necessarily incompatible with community stadia as the 'communities of community stadia' are not prescribed and can include higher income resident and business communities. It is,

however, a risky strategy. First, the exclusion of more popular activities and distancing of more disadvantaged communities may lead to criticisms over the inappropriate and cynical use of the term 'community' for the stadia (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). Second, and in the context that little is known about communities or the 'demand side' (Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Brown et al, 2008), the strategy does not negate the need for stadia officials to engage with these higher income community groups, understand their needs and ideally establish a co-productive relationship with them. Indeed, on this point, Chapter 5 found very minimal attention to the business communities that the two stadia could engage with. Third, stadium maintenance, refurbishment and investment costs may need to increase to meet the potentially higher expectations and exacting demands of higher income resident and business communities. As one Doncaster stakeholder stated that *"It* (the stadium) *needs to compete against the Racecourse and the Dome – and you do get comments like 'it's not like this at the Racecourse'* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Summarising this section, the commercial demands on community stadia are a very real threat to the delivery of community aims. There is a need to generate commercial revenue to serve stadium finance and maintenance costs but the strategy for doing so needs to be carefully considered. A higher cost, value for money strategy may generate the required commercial income but is exclusive in nature and primarily meets the needs of 'elite' stadia officials. In contrast, a lower cost strategy requires a higher volume of stadia facilities, services and uses, but the appetite among stadia officials for a more populist community stadium of this type appears to be weak given the economic regeneration aims also attached to them – with these aims turned to in the next section.

6.4 Alignment of Economic Regeneration Aims and Community Aims

Depending on their scale, architectural design and location, economic regeneration aims will not be in place for all community stadia but, as set out in Section 5.2, both the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were intended to be flagship developments. Summarising the urban entrepreneurialism literature discussed in Chapter 2, flagship developments help to enhance the competitiveness of places and contribute to jobs and income generation, place branding, culture-led approaches, and the attraction of mega-events (OECD, 2007). Having discussed the ability of the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia to attract mega-events (i.e. pop concerts and lesser international sporting fixtures) in Section 5.3, this section focuses on

the direct impact that the two stadia have had in attracting businesses and jobs to the stadium; and the indirect impact derived from the stadia changing perceptions of their towns, so theoretically boosting local confidence and helping to attract external investment, businesses, residents and visitors to their towns (Evans, 2003; Davies, 2008; Jones, 2001; Raco et al, 2008; Siemiatycki, 2013). In discussing the economic impact of the stadia, and consistent with Sections 6.2 and 6.3, the key question is the extent to which the economic regeneration demands placed on community stadia are compatible with community aims.

6.4.1 Direct Economic Aims

Chapter 2 outlined that, in response to the unprecedented scale of new stadia development in the United States, economic impact assessment studies widely contested the ex-ante economic impact claims put forward by civic leaders and stadia proponents (Coates and Humphreys, 2003; Hall, 2006; Reid, 2013; Schimmel, 1995; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006; Whitson and Horne, 2006). Notwithstanding this evidence, both the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were expected to provide business space that would generate jobs and income for the local area. For example, Figure 5.5 stated that the Falkirk Stadium would '*increase the level of business space available to commercial organisations'* and '*provide a location that offers a range of economic development opportunities'* (Falkirk Council / Falkirk Football Club, 2003). This section therefore considers how the realities of delivering direct economic aims through providing spaces for businesses align with community ambitions, structuring the discussion by the tasks of marketing the stadia, investing in the stadia, and managing the stadia tenants.

The **effective marketing of community stadia** as high quality business locations is critical to achieving direct economic impact, particularly given the competitiveness of the commercial lettings market and the negative externalities historically associated with professional sports stadia (Bale, 2000; Van Dam, 2000; Williams, 1995). Encouragingly, many stakeholders highlighted strengths that could be built on to help market the stadia. Accessibility on account of their edge-of-town locations and strong road connections was a particular strength, enabling surrounding towns or wider regions to be served. This is illustrated in the two Falkirk stakeholder quotes below, with the latter making explicit reference to the Falkirk Stadium's 'location, location, location':

> *"For conferences and events it is really well placed. Glasgow, Edinburgh, Stirling etc are all in reach because of the stadium's central location and good transport links"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

> *"The real advantage of the stadium is its location, location, location and it is excellent for* (nursery) *drop offs. From here we can easily serve a wide area – around 10-15% of our children come from Grangemouth, 20% from Polmont area, 35% from Falkirk, and the others from Airth and Kincardine"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

Other stakeholders felt being based in a professional sports stadium exudes a professionalism and self-confidence, both of which are valued business traits (Williams, 1995). The close connection between the worlds of commercial business and professional sport was also apparent in the CSR literature, whereby businesses were increasingly seeing value from partnering with professional sports clubs to deliver their CSR activities (Breitbarth et al., 2015; Jenkins and James, 2011; Kolyperas et al., 2015; Levermore and Moore, 2015).

> *"It* (the stadium) *is a better front door* (for us) *in terms of providing good first impressions to businesses and there is kudos of being in the stadium. Overall, it's a great set up here and looking over the pitch always helps to get the conversation going"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

The kudos of being located in a professional sports stadium, as highlighted in Section 6.2.3 with regard to individuals using the stadia, was another asset to market. One stakeholder talked about the intrigue that stems from being co-located with a professional sports team, *"Some people are intrigued by us being based in a stadium and, by being here, some of our staff feel a connection to how the* (football) *club is doing"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The quote suggests that customer and business partner intrigue makes them more likely to come to stadium premises than other business spaces, while it also indicates that stadium-based workers may be more inclined to attend matches at the stadium, so contributing to the sporting aims of the stadia.

The assets identified above have led to both stadia securing a diverse tenant base (see Tables 5.2 and 5.3) but, in supporting future marketing efforts of community stadia to prospective businesses, it is important to understand what types of businesses can operate sustainably from what is still a professional sports stadium. Stakeholder opinion was that *'small professional businesses'* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder) with traditional 9am-5pm Monday to Friday opening hours can operate effectively:

> *"Operationally being in a football stadium is not an issue. We're open Monday to Friday and any weekday evening fixtures do not affect our 6pm closing. The club is good at communicating any events"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

However, as the quote above highlights, there is a need for high quality and regular communication from stadium management to enable tenants to plan ahead. Excellent communication skills and respect for all stadia tenant organisations are therefore other key skills required of stadia officials, so continuing to align with those required in the management of community buildings, assets and gardens (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Football Association, 2012; Marriott, 1997; Moss et al, 2009).

The two community stadia had a number of assets on which to market themselves to prospective business tenants but, despite these, stakeholders questioned how effectively and wholeheartedly the stadia were being marketed. In relation to the Keepmoat Stadium, *"How aggressive is it being marketed to businesses? There is some commitment to business users but not full commitment"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder) and *"The stadium as a business venue has only recently come on their horizon – but is it fitted out for business use?"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder); and for the Falkirk Stadium, *"Take the 1st floor – who is marketing it? It could easily be fitted out for incubator or entrepreneurial space"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

At the heart of the matter was how to balance the commitment to community aims when also seeking to attract business use of the stadia. As one stakeholder summarised:

> *"Business use – you need to be careful that the businesses do not have a negative impact on the stadium's core values and use. The balance works ok at the moment*

> *but we have to wait and see the impact if business use increases"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

The two aims were not, however, seen as incompatible – particularly if the stadia attracting businesses and jobs to the local area were portrayed as contributing to the establishment of sustainable communities (Kearns and Turok, 2003; Rogerson et al, 2011). *"Housing businesses can and does fulfil community needs by generating jobs and wealth in the area, which is what every areas need"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). Indeed, as well as the 'economy' aspect of sustainable communities, the 'services' component advanced by Kearns and Turok (2003) can also be attended to if the stadia were marketed to tenants that through their businesses could deliver a service to the community. The two quotes below provide more concrete examples of what form this might take.

> *"There is scope for soft play, health and fitness, a library – a wet day offer for the 220,000 people parking in stadium and walking over to Helix"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder.

> *"Need to look at different parts of the jigsaw – health; worklessness and employability; care leavers and social services – take these social challenges, work with these organisations and look at opportunities to co-locate* (in the stadium)*"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder).

The discussion above has highlighted the opportunities to more proactively market community stadia for business use. At the same time, implicit in the marketing discussion has been the inclusion of some business types and exclusion of others, so questioning the extent to which community stadia can be open to all. Professional, office-based SMEs and 'public good' services such as children's soft plays and gyms are encouraged, while more contentious business types (for example, the casinos and party venues outlined in Section 6.3.1) are excluded, as presumably would be the 'old fashioned, uncompetitive firms' that Curran et al (2000) and Raco and Tunney (2010) find are marginalised in flagship developments. The implication is that there are values of community stadia that prospective businesses should align with, but these values lack transparency as they have been set by stadia officials and civic leaders, and not developed and agreed through wider consultation with their multiple, diverse communities.

Alongside the marketing activities, there is also the need for **investment in the business offer** to ensure that community stadia are competitive in the commercial property market. In the main, investment will be in the tangible business offer that spans the office space and class, IT and phone connectivity, car parking and accessibility. Referring back to Section 6.2.1 and the quality of teaching spaces within the stadia, the stadia design challenges of offering welcoming exteriors and bright, well-lit interior spaces are equally applicable to bringing high quality business space to market. However, the stakeholders interviewed felt these challenges had been addressed, albeit they also stressed that continued investment in facilities is needed to attract and retain tenant organisations. *"It still feels new and it's a good comfortable and reasonable offer as it stands, but it may need more investment in facilities if there is new business space in Doncaster"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder), while another stated *"Sustainability is key, its shiny and new at the moment but they may need to invest in redeveloping or refurbishing facilities. So you need capital to develop"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). The implication is that community stadia management need to have the awareness, expertise and resources to regularly appraise their business offer against other local alternatives and upgrade their facilities where necessary, so identifying another skillset required of stadia management (Aiken et al, 2011; Bailey, 2012; Football Association, 2012; Marriott, 1997; Moss et al, 2009).

