

“Physical Culture and the Neoliberal City”

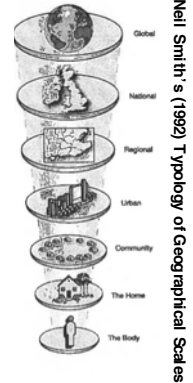
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This topic moves the focus on from subcultures (some of which operate within localized space) to the:

urban/city/metropolitan context

The aim is to examine the place of physical culture within the contemporary, **NEOLIBERAL CITY**.



The Urban Nation

From 1920 onwards, American has been an **URBAN NATION**, meaning for the first time the majority of its population lived in cities/metropolitan areas (51.2% urban/48.8% rural).

In the 2010 census, the American population was split between **80.7% living in URBAN areas**, and **19.3% living in RURAL areas**.

Hence, it is important to consider the **place, structure, and influence** of sport and physical culture in the **contemporary city**.

Baltimore's Physical Culture



Theme 1:

Baltimore as the Archetypal Neoliberal City





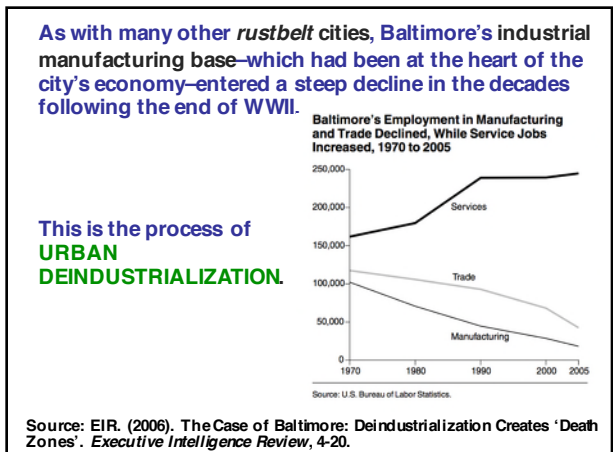
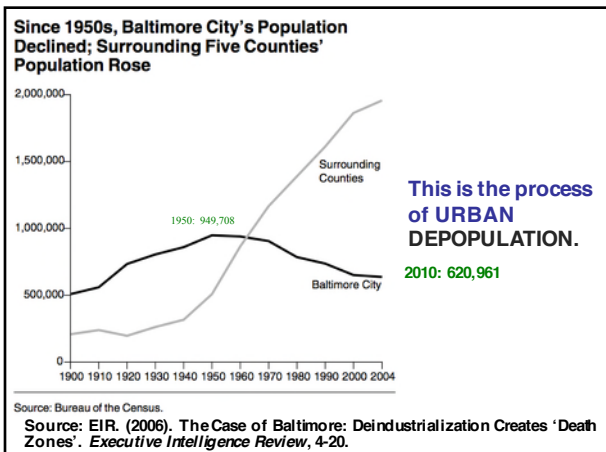
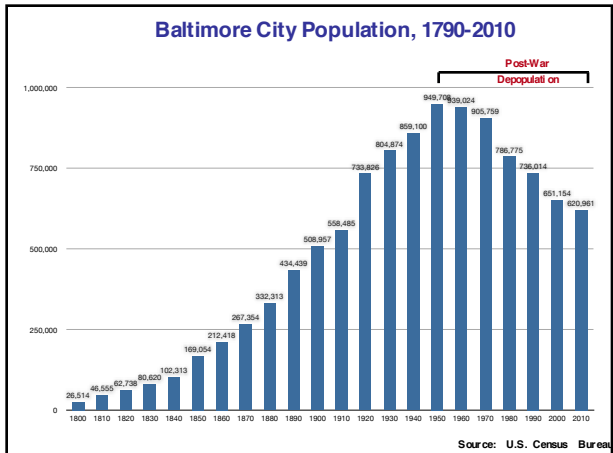
Baltimore is "In many ways...**emblematic** of the processes that have moulded cities under US capitalism, offering a laboratory sample of contemporary urbanism."

Source: Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of capital: Towards a critical geography* (p. 7). New York: Routledge.

Post-War (1945) Economic and Social Changes in American Cities

DEPOPULATION:
The movement of large portions of the **URBAN** population to expanding **SUBURBAN** communities

DEINDUSTRIALIZATION:
The decline of traditional, city-based and large-scale workforce, **MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES.**



Baltimore's DEPOPULATION and related DEINDUSTRIALIZATION has led to a steep decline in the city's TAX BASE.

TAX BASE: The tax dollars derived from city RESIDENTS and BUSINESSES which provide much of the BUDGET for the OPERATING of CITY SERVICES and PROGRAMS.



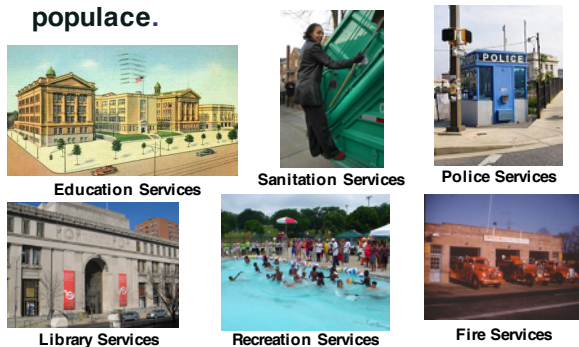
The Core Tenets of Neoliberalism

1. Don't waste public money on social welfare/"social engineering" programs: government retrenchment
2. Provide more money to individuals through lessening the tax burden
3. Develop corporate/business-friendly (anti-union/deregulated) climate to stimulate economic growth through "trickle down economics"
4. Encourage the commercial privatization of all aspects of society
5. Let the "free market" become the regulator of economic and social development
6. Provide productive individuals with increased freedom and opportunity to cultivate their own lives

Post-Industrial Baltimore's Neoliberal Shift



Historically, city governments and administrations were focused on providing services and facilities for the city populace.



The Entrepreneurial [Retrenchment] City



	Social Welfare Baltimore (1930-1980)	Neoliberal Baltimore (1980+)
STYLE OF GOVERNANCE	URBAN MANAGERIAL	URBAN ENTREPRENEURIAL
GOVERNING OBJECTIVE	PUBLIC WELFARE	CAPITAL PROFIT
OWNERSHIP	PUBLIC	INCREASINGLY PRIVATE OUTSOURCING
SITES OF GOVERNANCE	PUBLIC SPACES and SERVICES	COMMERCIAL SPACES and SERVICES

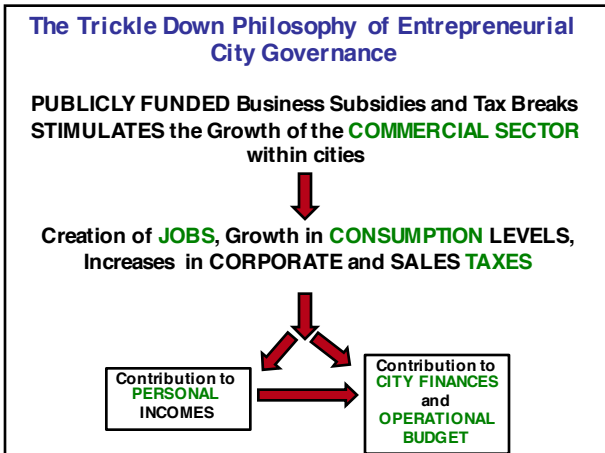
Neoliberalism and the Rise of the Entrepreneurial City

There has been a shift away from **managerial welfare** to **entrepreneurially based city governance**.

