Sport in the City

Cultural, Economic, and Political Portraits

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Fueled by the accelerating tumult of modernity, the universal emergence of sport has paralleled that of the city. From the earliest city-states of Western civilization, to the great urban gateways of Renaissance Europe, the smoke-stacked city of the industrial world, and the postmodern cosmopolis of today, sport has wrought its indelible stamp on both the physical structure of the city and civic consciousness. This is perhaps not surprising, since modern sport and the modern metropolis share certain characteristics. Both may be typified as expressions of particular cultural, economic, and political arrangements, each structuring relationships between people and space, representing collective attitudes, values, and identities, and embodying the perpetual dynamism so characteristic of modern existence. Moreover, both sport and the city are frequently, if not unanimously, reified as expressions of the progress, vibrancy, and eternal optimism that characterizes all things modern. This book seeks to provide a better understanding of these complex issues and phenomena and, in so doing, it hopes to further the understanding of the complementary relationship between sport and the city within the North American context.

As recently as three centuries ago, less than 2% of the world's population lived in scattered urban areas. Spurred on by the genesis of industrial capitalism in late-eighteenth-century Britain, and first sprouting from the fields of Northwestern Europe and then towering along the shores of the Northeastern United States, cities soon became a symbol of the changing structure and experience of modern life. By the beginning of the twentieth century, 15% of this planet's people were urban dwellers. This transition, from a rural to an urban existence, has accelerated as we enter the third millennium for, as David Clark suggests, "The last decade of the twentieth century marks a major watershed in the evolution of human settlement, . . . it encompasses the period during which the location of the world's people has become more urban than rural."[1] Today, while this shift continues worldwide, across all continents and even in countries

with a deep and resistant tradition of agrarian dependency, the impact of urbanization on humanity varies dramatically. While some people readily absorb such change as a matter of course, others struggle with the pains of cultural dislocation, economic upheaval, and associated ills, for it cannot be said that the shift to a universal urban existence has been heralded or, indeed, experienced as a sign of progress in all quarters.

If urbanization is the process, then the city is the product and one which, by definition, conjures up images of large numbers of people huddled together in a socially constructed and cramped urban space. The city was earlier characterized by Max Weber in 1899 as "A locality and dense settlement of dwellings forming a colony so extensive that personal reciprocal acquaintance of inhabitants is lacking."[2] Molded by the hands of industrial capitalists, David Harvey[3] argues that the modern city grew out of a convergence of the unmatched human migration from rural to urban living, industrialization, and mechanization. Furnishing improved access to communities of production and consumption and creating previously unimaginable economies of scale, the city nonetheless spawned such seemingly inevitable ills as overcrowding, unemployment, homelessness, crime, poor health, and pollution at levels theretofore unwitnessed in rural life. Quite remarkably, while volumes have examined the birth and development of the modern city, along with the associated process of urbanization, relatively little has been written about the place and role of sport in the emerging city.[4] Accordingly, this book seeks to fill such a void through a collection of multidisciplinary analyses presented by international scholars grounded in anthropology, business, cultural studies, history, media studies, public and urban planning, and sociology.

Once the seat of pharaohs, emperors, and monarchs, the ancient and medieval city hosted a myriad of sporting rituals and celebrations over time. Frequently sponsored by the urban elite, yet increasingly practiced and consumed by the populace, the ancient city skyline became dominated by sporting venues and monuments, perhaps no better exemplified than in the towering structures of the Coliseum and Circus Maximus in Rome. Yet it was with the emergence of the modern city in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe that sport and urbanization became so inextricably entwined. In the United States also, adds Steven Riess, sport "has been shaped, reshaped, and further molded by the interplay of the elements comprising the process of urbanization. . . . In addition, America's sports institutions have . . . deeply influenced urban change . . . in distinctive and visible ways."[5] Various explanations have been advanced to further explain this interconnectedness. To Dale Somers, the rise of sport in late-nineteenth-century New Orleans could be best attributed to the need for an antidote to the problems, pressures, tensions, frustrations, and pent-up energies associated with the newly experienced patterns of urban living. He explained: "Sports rose to prominence . . . in large part because they provided a social safety valve that allowed great masses of people to blow off steam in a

relatively harmless way."[6] Helen Meller, in her broader study of leisure in Victorian and Edwardian Bristol, England, offered a different argument, claiming that "the modernization of the city contributed to a new self-consciousness about urban civilization."[7] Suggesting that sport was part of a larger urban revolution in the provision of leisure (which included public libraries, art galleries and museums, swimming baths, parks, playgrounds, and missions), she argues that municipal governments, middle-class reformers, industrial philanthropists, and socio-religious and labor groups joined forces in an unprecedented and a collective demonstration of civic consciousness to address such urban ills as disease, pollution, mortality, and the prevailing sense of helplessness. Stephen Hardy's study of sport and community in Boston (1865–1915) appears to support Meller's thesis as