Beyond the physical offer, some stakeholders also made reference to the value of investing in and establishing a community of stadium-based businesses. As one stakeholder explained, *"It would be good to get a critical mass of businesses in the stadium as you can get more networking between businesses – you create an ecosystem"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). The value of fostering interactions between different tenants and developing a common sense of community within the stadia was also referred to in Section 5.5.2, but the challenge is how community stadia management can nurture such a business ecosystem. To date, this does not appear to have been achieved, *"We've put forward collaboration opportunities to the club and management as there would be spin-off benefits for both but they've never really committed"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder), while another stated *"Personally I don't feel part of a community within the stadium. It doesn't exist and instead all the organisations in the stadium are in their little pockets"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). Expanding on this second quote, the Falkirk stakeholder explained that tenant meetings and social events had been held in the past but, with low numbers of

attendees and the events turning into unconstructive 'talking shops', these were viewed as being of minimal success and discontinued.

Linked to the need for continued investment in the physical and social fabric of the stadia, stadia management must also be an **effective landlord**. Regular communication with tenants has already been highlighted but the role extends beyond that. Some of the views expressed were relatively minor, such as issues of decoration *"The only issue is that there are sports and concert photos everywhere* (in the stadium), *which is not really befitting a business image"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder), but other issues require greater attention. One of these relates to young people and adults sharing the same stadium spaces. For children and young people, there are *"Child safeguarding risks from the stadium – there's ease of access for the public, shared staircases and multiple entrances"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). The safety and protection of children and young people when using the stadia is of upmost importance and this begins with effective stadia design that caters for secure entrances and spaces, and then the ongoing attention to child protection requirements by stadium management. For businesses, there are potential reputational risks from being located in a building used by young people as their presence may appear as 'un-business-like' or 'unprofessional', so at odds with the kudos identified earlier (Williams, 1995). Views expressed here included:

> *"The only issue for me is that teenagers can be in the same spaces as corporate guests and businessmen. It's a clash waiting to happen and basically you want all users to feel comfortable and relaxed in their stadium space"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

> *"They've* (education students) *got a separate entrance and we've always had that. You would not want them coming through main reception as their normal is to swear and they would struggle with how to be civil with other stadium users"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Whether real or perceived, the potential clashes between different stadia users need to be managed. However, how the levels of interaction between different stadium users are managed have important implications for our understanding of community stadia. One approach is to spatially plan and design the stadia to segment and compartmentalise

different users from one another. This could be done by sectioning different stands of stadia and entrances for different user types. The drawback of such an approach is that the interactions between the multiple, diverse users are minimised and so inhibit the continual production and (re)negotiation of the stadia as genuine community stadia (Massey, 2005; 2007).

Another approach, and one that is more consistent with Massey, is to embed a set of values and behaviours for those using the stadia so that it becomes a welcoming, safe and inclusive space for all whereby interactions between different users can take place. Such values and behaviours are typically communicated on matchdays via stadium public address systems and matchday programmes messages of how abusive and threatening behaviour will not be tolerated. With regards non-matchdays, there were some examples of tenants encouraging respect of different stadium users. For example, *"we make it clear that our students need to be respectful of their environment and other stadium users"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). Indeed, without such education, the same stakeholder pointed to scenarios where:

> *"If they set off a fire alarm, the pupils get to see the whole impact of it with not just them but the whole side of the stadium having to get out and line up"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

However, an explicit and communicated set of values and behaviours for non-matchday use that relates to respect, community, inclusion and kindness to other stadia users had not been developed. Clearly, embedding a set of values and behaviours would have to extend beyond a written statement and need to be respected by all users. Drawing on the community gardens literature (Aptekar, 2015; Ghose and Pettygrove, 2014), the key cultural change required may be of stadia officials, professional sports clubs and businesses so that they reset any views they hold of being the dominant or primary stadia users.

One final aspect with regard to stadium management as effective landlords is whether they are viewed as credible commercial landlords. Establishing this status can be difficult as some businesses view public or community sector involvement with caution, as reflected in the following quote, *"Where councils are involved, everything typically becomes*

messier, more complicated and they slow everything down" (Falkirk, external stakeholder). At the same time, if businesses are considering locating in a stadium, another stakeholder felt there was less risk when the council is involved as opposed to private owners. *"As a businessman, I'm generally wary of stadia unless they are council-owned. If only owned by the club, it could be bought up or go into administration and my investment is then at risk"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The criticisms surrounding the outsourcing of public service delivery to third party agencies, such as the Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd and (failed) Keepmoat Stadium's Stadium Management Company, are also relevant here as there is no single management model that works effectively in all cases (Bornstein, 2010; Panton and Walters, 2018; Raco et al, 2016; Vento, 2017). Instead, and as advocated by Aiken et al (2011), Bailey (2012), Football Association (2012), Marriott (1997) and Moss et al (2009), it is the mix of skills held within the stadium management that is critical and less the company structure that holds the function.

6.4.2 Supporting the Local Economy – Indirect Economic Aims

Beyond their direct economic impact, community stadia can also have an indirect impact on the local economy. Section 6.4.3 discusses this in relation to wider economic regeneration ambitions but here the focus is on the contribution they can make through a commitment to supporting the local business base – i.e. a localised or community approach to procurement (Coalter et al, 2000; Leach, 2013; MacFarlane and Cook, 2008; Sutherland et al, 2015). While there was no evidence of Section 106 or Community Benefit clauses being used at the construction stage to benefit local employment and contractors, once constructed the management of both case study stadia did set out their commitment to supporting the local business base within their supply chains. This commitment was more explicit for the Keepmoat Stadium,

> *"In our procurement, there's a commitment to Doncaster businesses with partners getting first and last quote. So we'll be proactive in ringing around local, small businesses and give them some leeway, like small delays to quotes, etc. The tendering process can be a bit harder but I'd say we get a better service this way"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

For the Falkirk Stadium and its 82 different maintenance contracts, a commitment was there but more informal in style *"We look to get local contractors but there are no set rules"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

A localised approach to procurement can benefit the local economy but a Doncaster stakeholder also recognised that community stadia could have a negative impact on the local economy if their facilities and services compete with or displace existing local businesses.

> *"On a commercial front, prices* (at the stadium) *can be too high but I'm also conscious that they cannot or should not undercut other local businesses and hotels. There's a question…should the stadium be in competition with or complementary to other assets in Doncaster?"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder).

While there was no evidence of the two stadia displacing other existing businesses, the organisational mix and pricing strategies of stadium-based facilities and services should be considered by the stadium management and stakeholders, particularly if there is a perception that facilities and services are subsidised in any way through being based in a community stadium.

6.4.3 Catalyst for Economic Regeneration

The flagship development aims attached to the two stadia were outlined in Chapter 5 and are brought to life by the following quote from a Falkirk connected stakeholder,

> *"The stadium was to be aspirational, an economic driver, and contribute to Falkirk's place making. It was to be a 'change agent' with people having a pride in the building and having an SPL club would also be a sign of a successful area"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

In the win-win scenario alluded to above, communities not only benefit from having greater use of stadia facilities and services but also benefit from the stadia enhancing the local economy, so contributing to the local areas becoming 'places of choice' (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003). First, the stadia's scale and architecture portray

a positive image of the area that can change perceptions of Doncaster and Falkirk (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Bale, 1995; Bairner, 2003; Cuthbert, 2011; Hall, 2006; Coates, 2007; Jones et al, 2007; Reid, 2013). Importantly, the perceptions changed can be those of local residents, *"The new stadium and with the club doing well in the SPL had an impact. It made people feel Falkirk was on the up, it was a positive thing for the community"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder) and those of external visitors, businesses and investors, *"It's* (the stadium) *been a key economic development driver for the Lakeside area and has put Doncaster on the map. Like CAST as a cultural asset, it shows Doncaster is on the up"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). However, as discussed in the literature, modern professional sports stadia are rarely distinctive in design (Davies, 2008; Duke, 2002; Goldblatt, 2014) and no stakeholder made specific reference to either stadia's architecture. Indeed, the only comment given was that there was a missed opportunity from not completing all four stands of the Falkirk Stadium.

> *"The iconic Main Stand looked really good – but it is only one stand and overall the stadium feels incomplete. In contrast, St Mirren has a completed and enclosed stadium"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

The stadia alone, on account of their moderate scale (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009) and indistinctive architecture (Davies, 2008; Duke, 2002; Goldblatt, 2014), do not appear to have singlehandedly changed external communities' perceptions of Doncaster and Falkirk. For some, and as the following quote suggests, their impact is best viewed as one asset within a wider mix of Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway regeneration assets.

> *"The area's getting better with the Helix and the planned* (Forth Valley) *College campus. The stadium has helped – it's put it on the map as before it was just wasteland and marshland"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

For others, however, their view was that the stadia were not simply *an* asset but *the* key asset. From a Doncaster perspective, *"It's (Lakeside) a good place with the outlet village, lake, Asda, pitches, restaurants and cinema. But, If the stadium was not here, I'm not sure if all these facilities would be here"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder). Similarly from a Falkirk perspective, *"If the stadium wasn't here, we would not be able to showcase the image of Falkirk's future so easily"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

Both the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia have had a positive, though not catalytic, impact on the perceptions and prospects of the Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway areas. Linked to this assessment, and consistent with continuous (re)production of places (Massey, 2005; 2007), the change in perceptions has not happened instantaneously but instead has continued to develop over time as other local investments have been made. This is well illustrated by a Lakeside-based business interviewed.