A move away from **welfare** to **commercial oriented objectives**.

And, a replacement of the **citizen** with the **consumer** as the focal point of **urban leadership**.

Many urban authorities seem now more interested in providing **consumption spaces/opportunities** rather than **public services**.



Cities of Consumption

“Once cities prospered as places of **industrial production**, and in the industrial era they were engines of **growth and prosperity**. On the eve of the twenty first century, they are becoming **spaces for consumption** in a global economy where **services provide the impetus for expansion**”

(Fainstein & Judd, 1999, p. 2)

Source: Fainstein, S. S., & Judd, D. R. (1999). Global forces, local strategies and urban tourism. In D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 1-20). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Within the post-industrial/entrepreneurial city, **CONSUMPTION SPACES/EXPERIENCES** are positioned as a key:

MOTOR/ENGINE of ECONOMIC GROWTH

From, in a truly **NEOLIBERAL** sense, it is anticipated that capital will **TRICKLE-DOWN** to city **RESIDENTS** (in the form of **employment**) and **TRICKLE-UP** to city **GOVERNMENT** (in the form of **commercial taxes**).

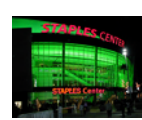
Core Components of the Re-Invented Post-Industrial City

Retail Spaces (shopping sites)



Forum Des Halles
Paris, France

Sport Spaces (spectacle sites)



Staples Center
Los Angeles, USA

Festival Spaces (performance sites)



Eau Claire Festival Market
Calgary, Canada

Leisure Spaces (entertainment sites)



G-Mex Venue
Manchester, England

Hotel Spaces (accommodation sites)



Boreaventure Hotel
Los Angeles, USA

Heritage Spaces (cultural sites)



National Civil Rights Museum
Memphis, USA

Through tax-payer funded **corporate subsidies and commercially-focused initiatives**, **NEOLIBERAL** city governments look to create spectacular **“TOURIST BUBBLES”** (Judd, 1999, p. 53), designed to attract the discretionary leisure income of:



Source: Judd, D. (1999). Constructing the tourist bubble. In S. Fainstein & D. Judd (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 35-53). New Haven, CT: Yale.

The “tourist bubble”, Judd (1999, p. 39) suggests:

“is like a **theme park ... [with] standardized venues ... mass produced**, almost as if they are made in a **tourism infrastructure factory”**.



Source: Judd, D. (1999). Constructing the tourist bubble. In S. Fainstein & D. Judd (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 35-53). New Haven, CT: Yale.

Theme 2:

Baltimore’s Spectacular Reinvention and Corporate Sport

The Reinvented POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

“**deindustrialization and economic restructuring** have left many cities in what used to be the affluent West with few options other than competing with each other to be **centers of shopping and entertainment”**

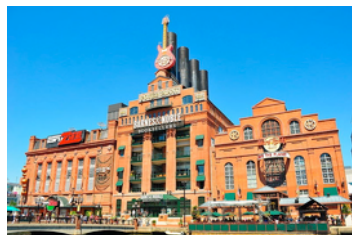
Source: Whitson, D., & Macintosh, D. (1996). The global circus: International sport, tourism, and the marketing of cities. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 20(3), 287.

Industrial Baltimore



Centre of Industrial Production

Post-Industrial Baltimore



Centre of Cultural Consumption



1940s

Demise of Urban Based Industrial Production

Movement of Jobs and Population to Suburbs

Decline of Urban Population, Wealth, and Tax Base

New Forms of Urban Regeneration and Capital Accumulation

2010s

City Becomes a Consumption/Service Zone

The "Greater Baltimore City" Vision

Originated in the 1950s, by Mayor William Donald Schaefer and associates.

Focused on publicly subsidized commercial, entertainment, and tourist projects designed to create a vibrant and economically productive post-industrial Baltimore.



Baltimore's Spectacular Redevelopment: Phase I



Designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

CHARLES CENTER: 33 acre retail, apartments, and office development. Built between 1954 and 1962, at a cost of \$180 million (\$40 million in public subsidies).

Baltimore's Spectacular Redevelopment: Phase II



INNER HARBOR: A 240 acre development incorporating tourist attractions, retail spaces, and offices. Built between 1968 and 1981, at an initial cost of \$180 million (90% public money, including considerable Federal Housing and Urban Development [HUD] money).

"the model for post-industrial waterfront redevelopment around the world."



Source: "Announcement of 2009 ULI Awards for Excellence." Urban Land Institute, Atlanta, April 24, 2009.

The Publicly Subsidized Creation of Post-Industrial Baltimore

Retail Spaces
(shopping sites)



The Gallery

Sport Spaces
(spectacle sites)



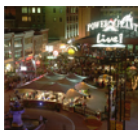
Oriole Park at Camden Yards

Festival Spaces
(performance sites)



Harbor Place Amphitheater

Leisure Spaces
(entertainment sites)



Power Plant Live!

Hotel Spaces
(accommodation sites)



Hilton Hotel

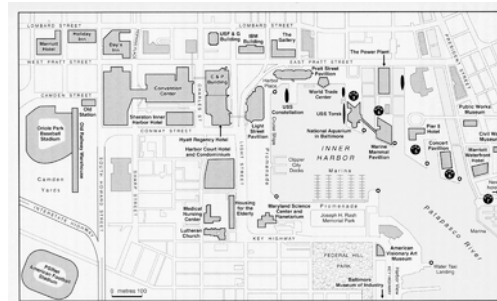
Heritage Spaces
(cultural sites)



National Aquarium

Baltimore's "Tourist Bubble"

Service and Entertainment Core



Tangible Benefits (according to the Maryland Stadium Authority):
 i. National/International recognition
 ii. 70 buildings constructed
 iii. 30,000 Jobs
 iv. \$2 billion of investment in downtown

Post-Industrial Baltimore's "Tourist Bubble"



See Video Clip 1

Baltimore's Spectacular Redevelopment: Phase III

Being a "Major League" city:

"SPORT has become an important part of the way in which cities have attempted to create, espouse and transmit images of the city as a reinvigorated centre of spectacle, pleasure and play"

Source: Smith, A. (2001). Sporting a new image? Sport-based regeneration strategies as a means of enhancing the image of the city tourist destination. In C. Gratton & I. P. Henry (Eds.), Sport in the city: The role of sport in economic and social regeneration (pp. 127-148). London: Routledge.

Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA)



Mission:

- To plan, finance, build and manage sports and entertainment facilities in Maryland.
- Provide enjoyment, enrichment, education, and business opportunities for citizens.
- Develop partnerships with local governments, universities, private enterprise, and the community.

"Its mandate includes creating public-private partnerships for financing and operating facilities."

Source: Maryland Stadium Authority: www.mdstad.com/the-mission-and-vision-statement

Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA): Baltimore Projects



M&T Bank Stadium



Baltimore Convention Center

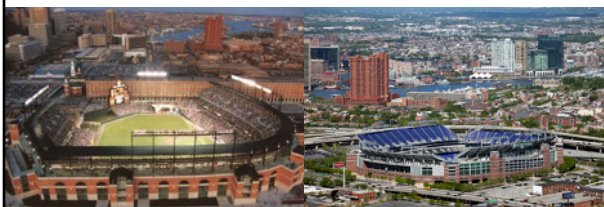


Orioles Park at Camden Yards



Hippodrome Performing Arts Center

Baltimore's Publicly Subsidized Stadia/Teams



Oriole Park at Camden Yards

M&T Bank Stadium

Total Public Funding/Subsidy:
\$208.6 million

Total Public Funding/Subsidy:
\$414 million

Sources of Public Funding:
State funds

Sources of Public Funding:
State revenue bonds
State lottery funds
Stadium Authority Revenues

Main Tenants: Baltimore Orioles

Main Tenants: Baltimore Ravens

Postindustrial Baltimore




Deindustrializing Baltimore

Oriole Park Subsidies*

50% of Land Acquisition and Site Preparation	\$44.5 million
Construction Costs	\$7.0 million
Train Infrastructure	\$8.6 million
Roads	\$8.2 million
Light Rail Station	0.3 million
Total Subsidies	\$208.6 million

Source: EIR. (2006). The Case of Baltimore: Deindustrialization Creates 'Death Zones'. Executive Intelligence Review, 4-20.

Postindustrial Baltimore



Deindustrializing Baltimore

Source: EIR. (2006). The Case of Baltimore: Deindustrialization Creates 'Death Zones'. *Executive Intelligence Review*, 4-20.

Ravens Stadium Subsidies*	
50% of Land Acquisition and Site Preparation	\$44.5 million
Construction of Costs	217.0 million
Light Rail	5.0 million
Personal Seat Licenses	75.0 million
Naming Rights	69.5 million
Lease Savings on Training Facility	1.0 million
Memorial Stadium Upgrade	2.0 million
Total	\$414.0 million

Sources of NFL Stadium Funding

Stadium/Team	Team	Year Opened	Total Project Cost	Private Funding		Public Funding	
				Total	% of Total	Total	% of Total
San Francisco 49ers (Proposed)	San Francisco 49ers	2015	\$987.0	\$873.0	88%	\$114.0	12%
MetLife Stadium	Giants/Jets	2010	\$1,600.0	\$1,600.0	100%	\$0.0	0%
Cowboys Stadium	Dallas Cowboys	2009	\$1,194.0	\$750.0	63%	\$444.0	37%
Lucas Oil Stadium	Indianapolis Colts	2008	\$719.6	\$100.0	14%	\$619.6	86%
University of Phoenix Stadium	Arizona Cardinals	2006	\$455.0	\$147.0	32%	\$308.0	68%
Lincoln Financial Field	Philadelphia Eagles	2003	\$518.0	\$330.0	64%	\$188.0	36%
Soldier Field (renovation)	Chicago Bears	2003	\$387.0	\$200.0	54%	\$187.0	48%
Lambeau Field (renovation)	Green Bay Packers	2003	\$295.2	\$126.1	43%	\$169.1	57%
Gillette Stadium	New England Patriots	2002	\$412.0	\$340.0	83%	\$72.0	17%
Ford Field	Detroit Lions	2002	\$440.0	\$330.0	75%	\$110.0	25%
Reliant Stadium	Houston Texans	2002	\$474.0	\$185.0	39%	\$289.0	61%
CenturyLink Field	Seattle Seahawks	2002	\$461.3	\$161.0	35%	\$300.3	65%
Heinz Field	Pittsburgh Steelers	2001	\$300.8	\$109.2	36%	\$191.6	61%
Sports Authority Field at Mile High	Denver Broncos	2001	\$400.8	\$111.8	28%	\$289.0	72%
Paul Brown Stadium	Cincinnati Bengals	2000	\$449.8	\$25.0	6%	\$424.8	94%
LP Field	Tennessee Titans	1999	\$291.7	\$84.8	29%	\$206.9	71%
Cleveland Browns Stadium	Cleveland Browns	1999	\$271.0	\$71.0	26%	\$200.0	74%
M&T Bank Stadium	Baltimore Ravens	1998	\$226.0	\$22.4	10%	\$203.6	90%
Raymond James Stadium	Tampa Bay Buccaneers	1998	\$194.0	\$0.0	0%	\$194.0	100%
FedEx Field	Washington Redskins	1997	\$250.5	\$160.0	64%	\$90.5	36%
Average			\$525.4	\$287.3	44%	\$238.1	56%


Theme 3:

**Feeding the Downtown
"Sporting" Monster**

According to cultural geographer David Harvey (2001), in re-developed cities such as Baltimore, continual public investment is needed to perpetually UPGRADE the DOWNTOWN AMENITIES AND INFRASTRUCTURE in order to keep it COMPETITIVE WITH RIVAL CITIES.

RIVAL CITIES VYING FOR the same:

- business investment
- tourist dollars
- new residents



"Feeding the downtown monster" (Harvey, 2001, p. 141): a monster which is never satisfied due to the need for continual REDEVELOPMENT and UPGRADING in order to remain competitive.



Source: Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of capital: Towards a critical geography*. New York: Routledge.

Feeding the Downtown Monster

"The Baltimore City government has spent \$2 billion in building and maintaining Baltimore's tourist facilities since the 1970s, and hundreds of millions more in subsidies to tourism-related businesses. These cost demands continue and will always remain high, because to MAINTAIN ITSELF AS A TOURIST DESTINATION, Baltimore must constantly add something new. For example, in December 2005, the city announced an expansion to the famous Aquarium featured at its Inner Harbor tourist center."

Source: EIR. (2006). The Case of Baltimore: Deindustrialization Creates 'Death Zones'. *Executive Intelligence Review*, 4-20.

There is also a perceived need to continually **Feed the Downtown SPORTING Monster**.

There is INTENSE COMPETITION between post-industrial cities vying to be a MAJOR LEAGUE city, and hopefully attract **business investment, tourist dollars, and new residents.**

POST-INDUSTRIAL INTER-URBAN COMPETITION



Feeding the Downtown SPORTING Monster

Involves CITY government's providing **PUBLICLY-FUNDED:**

1. **Tax and Business Subsidies** to attract the team or event to the city/ensure it remains there
2. **Building facilities** to attract the team or event to the city/ensure it remains there

Why do local governments/politicians place so much emphasis on attracting and retaining "major league" sport?