> Concerned residents examined the city and found it physically debilitating. Clusters of wretched housing, poor sewage systems, and polluted air made the city ripe for illness and disease. . . . Worse than the destruction of individual lives was the shredding of the city's very social fabric. . . . It was against the background of real concern over the city's physical environment, its social life, and its image that public and private sport and recreation promoters fashioned their arguments.[8]

In conceiving of the city as a purely physical space, sport can be said to have had a significant impact upon molding the structural and spatial constitution of the urban environment. At the same time, the phases of urban metamorphosis have quite clearly been manifested in the changing form and practice of sport for, as Riess contends,

> The process of city building influenced sporting developments in nearly every conceivable way—most notably, changing spatial patterns, expanding municipal operations, the formation of class and ethnically defined neighborhoods, innovations in public transportation, the rise of political machines, the development of voluntary status-oriented sports associations, changing value and belief systems, . . . and evolving forms of individual and group behavior on playing fields and in the grandstands.[9]

Perhaps just as important was the fact that as people left behind the vast, open spaces of their rural existence for the cramped confines of the city, so they demanded new arenas for the pursuit of those healthful physical pastimes that had become so central in their lives. The narrow city streets and congested urban spaces were indeed dangerous and unhealthy playgrounds for this new and relocated generation of urban dwellers. Before long, urban parks, playgrounds, gymnasia, stadia, and arenas emerged as necessary "breathing spaces"

for the production and consumption of sport and as theaters of cathartic outlet from the stresses of urban life, so molding cityscapes forever.

Earlier scholars have clearly established the essential ingredient that city building provided for the modernization of sport. In essence, a previously unmatched base of urban participants and consumers flooded into industrializing cities demanding a suitable replacement for the utilitarian physical pursuits practiced in simple, agrarian society. Challenged by the relative monotony and boredom associated with life in the industrial city, seeking a panacea for declining health among the workforce, and building upon the emerging traditions of mass production and improved communication, social reformers, capitalist entrepreneurs, and municipal and industrial leaders sought to exploit the increasing levels of discretionary capital and more widely available free time to develop, refine, promote, and deliver services and products which, in totality, came to represent the foundation of the sports industry as we know it today.

While the chronology may vary from city to city and country to country, the sequential growth of urban space presented by Van den Berg, Drewett, Klassen, Rossi, and Vijverberg,[10] represents a most useful framework. Growing out of the quiet thoroughfares and the green remnants of the medieval feudal common and frequently bounded by the unpolluted rivers of modest marketplace settlements, the industrial "walking city" became home to a rapid influx of rural settlers as workers sought refuge in close proximity to the means of industrial production. Labeled by Van den Berg et al. (1982) as the process of "urbanization," this first stage was perhaps the most dramatic as a large segment of humanity was first introduced to a lifestyle to which it was unaccustomed and for which it was quite ill prepared. For instance, during the Colonial and Early Republic years in the United States, 95% of the population lived an agrarian, rural existence. However, with the rapid acceleration of American city building after 1820, both the number and size of urban settlements grew. At the outset of the Civil War, there were more than 100 cities with more than 10,000 residents. Though small by contemporary standards, a new and unique urban industrial experience began to emerge, a life characterized by overcrowding, poverty, crime, disease, poor health, squalor, and a deep sense of anomie, all within a stone's throw of the central business district, ironically the focus of urban renewal today. This early urban condition was perhaps no better described than by Clarence Cook who, in 1869, writing of New York, found

> . . . no place within the city limits in which it was pleasant to walk, or ride, or drive, or stroll; no place for skating, no water in which it was safe to row, no field for base-ball or cricket; no pleasant garden where one could sit and chat with a friend, or watch his children play.[11]