> *"We bought our property 3-4 years ago and, at the time, it was too big for us so we tried to sub-let parts of it, but we really struggled to get any interest. But now the area has really taken off with more buildings going up and real demand for business space. With the new planned infrastructure, it really could become a jewel for the UK"* (Doncaster, external stakeholder).

The view expressed ties in with the new HS2 College and housing constructed in the last two years which have further strengthened Lakeside's competitiveness as a mixed use location and 'place of choice' (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003). Indeed, one stakeholder referred to the Lakeside becoming *'a jewel for the UK'*. For Falkirk, the journey continues with further masterplanning undertaken and investment sought to fully deliver the aspirations for the Falkirk Gateway regeneration area. In these masterplans the Falkirk Stadium remains a key asset as explained by:

> *"The stadium quadrant of the masterplan would see commercial development with a restaurant/bar and hotel development. Something contemporary, a 4-5 star hotel ideally – like Dakota – with Class 4 office pods, some commercial food, a garden centre and some sports-type development"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

6.4.4 Distancing Resident Communities?

The edge-of-town locations of the two stadia were closely tied to the economic regeneration visions attached to the Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway areas. However, their locations also open up criticisms of distance and inaccessibility acting as a barrier to community use (Thornley, 2002; Van Dam, 2000), particularly to more disadvantaged communities with tighter travel horizons (Brown et al, 2008; Jenkins and James, 2011; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001). Criticisms of this type were voiced with these centring on the

two stadia's non-residential locations, inaccessibility, and distance from pubs and other social amenities. For example:

> *"To be a community stadium, (it) would have to be at the heart of the community and the Keepmoat isn't"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

> *"A community stadium has to be at the heart of the community but Keepmoat's location is difficult to get to. It has the facilities for the community but not the accessibility"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

> *"In terms of community use, a problem is that it's not that easy to walk to"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

The criticism of the distance from pubs and social amenities saw comparisons to Doncaster's and Falkirk's former stadia. Reflecting on Falkirk's Brockville Stadium, *"The old stadium was in the town centre and this meant it attracted the* (larger) *travelling support as they'd frequent the local pubs, but not now as they just come by car or coach"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). In Doncaster's case, reference was mainly to Doncaster RFLC's former Tattersfield Stadium in Bentley because the Keepmoat Stadium location is close to Doncaster Rovers FC's former Belle Vue Stadium. *"Bentley was a very inclusive, ex-mining community and this meant that the Tattersfield attendances (for Doncaster RLFC) were great. The ground was close to the pubs and they'd just walk along"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder).

Criticisms were therefore expressed but a larger number of stakeholders saw the edge-of-town locations as advantageous in attracting community use. Responding to the three criticisms levelled above in turn, the **non-residential locations** enabled engagement with young people because their safe, neutral and vanguard locations removed territorial factors. *"An advantage it has it that it is a neutral environment – no group, community or gang can say it is their own. That's a good thing."* (Doncaster, external stakeholder). A similar view was expressed in relation to the Falkirk Stadium, *"It's in no man's land and so it's equal. They* (youth groups for a football tournament) *were all happy to go there and since the tournament we've hardly had any territorial problems"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). If all demographic groups, on account of their edge-of-town locations, can use and mix

within the stadium and its facilities without fear of retribution, then their location is an important element in delivering the inclusive, non-discriminatory interpretation of community.

Others acknowledged that edge-of-town locations could negatively impact on use but believed this could be overcome by being proactive in reaching out to communities. For example, in Falkirk there were plans to develop an associated pitch in neighbouring Westfield in order to increase the community's attachment to the Falkirk Stadium:

> *"At the moment it's not a community stadium. Part of the problem is that it's not in the heart of the community, but we are considering whether a second, community pitch could be built in the Westfield community"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

An alternative approach suggested was to view the edge-of-town location as an opportunity to engage with wider communities than if located in the heart of a single community. *"The stadium does not sit in a community and instead needs to pull people from surrounding, established communities. Graeme High School has the same problem as the pupils come from all places"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder). The implication here is that both stadia, using their territorially unclaimed and neutral locations, have the opportunity to reach out and create their own 'communities of the stadium'.

Turning to the criticisms of **inaccessibility**, these were dismissed because most stakeholders found that both stadia were walkable and well served by public transport (and specifically bus) connections. Indeed, at just 2km from their town centres the locations were consistent with the 2-3km radius advanced by Bale (2000) and Sanders et al (2014). *"The stadium is easy to get to, particularly with all the buses going from Falkirk to Grangemouth"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). The ease of access was most strongly voiced in relation to young people, perhaps because they are more able to walk longer distances and are more accustomed to using public transport.

> *"I think its location is good. It's close to central Doncaster, close to three of our schools, and it's got good public transport. Even with one of our schools six miles away, our pupils are still able to get here off their own back"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

Given the perceived accessibility of these two edge-of-town stadia, there should be a distinction made in the literature between *edge-of-town* locations and *out-of-town* or *satellite* locations. For example, Bolton Wanderers FC's Macron Stadium is 5 miles from Bolton town centre, while Aberdeen FC's proposed Kingsford Stadium is 6 miles from Aberdeen city centre. Establishing community stadia in such satellite locations would be much more difficult given their greater distance from their main population centres and the sentiments attached to their previous central stadium sites.

The final strand of the edge-of-town location critique was the **distance from pubs or other social amenities**. For some, there was an element of romanticising the former stadia as the following quote conveys.

> *"Football wise, the attendances are not great and there are some criticisms that it's not like the good old days of Brockville when the stadium was in the town centre and close to the pubs. This is an excuse though as times have changed"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

However, whether romanticising the past or not, there was an attraction of being able to meet in local pubs before and after the game, which in turn helps to build a sense of community (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Roseland, 2012; Volker et al, 2007). Furthermore, the importance of local pubs or similar venues for socialising appears to have been overlooked in planning for and moving to the new stadia. Clubs considering an edge-of-town stadium should therefore assess the proximity of local pubs and, if there are none, appraise whether similar facilities for supporters to congregate before and after the game can be provided. As an example, Glasgow Warriors RUFC's move to Scotstoun Stadium saw them purchase a neighbouring, old sports hall and convert it into a supporters' clubhouse. A similar development was being considered by Keepmoat Stadium stakeholders through a multi-use clubhouse attached to the neighbouring athletics stadium. As well as providing additional indoor sports and changing facilities, plans for the clubhouse included a bar that could be used by supporters before and after matches. This again is an example of stadia officials thinking creatively to retrospectively address weaknesses in the original stadia designs.

Having challenged the criticisms levelled at their edge-of-town locations, a different perspective offered was to recognise the positive spillover effects for the stadia and their facilities and services of being located in the mixed use Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway areas. Some stakeholders conveyed this with a strategic planning or economic regeneration perspective and highlighted how competitive the locations were. A Doncaster quote was:

> *"You have the Dome and Stadium as two leisure anchors at either side of Lakeside and now they've filled in the gaps between them* (with a cinema and restaurants) *it's a compelling location for people to visit and spend time in. You've got residential, learning, commercial, business, sporting all here – it's a healthy mix"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder).

A similar Falkirk quote was:

> *"The stadium's in the heart of the Helix and that brings benefits as it can reconnect two communities* (Falkirk and Grangemouth), *be an anchor for development, and help to engage the hard to reach living in the SIMD areas of Westfield and Grangemouth"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

Taking a community engagement perspective, these mixed-use, multiple attraction regeneration areas (particularly in the case of Doncaster's Lakeside area) help stadia to engage more diverse communities as residents have more opportunities to physically see that the stadia are modern, attractive propositions and readily accessible. As one Doncaster stakeholder noted, *"Things are happening here* (Lakeside) *and it is becoming a more central location within Doncaster"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). The outcome of this is increased use of the stadia, as illustrated by the following quote *"The Helix is mutually beneficial and has increased passing trade. Footfall for the café has definitely increased, especially with the Helix visitor centre not yet open"* (Falkirk, internal stakeholder).

6.5 Conclusion: Community Stadia as Community Hubs

In seeking to answer whether community stadia are a sustainable phenomenon, this chapter has considered whether the community aims of community stadia align with the sporting, commercial and economic regeneration aims also attached to them. Throughout, the views

and experiences offered by stakeholders have shown that the interfaces between the different aims are complex but also that they can co-exist if there is a more inclusive stadium design (both in terms of who is involved in the design stage and the adaptability of the end design to support multi-functional use) and effective stadium management. These findings are returned to in Chapter 7 to allow this chapter to conclude with the question of whether the two stadia have become community hubs that local communities feel ownership of and pride in (PMP, 2008; Sanders et al, 2014). Noting that the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were selected because they were 'extreme' cases of community stadia (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Pratt, 2009; Ritchie et al, 2003), the views of local stakeholders on the stadia's community hub status and sense of attachment with their communities is important in affirming whether community stadia are a genuine and sustainable phenomenon.

Across the stakeholders interviewed, there were competing views. Beginning with the supportive views, one stakeholder noted how the Keepmoat Stadium has brought previously disparate local events into one place, so providing a place of civic congregation. *"The stadium provides a base for different community events which had previously been all over Doncaster."* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). Similarly a Falkirk stakeholder found that the volume and diversity of different facilities, services and events had made it a hub for local residents.