If you "lose" a team to a **COMPETING CITY:**

"Politicians continue to believe that it would be political disaster to lose a team on their watch."

Source: DeMause, N. (2011, July 27). Why Do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums? Public subsidies for sports facilities are a great deal for everyone involved—except the public. *The Nation*, 14-17.

In Baltimore's case, the established nature of the Orioles and Ravens means that **FEEDING THE DOWNTOWN SPORTING MONSTER** requires developing **new sporting events/attractions/facilities** designed to further the city's **CULTURAL** and **COMMERCIAL** appeal.

The Baltimore Grand Prix (2011-?) as Neoliberal "Game Changer"



Indy Car Series/American Le Man Series Race



"When the race was announced in June 2010, Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake claimed it would be a "game changer", impacting both the city's declining economic fortunes and the negative perception of the city held by potential visitors."

Source: Friedman, M.T., Bustad, J.J., & Andrews, D.L. (2013.pdf). Feeding the downtown monster: (Re)developing Baltimore's 'tourist bubble'. *City, Culture and Society*, 3(3), 209-218.

Neoliberal Governance and the Baltimore Grand Prix



Driving Around the Virtual City



See Video Clip 2

Neoliberal City Politics and Sporting Spectacle

"The naysayers certainly had their day...until the race started...Anytime you do something big you take a risk...I had the opportunity to let Baltimore shine."

Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake
Mayoral Election Day: September 13



Source: Scharper, J., Hermann, P., Linskey, A. (2011, September 5.). A jubilant finish line for the Grand Prix. *The Baltimore Sun*.

Benefiting Baltimore Citizens?



Trickle-Down Grand Prix Racing?



Costs to City:
\$7.7 million (approx)
(roadwork, police, clean-up etc.)

Projected Returns:
\$70-\$100 million
(tax revenue, extra jobs, related spending)

Actual Returns:
City did not recover capital cost investment

Source: Friedman, M.T., Bustad, J.J., & Andrews, D.L. (2013.pdf). Feeding the downtown monster: (Re)developing Baltimore's "tourist bubble". *City, Culture and Society*, 3(3), 209-218.

Once supportive, the ECONOMIC failure of the BGP prompted Baltimore City council president, Jack Young, to call for it to be dropped:

"I initially supported the Grand Prix because I thought it would be worthwhile and because from time to time cities need to explore fresh ideas to generate revenue and attract visitors. But to continue to pursue the race, which has incurred a large amount debt, is not the best option at a time when so many other important programs and services lack much-needed support."



Source: Young, J. (2012, January 11). Young: Drop the Grand Prix. *The Baltimore Sun*. www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-grand-prix-20120111,0,4169091.story

The Next Big Thing?



Baltimore Convention Center and Arena Redevelopment

Recognising Inter-Urban Competition and the Need to “Feed the Downtown Monster”



See Video Clip 3

There is considerable evidence to suggest that the financial impact of professional sport events/teams/stadia on CITY ECONOMIES in general is at best NEGLIGIBLE.

While investors/owners may benefit, there is little evidence of an economic TRICKLE DOWN EFFECT when it comes to sport events/teams/stadia.

Numerous researchers have identified little or no added benefit to CITY ECONOMIES:

POSITIVE APPROACH TO SPORT FOCUSED URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES	NEGATIVE APPROACH TO SPORT FOCUSED URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES
1. Job creation within sectors directly and indirectly related to the event/team/stadium	1. The majority of jobs are low-paid, hourly/seasonal, and lack benefits
2. Tax boost to local government from the profits of to the event/team/stadium	2. Publicly funded subsidies/tax concessions to owners often negate potential tax revenue generated
3. Increased consumer spending, business profits, and related tax generation within local economy	3. Research suggests very little NEW spending is created, such events draw consumption from other sites.
4. Infrastructure improvements to the city	4. Many improvements specific to facility/venue, with little wider benefit
SUMMARY: SPORT EVENT/TEAM STADIUM AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTOR TO THE LOCAL ECONOMY	SUMMARY: SPORT EVENT/TEAM STADIUM A QUESTIONABLE CONTRIBUTOR TO THE LOCAL ECONOMY

As Frank Rashid, co-founder of the Tiger Stadium Fan Club noted:

“Public subsidies for stadiums are a great deal for team owners, league executives, developers, bond attorneys, construction firms, politicians and everyone in the stadium food chain, but a really terrible deal for everyone else.”

Source: DeMause, N. (2011, July 27). Why Do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums? Public subsidies for sports facilities are a great deal for everyone involved—except the public. *The Nation*, 14-17.

SYMBOLIC (POLITICAL) AS OPPOSED TO REAL (ECONOMIC) BENEFITS?



Ravens Fans: Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake and Governor Martin O'Malley



Source: Delaney, Kevin, & Eckstein, Rick. (2008). Local Media Coverage of Sport Stadium Initiatives. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 32(1), 72-93.

The Helicopter Effect?

According to Allen Sanderson, the University of Chicago economist:



“If you want to inject money into the local economy, it would be better to drop it from a helicopter than invest it in a new ballpark”

Source: DeMause, N. (2011, July 27). Why Do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums? Public subsidies for sports facilities are a great deal for everyone involved—except the public. *The Nation*, 14-17.

An economic success story?

Both Orioles Park at Camden Yards and Raven's Stadium generate considerably less from jobs and out-of-state resident spending than their costs to taxpayers in inflation adjusted **INTEREST** (on initial building costs) and **DEPRECIATION** (of facilities).

Cost to Maryland tax payer:

Oriole Park at Camden Yards



\$14 million

M&T Bank Stadium



\$18 million

Source: EIR. (2006). The Case of Baltimore: Deindustrialization Creates 'Death Zones'. *Executive Intelligence Review*, 4-20.

Theme 4:

Neoliberal Baltimore's Privileged Spaces (and Populations)

The Entrepreneurial [Retrenchment] City



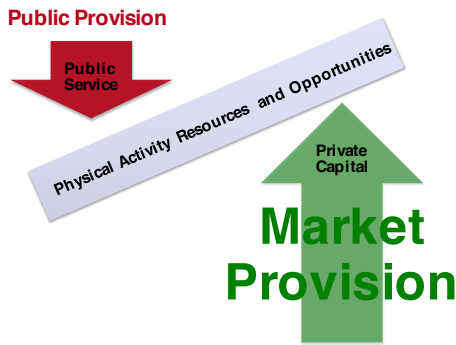
Privatization/Reduction of Public Services and Spaces

NEOLIBERALISM and the IDEOLOGY of INDIVIDUALISM



The neoliberal urban order providing individuals with opportunities in the consumer marketplace.

The Physical Activity Balance in the Neoliberal City



1. Public Provision

Based on idea that **access to physical activity, health, and wellness** is a civil right, and there should be free and equal access to physical activity resources and opportunities to all citizens.