Such a scene was, quite clearly, a world apart from that which this first generation of urban dwellers had earlier been accustomed. While public and philan-

thropic efforts to appropriate and preserve parklike "breathing spaces" in the overcrowded and high-priced "walking city" frequently failed, private ventures in the form of saloons, billiard halls, gymnasia, and sporting arenas sought to capitalize on the urban settlers' demand for recreation and a temporary escape from the many and unfamiliar challenges of city life within late-nineteenth-century North America. Severely limited by the availability of space for the practice and promotion of physical culture, cities soon became the crucible in which the middle-class-led social reform movement was forged. In addition to bringing public education, public health, public libraries, and public housing to the general populace, cities witnessed the emergence of public parks, playgrounds, and baths. At the same time, private, commercial enterprise responded to the demand for mass entertainment through establishing amusement parks, bathing spas, horse-racing tracks, and sports grounds and stadia along the transportation arteries. For those possessing the uncommon means to reach the far-flung periphery, exclusive, private country clubs, golf clubs, and hunt clubs willingly catered to the "conspicuous consumption" of their newfound patrons of privilege.[12]

During the inter-World War period, the process of "exurbanization" (Van den Berg et al., 1982) was initiated, as settlements extended outward from the urban hub along the transportation arteries formed by a maturing railway and road system. Eventually this transportation-led socio-spatial revolution resulted in the appearance of a postindustrial, "radial city," with outlying commuter communities becoming the forerunner of the modern suburb. Thus the "walking city"[13] was eroded both in terms of population deconcentration to the suburban margins and loss of urban space due to the demands of the mass transit networks necessary for moving the newly divided metropolitan population. Following World War II, driven by the dreams of home ownership and ancilliary mass consumption and the promise of less expensive real estate made more accessible by ever-improving spatial mobility, flight from the urban core continued through what Van den Berg et al. (1982) called a process of "counterurbanization." This represented an evolutionary stage characterized by the appearance of the modern "suburban city," peripheral settlements which, though frequently economically dependent on the capital and services offered by the city, commonly demanded a sense of exclusive removal from the parent municipality. Precipitating debates on the meaning of urban citizenship, civic responsibility, and annexation, city parks and recreation departments joined other segments of municipal government in the battle over the provision of services to metropolitan, suburban communities on the periphery. Often resulting in the incorporation of suburban communities and "new towns," and thus ensuring politico-economic and cultural insulation from the urban hub, the resulting "push and pull" of urban-suburban interdependence represents an extremely complex yet essential consideration in understanding the evolution of the modern city. Equally important, although admittedly not addressed fully in

the context of this book, is the need to recognize the values, symbols, and practices associated with the [sub]urbanization of sport, which included the gradual relocation of consumer sport from the central business district to the outer reaches of the metropolitan area, easing proximity to sporting spectacles for the affluent, suburban customer.

Today's postmodern, cosmopolitan sprawl is a product of what Van den Berg et al. (1982) call "reurbanization." Characterized by a complexity of paradoxical relationships, Soja[14] offers, perhaps, the clearest understanding of this continuing metamorphosis of the city. He (1989) argues that the changing urban complexion is, in large part, a product of a shift in the economic base, from Fordist mass production and consumption to a more flexible system of production located in new industrial spaces such as the green field "technopoles" associated with high technology. Further, he identifies the rapid growth of financial services in the renovated central business district and the inner-city areas associated with low skill, low pay, and labor-intensive industry, as the other two contrasting urban, economic spatial nuclei consistent with postmodern urban cartography. Soja further argues that an ongoing process of decentralization and recentralization has turned cities "inside out" with an increased urbanization of suburbia and the city fringe, a decline in the population density of the central business district, and the "gentrification" of former working-class neighborhoods. So, while the economic, social, and cultural centers of urban settlement are increasingly flowing to the city's former periphery, the urban core nevertheless retains an important, if reconfigured, role within the life of the city. As the central business district adopts an increasingly (financially based) specialized function and somewhat surreal identity, the previously decaying remnants of the industrial city are renovated into branded spaces of festive consumption for suburban tourists and those from farther afield.

Postmodern theory has provided a new lens through which the relationship between city and sport might be examined. Characterized by the practice of urban psychology, sociology, technology, and organization, and solidly grounded in political economics, sport can be viewed as emblematic of the widespread social cleavages in gender, race, and class.[15] Moreover, the sometimes chaotic and always eclectic form of the postmodern city, devoid of urban planning, sprawls across a seemingly endless hinterland that is appropriated as ex-urban territory by its settlers. This complex, unimpeded process of urban invasion, succession, and segregation has created fragmented, polynucleic cities, in turn, resulting in a contest for space based upon social power relations. This has been manifested in sport and is most clearly exemplified through the polarization of public (parks and playgrounds) and private (country clubs) urban space, wherein citizens may interact and compete anonymously or, rather, choose to be segregated (on the basis of gender, race, class, and religion). Adopted by the Council of Europe in 1992, the *European Urban Charter*[16] recognizes that a complexity of urban problems, including inner-city decay, depri-

vation, a deterioration of historic centers, excessive traffic densities, a shortage of good quality, affordable housing, and high unemployment, along with noise, air, and soil pollution, has contributed to a postmodern condition of spatial and social inequality in the contemporary city. Accordingly, it has affirmed the right of all urban dwellers to take part in sporting and recreational activities, to develop their expertise in sport up to their individual potential, and to be provided safe, affordable, and local sport facilities.

Faced by a broadening gulf of social, cultural, and economic inequality brought about, in part, by the changing structure of urban labor markets, a small, though growing, technical-managerial elite, a large base of deskilled, low paid workers, the unemployed, and the homeless personify the social fragmentation, segregation, and polarization marking the contemporary city. These growing inequalities between resident classes of the city precipitate tension, leading to spatial withdrawal, insulation, and incarceration reflected by the increasing appearance of walled estates protected by armed guards, shopping malls with state-of-the art surveillance, and new sports stadia frequently located beyond the economic reach of most citizens. Of great significance here is the manner in which different groups and individuals have appropriated sport as a symbol of group affiliation and affirmation. From the affluent "soccer moms" of white, suburban America to the playground basketball tradition of America's black urban ghettos, the complex weave of socioeconomic status, gender, race, and space serves as a prime justification for the importance of better understanding the relationship between sport and the city.

Struggling to retain a sense of civic identity in an ever-changing world and desperate to escape the tensions of contemporary urban life by returning to a time of greater social harmony and civility, today's city is moving to the construction of an urban imaginary through architectural design and urban planning. Clearly, the futuristic, monolithic sports stadia (such as the Astrodome in Houston) constructed worldwide in recent decades, only to be followed by the more recent trend toward the erection of nostalgic architectural remembrances to the "golden years" of professional sports spectacles (such as Camden Yards in Baltimore), support this recent intrusion of emotive "built" signifiers into urban life.

In the United States, the urban playground tradition associated with mostly African-American, scoioeconomically depressed, inner-city neighborhoods has intrigued many cultural onlookers over time.[17] Commonly reinforcing the image of a world characterized by crime, drugs, gambling, poverty, hardships, and hopes and dreams while loudly advocating a pathway out of the ghetto, these often exploitive accounts have contributed toward perpetuating and even romanticizing a mostly young, black, urban, male construct. This is in stark contrast to the lavish, sterile, and conspicuous, ultramodern constructs to sporting extravagance, embracing a status-conscious, fastidious service culture, that greet the privileged customer of the "club" and visitor to the professional "ballpark."

In his excellent and comprehensive book, *Playing the Field,* Charles Eucher suggests "one notable symbol of a city is its sports team, which often is thought to personify the civic spirit."[18] In the same way that "The Big Apple," "The Motor City," and "The Windy City" represent symbolic images of a particular urban setting, such sports teams as Ajax, Arsenal, Celtic, the Cowboys, Yankees, and Red Sox are clearly synonymous with their municipal home. Professional sport franchises emerged in North America and Europe in the late-nineteenth-century city supported by an aggregating industrial populace that experienced an increase in both discretionary time and income. Professional sports teams were the product of an ongoing search for a proximal, socially approved form of entertainment that might serve as recompense for the monotony and toil of city life, and one that offered a sense of shared urban identity.

The power of civic association in sport becomes all the more interesting when one considers the history of widespread, sustainable relocation of teams from one city to another. The once authentic community attachments associated with sports teams have seemingly withered over time as team owners today frequently hold cities to ransom through the threat of relocation and toy with the affections of fans while seeking out more lucrative financial arrangement and markets. This has led to a tradition of infidelity on the part of North American professional sports teams, a pattern that has been devastating to the civic esteem of many urban communities. While the Brooklyn Dodgers' departure from Ebbets Field for Los Angeles in 1957 remains deeply ingrained in the mind of many New Yorkers, today one is hard pressed to identify the contemporary "home" of the National Football League's Giants, Cardinals, Colts, or Rams, given the owners' willingness to relocate their franchises as they search for the proverbial pot of gold. Of course, such is to be expected given today's free-flowing migration of people and the unfettered growth of capitalism. While in years past sports teams frequently were comprised of "home-grown" talent, the continuing search for an economic and a competitive edge has driven recruiters far afield, resulting in team membership possessing little local ties. Moreover, increasingly challenged to consider the potential "return on investment," municipal leaders are projecting the economic benefit of spending millions of taxpayer dollars to attract and retain sports teams and events to their cities, with direct sport investment, tourists, and peripheral investors (hoteliers, restaurateurs, and retail shopping) promising the largest financial returns for the host urban market. To some, the more important economic question remains, what income will be lost, or "leaked" if the city fails to retain or attract a sports team?[19]