> *"As a local resident, there's a lot of activity there and the stadium is a real hub that brings people together. It's got the Business Gateway, Falkirk Community Trust, a nursery, café and restaurant and the 5-a-side pitches, which are well used by locals. Then there are the other events and concerts in the stadium, along with the car boots, the fair and carnival in the car park. Oh, and it's also got a thriving car wash which has always got a queue"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

Indeed, reinforcing this viewpoint, another Falkirk stakeholder thought its status as a community hub had almost overtaken the stadium's function as a professional football stadium. *"It's more like a community hub and I sometimes forget that it is a football stadium"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). The supportive views also extended to the stadia becoming a community hub for businesses, so acknowledging again that the communities of community stadia can equally apply to businesses as well as residents. As one Falkirk stakeholder expressed:

> *"It has the space to bring people together from business or different parts of the council into the one place, and we've always had a positive response from businesses coming here* (to the stadium). *A classic example of how well the facility works was during the Ineos crisis*[12] *when we were able to very quickly get 30 business, leaders of the council and others in the one place for a conversation with* (UK and Scottish) *government"* (Falkirk, connected stakeholder).

At the same time, some stakeholders contested the community hub status. Beginning with the Keepmoat Stadium, one stakeholder noted that the sporting aims remained dominant and consequently the sense of community ownership had not developed, *"There are good activities here* (in the stadium) *but these are not really bought into across the community. For me, it's still a very football focused"* (Doncaster, internal stakeholder). Other stakeholders similarly felt that use of the stadium was too narrow in scope, as illustrated in the quote below:

> *"It is called a community stadium and has a charitable foundation* (Falkirk Football Community Foundation) *but there's little beyond that. Ok, the café is always busy, the car park is full every day and there are lots of council workers in the stadium but it's simply not used after 5pm"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder).

The quote above may not be an accurate representation of the levels of use but it also raises the question of whether the Falkirk Stadium's community hub offer – i.e. its full facilities and service offer – is promoted locally. One stakeholder stated that, *"Young people and adults round here have no idea what it does. They just think it's for playing football and nothing else. As I say, it's not the best advertised and utilised"* (Falkirk external stakeholder), the other focussed on the Falkirk Community Football Foundation and said, *"For the Foundation's other activities, they're not chapping on the door about what they offer. If I knew about them, I'd be telling people about them"* (Falkirk, external stakeholder). Both views therefore highlight the need for ongoing promotion of what services and facilities are available in community stadia.

[12] In 2013, Ineos announced that it would close the Grangemouth petrochemical complex with the loss of around 1,000 jobs. Following negotiations between Ineos, UK and Scottish Governments, and other partners, the decision was reversed.

The final challenge to the community hub status advanced by stakeholders is one that echoes the critique of flagship developments as genuine 'public buildings' (Cuthbert, 2011; Massey, 2005; Yarker, 2018) that are truly for the 'public good' (Duffy, 1995; Harvey, 1989; Raco, 2003; Siemiatycki, 2013; Vento, 2017). *"The title 'community stadium' is wrong. It makes it feel that it is accessible for all but it cannot be universally accessible"* (Doncaster, connected stakeholder). As this chapter has found, the pricing out of lower income communities and Third Sector organisations, the sporting associations of the stadia deterring female participation, and the exclusion of some commercial uses on ethical and political grounds reinforces this view that community stadia cannot be universally accessible to all.

Nonetheless, among those who questioned their current status as community hubs, there was an air of untapped potential. For example, they indicated that the stadia could be promoted more effectively among local communities, be opened longer to accommodate more diverse uses, or further developed (with specific reference here to the planned Community Sports Hub within the Falkirk Stadium's fourth stand and the multi-use clubhouse adjacent to the Keepmoat Stadium). These views therefore return to Chapter 5's concluding assertion that community stadia are an exciting phenomenon with great potential to deliver on sporting, commercial, community and economic regeneration aims. The challenge lies in how to convert the potential so that they become genuine, sustainable community stadia.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This final chapter synthesises the main findings from the preceding empirical chapters to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. To reiterate, the thesis was driven by three broad aims. First, the research aimed to develop a deeper understanding of community stadia in order to develop a definition that could inform future stadia developments. This is important given the £ multi-millions of public investment into an ever growing number of 'community stadia', yet there remains very limited critical analysis of the phenomenon, with the literature limited to just three sources (City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008; Sanders et al., 2014). Second, the thesis aimed to understand what the community or communities of community stadia are, which is important because the term 'community' has been used to differentiate these stadia from other professional sports stadia, and that the term 'community' has been used inappropriately and cynically in other settings (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). The final aim was to critically assess the sustainability of the community stadia phenomenon. In particular, the focus has been on the extent to which community aims align or co-exist with other aims attached to professional sports stadia, specifically sporting, commercial and economic development aims. If they do not, then the phenomenon and the justification for the levels of public investment into community stadia must be questioned.

The chapter is divided into three parts. Section 7.2 uses the empirical findings to develop a conceptualisation of community stadia, one that builds on the urban economic development, flagship development, community economic development, community assets and co-production theories introduced in Chapters 2 and 3. The conceptualisation sets out 12 factors that characterise or influence community stadia, before reflecting on whether community stadia more closely align to a discourse of community entrepreneurialism rather than urban entrepreneurialism. This conceptualisation is the major contribution of the thesis to the broader literature and provides a framework to inform the planning and management of future community stadia, and research into this phenomenon. The chapter then concludes with two sections: Section 7.3 considers the research limitations of the thesis; and Section 7.4 the directions for future research.

7.2 Conceptualising Community Stadia

A central motivation behind the thesis has been to question whether the levels of public investment into an ever growing number of 'community stadia' in the UK can be justified. Critical has been the need to go beyond the existing literature (see City of York Council, 2010; PMP, 2008 and Sanders et al., 2014) to provide an in-depth understanding of community stadia and, using case study methodology, the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia were selected as extreme case studies from which to learn (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Pratt, 2009; Ritchie et al, 2003). Consistent with critical realism's foundations that knowledge is best derived from capturing and analysing multiple viewpoints (Del Casino Jr et al, 2000; Easton, 2010; Sayer, 1992), local stakeholders both affirmed and questioned whether the two stadia were community stadia and what factors contributed to them becoming community stadia. This was a strength of the research as the differing views and experiences of the internal, connected and external stadia stakeholders collectively enabled points of consensus and contention to be identified, with these characteristics and factors used in Chapter 5 to inform the development of the thesis' definition of community stadia below.

> *"Community stadia are accessible, multifunctional buildings that work with their communities to offer a diverse range of non-matchdays facilities and services for their communities, alongside meeting the sporting and commercial demands that face all professional sports stadia."*

However, the complexity of the community stadia phenomenon means that a 'headline' definition alone is insufficient to build the critical understanding that is required. This section therefore constructs a conceptualisation of community stadia, identifying and categorising key features as a key contribution of the thesis to the theory. The conceptualisation is summarised in Table 7.1 before each of the 12 factors that characterise or influence community stadia is explained in turn. The section then concludes with a reflection on whether community stadia should be considered as urban entrepreneurial flagship developments or should be conceived as a building type that evokes a notion of 'community entrepreneurialism' (Devaney et al, 2017; Schaller, 2018) – a nascent term but one that more accurately reflects the quadruple bottom line aims of community stadia.

Table 7.1: Key Features of the Community Stadia Phenomenon

	Characteristics and/or Influences
Aims	• Quadruple bottom line of professional sport, commercial, economic development, and community aims
Source(s) of stadium finance	• Fully funded (or majority funding) from public finances • Implications for aims attached to community stadia as may be tasked with contributing to key public agendae
Stadia location	• Small city or town locations • Accessible site: central or edge-of-town site, rather than out-of-town, satellite site • Proximity to pubs and social amenities
Size of stadia	• Mid-size stadium – i.e. capacity between 6,000 to 25,000 – to reflect catchment population and standing of professional sports club(s)
Stadia design	• Exterior architectural appeal to embody economic 'flagship development' aims • Interior stadia functionality to enable multi-functional and wider community uses
Age of stadia	• Typically newly constructed, i.e. post-2000, in response to quadruple bottom line aims attached to new professional sports stadia • Older stadia can be adapted to become community stadia
Sports hosted	• One or more professional sports teams (in UK most likely to be professional football, cricket, rugby league or rugby union) • At least one professional sports club to have high local profile
Communities targeted	• Resident and business communities within local authority area – prioritising more marginalised communities wherever possible • Attraction of more distant resident (and business) communities for mega-events • Attention paid to internal communities of the stadium
Non-matchday facilities and services	• Multiple facilities and services • Facility and service mix varies from stadium to stadium, but education, training, youth, public and mental health, sport community outreach/CSR, and small business uses most well-suited • External stadium environment – e.g. car parks – also used for non-matchday facilities and services
Community values	• Community-based values and principles • Nurturing of a welcoming and inclusive stadium culture for all users
Stadia ownership and governance	• Hybrid public-private arrangement with public (e.g. local authority), private/sporting (e.g. professional sports club) and community (e.g. community outreach/CSR trust) representation
Stadium Management	• Leadership commitment to community-based values and principles • Understand areas of alignment and tension between quadruple bottom line aims • Wide and diverse skillset

7.2.1 Quadruple Bottom Line: Sporting, Commercial, Community and Economic Regeneration Aims

Establishing the aims of a building dictates many of its characteristics, such as its size, design, facilities and target communities. For most professional sports stadia, their longstanding aims have been the sporting and commercial, as focusing on these aims helps to achieve sporting success and financial sustainability (Kennedy, 2012; Kidd, 1995; Paramio et al, 2008; Williams, 1995). However, the changing trajectory of urban economic development policy described in Chapter 2 and the consequent levels of public investment in new professional sports stadia has led to additional socio-economic aims being attached to them. Particularly influential in the emergence of community stadia have been the value ascribed to flagship developments and, following critique of urban entrepreneurial policy (Duffy, 1995; Evans, 2005; Harvey, 1989; Siemiatycki 2013; Turok, 2009; Vento, 2017), the sustainability agenda and connecting with more marginalised communities. The layering on of these different agendas mean that community stadia have four inter-related aims, what this research has termed a 'quadruple bottom line' of sporting, commercial, community and economic regeneration aims. Only by delivering on each aim in a balanced manner – i.e. where they all co-exist with or complement another aim – can a genuine community stadia be achieved.