2. Market Provision

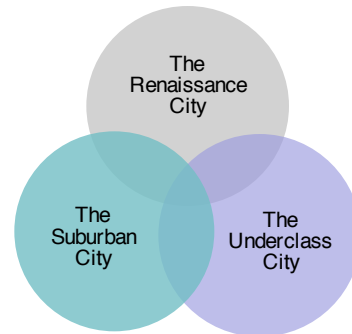
Based on idea that **freedom of choice** is best served through the **free market** where individuals can **choose, and pay for**, their own activity/health related practices.

The dominance of the **privatized physical activity marketplace** has created:

“a dominant mode of consumption in which **the majority** will satisfy most of its [physical activity] consumption **through private purchase...**” (p. 318).

Source: Saunders, P. (1979). *Urban politics: A sociological interpretation*. London: Hutchinson.

Three Neoliberal Baltimores



Source: Levine, M. V. (2000). "A third-world city in the first world": Social exclusion, racial inequality, and sustainable development in Baltimore. In M. Polèse & R. Stren (Eds.), *The social sustainability of cities: Diversity and the management of change* (pp. 123-156). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Physical Culture and the Renaissance City

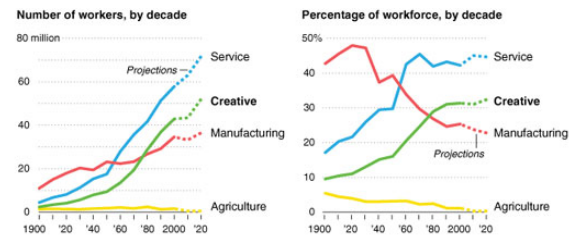
The postindustrial **redevelopment/regeneration** or **RENAISSANCE** of cities focuses on policies designed to attract the **RIGHT** (particularly in terms of **economics/consumer power**) population into cities.

Most highly prized are what Richard Florida (2002) dubbed the **"creative class"**.



Source: Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise Of The Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community And Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

The [Economic] Rise and Importance of the Creative Class



	Creative Class	Service	Manufacturing	Agriculture
Workforce	31.0%	45.7	23.1	0.3
Wages paid	49.8%	30.6	19.6	0.1

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SOURCE: KEVIN STOLARICK, GRAPHIC BY RYAN MORRIS



According to Florida (2002), the creative class is another important **MOTOR** of the **ECONOMY** within the post-industrial city, both in terms of the new **technologically-based industries** they work in, and in the **experientially oriented and consumption-based lifestyles** they create for themselves.



Living in the **right urban environment** (diverse, eclectic, dynamic, stimulating), is a key feature of the **experiential existence** desired by the creative class.

The very idea of the **CREATIVE CLASS** has had a significant influence in shaping **housing, commercial, and urban development strategies and initiatives**, all designed to reinvent the city as a place that would **ATTRACT** this desired population.

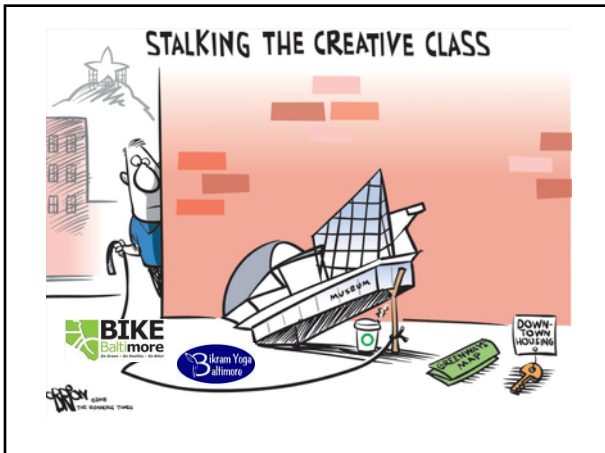


American Can Company, Canton



Hampden Neighborhood

GENTRIFICATION: Redevelopment of previously poor and/or industrial neighborhoods into attractive (to the creative class) commercial and residential spaces: **DISPLACEMENT** of poorer populations for the more affluent.



It is also about encouraging appropriate LEISURE services and experiences for the creative class to attract them and keep them in the urban core.

“The ideal (for the creative class) is to ‘live the life’ – a creative life packed-full of intense, high-quality, multidimensional experiences. And the kinds of experiences they crave for reflect and reinforce their identities as creative people They favour active, participatory recreation over passive spectator sports. They like indigenous street-level culture – a teeming blend of cafes, sidewalk musicians, and small galleries and bistros, where it is hard to draw the line between participant and observer, or between creativity and its creators.

(Florida 2002, p. 166)

Source: Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise Of The Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community And Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

The Creative Class and Physical Culture

Highly educated and individualistic professionals (with relatively high levels of discretionary income, and a willingness to use it), interested in involvement in a wide range of **PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES/EXPERIENCES as PARTICIPANTS** as opposed to **SPECTATORS**.

Creative Class Activities:

- Climbing
- Running
- Working Out
- Snowboarding
- Road Cycling
- Mountain Cycling
- Kayaking
- Yoga

“creative” and “freelance qualities” (Banks, 2009, p. 674)

Source: Banks, M. (2009). Fit and working again? The instrumental leisure of the "creative class". *Environment and Planning A*, 41, 668-681.

Downtown Spaces of [Commercial] Play



South Baltimore CrossFit: The Creative Class in Action?



See Video Clip 4

Privatized Physical Activity

(Baltimore median household income: \$30,078)

Annual Memberships

Merritt Athletic Club: \$540-\$1020

CrossFit Harbor East: \$2200


Bikram Yoga Baltimore: \$1200

Charm City Slackers



Slacklining:

"The art of balancing on a 1" or 2" wide piece of nylon webbing tensioned between two anchor points. The line is dynamic and stretches and bounces, which helps you improve your balance, focus, breath work, and core strength, and allows you to do a variety of tricks after you've mastered walking." (Charm City Slackers, 2013)



The Fittest & FATTEST Cities in America

According to *Men's Fitness* editor, Neil Boulton:

"Baltimore is a paragon of urban renewal. That's why it's the fittest city, that's why it's the comeback city"

In the words of then mayor, Martin O'Malley:

"You see some neighborhoods starting to grow again, and attracting younger people. With those younger people coming, there's a number of gyms now...In every growing neighborhood, you look for two leading signs — one is a gym and the other is a Starbucks."

Source: Associated Press (2006, January 6). Baltimore surprised by new title: America's fittest city. *USA Today*.
http://www.usatoday.com/news/health/2006-01-06-fittest-city_x.htm

Reality or Hype?

"Perhaps the best that can be said about the creative-class idea is that it follows a real, if overhyped, phenomenon: **the movement of young, largely single, childless and sometimes gay people into urban neighborhoods**. This Soho-ization—the transformation of older, often industrial urban areas into hip enclaves—is evident in scores of cities."

Score: Kotkin, J. (2013, March 20). Richard Florida Concedes the Limits of the Creative Class. *The Daily Beast*.