Civic leaders are, of course, well versed in making the case that the public's financial investment in sports teams or events, as one part of the broader municipal revitalization portfolio, will strengthen the economy of the community, therefore contributing to an eventual widespread "trickle-down" effect on all facets of the city. Sadly, and in too many cases, public housing deteriorates,

public parks become overgrown, and, years after "the greatest sports show" is seduced to town, often through sizable gifts of taxpayers' capital or exemptions, little social or economic amelioration is realized. In short, the likelihood of true and sustained economic gain from civic investment in sport appears to be limited and very much case specific. Indeed, the diversion of public monies from essential social services for the purpose of seducing and subsidizing corporate sport (which, in turn, profits from consumption of its product) just does not appear to make conventional economic sense. Nevertheless, strange though it may seem, Michael Danielson maintains that "cities with decrepit schools and crumbling infrastructure compete to build glittering new arenas and stadiums; [while] governors who slash taxes and cut welfare rolls commit millions of public dollars to sports ventures."[20] Indeed, the bilateral, predatory tactics adopted in the urban relocation of sports teams appears strangely reminiscent of a Darwinist struggle, as Eucher suggests, "Teams manipulate cities by setting themselves against each other in a scramble for the limited number of major league teams. While the cities fight each other, the teams sit back and wait for the best conditions and terms."[21] Moreover, the prevalence of "mobile" or "itinerant firms" in the North American sport marketplace is not expected to change in the foreseeable future, as Eucher believes "the cannibalistic struggles for sports franchises [will undermine] the prospects for local and nationwide prosperity and security," and Danielson predicts that cities "will remain very limited partners of professional sports, building most of the arenas and stadiums, paying more and more of the capital costs, and being frozen out of the decisions, profits, and equity shares."[22]

In response to a growing resistance to public spending on commercial sport ventures, civic and industry leaders are exploring alternative sources of funding ranging from corporate naming rights of events, venues, and teams to the sale of personal seat licenses (PSLs) and luxury suites. For example, Jack Kent Cooke Stadium (now FedEx Field), home of the National Football League's Washington Redskins, opened in September 1997. With a capacity of 80,116, the arena, which includes 208 luxury suites and 15,000 club seats, carried a final price tag of $180 million. Three months later, the MCI Center was opened. Home to the National Basketball Association's Washington Wizards and the National Hockey League's Washington Capitals, the $200 million building accommodates 20,000 spectators and includes 110 luxury suites and 3,000 club seats.

To this point, the contemporary relationship between sport and city has been limited to economic considerations. Less easy to gauge is the emotional and symbolic capital attached to a team or an event. Indeed, the notion of "Big League" and "Minor League" cities appears to have less to do with population and more to do with the strategic direction aspirations of the civic leadership, both public and private. While it is true that a major sport event (such as the Olympic Games) can represent a municipal "rallying point," and a catalyst to

urban cohesion, such unity is frequently short lived. Regardless, it cannot be denied that both sports events and teams can provide a powerful collective identity for urban dwellers.

Finally, both Clark and Soja have recognized that the contemporary city is, above all, becoming a heterogeneic center of multicultural and international life and commerce. Frequently resulting in the appearance of ethnic enclaves, and the attendant xenophobic reaction to intergroup tensions and the threat of shifting power relations, the reality of a widening global interdependence in today's urban environment cannot be ignored. Despite a growing sense of skepticism, most "progressive" cities worldwide continue their investment in sport, perhaps in the hope of enhancing their municipal prestige or in search of elevating their sense of civic esteem by becoming a "Big League" city. After all, it is fair to say that few around the world knew of Lillehammer or Nagano prior to their hosting the Winter Olympic Games. Today, each has a clear identity, a location on the world stage, as they have emerged as a popular destination for visitors and investment. Indeed, so important is the "sport prize" to cities today, that the National Association of Sports Commissions (founded in the United States in 1992 as the overarching body for individual urban sport commissions in America) is being replicated worldwide as cities from Beijing to Toronto and Kuala Lumpur to Paris wager a significant portion of their nation's GDP in pandering to the whims of the International Olympic Committee, hoping for that ultimate five-ringed prize. Today, for a city to legitimately claim a position on the world stage, it must claim, in addition to a significant role in transnational business, international finance, and global communication, a significant place in the global sport marketplace.[23]