Chapter 6 discussed the challenge of delivering on the quadruple bottom line in such a balanced manner, highlighting that mutually beneficial scenarios of aim alignment exist but equally there are tensions that stadia officials need to mitigate against. The standout positive area of alignment is the additionality of professional sport. Whether this be due to the kudos, prestige or professionalism of the club, its players and/or the stadia, the close association of professional sport attracts the multiple and heterogeneous communities that community stadia are seeking to engage with (Morgan et al., 2017; Parnell et al., 2017; Pringle and Sayers, 2004; Spaaij et al, 2013). This finding in itself justifies the interest in the community stadia phenomenon as there are few other building types that successfully engage such diverse communities. Learning also from the 'Healthy Stadia' phenomenon (Drygas et al, 2013; Parnell et al, 2017; Philpott and Seymour, 2011), community stadia therefore offer the opportunity for other service types (e.g. public and mental health, education, youth, and employment and benefits services) to revise and update their

opinions of professional sports stadia and strongly consider co-locating their community-facing services in stadia to benefit from the additionality of professional sport.

While maximising the areas of alignment, the thesis found that stadia officials must also recognise and attend to the tensions that can negatively impact on community aims. Some stem from the stadia being accessible, multifunctional buildings, for example the safeguarding risks to children and young people from adults using the stadia, business tenants fearing reputational harm from youth misbehaviour, or the perceived inaccessibility of edge-of-town sites. However, most of the tensions identified relate to the balancing of commercial and community aims.

Generating commercial revenue to meet stadia finance and maintenance costs is critical, yet high tenancy or hire costs and the targeting of higher income resident or business communities attracts criticism that 'communities of need' are not being served, so misappropriating the 'community' prefix (Blackshaw, 2008; Mellor, 2008; Taylor, 2003). Across professional sport, the literature suggests that the balance is weighted to the commercial (Brown, 2009; Giulianotti, 2011; Walsh and Giulianotti, 2001; Williams, 1995) and some external case study stakeholders agreed with this sentiment – for example in the pricing out of community or Third Sector organisations. At the same time, other stakeholders could see how commercial and community aims could align, particularly if the stadia attract businesses and jobs to the local area or proactively support local businesses (Coalter et al, 2000; Leach, 2013; MacFarlane and Cook, 2008; Sutherland et al, 2015), as this contributes to the establishment of sustainable communities (Kearns and Turok, 2003; Rogerson et al, 2011). There were also examples of where community or 'public good' values had trumped commercial opportunities. The vetoing of the stadia being used for casinos, large party venues, and ethically and politically contentious events shows the commercial is not always dominant, but who is making these decisions? Stadia officials and civic leaders may be making these decisions on 'public good' grounds but there was no evidence that they have consulted local communities on what should be included and excluded.

7.2.2 Source(s) of Stadia Finance

Community stadia have emerged within an urban economic development policy environment that values flagship developments but also aims to foster diverse, sustainable

communities. Public investment has therefore been secured for community stadia because the quadruple bottom line aims align with local government strategy. Of the two case studies, Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council funded the Keepmoat Stadium's £30 million construction, while Falkirk Council underwrote the £6 million cost of the stadium and has more recently secured £500,000 of Tax Incremental Funding for enhancing the stadium car park.

The critical role of public finance in the construction of community stadia should have implications for how the stadia are designed, governed and managed. As opposed to stadia that are fully or predominantly privately funded, the local authority's ownership or significant shareholding in the stadia provides it with a strong voice in stadia aims and operation. For example, it can task stadia officials with key public agendae – whether community development, education, physical and mental health, youth engagement, crime prevention, etc. – and veto 'undesirable' stadia uses. The case study experience suggests that the latter has been more apparent, as local authorities and their ALEOs have been clearer in determining what the stadium should not host, as opposed to what the long-term vision of the stadia, target communities, and desired facility and service mix ought to be.

7.2.3 Stadia Location

Local authorities' role in funding the stadia allied to its town or city planning responsibilities means they have significant influence in where community stadia are located. Stadia location relates to the stadia's host town or city, the site and accessibility within that town or city, and the stadia's connectedness to other local amenities. Beginning with the host town or city, community stadia either already exist or are planned in Brentford, Brighton, Cambridge, Castleford, Chesterfield, Colchester, Doncaster, Falkirk, Grimsby, Truro, Wimbledon and York. All these settlements can be described as small cities or towns, noting that Brentford and Wimbledon are part of the Greater London conurbation but have quite distinct town identities within it.

The small city or town location is viewed as a key characteristic of community stadia as it reflects the realities of local public finances. To explain, the capital development spend of local authorities beyond the UK's core cities is limited, meaning that any significant capital investment by smaller local authorities ought to be maximised with regards its socio-

economic impact. If investing public monies in a professional sports stadia, then this should be dependent on the stadia also contributing to other public aims – hence the interest in community stadia. Small city or town local authorities may also recognise that their local professional sports clubs do not have the sporting success, profile or supporter base to ensure the financial sustainability of the stadia. By opening the stadia up to wider uses, alternative sources of stadia income can therefore be derived and the professional sports club may see increased attendances due to non-sporting stadia users feeling an increased interest attachment to the club.

Following agreement to invest in a community stadium, the site and accessibility of community stadia becomes a critical consideration. Here the literature advocated the need for central, urban stadia locations due to concerns stemming from the suburbanisation of stadia from their central, working class community origins to strategic, edge-of-town sites (Thornley, 2002; Van Dam, 2000). However, the thesis contests this with the two case studies indicating that an edge-of-town site is compatible with community stadia. Both the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia remained accessible insofar that they were 2km from their town centres, well-served by public transport and were perceived as assets within popular, mixed-use regeneration sites. An important distinction is therefore made between accessible *edge-of-town* sites and disconnected *out-of-town*, satellite locations, with the latter not deemed compatible with community stadia ambitions.

The third locational factor is the proximity of stadia to pubs and social amenities as these provide valuable opportunities for social interaction and the building of social capital (Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; Roseland, 2012; Volker et al, 2007). For central, working class community-based stadia, such amenities have developed organically over time, yet these did not exist for the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia and are only now being considered for the Keepmoat Stadia. An important point of learning for new edge-of-town, community stadia therefore is to appraise the social amenity mix alongside other conventional planning considerations (e.g. land costs, transport connectivity, and car parking provision) when appraising different site options. Alternatively, the Keepmoat Stadia case study shows that stadia officials should consider how to develop social amenities, for example through constructing ‘club houses’ attached to or neighbouring the stadia.

7.2.4 Size of Stadia

Community stadia need to be built to an appropriate size that reflects their sporting, commercial and community 'markets'. Stadia size or capacity should therefore be dictated by the town, city or region in which it is based and, as discussed above, community stadia have had greater traction in towns and small cities. As a consequence community stadia have typically been small to mid-size, ranging from c.6,000 to 25,000 seat capacity that reflect the catchment population and the standing of the local professional sports club(s). The lower limit of c.6,000 is important as stadia below that size will neither have a flagship development prestige to them that attracts diverse communities, nor the scale to host multiple facilities and services. If greater than a 25,000 seat capacity then meeting sporting and commercial demands may dominate over community aims.

Community stadia are therefore moderate-sized stadia and expectations of what they can deliver need to be readjusted accordingly, particularly as stadia proponents have over-promised the socio-economic benefits of new stadia (Baade, 1995; Baade et al, 2008; Coates, 2007; Coates and Humphreys, 2011; Siegfried and Zimbalist, 2006). Indeed there is valuable learning to be derived from both the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia and the more measured expectations that were attached to them. Both were conceived as flagship developments that would contribute to the economic regeneration of their strategic sites and Doncaster and Falkirk more widely, but no extravagant declarations of the number of jobs to be created or investment attracted were made. These expectations have largely played out: the direct impact on jobs and income is estimated at 150-200 full-time equivalent jobs housed in each stadia; while widening their impacts, they have contributed to place branding and place making activities by becoming symbolic anchors of the Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway regeneration areas, and to culture-led economic development approaches by hosting pop concerts and second-tier international fixtures 'mega-events'. Overall, the size and scale of community stadia means that they can affect social and economic change at the localised or 'town' spatial level that reflects their small city or town environment, but not at the metropolitan or regional scale (Ahlfeldt and Maennig, 2009; Coates, 2007; Van Holm, 2018).

Based on these findings, community stadia proponents must encourage a more nuanced discourse that centres on what community stadia can realistically provide for their local

economy and communities. These include: a modern, safe stadium for the local professional sports club(s) to play in; facilities and services that multiple, diverse communities can access on a daily basis; a range of diverse, high quality jobs; business premises and meeting spaces for private, Third Sector and public sector tenancies and use; a space for valued civic events (e.g. car boot sales and fireworks display); and the occasional hosting of mega-events for the local area (e.g. pop concerts or second tier international fixtures). These are messages that would seemingly appeal to civic leaders, professional sports clubs and wider communities and, importantly, reflect a developed understanding of the scale, scope and complexities of community stadia.