Redesigning the City as a "Playground" for the Creative Class?



Courting the Creative Class

Physical Culture and the Suburban City

Those living in relatively wealthy (for not all suburbs are) middle/upper class SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES, experience what is known as:

PRIVILEGE AMPLIFICATION

As a result of their levels of capital, and the advantages derived from living in an area with a **WELL-FUNDED** (through the tax base) local government and public services.

This is evident within **SUBURBAN** access to and experience of **PHYSICAL CULTURE/ACTIVITY**.

Privatized Sport/Physical Culture Delivery



Welcome to Keith Van Eron Pro Soccer

Summer and School Year Soccer Camps
 Goalkeeper Training
 Indoor and Outdoor Leagues
 Soccer classes starting at age 3

Latest News

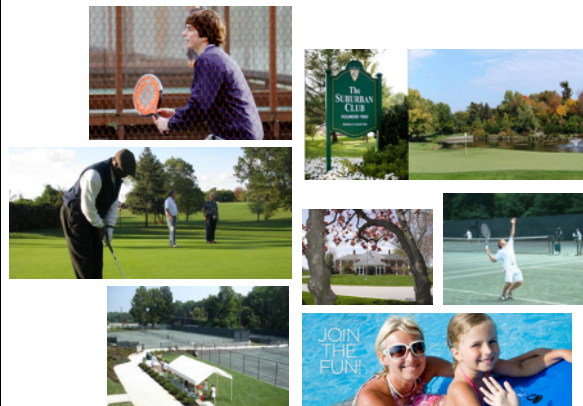
ADDRESS OF NEW INDOOR ARENA 10A CLUBHOUSE RE CORNER OF GARDNER-WARDEN ROAD
 NEW INDOOR SUMMER KIDNEY KICKS CAMP IN AIR CONDITIONED INDOOR ARENA EVERY WEEK OF THE SUMMER AGES 3 & ONLY HALF DAY 7:00am-11:00am CASH \$100
 DIRECTIONS TO THE NEW ARENA 10A NORTH TO GOLF (10th Avenue Rd) First light make a left on Weaver Dam Rd First light in Beaver Dam Rd make a right this is Beaver Dam Rd against First light on this rd make a right onto Grove Rd First light on this road a CLUBHOUSE RD MAKE A LEFT ONTO CLUBHOUSE TEN CLUBHOUSE

Neo-Liberal Swimming Culture



PRIVATIZED AND MARKET REGULATED PHYSICAL CULTURE PROVISION AND EXPERIENCE

Baltimore Country Club Culture



PRIVATE SCHOOLS are, by their very nature, privatized and commercial institutions.

Often times, an important part of what you purchase through private schools is **access to physical activity-related facilities, programs, and opportunities.**

GILMAN

REDMOND C.S. FINNEY ATHLETIC CENTER

Indoor athletic facilities:

- Athletic arena (for basketball, volleyball, wrestling, and other indoor spectator sports)
- Utility gymnasium
- Auxiliary gymnasium
- Full-size, 25-meter swimming pool
- Weightroom - newly renovated
- Locker rooms and laundry facilities (The Cage)
- Conference rooms
- Athletics Office Suite

Outdoor athletic facilities:

- Three game fields (for football, soccer, lacrosse, and other field sports)
- Olympic 400-meter track
- Nine tennis courts
- Six practice fields, including one with an all-weather artificial surface
- The Alpine Tower, a 40-foot climbing structure
- Ample athletic event parking (Some sports, such as ice hockey, golf, rowing, and squash, are held at off-campus locations.)



Roland Park Country School

A college preparatory school educating girls and young women from Kindergarten through Grade 12



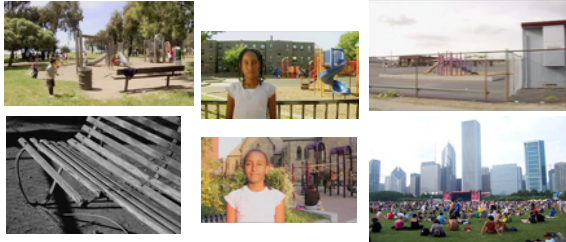
Public Sport/Physical Culture Delivery

Both PARKS and PLAYGROUNDS (and indeed other public recreational spaces) are PRODUCTS and PRODUCERS of the ENVIRONMENTS in which they are LOCATED.

Source: Ries, A. V., Gittelsohn, J., Voorhees, C. C., Roche, K. M., Clifton, K. J., & Astone, N. M. (2008). The environment and urban adolescents' use of recreational facilities for physical activity: A qualitative study. *American Journal of Health Promotion*, 23(1), 43-50.

A Park is Never Just a Park

Public parks are potentially important public spaces where the populace can **recreate, interact in safe and welcoming surroundings, and thereby and strengthen community identity and involvement (social capital).**



Conversely, where parks are poorly maintained, and/or become magnets for crime, the local community is unlikely to use them as a gathering place and source of social capital. Here, the park becomes a source of **NEIGHBORHOOD BLIGHT** rather than a **NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRIBUTE**.

The "Safe" Park

"A dynamic place where the design, maintenance, and policing of the park work together so that the general public perceives the park as a safe place, wants to go to the park regularly, and spends their optional time in the park engaged in valued activities. Crime and disorder is limited, and diverse usage of the park by different groups is tolerated. Legal activities are the dominant activities in the park. Because the local community values the park, it has a sense of "ownership" of it, and there are sufficient numbers of users who act as "natural guardians" to ensure informal social control. They also support formal interventions by park management and police when such interventions are necessary" (p.5).

- Parents take children there
- Females go there as often as males
- Elderly people regularly visit the park
- Workers have lunch or take breaks there

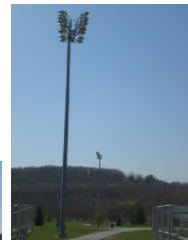
Source: Hilborn, J. (2009). Dealing with crime and disorder in urban parks. *Problem-Oriented Guides for Polices Response Guides Series, No. 9*. U.S. Department of Justice: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

The Archetypal SUBURBAN PARK



Location: Baltimore County
 Size: 96.2 acres
 Land Cost: \$4.8 million
 Site Development Costs: \$3.375 million
 Construction Began: Summer 2001
 Construction Completed: Fall 2002

Model Facilities

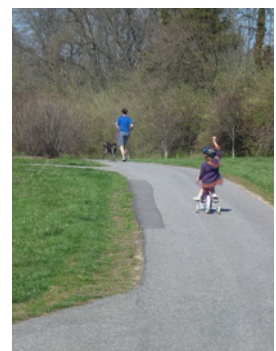


Meticulous Maintenance



Managed and Welcoming Environment

Mixed-Use (Population and Practices)



Concerted Cultivation as Cultural Norm



Class Habitus and Active Lifestyle Culture

Social Capital and Connectivity



**Community Building:
Durable and
Recognizable Social
Networks**

**Physical Activity/Culture
BASED SUBURBAN
(middle/upper middle class):**

PRIVILEGE AMPLIFICATION

Theme 5:

**Neoliberal Baltimore's
Under-Privileged Spaces
(and Populations)**

The Fantasy Neoliberal City



There has been the creation of a "fantasy city" (Hannigan, 1998), in which the Inner Harbor both presents an unreal perception of city life and shields both suburbanites and tourists from Baltimore's continuing urban problems.

Source: Hannigan, J. (2001). *Fantasy city: Pleasure and profit in the postmodern metropolis*. London: Routledge.

REDUCED TAX BASE
(depopulation and decline in industrial output)

+

**REDIRECTION OF PUBLIC MONIES TO
ENTREPRENEURIAL GOVERNANCE STRATEGIES**
(capital investment in "tourist bubble" developments and corporate subsidies)

=

**SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION IN CITY'S
OPERATING BUDGET, AND A RELATED
REDUCTION (RETRENCHMENT) IN
PUBLIC SERVICES AND PROGRAMS**

The Entrepreneurial [Retrenchment] City



Reduction of Public Services and Spaces

The Entrepreneurial [Retrenchment] City



Disinvestment and **Decline** in Public Services

The Entrepreneurial [Retrenchment] City



Disinvestment and **Decline** in Public Spaces

Social Disparities Within the Neoliberal City

Those with sufficiently **AFFLUENT** (creative classes/urban and suburban middle/upper classes) can avail themselves of **PRIVATIZED services and programming** (health/education/recreation)

However, the most economically **VULNERABLE** populations (the urban lower classes) were left **underserved** by the **NEOLIBERAL RETRENCHMENT IN PUBLIC** services and programming.

The "Rot Beneath the Glitter" (Harvey, 2001)

The image of the Inner Harbor draws attention away from the very real social problems that continue to plague Baltimore, and that have not been addressed by the **URBAN ENTREPRENEURIAL** redevelopment of the city's **COMMERCIAL CORE**.

These lingering problems include:

- **UNEMPLOYMENT**
- **POVERTY**
- **EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT**
- **DRUG USE**
- **CRIME**
- **HEALTH**

[See Video Clip 5](#)

Source: Harvey, D. (2001). *Spaces of capital: Towards a critical geography* (p. 140). New York: Routledge.

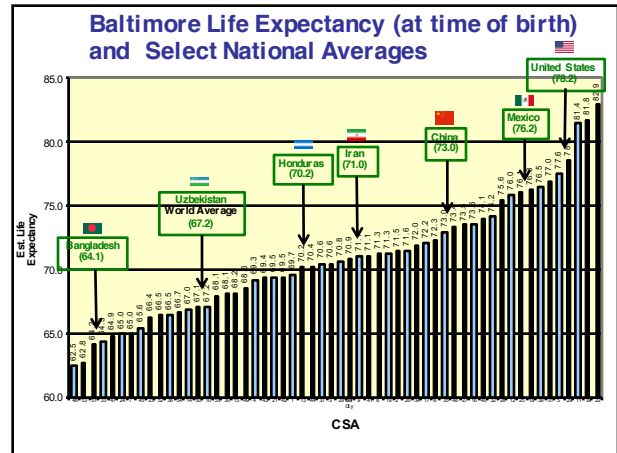
Faultlines: Baltimore - Anatomy of a City



[See Video Clip 5](#)

“A third-world city in the first world”

Source: Levine, M. V. (2000). "A third-world city in the first world": Social exclusion, racial inequality, and sustainable development in Baltimore. In M. Polèse & R. Stren (Eds.), *The social sustainability of cities: Diversity and the management of change* (pp. 123-156). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.



Physical Culture and the *Underclass City*

“Deprivation Amplification”

“a pattern of diminished opportunities related to the features of the local environment. In places where people have fewer personal resources, the local facilities that enable people to lead healthy lives are poorer than in areas that are not impoverished and socially deprived (p. S55).”

Source: Taylor, W. C., Floyd, M. F., Whitt-Glover, M. C., & Brooks, J. (2007). Environmental justice: A framework for collaboration Between the public health and parks and recreation fields to study disparities in physical activity. *Journal of Physical Activity & Health*, 4(S1), S50-S63.

Within the **ENTREPRENEURIAL [RETRENCHMENT] CITY**, there has been a marked **DISINVESTMENT** and **DECLINE** in **PHYSICAL ACTIVITY-RELATED PUBLIC SERVICES, PROGRAMS, and SPACES.**

Effects of Cuts in Recreation and Parks 1993-2010 budget:

- Reduction in staff numbers
- Increase in activity fees
- Decline in organized football and baseball leagues
- Field and facility poorly maintained
- Playgrounds (80%) unsafe
- One maintenance worker for every 101 acres

Source: Farrey, T. (2009). The greatest city in America: Baltimore, Maryland. In *Game on: How the pressure to win at all costs endangers youth sports, and what parents can do about it* (pp.227-251): ESPN Books.

The “Risky” Park

“A place where crime and disorder has become the norm to the degree that local users consider the park unsafe, try to avoid being in the park, and limit their time in the park to necessary activities. Crime and public disorder such as vandalism, littering, dog fouling, alcohol and drug abuse, and public sex have become the dominant activities in the park.” (p. 6)

- People go through the park as quickly as possible
- Drunken people hang out there
- Young males dominate the setting
- It is littered with syringes and beer bottles
- Younger children don't play there.

Source: Hilborn, J. (2009). Dealing with crime and disorder in urban parks. *Problem-Oriented Guides for Polices Response Guides Series, No. 9*. U.S. Department of Justice: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Unwelcoming and Unsafe (Underused) PUBLIC SPACES I



Decades of Decline and Disinvestment

From the early 1990s, public provision for recreation in Baltimore city has been in steady decline due to increased budget pressures:

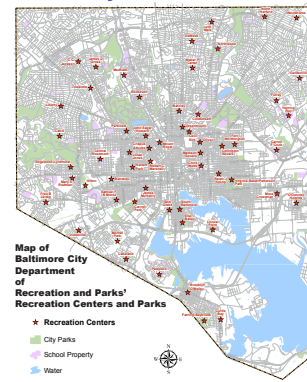
1993: 143 Recreation Centers
 ↓
2010: 55 Recreation Centers
 ↓
2013: 31 Recreation Centers

The Neoliberalizing Recreation Center?



1993:
143 Recreation Centers
 ↓
2010:
55 Recreation Centers
 ↓
2012:
11 "Community" Centers
44 out for private tender

Baltimore City Recreation Centers 2010



Source: <http://www.baltimorecity.gov/Government/Agencies/DepartmentofRecreationandParks.aspx>

The Model "Community" Center
 (for every 50,000 of population)

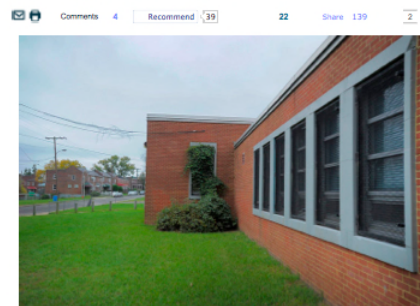


CLIFTON PARK RECREATION CENTER
 BALTIMORE CITY DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND PARKS
 MARCH 16, 2009

VIEW FROM THE POOL AREA
 SCHEMATIC DESIGN

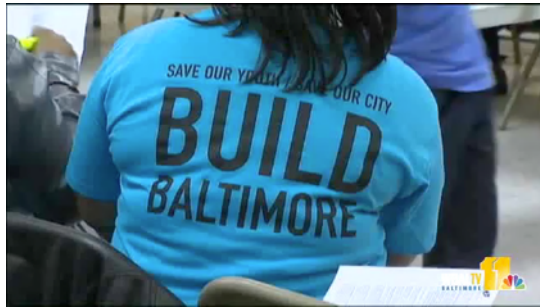
The Private Marketplace

City gets few bids to run rec centers
 Programs could close, mayoral aide says



The exterior of the Hilton Recreation Center on Wednesday. Baltimore has received bids to run only seven of the 31 recreation centers that officials hope to hand over to third parties by the end of the year; the dearth of applications raises the prospect that some will be forced to close. (Jill Martin/Ferret/The Baltimore Sun / October 12, 2011)

Public Concerns Over Recreation Center Plan



See Video Clip 6

[Illegal] Baltimore Dirt Bike Subculture



The Twelve O'Clock Boys



See Video Clip 7

An Urban Subculture of Recreation and Protest

“The riders, converging from all parts of the inner city, regard their practice **both as a recreation and a protest**. The dirt bike culture of Baltimore is a primal and **energetic response to the tension between social classes**. When the riders embark on the city, they suddenly have a platform. It plays on the delicacy of their lives as they know it from their marginalized communities.”

Source: Nathan, L. (2010). Twelve O'Clock Baltimore. <http://www.kickstarter.com/projects/1457073935/twelve-oclock-in-baltimore>

“This is our tradition, our culture, this is what we do. Ain't no one going to take it from us. This is our release.”

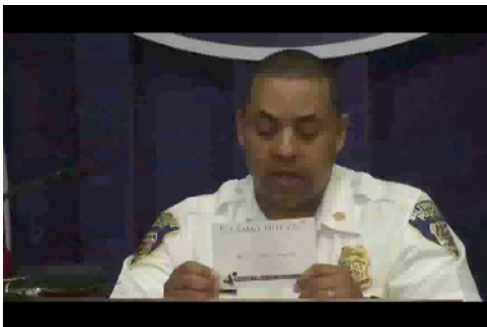


“It's a fucked up situation within the city. We're trying to change that the best way we know how.”



“They're closing all the recs, they're closing all the rec centers, so what's a child to do. Tell me something new.”

The Police Response



Source: Fenton, J. (2013, April 19). Baltimore dirt bikes seized in police raid of repair shop 16 bikes seized: Riders say crackdown is unfair. *The Baltimore Sun*. [See Video Clip 8](#)

Physical Activity/Culture BASED URBAN (under/lower class):

DEPRIVATION AMPLIFICATION

Interestingly...

The Baltimore Orioles and Ravens, having received considerable public subsidies for the building of their new stadia, refused a \$1 tax on every ticket that would have gone to funding parks and recreation (and hence physical activity) in the city. As such, they both:

“balked at a direct subsidy to [public] recreation” (p. 233).

Source: Farrey, T. (2009). The greatest city in America: Baltimore, Maryland. In *Game on: How the pressure to win at all costs endangers youth sports, and what parents can do about it* (pp.227-251): ESPN Books.

A Wavering Belief in Entrepreneurial City Governance?

“Our recreation centers keep kids safe, healthy and off the streets, and it's our responsibility to protect the interests of our children and our communities. What does it say about our priorities as a city when we will move heaven and Earth to continue a street race but will turn our backs on our most vulnerable citizens?..

...Ultimately, city government needs to dedicate its attention to things like retaining and expanding recreation centers for our children and seniors, and to operating swimming pools during the summer for our youths on a full-time basis. We should focus more of our attention toward our neighborhoods and work to improve the everyday lives of our citizens.

City officials, including myself, supported the Baltimore Grand Prix because we believed the race would have a positive impact on our city. But the time has come for us to instead focus on core issues that impact the quality of life for all Baltimoreans.”

Source: Young, J. (2012, January 11). Young: Drop the Grand Prix. *The Baltimore Sun*. www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-grand-prix-20120111,0,4169091.story

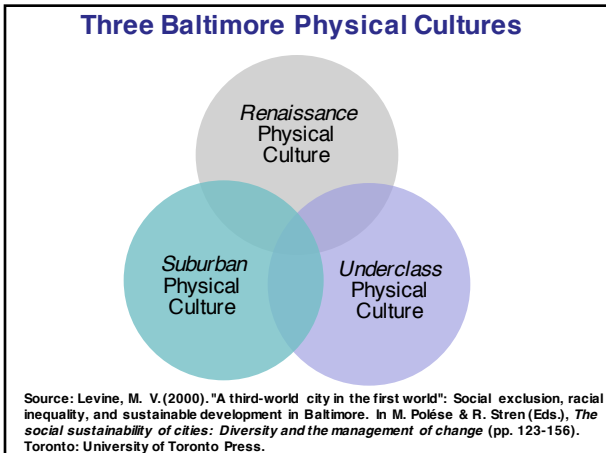
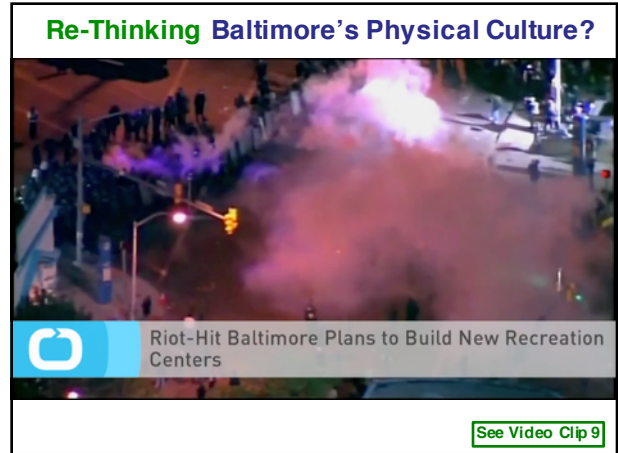
William B. Marker, a Baltimore lawyer and community activist who sued unsuccessfully for a referendum on the stadium bills:

“What if that money [the public funds spent on Orioles Park] had been spent on schools and drug treatment?...Who knows what would have been.”

Source: Kilar, S. (2010). The economics of Oriole Park. *Baltimore Urban Affairs Report*, <http://bmore.jschool.umd.edu/summer11/?p=65>

Baltimore Social Unrest 2015





See course website for related required readings, video clips, key concepts, thematic review questions, and essay question.