Based upon the recent pattern of municipal tax investment in sport, one might reasonably challenge the cities' myopic assessment of the potential benefit of sport to the cause of civic betterment. Equally important are the manifest and latent effects that even the most subtle changes in the city-sport relationship may have upon the other, creating a set of important interdependencies that underpin the very framework of this book, leading us to posit the central questions, to what extent has the city emerged as a material or symbolic product of sport, and in what ways is the changing city a producer of the evolving sport economy? While it is clear that sport has represented the glue that bound the seams across some cities and communities through their citizens' affiliation with teams, it has, at the same time, contributed to conflict, both real and symbolic, between municipalities and among neighborhoods within a city. For instance, while one's fanatical following of a local sports team may furnish a sense of social cohesion and civic or community pride so frequently identified as lacking in the sometimes anonymous life of the city, the tension or unbridled violence that frequently erupts inside and outside of the sports arena when rival teams meet in competition fuels claims regarding the criminalization and demonization of urban space. Likewise, the gambling, scalping, and public

drunkenness so often associated with the consumption of urban sport further support the detractors. While sport, in its broadest sense of public provision, has sought to address the unhealthy and sedentary tendencies of life in the city, the sometimes corrupt, unjustifiable and often frivolous municipal tax spending on the construction of magnificent "sports palaces" to satisfy the passive consumer appetite of the privileged minority and perhaps even to reward self-interest and personal gain is tantamount to treason.

The real and imagined problems associated with urban life have been well documented and criticized over time and continue to be broadcast and constructed today. To many, urban living conjures up images of overcrowding, unemployment, poverty, homelessness, and high crime. All too often cities are tarnished with the attributes of racial intolerance, social dislocation, a growing sense of anomie, and political and economic impropriety, resulting in a general condition bordering on civic anarchy. The manner in which sport has helped create such an image or, indeed, has served to cure such urban ills is addressed in the following chapters. The radical transition of the industrial "walking city" to postindustrial "radial city," modern "suburbia," and postmodern "cosmopolitan sprawl" continues at varying rates and stages of development around the world. The most recent resurgence of interest in urban revitalization, the blight associated with the continuing human and structural deterioration of inner-city ghettos, and the strengthening resolve by peripheral yet urban-dependent suburban communities to preserve their dreams of an exclusive utopia present a continuing challenge to all. It is the manner in which sport has addressed these and past urban challenges that represents the particular focus of this book.

Acknowledging the integrated complexity of cultural, economic, and political phenomena that comprise the city, the following chapters, grounded in a variety of academic disciplines, examine the ever-changing relationship between sport and the city: place and process and physical structure and human experience. In particular, this book seeks to critically gauge the civic benefits derived from the mutual dependency of sport and the city and to examine sport's distinct role in the creation of utopian urban visions that all too often, and sadly, deteriorate into dystopian realities. In chapter 2, Alan Ingham and Mary McDonald examine sport's role as a form of collective representation and affiliation and theorize the relationship between what they refer to as *representational sports* and their affiliated consumer communities. The authors indicate how professional sport franchises within urban settings effectively inhibit—due to the overdetermining forces of valorization, commodification, and professionalization—the process of community formation by disenfranchising the ordinary consumer. Thus they intimate how sport has come to occupy an abstract space within the late modern city, a space of highly regulated consumption, partaken by strangers with no real sense of affiliation to each other or to the city in which they are temporarily located. While not referring to it specifically, in chapter 3 Gene Burd furthers the discussion initiated in the opening chapter pertaining to

the relationship between sport and the construction of *communitas* (the instantiation of temporary group affiliations around special events such as sporting triumphs, allowing for the transcendence of everyday realities and differences). In chapter 3 Burd provides a comprehensive, critical explication of the practices whereby sport architecture, rituals, teams, and both players and coaches have been appropriated by the sports media to substantiate metropolitan images and identities. In doing so, he problematizes the place-based mythologizing centered around sport, which often manifests itself in the feel-good discourses of civic achievement, hope, and survival: something habitually espoused by city mayors looking to circumvent the socioeconomic and race-based divisions that plague most North American cities. Focusing on the urban sport statue, in chapter 4, Synthia Sydnor Slowikowski nonetheless provides a further exemplar of the signifying capacities of sporting artifacts. In her own inimitable style, Sydnor Slowikowski provides an insightful reading of urban sport statuary in which she identifies statues of athletes as emotion-laden signifiers that preserves, in embodied freeze-frame, particular socially constructed categories and ideals. However, she also offers an alternative view, keying on the notion of the urban sport statue as a fluid, cultural space providing its viewers access to liminal narratives of becoming. Herein, sport culture is less of an agent of collective affiliation as it is an expression of individual realization.

Moving from the mainstream to the margins of urban sport culture, in chapter 5 Robin Mathy exposes the plight of the homeless within major metropolitan areas during major athletic events. Focusing on Tempe, Arizona, during January 1996, the author's ethnographic investigation analyzes the effects on the homeless of staging the Fiesta Bowl and Super Bowl within a matter of a few weeks. While acknowledging the futility of direct attempts by authorities to rid the local of the homeless "problem," Mathy identifies the unintended consequences of executing major sporting events—specifically, the dearth of affordable, short-term housing, mass transport, and assistance programs—in impeding the ability of individuals to extricate themselves from their homeless predicament. From one outsider group to another, in chapter 6 Michael Atkinson furnishes an intriguing entrée into the world of the urban ticket scalper. His precise observations of the ticket-scalping culture exhume a world divided into professional and temporary exponents of this illegal practice. Refusing to be drawn conclusively on the morality, or otherwise, of scalping, Atkinson does reveal the layers of corruption and collusion between scalpers and promoters, ticket agents, and the general public that would seem to ensure the endurance of this most ingrained urban sport subculture. Both implicated in the seamier side of the sport economy, the late-nineteenth-century criminal organizations discussed by Steven Riess in chapter 7 provide an interesting contrast to the late-twentieth-century free market entrepreneurs identified by Atkinson. In his meticulous historical examination, Riess demonstrates how in Chicago horse racing became a mutually beneficial point of engagement between organized

crime syndicates and urban political machines, the former seeking to nurture their gambling enterprises through the preferential treatment resulting from their political connections, and the latter offering such indulgence in exchange for much needed donations to party coffers and the timely swelling of the ranks of party workers. Interestingly, Riess's and Atkinson's work converges again on the notion of victimless crimes since, despite their respective illegality, both scalping and gambling provide services in considerable demand by their temporally and spatially respective metropolitan populaces.

Staying with a historical focus, this time shifting into the realm of ethnic sport cultures within the urban setting, in chapter 8 Danny Rosenberg recounts the sporting experiences of the Jewish population in Toronto during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Rosenberg identifies how the Jewish community formed sporting teams, leagues, clubs, and associations and revered local Jewish sport heroes. In recounting a particularly vibrant and complex sport culture, Rosenberg's historical findings demonstrate how sport became an agent for both consolidating Jewish identities and establishing commonalities with other ethnic groups within the polyethnic milieu of Toronto neighborhood life. In chapter 9, Brian Wilson and Phil White bring the discussion of urban Toronto up-to-date with their symbolic, interactionist study of the lived experiences of youth frequenting an inner-city recreation drop-in center. The authors discovered that the formally espoused regimes of freedom and responsibility created a climate within which many youth developed a more positive, proactive, and confident sense of self, as expressed in the intricacies of the unofficial peer culture that developed within the center. Subsequently, Wilson and White outline important directions for future research focused on the urban youth experience, and that concerned with identifying the benefits—or otherwise—derived from such youth recreation drop-in programming for those living in relatively violent and impoverished inner-city settings. In chapter 10, Michael Clark turns to more programmatic concerns related to the delivery of urban sport and recreation programs. The author summarizes a two-year study of sport activities available to youth in the Detroit metropolitan area, from which he makes summary recommendations based on the need to address the dearth of comprehensive activity programs in the area. Perhaps most pertinently, Clark distinguishes the need to identify, engage, educate, and reward community volunteers in order to implement a sustainable and an effective recreation program. Moving from the urban to the suburban, in chapter 11 David Andrews, Robert Pitter, Detlev Zwick, and Darren Ambrose identify soccer's socio-spatial distribution within Memphis's greater metropolitan area. The authors discovery of youth soccer's appropriation by the predominantly white, suburban middle class illustrates sport's position at the intersection of class- and race-based divisions. In this regard, they illustrate the extent to which soccer has contributed to the symbolic construction of the idealized American suburb.

Shifting the focus to the racial politics of contemporary urban spaces, in chapter 12 CL Cole and Samantha King critically engage the renowned documentary, *Hoop Dreams*, and Spike Lee's movie, *Clockers*. Focusing primarily on *Hoop Dreams*, the authors argue that this mediated, ethnographic chronicle masquerades as a naturalistic and an authentic depiction of the contemporary, inner-city experience in a manner that seemingly challenges the routine representation of America's urban spaces and populations in the popular media. Far from offering such a progressive viewpoint, Cole and King assert that the discursive exclusions that structure the *Hoop Dreams* narrative actually corroborate the middle-class American audience's preconceived prejudices regarding the African-American populace, and their own sense of moral superiority. Building upon this notion of the discursive constitution of raced urban spaces, in chapter 13 Gamal Abdel-Shehid explores the "*Hoop Dreams* anthropology" underpinning a report commissioned by Basketball Canada, looking into allegations of racism in a Canadian men's national basketball team. Abdel-Shehid exposes the racist logic—once again masquerading under the guise of liberal sentiments—framing this official statement. In particular, he critiques the manner in which the report mobilizes the seemingly benign yet highly charged notion of urban space: a de facto euphemism or, indeed, shorthand for racial Otherness. By spatializing racial and cultural difference in this manner, the report effectively erases the possibility of racism, thereby exonerating the accused. However, as the author notes, this is done in a way that both essentializes and blames Canada's nonwhite urban spaces and populations for any racial disharmony experienced by its purportedly model multiculturalism. Lastly, in chapter 14, Andrew Thornton examines the production and experience of a particular racialized urban space centered on the staging of a 3-on-3 basketball event in downtown Toronto. From his ethnographic observations, he depicts the struggle that ensued around this event over the ability to control public space, representation, and identity. Thornton identifies the competing logics that enveloped the tournament, which viewed it as anything from a form of cultural policing and conformity to a spatially contained demonstration of black expressiveness and identity. Thus like Cole and King and Abdel-Shehid before him, Thornton exposes sport's position in the urban setting as a perpetually fluid terrain of racial contestation and identification.

NOTES

1. Clark, D. (1996). *Urban world/global city* (p. 1). London: Routledge.

2. Weber, A. F. (1899). *The growth of cities in the nineteenth century*. New York: Macmillan; 1962 reprint, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

3. Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold.

4. Notable exceptions, characterized by the following case studies of selected cities, are: Adelman, M. (1986). *A sporting time: New York City and the rise of modern athletics, 1820–70* . Urbana: University of Illinois Press; Gems, G. R. (1997). *Windy city wars: Labor, leisure, and sport in the making of Chicago.* London: The Scarecrow Press; Hardy, S. (1982). *How Boston played: Sport, recreation, and community, 1865–1915* . Boston: Northeastern University Press; Meller, H. E. (1976). *Leisure and the changing city, 1870–1914* . London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Riess, S. A. (1989). *City games*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press; Ross, S. J. (1985). *Workers on the edge: Work, leisure, and politics in industrializing Cincinnati, 1788-1890*. New York: Columbia University Press; Somers, D. (1972). *The rise of sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900* . Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

5. Riess, 259.

6. Somers, 275.

7. Meller, 237.

8. Hardy, 197.

9. Riess, 254.

10. Van den Berg, L. R., Drewett, R., Klassen, L. H., Rossi, A., & Vijverberg, C. H. T. (1982). *A study of growth and decline.* London: Pergamon.

11. Cook is quoted in Riess, 71.

12. "Conspicuous consumption" is a phenomenon broadly expounded upon in Veblen, T. (1899). *The theory of the leisure class.* New York: Macmillan. See also Mayo, J. M. (1998). *The American country club: Its origins and development.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

13. Jackson, K. T. (1985). *Crabgrass frontier*. New York: Oxford University Press.

14. Soja, E. (1989). *Postmodern geographies*. London: Routledge.

15. Harvey, 25, 66.

16. Council of Europe. (1992). *European urban charter*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Theme 4.8. "Sport and leisure in urban areas."

17. Among them, Anderson, L., & Millman, C. (1999). *Pickup artists: Street basketball in America*. London: Verso Books; Axthelm, P. (1970). *The city game: From the garden to the playgrounds*. New York: Penguin; Frey, D. (1994). *The last shot. City streets, basketball dreams.* New York: Simon & Schuster; Telander, R. (1988). *Heaven is a playground.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

18. Eucher, C. C. (1993). *Playing the field* (p. 168). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

19. "Leaked income" refers to economic investment (both corporate and individual) that will move out of a city to a competing and proximal host market.

20. Danielson, M. N. (1997). *Home team: Professional sports and the American metropolis* (p. 305). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

21. Eucher, 179.

22. Eucher, 184; Danielson, 306.

23. These key attributes are identified and discussed in Knox, P. L., & Taylor, P. J. (Eds.). (1995). *World cities in a world-system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The argument here is that "World City" status may, in part, be bestowed on those that have hosted recent major sports events (such as the Summer Olympic Games and FIFA's World Cup), including Sydney, Los Angeles, and Paris.