7.2.5 Stadia Design

Alongside the size of stadia, the architectural design of community stadia is another critical planning consideration. For many, the design primarily relates to the superficial 'exterior appeal' of the stadia – i.e. the extent to which it has an innovative, flagship architectural design. On this measure, modern professional sports stadia (like other urban entrepreneurial flagship developments) have often adopted uniform, copycat designs which impact on their distinctiveness (Cuthbert, 2011; Davies, 2008; Doucet, 2007; Duke, 2002; Harvey, 1989; Savitch and Kantor, 2004; Siemiatycki, 2013; Turok, 2009; Yarker, 2018). Compared to other new professional sports stadia, the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia designs similarly lack architectural distinctiveness but they were viewed by stakeholders as flagship developments within their local urban landscapes.

The key design challenge, however, facing community stadia is less their 'exterior appeal' and more their 'interior functionality'. Both the case studies' respective designs failed to facilitate multi-functional and wider community uses. Stadia officials have therefore had to retrospectively invest in the internal stadia fabric to overcome the design flaws that stemmed from sporting interests dominating at the planning stage. These findings dictate that there is a need for an imaginative re-conceptualisation and design of professional sports stadia so that they become truly inclusive, accessible and multifunctional buildings (Heylighen, 2008), yet also ensuring the sporting, commercial and public safety needs are met. Achieving this is dependent on those commissioning new stadia – i.e. civic leaders and professional sports clubs – being more demanding in their expectations of architects. Given the copycat mentality of many civic leaders (Siemiatycki, 2013), plus this research's

finding that co-production and co-location were too radical, the likelihood of innovative stadia design ideas emerging appears some way off unless co-production that involves multiple, diverse communities takes hold.

7.2.6 Age of Stadia

The community stadia phenomenon has emerged following the community economic development and sustainable communities discourses (Haughton, 1998; Kearns and Turok, 2003) and their influence on urban entrepreneurialism – i.e. from the early 2000s. This was one of the reasons why only stadia constructed post-2000 were considered for case study selection, as set out in Chapter 4. The implication from this is that only new stadia can claim to be community stadia. However, this is not necessarily the case as older stadia that meet the factors described in this section can equally be community stadia – an example being the Broadwood Stadium, Cumbernauld highlighted by Falkirk stakeholders. The greatest challenge for older stadia may be in redesigning or renovating the stadia to accommodate multi-functional uses but, as the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia both show, the interior functionality of stadia appears to be a common challenge to all.

7.2.7 Sports Hosted

Community stadia, as conceptualised in this thesis, play host to professional sport. The specific professional sport or *sports* will differ from stadia to stadia depending on the local professional sports club(s) in the small city or town. For example, the Keepmoat Stadium played host to professional football and semi-professional rugby league and women's football; while the Falkirk Stadium played host to professional football only. For the case study selection process outlined in Chapter 4, cricket, rugby league and rugby union stadia were considered alongside football stadia.

The common theme in terms of the sports hosted is that they are professional *team* sports. This is seen to be important in establishing community stadia because, referring to the 'community of the clubs' distinction in Chapter 3, there is a greater and more longstanding attachment between communities and team professional sports than with an individual sport (e.g. athletics and tennis). In the UK, community stadia are therefore most likely to play host to professional football, cricket, rugby league or rugby union but, if extended

beyond a UK sporting context, could include American Football, Australian Rules Football, baseball and indoor arena-based sports (such as basketball and ice hockey).

Community stadia can also play host to multiple sports, which is a strength in that wider sporting communities are engaged, but can bring challenges in achieving equity of use and influence. Where there are multiple clubs, one club will likely have primacy over the others on account of their profile, level of support, turnover, or greater number of matches per annum. In the Keepmoat Stadium's example, Doncaster Rovers FC was the primary club and led to some instances where Doncaster RLFC and Doncaster Belles WFC felt their needs and interests were not fully taken into account. This shows the primacy of professional sport is not only apparent against the other quadruple bottom line aims, but also within the sporting aim where other sports and clubs are co-hosted in the stadia.

A final important dimension is that at least one of the professional sports clubs hosted has a high profile locally. This is important because the club and its players provide the sporting additionality that makes community stadia a distinctive and appealing building type, which in turn helps to attract the multiple, diverse communities. Of note, such a profile does not require 'Premier League' status. For example, neither Doncaster Rovers FC nor Falkirk FC were playing in the top domestic tier but both clubs have a strong relationship with and identity among their local communities that contributes to how the two stadia are viewed.

7.2.8 Communities Targeted

The 'community' prefix differentiates community stadia from other professional sports stadia, but what is the 'community' being referred to? The literature makes a distinction between (aspatial) 'communities of the club' and (spatial) 'communities of the stadium' and this holds true with community stadia (Brown et al, 2008; Duke 2002; Hamil and Morrow, 2011; Schulenkorf, 2012). The focus of the Keepmoat and Falkirk Stadia has been on local 'communities of the stadia' but there was no geographical demarcation or segmentation to dictate the specific communities to be targeted. Indeed, a regional rather than a local population catchment have been targeted for the pop concerts staged at the stadia. The lack of a rigid definition of community is appropriate given that the communities of community stadia should and will vary from stadia to stadia. For example, the size of the stadia, where they are located, their facility and service mix, and the nature

of the resident and business communities in their vicinities will all impact on the communities of community stadia.

As stated above, the lack of a rigid definition of community is appropriate but Alonso and O'Shea (2012) and Brown et al (2008) also point out that there is a dearth of knowledge on the 'demand side'. Without knowledge of stadia communities to be targeted, the implication is that stadium-based facilities and services may not meet local needs or interests, so impacting on levels of community use. Indeed, with regards the two case study stadia, there was no evidence that stadia officials had undertaken any needs assessments of or consultations with their local communities.

The target 'demand side' communities were not well understood but, despite this, both stadia have successfully engaged with multiple, diverse communities. Particularly significant was the use of the stadia by hard-to-reach groups, such as young people not in employment, education or training, adults with a disability, substance misuse or mental health issues, and pensioners – and it is these more marginalised communities that community stadia should prioritise wherever possible. However, the stadia also engaged businesses and Third Sector organisations, so playing out the close relationship between the 'heroic' dual domains of business and sport (Williams, 1995). Community stadia, therefore, could more accurately be conceived as 'communities stadia' to reflect the multiple and heterogeneous communities they engage and attract.

The discussion above does, however, maintain a traditional view of communities as grateful, passive and dependent consumers that are to be 'served' by the powerful elite (Boyle et al, 2006; Boyle and Harris, 2008; Halzidimitriadou et al, 2012; Needham, 2008). What community stadia, along with community assets, buildings and gardens, encourage is an alternative view of stadia communities to one where 'communities of the stadia' are not merely served but actually formed through individuals' interactions with the stadia and with one another (Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Coalter et al, 2000; Cumbers et al, 2018; Herbert and Raine, 1976; Mathie and Cunningham, 2003; Meegan and Mitchell, 2001; PMP, 2008; Taylor, 2003; Volker et al, 2007). Furthermore, if active and involved then the communities formed can directly contribute to the planning and ongoing running of the stadia.

Expanding on the ‘communities of community stadia’, the thesis has found that they can be broken into two different but overlapping types: the ‘user community’ that spans the multitude of individuals engaging with the stadia; and the ‘internal community’ of those individuals and organisations that work in the stadia. With regards to the ‘user community’, the stadia – via its diverse facilities and services – becomes a nexus for different individuals to interact with one another and consequently form a community based on their common use and sense of attachment to the stadia. The ‘user community’ may initially be loose, for example where stadia use is confined to attending an annual fireworks night, but the greater the number of facilities and services available, then the greater the interactions between people, and the stronger the sense of ‘user community’ becomes (Massey, 2005; 2007). For regeneration areas such as the Lakeside and Falkirk Gateway areas, the growth and strengthening of a ‘user community’ can potentially be harnessed within place making efforts. Complementary to the stadia’s symbolic, flagship development role in (re)branding the regeneration areas, its ‘user community’ can demonstrate the area as a place of choice (Duffy, 1995; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Kearns and Turok, 2003). The challenge in developing a ‘user community’ is that the opportunities for direct interactions between users may be small. With stadia uses taking place in different parts of the stadia and at different times, diverse users may not interact with one another. Instead, existing, discrete communities remain but within one common but loose association with the stadia.

The ‘internal community’ relates to the organisations and workers based in the stadia. Here the opportunities for more frequent interactions are greater as many will be working in the stadia at the same time. For Massey (2005; 2007), the interactions would help to turn the stadia from a physical space into a meaningful ‘place’ and, for tenant organisations and workers, the internal sense of community could help identify, explore and deliver on shared interests and opportunities. However, notwithstanding some tenant events held in the Falkirk Stadium, little attention has been paid by stadia officials to nurturing the ‘internal community’. Whether this is because different stadia tenants are viewed as too distinct from one another or deterred by the demands of organising networking events, an internal stadia ecosystem would likely bring tangible and intangible benefits to the different stadia tenants, as well as enhance the image of community stadia as conducive places to run a business from.

7.2.9 Non-Matchday Stadia Facilities and Services

Community stadia are multi-functional buildings that, alongside professional sport, host a range of facilities and services that meet the needs of their multiple communities. The specific mix of facilities and services ought to differ from stadia to stadia according to the needs and interests of their communities (Halzidimitriadou et al, 2012; Needham, 2008; PMP, 2008) but they must include non-matchday facilities and services, so differentiating community stadia from many other professional sports stadia.

Reflecting on the service types that work best, the thesis has found that education (from early years and childcare through to tertiary education), training, youth, public and mental health, sport community outreach/CSR activities, and small business uses appear to be particularly well-suited to community stadia. Not only do community stadia have the physical space to accommodate these different functions, but the stadia also have the accessibility and kudos to attract their different target communities and consumers. As outlined earlier, these service types should revise and update their opinions of professional sports stadia and strongly consider co-locating their community-facing services in stadia to benefit from the additionality of professional sport.

The facilities that the stadia exterior can accommodate should also be considered. Use of the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia car parks for weekly car boot sales and fireworks displays were good examples as, while they may not fit with culture-led or flagship development aims (Rowe, 2008; Tallon et al, 2006), they have enabled the stadia to become ‘humanised’ as important civic settings. The onus therefore is on stadia officials being open, inclusive and adaptable to diverse community uses.

7.2.10 Community Values

For genuine community stadia to exist, the research has found that not only should multiple community facilities and services be hosted, but also that community-based values should be at the heart of the stadia’s culture. This means that there is a welcoming and inclusive stadium culture experienced by all, with no visible hierarchy across different stadium users. Falkirk FC’s playing staff welcoming and respecting young participants of the Falkirk Football Foundation provides an excellent example of this. By establishing

such an environment, the interactions and negotiations between the multiple, diverse communities that ultimately contribute to genuine community stadia can thus be supported (Massey, 2005; 2007).

7.2.11 Stadia Ownership and Governance

Professional sports stadia do not just become community stadia; they need to be designed and managed as such. The ownership and governance of the stadia is crucial to this because these functions set the strategic vision and parameters for the stadia. The two case studies provide valuable learning here as the differing ways that the Keepmoat and Falkirk stadia have been owned and governed impacted on the extent to which the stadia were individually perceived as community stadia. Comparing the two stadia, stakeholders were more supportive of the Keepmoat Stadium as a community stadium than the Falkirk Stadium, meaning greater learning ought to be taken from the management and governance provided by Club Doncaster.

The Keepmoat Stadium has had a hybrid (i.e. public, private and third sector partnership) ownership and governance arrangement following Club Doncaster's signing of a 99-year stadium lease from Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council. To explain, the directors of the umbrella Club Doncaster structure are Club Doncaster's benefactors (the former owners of Keepmoat construction company) and they have continued to reinforce the importance of community values and achieving a legacy for Doncaster residents. Below Club Doncaster's directors is the joint board of Club Doncaster Sports College and Club Doncaster Foundation, which consists of representatives across sport, commercial business, education, health, police and third sector. Collectively, the Club Doncaster ownership and governance structure has been instrumental in reinstating the community aims originally attached to the Keepmoat Stadium – doing so through a combination of structural changes, clarity of vision and values, and the skills and experience of key individuals.

The major structural change was the winding up of the *'self-serving'* Stadium Management Company (Doncaster, external stakeholder) and the transfer of the stadium's tenancy to the Club Doncaster umbrella structure. The change meant Club Doncaster had strategic oversight and control of the stadium's key sporting, commercial and community assets and partners, so enabling its board and senior management to directly respond to areas of

alignment and tension across the quadruple bottom line. To support their decision making, Club Doncaster also benefited from having a clear, community-focused vision of *"Improving lives in Doncaster through leadership in sport, education and entertainment"* (Club Doncaster, 2016). The vision was then reinforced by Club Doncaster's values, which led to the politically or ethically contentious events and casino tenancy being vetoed. While one can point to a lack of wider community engagement in the development of Club Doncaster's vision and values, their development provided clarity to stadia officials and strategic partners on the importance being attached to the multiple aims, with community aims seemingly sitting on top of the hierarchy (Club Doncaster, 2016).

With regards the Falkirk Stadia, the stadium's assets were sub-divided in 2008 so that ownership was 50% private (Falkirk FC) and 50% hybrid (Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd); an arrangement which was seen to compromise community aims. Of Falkirk FC's 50% ownership of the stadium, stakeholders felt the sporting needs and interests of the professional football club took precedence with little commitment to community aims. For example, the two end stands were constructed for matchday spectators only rather than multiple, non-matchday uses; and only football was permitted on the 3G pitch. Furthermore Falkirk FC's use of the Falkirk Stadium as its training pitch limited its use by other local football teams.

Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd did have community ambitions but its ability to fulfil these were compromised by the uncertainty over its own future. Specifically, Falkirk Council's indecision over whether to subsume Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd into the Falkirk Community Trust (another Falkirk Council ALEO) meant that Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd was unable to make long-term, strategic decisions and capital investments into the stadium that may have enhanced community use.

Across the two case studies, hybrid ownership and governance arrangements that span private, public and third sector interests appear to be critical to delivering the community stadium phenomenon. In contrast to single body ownership and governance (e.g. by a professional sports club or stadium management company), the multiple and different perspectives and expertise brought through a hybrid arrangement help to balance the quadruple bottom line aims of community stadia – particularly when navigating between commercial and community aims. Arrangements are then further enhanced when different disciplines and service backgrounds (such as those contained in the Club Doncaster Sports

College and Club Doncaster Foundation joint board) are included for recognition of the specific demands relating to education, training, youth, public and mental health, sport community outreach/CSR activities, and small business uses of the stadia .

The concern surrounding hybrid ownership and governance arrangements is their transparency. Both Club Doncaster and Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd are opaque structures that are not easy to understand and navigate. There are parallels here with Vento's (2017) critique of ALEOs as fulfilling a 'technocratic and privatized management of the public sphere', as there are questions over how accountable they are to local communities, let alone being amenable to a co-productive relationship with stadia communities. However, this is not to say that all hybrid ownership and governance arrangements are opaque, technocratic and privatized. Instead, and returned to in Section 7.4, there is a need to consider how to enhance the transparency and accountability of such hyrbid arrangements, for example through clear and open communication of structures, community representation on management boards, and mechanisms or community forums that allow community input to decision making.

7.2.12 Stadia Operational Management

The final factor to set out is the operational management skillset that is necessary to translate the vision of a community stadia into a reality. Indeed, Doncaster stakeholders highlighted the difference that the skills and commitment of the Club Doncaster chief executive officer and chief operating officer had made to reinstate the community aims of the Keepmoat Stadia. Articulating the skillset they held is difficult but, building on the community assets literature, the extensive range of skills and experience include: imagination and determination to follow through on the community stadia vision; understanding of the sporting, commercial, economic regeneration and community development worlds; partnership working skills across public, private and Third Sector organisations; community engagement skills that could be developed further into co-production skills; financial management and business planning to ensure commercial viability; entrepreneurial and marketing flair to market the stadia and attract users; mediation and negotiation skills to facilitate tensions between different aims, partners and users; and performance measurement and management skills (Aiken et al, 2011; Anagnostopoulos, Byers & Shilbury, 2014; Bailey, 2012; Football Association, 2012; Giulianotti, 2015; Hamil & Morrow, 2011; Marriott, 1997; Moss et al, 2009). The

challenge, however, having articulated the multiple skills and expertise required is that there are very few individuals with these. The sustainability of the community stadium phenomenon may therefore revolve around the ability to build or attract these skills.

7.2.13 Community Stadia Contributing to 'Community Entrepreneurialism'

Having conceptualised community stadia and their more holistic, quadruple bottom line aims, one can analyse where they sit within broader urban and community development discourses, particularly their relation to dominant urban entrepreneurial policies. Indeed, it may be more appropriate to situate community stadia within debates around community entrepreneurialism. An emergent concept that Leeds City Region are using as a means of achieving inclusive growth across its region, community entrepreneurialism's focus is on 'community' and 'citizen-driven' urban revitalisation (Schaller, 2018). In contrast to neoliberal urban economic development policy focused on city centres, flagship developments and the interests of the urban elite, community entrepreneurialism is characterised by deeper engagement with citizens and businesses in deprived communities, building their social and economic capacities, and enabling them to influence and shape policy and decision-making (Devaney et al, 2017). Within this, there is more explicit support for micro-, small and social/community enterprises in recognition of their roles as neighbourhood-level community anchors and providers of local jobs and services. Furthermore there is greater focus placed on identifying, nurturing and supporting the 'economic role models' or 'economic activists' within deprived neighbourhoods who can catalyse local entrepreneurship, share learning with other communities, and act as a powerful voice back to policymakers (Devaney et al, 2017).

The outcome of community entrepreneurialism would see an alternative and broader vision of urban development, one based on cooperation and collectivism (Southern and Whittam, 2015). Entrepreneurialism is encouraged and supported but across *all* communities and business types so that the opportunities and needs of *all* neighbourhoods and localities are met, and not just those of the urban elite and high-tech sectors (Devaney et al, 2017; Southern and Whittam, 2015).

Community stadia could become key contributors within a community entrepreneurialism approach. As edge-of-town, multi-functional buildings, they can provide a hub for local

residents and businesses to use – whether as service users or business tenants – so building the social and economic capital of the local area. Then, through their understanding of their local resident and business communities and by building on their experience of developing sustainable community stadia, stadia officials can become the 'economic role models' or 'economic activists' advocated by Devaney et al (2017). This means they can challenge city centre urban entrepreneurial planning decisions, advance the needs of more disadvantaged communities, and also support 'community hub or building' developments in other parts of the city. Community stadia could therefore play an important role in facilitating an alternative, equitable model of urban development.

7.3 Limitations of the Research

The research has responded to a notable gap in the academic literature and significantly advanced the academic understanding of the community stadium phenomenon. However, a limitation of this research (and case study methodology more generally) is that its theoretical contribution is predicated on a small number of cases. This can be addressed through testing the conceptualisation set out in Section 7.2 in other contexts. In the UK, this is facilitated by the increasing number of community stadia – future examples to be found in Brentford, Cambridge, Castleford, Grimsby, Truro, Wimbledon and York. Similarly, there will be increased opportunities to understand how community stadia evolve over time that reflects their continual production and (re)negotiation (Massey, 2005; 2007). In particular, does the importance of community aims fluctuate and what are the factors that see these aims ebb and flow?

Another common limitation of using qualitative case studies is that participants have greatest knowledge of recent and current decisions, activities and events. With regard to this thesis, the research was conducted approximately 10 years after both stadia were constructed. In the time that had elapsed, key decision-makers at the planning and construction stage, as well as from the initial stadium management companies, had moved on and were not available for interview. Combined with the limited range of stadia and business planning documents that were sourced, a limitation of the research was the shortage of time-specific data and evidence from their early stages. The availability of such information would have provided greater insight into the causal factors involved in both stadia's planning, design and construction. For future research into community stadia,

therefore, the availability of planning and construction phase documentation could form a more prominent part of the case study selection criteria.

In completing the case studies, a limitation more specific to this research was the ability to spend time 'on the ground' in Doncaster, Falkirk and their stadia environments. As outlined in Section 4.5, the research was conducted alongside a Glasgow-based full-time job. In speculating what impact this had, increased time on site might have helped identify and network with a wider pool of research participants (particularly from local resident and business communities – i.e. 'external stakeholders'), offered opportunities to undertake observations of how the stadia were being used by different communities (for example, evening use of the car parks by cycling groups and weekend use for car boot sales), and experience the 'community' offer and atmosphere on matchdays.

7.4 Directions for Future Research

Community stadia are an emergent phenomenon. There is therefore value in future research that builds an accumulation of knowledge about community stadia, their locations, designs, facilities and service mix, and communities – including existing, older stadia that are perceived and/or have designs to become community stadia. It is hoped that the conceptualisation provided in Section 7.2 facilitates this by acting as a framework for research design and analysis. However, over and above the general accumulation of knowledge, the thesis has identified the following specific areas for future research.

First, the governance of community stadia is seen to be critical to the delivery of the quadruple bottom line and their sustainability. From the two case studies, their respective stadium management companies operating on behalf of key partners have struggled, yet the strategic umbrella organisational structure provided by Club Doncaster has since reinvigorated the community aims for the Keepmoat Stadium. Research into how other community stadia (and community assets, buildings and gardens) are governed would provide important learning into what organisational arrangements function best. Of particular interest is the transparency of other governance structures as both Club Doncaster and Falkirk Community Stadium Ltd are opaque structures that have inhibited co-productive working. Are alternative governance structures in place that enable decision-making to be influenced, scrutinised and held to account by local communities? The

research into governance arrangements would also help distinguish between the relative importance of governance arrangements versus the operational skills and experience of key stadia officials. The belief would be that both structural and individual elements need to be in place, but to what extent can community stadia be delivered where one element is weak?

Second, the opportunity to understand the economics of community stadia should be explored – specifically how stadia are financed and where expenditure is directed. With regards their financing, access to financial accounting information would enable analysis of the initial stadia construction costs and sources of finance, plus their annual income, turnover and operating profit which would determine whether community stadia are financially viable. Such data would be particularly insightful if triangulated with other 'bottom line' community stadium measures (such as matchday attendances, non-matchday user numbers, and financial and sporting measures of professional sports club(s) hosted), and if compared with the financial data of other, non-community professional sports stadia of a similar scale.

The expenditure information sought would include a breakdown of the suppliers and contractors that serve the stadia, plus the postcodes of stadia-based employees. Such data is important as it shows the extent to which stadia management are committed to supporting local businesses and employing local residents, thereby benefiting the local economy. In summary, having access to stadia financial information helps to inform the business case for stadia officials', stakeholders' and funders' commitment to the community stadia phenomenon.

Third, there is the opportunity for user surveys to provide increased intelligence on the actual communities of community stadia. Ideally securing responses from community stadia's multiple user types (matchday and non-matchday), key information the surveys could look to capture would include: where they live and/or work (i.e. are the 'communities of the stadia' heavily localised or drawn from wider geographies); their demographic and socio-economic characteristics (to understand whether more marginalised communities are using the stadia); why they are visiting/using the stadium; frequency of their use; levels of interactions with other stadia users (as increased interactions facilitate the building of communities); their perceptions on whether it is a community stadia; and their views on how the stadia offer could be improved to enhance

its community stadia aims. The value of the quantitative and qualitative information gathered to researchers and stadia officials would be significant, particularly given the lack of knowledge of 'demand side' communities (Alonso and O'Shea, 2012; Brown et al, 2008).

Finally, the research has advanced the value of adopting a co-production approach to community stadia design and delivery but we do not know what a constructive and meaningful co-production relationship entails. Taking a case study approach, research that explores the types and quality of relationships between stadia officials and local communities within the professional sports field would be an important first step. Building on this research and having identified the factors that facilitate relationships to develop and sustain, future research could encourage officials of a planned community stadia to commit to these factors and work collaboratively with target communities. Such a scenario would allow researcher observation into how effectively a co-production relationship between these two stakeholder types can operate.

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Appendix 1: E-Survey of Community Stadia

Q1: Which professional, amateur and reserve sports teams use the stadium as their home venue (or one of their home venues?)

Q2: What non-matchday facilities are housed in the stadium that the public can access?

Please tick all that apply:

- Bar / restaurant
- Business offices /units
- Café
- Childcare / crèche facility
- Concerts on the pitch
- Conference and events facilities
- Education classrooms
- Gym
- Health centre / clinics
- Hotel
- ICT facilities
- Library
- Museum
- Shop / retail
- Sports pitches for hire

Q3: Which public sector organisations are based in and/or deliver services from the stadium?

Please tick all that apply:

- Council – Adult and community education/learning
- Council – Business advice / support service
- Council – Childcare / pre-school years
- Council – Education
- Council – Social Work
- Council – Other
- DWP / Jobcentre Plus
- Further Education College
- NHS
- School

- University
- None

Q4: Do any private sector / commercial businesses have offices in the stadium?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

Q5: What other types of organisations (e.g. voluntary sector organisations) are based in and/or deliver services from the stadium?

Please tick all that apply:

- Business support / start up services
- Careers services
- Community-based organisations
- Employability services
- Healthy living services
- Sports development / outreach services
- Supporters groups
- Training providers
- None

Q6: Does the stadium management aim to benefit any specific groups of people?

Please tick all that apply:

- Children aged 0-15
- Young people aged 16-24
- Older people aged 50 and over
- People with a disability / poor health
- Unemployed / economically inactive
- Black and ethnic minority groups
- Offenders / ex-offenders
- People who are (or at risk of becoming) homeless
- Veterans of armed forces
- Lone parents

Q7: Does the stadium management target or aim to benefit residents living in any specific geographical areas?

Please tick all that apply:

- Specific neighbourhoods / communities
- Town / city in which stadium is located
- Local authority area in which stadium is located
- Wider region
- None

Q8: Is the number of people who use / attend the stadium and its facilities recorded?

- On matchdays
- On non-matchdays

Q9: Is the number of people who work at the stadium recorded?

- On matchdays
- On non-matchdays

Q10: Would you say that your stadium is a 'community stadium'? And why do you say this?

Q11: How would you define a community stadium?

Q12: Would you be happy for the stadium to be a case study for further research?

Q13: Please could you provide your name and contact details to allow me to contact you in the future?

Appendix 2: Plain Language Statement for Research Participants

Participant Information Sheet / Plain Language Statement

1. Study title and Researcher Details

The Impact and Sustainability of Community Stadiums

Alex McTier, PhD Student, Department of Management, University of Glasgow

2. Invitation paragraph

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Thank you for reading this.

3. What is the purpose of the study?

Community stadiums are an emerging type of sports stadium for professional sports clubs. This research aims to better understand what community stadiums are, what their aims are, and what their impacts are on the local economy and population. Given that community stadium appear to have commercial, social and economic objectives, the research will seek to answer the extent to which they can successfully deliver on all these three fronts. The research can then inform the planning and development of future stadiums, as well as other public buildings.

4. Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to participate in the research due to your involvement with a stadium of a professional sports club that has been constructed in the UK since 2000. For example, you might be involved in the management of the stadium, work or volunteer in the stadium, attend or use the stadium and its facilities, or be an interested partner in the stadium's running. Your views and experience of the stadium are therefore vital to better understanding the impact it is having.

5. Do I have to take part?

No, participation in the research is voluntary and you can withdraw from the research at any time.

6. What will happen to me if I take part?

You may be involved in the research in three ways:

If invited to complete the e-survey, you will be asked to provide information about the stadium, its facilities and its use. The survey will take no more than 15 minutes to compete and the results will be used by the researcher to identify stadium case studies for further, in-depth research.

If you work at the stadium or for a stakeholder organisation (e.g. the local authority), a face-to-face or telephone interview will be arranged with you to capture your views. The interview will be audio-recorded and last up to 2 hours.

If you are a local resident, you will be invited to a focus group with other local residents at a local, accessible venue. The focus group is essentially a group interview and will last no more than 1 ½ hours. It will be audio-recorded if all consent to it.

7. Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Yes, all information will be securely stored at the University of Glasgow and all responses will be anonymised. No individual or organisation will be identifiable in the final thesis or other research outputs (e.g. conference papers or journal articles).

8. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results will be written up within a final PhD thesis and also may also contribute to conference papers and journal articles on this topic.

9. Contact for Further Information

For further information about the research, contact the PhD student Alex McTier (alex.mctier@glasgow.ac.uk) or his lead supervisor Professor Iain Docherty (iain.docherty@glasgow.ac.uk).

If you have any further concerns regarding the conduct of the research project, please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer, Dr Muir Houston (Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk)