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Urban Studies

**Placemaking and the Community Stadium: achieving the
benefits of stadium development**

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Abstract

This research recommends how stadia can be used effectively within placemaking, considering three case studies of ‘community stadia’ designed with the fundamental aim of serving the local community. Interviews with individuals with experience of stadium planning, analysis of related documentation, and observation, assess research questions covering the consideration of placemaking principles during the planning process, the impact of stadia upon design and place quality, and implications for place identity. Within a complex planning environment in which viability concerns heavily shaped development proposals, principal results include the challenging tension between the requirement for stadia to function both effectively on a matchday and as a successful everyday place, and the partial bridging of this divide through their role as an urban landmark shaping place identity. This work recommends: collaboration between actors to develop solutions meeting community needs; using brownfield urban sites where possible to achieve the benefits of organic activity and regenerative impact; devising clear strategies to create a destination with a strong sense of place; and emphasising place identity to produce a distinctive landmark. Within a planning context in which stadium-led regeneration is increasingly common, community stadia offer valuable opportunities for achieving wider benefits from stadium development.

14,830 words

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1.0 Introduction

“Some people think football is a matter of life and death. I assure you, it’s much, much more important than that” (Bill Shankly).

Although it would be somewhat overzealous to begin by claiming the subject of this dissertation is a matter of life and death, the multifaceted significance of football stadia to the urban environment is a fundamental underlying argument. As Frank and Steets (2010:3) contend, “football is an integral part of everyday life, with the capacity to establish communities that transcend spatial and social boundaries”. The spaces through which these processes manifest, therefore, form an influential component of the urban environment; football stadia use a large amount of space, are usually one of the most recognisable, iconic buildings within a town or city (Bale 1995), and play a crucial role in the formation of place identity and community (Flowers 2011).

Another essential acknowledgement is that stadia are spaces of contrast. They are periodically filled for the duration of 90 minutes, as one of few places large urban crowds can regularly gather legally, before being swiftly emptied (Nielsen 1995). They are places of intense emotion; of elation in victory and despair in defeat. They evoke strong highly localised place attachment or ‘topophilia’ (Tuan 1974) among supporters, but also robust opposition, as evidenced by numerous high-profile planning disputes. For instance, Aberdeen’s recent plans to build a new stadium at Kingsford received strong opposition regarding the impact of increased traffic on the village of Westhill (The Planner 2018). Similarly, Chelsea’s plans to redevelop Stamford Bridge made national press when nearby homeowner Nicolas Crosthwaite took out a High Court injunction against the club, arguing the height of the redevelopment would prevent natural light reaching his home (Lusher 2018). Bale (1995), accordingly, believes stadia are sources of dualism, displaying aspects of good and evil.

Stadia, therefore, are affected by but also constitutive of social processes; they “can be seen as social and material space in which general economic, social and cultural developments are intensified” (Frank and Steets 2010:8). This work adds to this view by emphasising the spatial dimension, in researching the role of stadia in

placemaking; the process of creating well-designed, sustainable places that meet people's needs (explained further in 2.1).

1.1 Aim and justification

This research is situated within a planning context in which stadia increasingly form a central component of urban regeneration initiatives (London Assembly 2015, Coaffee 2008). This intertwining of urban renewal and cultural policy is illustrated in the UK through recent redevelopment in conjunction with hosting mega-events such as the London 2012 Olympics (Coaffee 2012), the Commonwealth Games in Manchester in 2002 (Davies 2010), Glasgow in 2014 and Birmingham in 2022.

The success of such schemes is contestable, especially in economic terms (e.g. Davies 2010, Ahlfeldt and Maennig 2010, Baade 1995, Jones 2002). Similarly, the literature acknowledges that stadia, as a very particular form with specific requirements from the urban landscape, are not a natural standalone solution for placemaking (e.g. Millington 2017, Rochwerger 2017, London Assembly 2015). Modern stadia have also become increasingly commercially-oriented and securitised (e.g. Duke 2002, Giulianotti 2010) (2.2), with global forces leading to spaces lacking in local character. This, in conjunction with their sheer size and iconic nature (Bale 1995, Flowers 2011), renders the impact of stadia upon the urban environment and their ability to meet people's needs, as placemaking desires, an important area of study.

Community stadia reassert the importance of a club's role within the local community, seeking to establish the stadium explicitly as a place in itself (Sanders et. al. 2014). Alongside being the home of a football club, they host the club's charitable work, usually known as a Football in the Community scheme (FITC) and offer other facilities to local groups (Watson 2000). This represents an innovative evolution of an ancient phenomenon, illustrating what Bale (2000:91) terms "the changing geographical and social role of the football stadium", and offers significant opportunities for maximising the local benefits of what may often be seen as challenging developments.

This work's aim of recommending how to maximise the positive impact of stadia upon place is pertinent within a UK planning context that is seeing increased use of

stadia as a regeneration catalyst (London Assembly 2015, KPMG 2013, JLL 2002). It identifies the (positive and negative) contribution to placemaking offered by outward-looking 'community stadia', at a time when this particular form of stadia is becoming a more common means of meeting wider community needs.

1.2 Focus and structure

Three case studies are identified. First, Brighton and Hove Albion's (BHAFC) American Express Community Stadium (the Amex) pioneered the idea of community stadia in the UK, and was subject to a protracted national planning dispute, establishing a profound relationship with the local community. Secondly, Brentford Community Stadium in West London illustrates a different set of challenges, as a very urban mixed-use development forming the hub of a wider regeneration area. Finally, York Community Stadium is part of a Council-led city-wide leisure scheme that reveals substantial collaboration across stakeholders. These case studies (discussed in chapter four) illustrate a variety of approaches to stadium development.

Through interviews, document analysis and observation, in assessing how the potential of community stadia to enhance place can be realised, this work pursues three research questions:

- 1) How are placemaking principles used in the planning and design process for community stadia?
- 2) How does the design of the stadia and surrounding space contribute to place quality?
- 3) How do community stadia contribute to place identity and community belonging?

As placemaking advocates a holistic view of place and the integration of process, there is naturally some overlap within the questions. However, the research questions act as starting points for discussion of more defined themes. Question one focuses on the planning process and facilitates consideration of place-based politics and underlying priorities. Question two analyses the physical environment produced by stadia, drawing on urban design principles, while question three engages the

emotional dimension of place in considering identity formation. Combining these angles offers an overarching view of how community stadia shape places.

Next, a review of literature surrounding the topic will position this contribution within current thought on placemaking and stadia. Chapter three evaluates the research methodology, analyses the methods used and their theoretical foundations, while chapter four outlines the case study locations. Chapter five examines the results of the research, evaluating their significance in light of relevant theory, before chapter six offers a final response to the research questions and makes recommendations as to how the benefits for place of stadium development can be achieved.

2.0 Literature review

In assessing how community stadia can positively shape places, this work considers a wide literary base covering urban design, architecture, and more sociologically-oriented work on community and place attachment. The broader ideas underpinning placemaking are outlined first, before an exploration of literature applying related concepts to stadia. The position of this contribution is then identified.

2.1 The placemaking environment

Although arguably a somewhat nebulous concept- RICS (2016:6) describes it as a “broad term that can adopt various meanings in various contexts”- placemaking is a practice that considers places holistically and as environments which prioritise their human users. Strydom et. al (2018) conclude it to be an interdisciplinary concept that has become a key focus within spatial planning, and that although the term wasn’t used until the 1970s, its underlying ideas were evident earlier in the work of Jacobs and Whyte (1961 and 1968, in *ibid*). The Scottish Government (2014:12) positions placemaking at the forefront of its planning agenda to “create better places”, adopting the definition:

Placemaking is a creative, collaborative process that includes design, development, renewal or regeneration of our urban or rural built environments. The outcome should be sustainable, well-designed places and homes which meet people’s needs (*ibid*:12).

Emphasising the perspective that placemaking is a process, Strydom et. al. (2018) suggest it is an empowering and enabling tool in which people share knowledge and learn new skills to transform their environment. According to Adams and Tiesdell (2013), successful places result from attention to totality of place, including the overall quality of the environment and how well it functions for users. This is echoed by Morphet (2011:2), who argues that spatial planning aims to create better places which are “more than the sum of individual decisions”. Similarly, Healey (2010) sees planning as enhancing the liveability and sustainability of daily living environments, and Gulliver and Tolson (2013:3) identify “attractive, well-designed, well-connected,

sustainable communities located where people actually want to live” as the outcome of placemaking.

Placemaking encompasses physical and emotional aspects of place; Friedmann (2010:149) defines place as the “physical environment at neighbourhood scale and the subjective feelings its inhabitants harbour towards each other as an emplaced community”. This emotional dimension of place is frequently broadened to include the human relationship with the environment, addressed through the terms place attachment, place identity or sense of place, often used interchangeably (Madgin et. al. 2016), and can be defined as the affective bonds between people and places (Altman and Low 1992). Stedman (2003) unites the physical and the emotional in suggesting place is socially constructed, echoed by Healey’s (2010:18) argument that places “collect meanings through the encounters of daily life”. Placemaking utilises these ideas to create distinctive places, with a “sense of individuality” (Biddulph 2006:41), actively facilitating emotional attachment (2.4 considers the relationship between stadia and place identity).

Illustrating the outcomes of placemaking, the literature tends to identify characteristics of ‘successful’ places. Adams and Tiesdell (2013) define ‘successful’ places as: meant for people; well-connected and permeable; places of mixed-use and varied density; distinctive; and sustainable, resilient and robust. Similarly, the Scottish Government (2014) champions places that are distinctive, safe and pleasant, welcoming, adaptable, resource efficient, and easy to move around and beyond. The foundations of placemaking tend to coalesce around these similar themes. An interesting, if somewhat mischievous interpretation is Millington’s suggestion placemaking is probably “just human geography” (in Kalandides 2016), highlighting the centrality of spatial difference and distinctiveness to placemaking.

Closely related is the field of urban design, the “collaborative and multi-disciplinary process of shaping the physical setting for life in cities, towns and villages; the art of making places” (UDG 2011). It is user-centred, employing a social understanding (Jarvis 1980) to consider urban environments as they are perceived by residents and visitors (Lynch 1960), and can be described as a placemaking activity itself (Adams and Tiesdell 2013). Indeed, a placemaking tradition has emerged within the field of urban design, synthesising previous traditions that distinguished the physical and

aesthetic from the behavioural (Carmona et. al. 2010), in an integrative manner that concurs with Stedman's (2003) observations on their inseparability.

Urban design's user-centric focus prioritises public space, "redrawing streets for people" (Barton et. al. 2010:141). It adopts a relational approach to planning environments that are more than the sum of their individual parts (Carmona et. al. 2010), embodied by Ellin's (2006) 'integral urbanism'. Jacobs (2000:386) argues the city is "life at its most vital, complex and intense", and views public spaces including streets and sidewalks as sites of human activity, notably recognising the role of active frontages in providing security through "eyes upon the street" (1961:149). Similarly, Gehl (2010) champions 'life' as urban design's main priority (followed by 'space' then 'building'), while Whyte's (1980:553) study of New York's public plazas found that "what attracts people most is other people", suggesting space should be both physically and socially comfortable.

Within this tradition, authors have proposed qualities possessed by 'successfully' designed places. For example, Jacobs and Appleyard (1987) highlight as prerequisites: liveable streets and neighbourhoods; some minimum density of residential development and land use intensity; integration of activities; an environment that defines public space; and many distinct buildings with complex relationships. Similarly, Lynch (1960) posits five key dimensions of urban design: vitality (whether urban form supports the functions and biological requirements of human users); sense (how clearly places can be perceived by their users); fit (whether form and capacity of urban space matches the desired behaviours of users); access (the ability to reach other people, information and facilities); and control (whether users can create and manage access to spaces). Further, Bentley et. al. (1985) emphasise the need for responsive urban environments which enhance the democratic choices available to users.

Urban design's mission to create better places for people explicitly operates in the 'real' world of market and regulatory forces (Carmona et.al. 2010), exemplifying its holistic view of the urban environment. The same is true of placemaking; "shaping places is an essential governance activity" (Adams and Tiesdell 2013:4) in which authorities must engage with real estate markets to create places users desire.

Although the Scottish Government's focus on place is evident within planning policy, Hall and Falk (2014:4) believe the UK is responding less creatively and effectively to

the “need to create better cities and towns in which to live, work and play” than its European counterparts. However, the Scottish Government’s policy statements ‘Creating Places’ (2013) and ‘Designing Streets’ (2010) illustrate significant attention to urban design and placemaking in Scotland, while the UK Government’s planning practice guidance on ‘Design’ deploys placemaking and urban design principles in prioritising “creating places, buildings, or spaces that work well for everyone, look good, last well, and will adapt” (MHCLG 2014).

This work recommends how stadia can contribute to better places within this UK planning context, drawing heavily on placemaking’s collaborative nature, holistic view of place, and prioritisation of users.

2.2 Stadium functionality

As one of few places large urban crowds can regularly gather legally, stadia are a unique component of the city (Nielsen, 1995) and are an icon of modernity (Bale 1995). Stadia have been built in various forms since the ancient times, with versatile functionality including as battlegrounds, prisons and places of political representation (Frank and Steets 2010). They are a significant (spatially, visually and sociologically) component of the urban environment and are a site of intersection for social, political and economic forces. Frank and Steets (2010) note that the stadium represents not just built, but also social space, constructed by:

social norms and practices where not only characteristics of national and local cultures, but also global economic developments, as well as media and design trends congregate and are expressed (ibid 2010:1).

In this sense, stadia can be considered within a relational conception of space, in which places are formed at the location of particular interactions and relations (Massey 1995). As Lefebvre (1991:30) asserts, “(social) space is a (social) product”, with space not a passive background to human action; the two are mutually-constitutive. Stadia are key sites at which place, and the crucial emotional constituents of that process, is formed and reformed. Space is not neutral in social affairs (Harvey 1989a), with the stadium collecting and throwing off history (Nielsen 1995); Gebauer (2010) compares stadia to cathedrals encouraging ritualistic quasi-religious social

practices. Stadia have the potential, therefore, to majorly influence (in positive and negative terms) the construction of place.

Stadium form and function, it can be argued, have regularly been at the forefront of social change in the UK. Sheard's (2005) 'stadia generations theory' conceptualises the evolution of modern stadia, from large basic spaces to more comfortable stadia with greater amenities, reflecting technological and social change of the 1950s and 1960s. The 1989 Hillsborough disaster, in which 96 supporters died in a crush, further illustrates this close relationship between football and political and social change in the UK. Associated with hooliganism and disorder, football during the 1980s was a source of "stigma rather than pride" (Bale 1995:13), and Hillsborough convinced the (Thatcher-led) government that radical action was required (King 2010). Lord Justice Taylor's inquiry found "a general malaise or blight over the game" (1990:5) and recommended a new ethos involving "more modern and comfortable accommodation, better and more varied facilities, more consultation with the supporters and more positive leadership" (ibid:12). This created requirements including all-seater stadia, driving a new wave of "surveilled, safe and sanitised" (Bale 2000) spaces.

These developments, representing Sheard's (2005) third generation, produced family-friendly entertainment facilities with various leisure amenities and enhanced security mechanisms. Acknowledging the influence of global economic forces on football stadia, Duke (2002) critiques football's multi-billion television deals and takeovers by elite businessmen, describing the "McDonaldisation and Disneyfication" of the game and its spaces. Sheard (2005) sees stadia becoming theme parks, and Sorkin's (1997) analysis of such spaces as overly regulated, ageographical environments with no sense of place could be invoked to describe spaces of clinical and characterless efficiency. This supports football's intertwining with politics, given the incumbent government during this period. Taylor (1989, in Williams 1995) believes these developments reflect the Thatcher administration's neoliberal ideological connection between economic organisation and the moral character of social life, and Robinson (2010) believes loss of 'control' of stadium spaces threatened a sense of community held by (largely) working class football supporters.

According to Giulianotti (2010:3307), "advanced forms of socio-spatial control-facilitated by post-1990 social policies (...) have reinforced hierarchical or panoptical

forms of surveillance” within stadia, while Robinson (2010) argues stadia were reshaped in accordance with Foucauldian ideas of discipline and surveillance. Foucault (1995) identifies isolation and surveillance as the two key mechanisms of state control, and King (2010) sees these techniques employed through the installation of seating in place of standing terraces at football stadia. Giulianotti (2010) argues that intensified securitisation and commodification have come to define the socio-spatial and urban condition of English football. This commercialisation is captured by Sheard’s (2005) fourth generation, which comprises segregated spaces hosting distinct corporate and VIP areas, external architecture projecting financial clout, and a highly mediatised space designed for global broadcasting. Football stadia, therefore, are highly reflective of and active within social and spatial change.

There exists a conflict between football’s entrenched local origins and the global economic forces driving its commodification. Williams (1995:248) highlights the challenge of finding “continuities between the community sentiments of football’s fumbling past and the more commercialised possibilities of its marketised and delocalised future”. Similarly, Edensor and Millington (2008:180) argue that traditional local ties between clubs and their immediate communities are being eroded by increasingly “glocal” tendencies. This provides an interesting backdrop against which stadia have afforded the community increased recent importance.

Of late, several new football stadia in the UK have been designed to emphasise the importance of a football club’s work with the local community, branded as a ‘community stadium’ (Sanders et. al. 2014). This attempts to establish the stadium as a place in itself– “a place of the people” (ibid:414)- and responds to criticisms of ‘placelessness’ (Nielsen 1995) levelled at new, particularly peri-urban, stadia, with Sorkin’s (1997) clinical and indistinguishable character. Bale (2000) notes the evolution of the relationship between football and its communities, including more intense use of stadia for non-sporting activity (e.g. concerts), as well as conferencing facilities and retail. Rydin et. al. (2011) argue this joint use of sports facilities can enhance the viability of urban environments and contribute to societal sustainability. They cite Colchester United’s Community Stadium, which includes a study support centre, conference venue and community facilities, as an example.

Although such a “radically different emphasis on their stadium site” (Perkins 2000:103) could be viewed as an extension of clubs commercialising, a more socially-oriented perspective would emphasise the ability of the community stadium to reach out to disadvantaged segments of the local community who would otherwise be unlikely to engage with the club (Sanders et. al. 2014), such as through a FITC scheme. FITC generally operates as a charitable arm of a club, focussing on issues such as inclusion, participation in sport, and health. Several clubs have also developed links with schools and pursue educational work; Albion in the Community (AITC) runs an extensive study support centre from the Amex Stadium, for instance (Sanders et. al. 2014). Similarly, Pringle (2004) identifies the power of football for engaging young men with mental health services, while the Football Fans in Training project utilises attachment to football’s spaces in engaging men at risk from obesity in lifestyle change (Bunn et. al. 2016, Hunt et. al. 2014), illustrating innovative diversification of football stadium functionality.

2.3 Stadia and urban change

Given the concern of placemaking with integration, a stadium structure cannot stand in isolation of the surrounding urban fabric; a “large football stadium is not a natural placemaking catalyst” (Rochwerger 2017). The space required and often peri-urban location necessitates close consideration of how to create successful places. For instance, the City of Manchester Stadium incorporates a purposefully-designed ‘City Square’ to address the ‘placelessness’ (Nielsen 1995) often associated with newly built stadia (Millington 2017), reflecting the ideas of Jacobs (2000) and Gehl (2010) regarding activity and life. Millington also draws on Lynch (1960) in highlighting the role of distinctive stadia in producing recognisable urban environments.

Bale’s (1995) observation of the ambiguity and duality of stadia suggests they can contribute harmfully to place. Negative externalities such as traffic congestion and crowding can be particularly concentrated in small areas (Bale 2000). This has often led to conflicts over planning, with residents of surrounding neighbourhoods responding to stadium development plans with hostility, as occurred in the cases of Aberdeen and Chelsea (1.0). Similarly, Mason and Moncrieff (2008) find that following St. Johnstone’s relocation to the edge of Perth in 1989, while nuisance

effects from the stadium still exist, fewer people are affected due to the lower population on the urban fringe. Additionally, perceived negative implications for identity, such as the stigma associated with hooliganism in the 1980s (Bale 1995), illustrate the contestation surrounding stadia.

The Union of European Football Federations (UEFA) publishes guidance on stadium development (2014). Although many of its recommendations are perhaps more commercially than socially oriented, including maximising revenue, it also acknowledges that the “stadium should serve the community at large” (ibid:7). The benefit of design that places “emphasis on human wellbeing and comfort” (ibid:98), through characteristics including human scale and creating a sense of place, is also identified, applying concepts associated with urban design (2.1)

Place Dynamix (2012) illustrates principles of placemaking through stadium case studies, considering integration, place, security and legacy. It believes stadia should integrate physically through connections to the pre-existing urban morphology, and should be embedded within a mixed-use destination that encourages walkability (ibid). An international example is the Verizon Centre in Washington (now Capital One Arena), part of a 24/7 downtown entertainment complex, anchored by a thriving office market with housing, retail, and leisure provisions (Widdicombe 2010). Similarly, Benfield (2012) highlights the positive impact of the Lucas Oil Stadium in downtown Indianapolis given the area’s compact and walkable nature. Buckman and Mack (2012) note the significance of urban form to the success of new stadia, with the case of Denver revealing that higher density metropolitan areas are more likely to see successful complementary development. This is echoed in the UK by the London Assembly’s (2015:21) charter for stadium-led regeneration, requiring “clear vision and policies for placemaking around the stadium, including transport connectivity and permeability between the stadium and surrounding area”. This approach would ameliorate some of the challenges associated with ‘placeless’ (Nielsen 1995) stadium environments and their negative externalities (e.g. Mason and Moncrieff 2008, Bale 2000).

The role of stadia within urban change has received recent prominence through the emergence of stadium-led regeneration- where stadia act as a catalyst- over the last 15 years (London Assembly 2015). This can be viewed as a placemaking intervention

aimed at delivering social, physical and economic change. Stadium-led regeneration was initially a largely US-centric phenomenon, with the perceived benefit of hosting a sports franchise allowing teams to leverage public funds from authorities concerned over ‘franchise-flight’ (Jones 2002). For example, American Football team the Baltimore Colts controversially moved to Indianapolis, which competed heavily for the franchise with Phoenix (Schimmel 1995)- the inter-city competitiveness or ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ Harvey (1989b) identified. Sport and cultural policy have also become increasingly key to UK regeneration initiatives (Coaffee 2008) (1.1).

Hosting mega-events, such as an Olympic Games or football World Cup, is a particular form of this model of urban regeneration. KPMG (2013) research highlights numerous new stadia in ‘central’ European urban locations since 1980, as cities redevelop brownfield sites for mega-events. For example, Barcelona’s hosting of the 1992 Olympics embedded a mega-event into a large-scale urban transformation plan (Ahlfeldt and Maennig 2010), and the London 2012 Olympics saw significant redevelopment on the assumption of substantial ‘legacy’ benefits (Coaffee 2012).

This form of stadium development illustrates the use of regeneration projects as placemaking interventions. Ahlfeldt and Maennig (2010) suggest the long-term positive effects of stadium development may derive from broader architectural quality and successful urban design rather than economic spillover from the individual stadium. Although the literature questions how successful sport has been in achieving regeneration goals (Davies 2010), especially in economic terms (e.g. Baade 2005, Ahlfeldt and Maennig 2010, Jones 2002), more generally, RICS (2016) research finds that good placemaking can add commercial value to residential property of between 5% and 50% depending on area. This echoes work on the role of urban design in generating economic development (Gospodini 2002, Sklair 2006) as cities increasingly compete for resource (Harvey 1989b).

A recurring theme within the literature is that stadia can act as a powerful catalyst within a holistic approach to mixed-use regeneration (e.g. London Assembly 2015, JLL 2002). The British Urban Regeneration Alliance argues that “sports stadia and facilities can play a significant role in facilitating financial and social improvements if they are implemented within a strongly defined strategy” (Ladd and Davis 2003, in Rydin et. al. 2011:9). Similarly, Davies (2010) develops a model that champions

‘sports regeneration’ over ‘sports-led regeneration’, whereby sports facilities are fully integrated within an area’s wider regeneration policy, with redevelopment in East Manchester through the 2002 Commonwealth Games upheld as an example.

2.4 Stadia and place identity

Stadia play a significant role in identity formation; “the architecture and iconography of the stadium is a way of cultivating and communicating identity not just of club but of place” (Flowers 2011:1175). King (2010) posits that architecture embodies wider social reality, and the appearance of stadia reflects prevailing social and political conditions; for instance, the disciplinary and sanitised arenas of the 1990s (2.2) (Robinson 2010, Giulianotti 2010).

Stadium architecture has therefore taken on particular characteristics in specific places and times. As an international example, Brownell (1995:95) argues “the locations, architecture and occasions for use of Beijing’s stadiums inscribe state power onto space and time”. Further, South Korea’s stadium construction programme when hosting the 2002 football World Cup allowed leaders to display a new national identity at ease with globalisation (Flowers 2011). This illustrates the role of distinctive place identity within placemaking, also highlighting the role of image production (as identified by Zukin, 2000) in urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989b). Similarly, employment of a celebrity architect can be used to create publicity (Zinganel 2010); domestically, Norman Foster’s design of Wembley Stadium renders it visible across London, illuminating the night skyline to project dominance (King 2010).

Hosting mega-events, iconic stadia or even a major sports team therefore acts as a tool for place marketing; “sporting clubs are able to advertise place in a way that place marketers can only dream about, through national and international exposure in the (...) media” (Edensor and Millington 2008:178). Bale (2000) agrees that football clubs represent and can publicise their place unlike any other cultural entity. The stadium is both staged by and a staging of the city, providing a framework for outward representation (Nielsen 1995).

Closely related to image production is community formation. Stadia can represent the “embodiment of collective belonging, sentiment and community” (Robinson 2010:1017), echoing Anderson’s (2006) seminal work on imagined communities, and Bale (2000) conceptualises a community of fans as a social network. Clubs drive these communities and loyalties through branding and marketing, for example, Manchester City’s ‘Our City’ campaign based on claims to local authenticity (Edensor and Millington 2008). This attachment is noted by Schafer and Roose (2010:229), observing “one of the most striking characteristics of the sports stadium is the emotional intensity found there”, arguing that stadium architecture acts as a catalyst for emotional expression. Stadia, therefore, contribute to both external and internal elements of community formation. Kuper and Szymanski (2014) argue the most successful football clubs in Europe formed in industrial districts as migrant workers sought community within rapidly changing cities, and in the UK, Giulianotti (1999) observes that many early stadia were in working class, inner-city neighbourhoods.

Strong place attachment associated with football stadia has been demonstrated, for example, by Charleston’s (2009) finding that for many, stadia possess the same qualities as ‘home’, including feelings of belonging and valued memories. Edensor and Millington (2010) argue that stadia are constructed as places through the practices of supporters on a matchday, and find a “nostalgic sense of loss” (ibid:159) when rituals associated with Manchester City’s Maine Road stadium ceased after the club’s 2003 relocation. Tuan’s (1974) topophilia, describing a love of place, has been drawn on (e.g. Sanders et. al. 2014, Bale 2000, Nielsen 1995) to describe the psychological benefits of the success of a club. The stadium itself can also evoke emotion; St James’ Park is a symbol for Newcastle given its sheer size and scale, located at the city’s highest point (Sayer 2016), and its intertwining with history and emotion (e.g. Nielsen 1995, Charleston 2009). Furthermore, Madgin et. al. (2016:679) observe that “sporting spaces can show how physical aspects of spaces can affect the ways place attachments develop”, with Celtic Park affording identity and everyday rhythm to the Parkhead neighbourhood. Such emotional connections demonstrate the affective bonds between people and places (Altman and Low 1992) key to place identity.

This strong place attachment was dramatised when the owners of Wimbledon Football Club relocated the team to Milton Keynes in 2002. Unhappy supporters argued “‘their’ club had been stolen from them” (Cleland 2010:542) and established a new

team, AFC Wimbledon. Wimbledon's move to Milton Keynes contradicted the concepts of place and identity a football club stood for, and recently supporters have sought to protect this. For instance, Oxford United's fans succeeded in designating the club's stadium an Asset of Community Value under the Localism Act, giving them tangible influence over the stadium (Cloake 2013). Similarly, FC United of Manchester, formed by Manchester United supporters feeling alienated by the club's billionaire owners, utilises a community-led model of cooperative governance (Kiernan 2017), and the club's lengthy search for a stadium illustrates the "centrality of the stadium as home" (Brown 2010:176), echoing Charleston's (2009) findings.

The London Assembly (2015:13) asserts "stadia can be place-shapers", summarising the literary consensus that stadia struggle to act as 'placemakers' in isolation, but can have a powerful role in creating better places if deployed effectively within a holistic plan. As sites of tension and contrast, stadia can be viewed in positive and negative terms socially, economically and environmentally. Community stadia, it could be argued, represent an endeavour to maximise the positive impacts of stadium development.

Through a focus on community stadia, as developments explicitly concerned with integration and serving local people, this work assesses how positive impacts of stadia upon place can be achieved.

3.0 Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology, critically analyses the research methods (justifying their use in place of others), and highlights underlying theoretical assumptions.

3.1 Approach and theoretical assumptions

For identifying how stadia can contribute to positive outcomes for placemaking, a qualitative study was deemed appropriate to elicit complexity of understanding and depth of insight into the processes and outcomes observed (Gillham 2000).

Quantitative research would have been unable to capture the depth and nuance required by the research questions. Questionnaires could have gathered information regarding user experience of stadia, for example, however, this would have provided a static representation of the social world, applying an objectivist ontology poorly equipped for uncovering social processes (Bryman 2016). Secondary quantitative data may also have extended the evidence available to qualify the conclusions (Gillham 2000) by covering a greater range of cases. For instance, attendance figures and results from the Football Supporters Survey (FSF 2017) could have informed a broad quantitative understanding of stadium engagement. However, this represents a simplistic proxy for the information qualitative methods can elicit.

Case study research forms the overarching approach; investigating examples to answer specific research questions using a range of evidence (Gillham 2000). The choice of case studies was therefore theoretically guided (Silverman 2017), to provide insight into the chosen topic. This research builds on its results by developing theories beyond the cases themselves, although unlike is often the case in quantitative research, the case studies cannot be seen as fully representative of a whole; Yin (2009:15) argues, “case studies (...) are generalisable to theoretical propositions and not to populations”.

As Aitken and Valentine (2006, in Ward 2013:21) assert, “philosophies inform work, and (...) research questions are always based on assumptions and choices”. This research primarily engages a naturalist approach, seeking to “get inside” social reality

by asking “what is going on?” (Holstein and Gubrium 2008, in Silverman 2017:137). However, as place involves the intertwining of the physical and the social and may be seen as a social construction (Stedman 2003), particularly when considering ideas including sense of place, analytical and methodological approaches will engage to a degree with constructivist thinking (Silverman 2017).

This research is primarily deductive, analysing case studies in the context of what is known from existing literature (2.0), before an element of induction assesses the implications of the results for existing theory (Bryman 2016).

3.2 Research methods

As Gillham (2000:2) posits, “use of multiple sources of evidence is a key characteristic of case study research”. Therefore, three primary techniques were used.

Elite interviews (Gillham 2000), sought to uncover the experience of interviewees who were in positions of authority or expertise, and therefore capable of giving deep insight into relevant issues. An element of a ‘second strand’ of interviews was also present, in which participants reflect on their understanding of their experiences (Cochrane 2013). However, as interviews are infused with social relations and not a simple means of uncovering truth, the two types are in many ways blurred (ibid). Individuals were contacted because of the positions they held: either a position of authority at a football club; a Council Planning Officer or Councillor with Planning Committee experience; or a football supporter holding a role within an established supporters’ organisation. Twenty potential participants were contacted, and five willing participants were interviewed in total (a list of interviewees and their experience is included as Appendix A), with all consenting to being named within this work. Questionnaires with open questions could have collected responses from a wider range of participants, but the benefit of a larger sample is insufficient for sacrificing the depth interviews can achieve, for instance, through asking follow-up questions (Bryman 2016).

The interviews were semi-structured, with prompts limited to encourage participants to focus on their insights (Gillham 2000). Overly structured interviews risk the interviewer dominating the agenda (Cochrane 2013), although McDowell (1992, in

ibid:46) warns that this power relationship can be reversed during elite interviews, when the interviewer may be reliant on the participant for the research to exist. Face-to-face interviews were held in a 'neutral' venue such as a café to mitigate this, while "winning over" participants to encourage participant investment (Cochrane 2013:47) is believed to have been successful, as all participants were passionate about the subject of their club's community stadium and expressed interest in the research.

Two interviews were conducted by telephone and were audio recorded, while two were conducted in person, with notes taken during each. The interview with Ian McAndrew also involved a visit to the area surrounding the York Community Stadium site, with views of the development acting as an environmental prompt. The interview with Tim Carder was carried out electronically, with questions sent via e-mail; it was therefore more structured, but used open questions to facilitate breadth of response.

Interviews were transcribed immediately after, then coded and subject to content analysis, with labels given to components that appeared to be of theoretical significance (Bryman 2016). This was not a linear process; as more interviews were coded, themes originally identified were separated into more nuanced ideas and new concepts were isolated, requiring earlier transcripts to be reanalysed (Cochrane 2013). An example of a coded transcript is included as Appendix B.

The second research method utilised was document analysis, useful for case study research given the availability of a large documentary evidence base (Gillham 2000). Most of the documents analysed were supporting documents for planning applications for the case study stadia (Appendix C). Analysis acknowledged the limitation that documents are not evidence of an underlying reality in themselves, but present a distinct level of 'reality' (Atkinson and Coffey 2011, in Bryman 2016:560), and should be judged in relation to this context and the intended readership (Bryman 2016). Publicly available planning documents are therefore likely to be written with scrutiny in mind, and with the ultimate aim of securing planning permission rather than presenting an objective account of 'reality'.

Key passages were highlighted to assist with later retrieval (Gillham 2000), and qualitative content analysis was carried out, with underlying themes identified in alignment with the interview coding process. This was deemed more appropriate than discourse analysis, which would have considered the role of language in socially

producing the world (Bryman 2016), employing a constructivist perspective. While discourse analysis may have enhanced nuance, this project largely seeks to understand processes occurring from a naturalist approach, rather than how they are framed.

Observation of the urban environment at the case study locations was recorded using field notes and photographs, supplementing interview and document analysis techniques. Particularly addressing the second research question, the urban environment was evaluated in terms of its design and impact on place quality.

Photographs form a key part of the presentation of results for this research question; Garrett (2013:147) argues photographs give the viewer “an excellent sense of space and place”.

Clemente et. al.'s (2005) scoresheet framework for measuring urban design qualities (Appendix D) served as a starting point for analysis. As a quantitative tool for assessing commercial streetscapes, used in full it requires difficult subjective judgements and extensive counting (Forsyth et. al. 2010), so was not deemed suitable for analysing the space around a stadium and complementing the principal qualitative research. The five key themes assessed by the scoresheet are utilised to frame the analysis for this component of research, however, and are defined (Clemente et. al. 2005) as follows:

Imageability: how distinctive and memorable a space is. Places with high imageability are busy and active with strong signs and landmarks, evoking feeling and creating a lasting impression.

Enclosure: the extent to which spaces are aesthetically defined by buildings, walls and trees, creating ‘outdoor rooms’ when vertical heights are proportional to the width of the space.

Human scale: whether the size and scale of the environment matches the scale of the human body. Elements such as street furniture, trees and active frontages, alongside restricted sightlines, perform well.

Transparency: the extent to which users can perceive human activity beyond the edge of the space. Active uses and windows at street level enhance transparency.

Complexity: the visual richness of an environment, including architectural and building diversity, as well as street furniture, landscaping and human activity.

As the only case study to be fully operational, the Amex forms the focus of observational research, although elements from York and Brentford are included and complemented with interview and documentary evidence.

3.3 Limitations of results

The conclusions of this work should be considered within the context of the research. Firstly, the case studies are place-specific, and may therefore not reflect occurrences at other locations; the results are generalisable to theoretical interpretations and not to the ‘population’ (Yin 2009). Although the case studies offer variety, geographically and in terms of club size, additional cases would enable conclusions to be drawn with greater confidence and enhanced generalisability to theory (Bryman 2016).

This study also involves only research with individuals and organisations directly involved in the stadium developments. It has not, been able to elicit views from ‘users’ of the stadia that do not have an invested interest, such as members of the public. This would enable analysis of the impact of the stadia from the perspective of members of the wider community, for instance.

However, interviewing individuals with varying backgrounds across case studies, and utilising triangulation of methods and data sources to cross-check findings (Bryman 2016), means the results provide a valuable basis for recommending how stadia can enhance place.

4.0 Case Studies

This chapter outlines the history, context and distinguishing features of the case studies forming the basis for research.

4.1 The Amex Stadium



Figure 1: The Amex Stadium

Source: Author (2018)

Falmer Stadium (figure 1), officially known as the American Express Community Stadium, resulted from a long period of campaigning by the club and its fans, and followed an extended planning dispute. The club was without a permanent home from 1997, initially ground-sharing 75 miles away at Gillingham, before returning to a temporary ground at the Withdean Stadium, a converted athletics arena (BHAFC 2018). The club initially applied for planning permission to build at Falmer, a site on the edge of Brighton within an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, in October 2001.

A public inquiry initially recommended the rejection of all four applications associated with the stadium, including one to Lewes District Council for the

development of transport infrastructure (ibid). The Secretary of State then reopened the public inquiry, focussing on alternative sites, (University of Sussex 2018), which recommended permission be granted, although Lewes District Council bid to the High Court for a judicial review. Formal planning permission was eventually granted in July 2007, construction began in December 2009, and the first match was played at the stadium in August 2011. Its initial capacity was 22,500, now expanded to 30,750 (BBC 2014). The stadium is also the base of Albion in the Community, identified as one of the UK's most advanced Football in the Community initiatives (Sanders et. al. 2014), and the stadium's emphasis of community benefits from the outset (Hodson and North 2011) represented a pioneering approach.

The Amex Stadium's contested background renders it an apt case study, given the significant community involvement in the planning controversy and campaigning work.

4.2 Brentford Community Stadium

Brentford Community Stadium, capacity 17,250 (Brentford Community Stadium 2017), also has a long history, with its Lionel Road site in West London (figure 2) initially identified by the club as a preferred location in 2002 (BBC 2007). The club's owner then showed

interest in moving the club away from Brentford to Woking, which was met with major opposition from supporters. They formed a political party, named ABeeC, and won a seat on the Council (BIAS 2013). The relationship between the club and Hounslow Borough

Council then strengthened,



Figure 2: The construction site at Lionel Road

Source: Author (2018)

and the club eventually bought the Lionel Road site and secured planning permission in 2013 (BBC 2013). Construction began in March 2017 (BCS 2017) and is ongoing.

The development, “at the heart of plans to regenerate the area” (BCS 2018), is a mixed-use scheme comprising the stadium (expected to be shared by Brentford Football Club and London Irish Rugby Club), other recreational and commercial uses, and residential property serving as enabling development (figure 3). The site’s dense urban location contrasts with Falmer.



Figure 3:
Visualisation of
the Brentford
Community
Stadium
development

Source:
FaulknerBrowns
(2013)

4.3 York Community Stadium

York Community Stadium (capacity 8,000), also under construction (figure 4), is part of the Council-led York Stadium Leisure Complex Project on the edge of York at Monks Cross Retail Park (Aitchison 2012). The stadium will be shared by York City Football Club (YCFC) and rugby league team York City Knights, and will accompany leisure facilities including a



Figure 4: The construction site at York
Community Stadium. Source: Author (2018)

swimming pool and sports hall, a community hub with a library and NHS outpatient services, and retail facilities (figure 5) (City of York Council 2018). Enabling development, including cinema and restaurant facilities on-site and additional retail development at the neighbouring Vangarde Shopping Park, accounts for over half of the scheme's capital funding (City of York Council, in Better 2018). The project also includes new sports facilities at both York University and York St. John University.



Figure 5: Visualisation of York Stadium Leisure Complex

Source: Holmes Miller (2014)

As the stadium of a smaller club, currently in the 6th tier of English football (compared with 1st tier BHAFC and 2nd tier Brentford FC), York Community Stadium is unique among the case studies. Another source of distinction is the development's Council-led nature. This creates opportunities to study the balance between various stakeholder interests and the implications for placemaking and the project's outcomes.

5.0 Results and analysis

This section presents findings in the context of theory from relevant literature, with analysis focussed on specific examples from the case studies.

In the holistic spirit of placemaking, this section is structured thematically due to interaction between findings for different research questions. The concluding chapter summarises the results in relation to each question.

5.1 The placemaking environment

It is clear from the research that the plans and designs for each community stadium were influenced by the demands of pragmatism within the placemaking environment.

First, a standout finding is that in each case study, the final site for the stadium development was essentially the only possible location. For example, the Secretary of State (DCLC 2007:19), in granting permission for the Amex Stadium, ruled “there is no available alternative site which is suitable for the proposed community stadium”. Ian McAndrew, YCFC’s Stadium Development Director, reported a similar situation:

A long process of sequential testing occurred involving fourteen sites, which essentially showed all of them to be impossible (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

Two broad categories of restriction to site availability are identified. Firstly, there are practical considerations, including land availability and planning policy. For instance, in Brentford, several other options were considered between 1999 and 2006 (Planning Perspectives 2003), with all other sites deemed large enough to host a stadium ruled out due to being green space, an unsustainable location with poor public transport access, or requiring unacceptable displacement of existing use (ibid:32).

The second key influence on site restriction is the clubs’ requirement for a location near to their current ‘home’, within the place of which they are a constituent part. BHAFC was left without a stadium in 1997 when the club’s owners sold the Goldstone Ground with no plan for relocation, and the club ground-shared at

Gillingham for two years (Hodson and North 2011). This prompted a major campaign among supporters for the club to return ‘home’, and initially the club returned temporarily, to the Withdean Stadium. The theme of ‘home’ arose within interviews with BHAFC supporters and campaigners:

It was magic to be back in Brighton, at the Withdean, although slightly surreal because almost everyone had their school sports day there (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

The only previous permanent ground, the Goldstone Ground, was primitive and ramshackle in comparison. It was homely enough on a nice day – it was HOME – but it does not compare with the American Express Community Stadium (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

Wares’ reflection illustrates an interesting localised place attachment, with the Withdean Stadium serving a prosaic purpose for supporters during their childhood.

Similarly, Brentford’s owner considered moving the club away from the area, which led to a major backlash among supporters. Shane Baker, Strategic Projects Manager at Hounslow Borough Council, highlighted the importance to the local authority of keeping the club in the locality:

It was seen as a real planning benefit to try and keep it in the Borough. If they were going to be playing in Working or somewhere it wasn’t quite going to be the same (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

This demonstrates the close relationship football clubs enjoy with place (e.g. Giulianotti 1999, Robinson 2010). The concept of ‘home’, particularly salient in the case of BHAFC, was shown by Charleston (2009) to be applicable in relation to stadia, with users reporting stadia showed similar characteristics to their place of residence. As placemaking emphasises local character, this tie to locality is a source of distinctiveness, and in this sense, the need to protect strong ties to place exerts significant power. The example of Wimbledon FC moving to Milton Keynes (2.4) highlights the risks associated with disrupting this connection (Cleland 2010). Place identity is analysed further under 5.4.

Restriction on site availability within the case studies poses a challenge for placemaking. It is an interesting juxtaposition with placemaking’s concern with

totality of place (e.g. Morphet 2011, Adams and Tiesdell 2013), as scope within the planning and design process for considering where the stadia might be best located relative to the wider place was largely removed.

Although positive contribution to place was evident as a motivation in each case study, concern over fundamental viability was also a driving force. In BHAFC's case, the experience of being without a permanent stadium and high-profile controversy over the scheme caused real doubt over the proposal's deliverability. Club historian, supporter and campaigner Tim Carder's reflection on his priorities for the club's new stadium highlight this concern:

A stadium in the Brighton area that matched the club's potential and ambition – but also one which would gain the support of the council, receive planning permission, and be viably built.

It was essential for the council to be supportive of the project, so the stadium had to offer something for the area beyond a mere home for a professional football club – community facilities, jobs, social benefits (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

The Council was therefore able to exert influence as a place shaping actor, impacting upon the football club's proposals. This case demonstrates strong collaboration between actors in achieving a mutually beneficial development, itself likely to enhance sustainability through a feeling of shared ownership (Adams and Tiesdell 2013). The campaign to secure planning permission was fraught with emotion, with implications for community formation within Brighton and Hove and in relation to the Amex.

For example, a city-wide referendum in Brighton and Hove in May 1999 asked residents whether they wanted a stadium, and if they agreed with the Falmer site choice (University of Sussex 2018). One of the initiatives undertaken by the 'Yes Yes' campaign was tying green balloons across the city, greeting voters with a visual show of support for the stadium on the morning of the ballot (Hodson and North 2011). Extensive other campaigning tactics included releasing a song in support of the new stadium, (ibid) and ensuring the Deputy Prime Minister received a bunch of flowers on Valentine's Day from each of the 92 clubs in the Football League, demonstrating

national support (The Argus 2004). Popular backing for the stadium at Falmer was vital in securing planning permission.

As also occurred in Brighton and Hove, Brentford FC supporters, who were concerned the club could leave the locality, took to organised political campaigning to raise the profile of their cause:

Some of the supporters formed a political party and stood in the local elections, and won a lot of votes and actually won a seat on the Council (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

The aim of such activity was summarised by supporter Alan Wares, whose reflection illustrates the desire of campaigners to create a positive identity for BHAFC within the city.

For me, it was about winning over hearts and minds. There was a long process of changing people's opinions- residents assume football crowds cause trouble and damage, but that has never been the case in Brighton. When the club moved away from the Withdean, residents of a nearby retirement home knitted a 'good luck in your new home' banner that was displayed at the last match (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

Similarly, Tim Carder noted BHAFC's successful approach to managing residents' concerns on matchdays:

There are very few problems for the surrounding residents on match days. I know that because I am the Supporters Club's representative on the Stadium Liaison Committee for local residents – they used to be monthly, now they are six-monthly (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

Bale's (2000) argument that stadia are spaces of duality is evident within the negative perception of residents, and highlights the role of stadia and their constituent social processes in place formation (e.g. Nielsen 1995, Frank and Steets 2010). Through the club's positive campaigning work and management of resident concerns, perceptions were successfully changed, securing the vital popular support needed for the Amex to be delivered and shaping the future identity of Brighton and Hove.

This also illustrates a crucial strategy for creating better places and addressing contestation deployed within all case studies- adopting a collaborative approach,

advocated by placemaking theory (e.g. UDG 2011, Scottish Government 2014). For example, Brentford utilised a successful means of facilitating dialogue between the club, Council and community:

As part of the consultation process a group of local representatives were invited to come together from local interest groups (...) known as the Lionel Road Liaison Group (FaulknerBrowns 2013:17).

It helped everyone understand why it was happening. It wasn't successful in ensuring there were no objections, but it meant that people understood the scheme (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

The proposals of BHAFC and YCFC also effectively engaged multiple stakeholders:

The club and Council really were on the same side (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

The project has benefited from synergy throughout, which has resulted in better facilities (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

In York's case, the Council's leadership of the scheme provided a natural coordinator. Meanwhile, the long-running and emotionally charged nature of Brighton's campaign for a new 'home' meant there was widespread energy (and ultimately a democratic mandate) behind the initiative, anchoring plans within a sense of local distinctiveness.

The availability of funding was also a crucial consideration in ensuring the community stadia were deliverable in the examples of Brentford and York:

The fundamental issue really was how to fund this stadium and achieve what we wanted- the only way to do that was for them to propose a lot of housing (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

As the 'community' grew, there were issues over who would pay. Further commercial development was therefore needed, including a cinema and restaurants (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

Significant enabling development was required to cross-fund these stadia. The additional development is promoted as a key part of the mixed-use activity at each site, however, it could be argued that the requirements of achieving funding largely underlie their inclusion:

If York City were a bigger club with major resource it would have built a stadium on its own, but it being a small club has benefitted the community more (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

Stadium Development Director Ian McAndrew recognised both the implication of the need to secure funding and the placemaking outcomes deriving from a mixed-use development.

However, requiring enabling development evidently created additional challenges. As McAndrew continued, “This came with its own problems, for example, the height of the cinema”. Building heights, and their impact on the townscape, were also the subject of controversy in Brentford:

The concern there was how that was going to appear within the townscape and skyline, as well as heritage areas nearby, conservation areas like the world heritage site at Kew Gardens. The concern was about how tall and bulky the towers were. We balanced that- we found that negative finding to be in contrary to our policies- against the public benefit of the stadium (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

Strategic Projects Manager at Hounslow Borough Council, Shane Baker, highlights the complexity of the decision-making environment, and in many ways the heart of planning and its mission to create better places (e.g. Healey 2010, Scottish Government 2014). Placemaking must operate within the ‘real’ world of market and regulatory forces (Carmona et.al. 2010, Adams and Tiesdell 2013), and these examples support the feeling within the literature that stadia must be firmly integrated within a wider strategy to achieve success (e.g. JLL 2002, Davies 2010, London Assembly 2015).

Nonetheless, a strong desire to deliver high quality community facilities was evident in relation to each case study. For instance:

I asked the Council, “do we want a stadium for York City or for the City of York”? Once the latter had been decided, the Council wanted a proper Community Stadium (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

This is also apparent in McAndrew’s earlier reflection on “synergy” at York and the resulting benefit to the community. A rounded conclusion may therefore be that

collaboration between stakeholders within the planning process led to effective distribution of knowledge (Strydom et. al. 2018) and expertise that saw different actors achieve “more than the sum of individual decisions” (Morphet 2011:2).

5.2 Stadium functionality

In keeping with the notion that stadia are spaces of contrast, research has found a significant tension between two primary uses. Irregular highly intensive use places specific demands on the space and infrastructure around stadia, which can constrain their everyday functionality; Edensor and Millington (2010) argue that the very nature of stadia as places is contingent upon the actions of supporters on a matchday.

The case study developments showed strong endeavour to keep the sites active outside of matchdays:

The Council’s planning policy officers wanted to see something more than just an identikit new stadium- one of the key things was they didn’t want it to be dead on weekends when the team wasn’t playing, or out of season (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

Transport accessibility was vital during the planning of the case study stadia, given the need for transport infrastructure to facilitate crowd movement. For example, proximity to Falmer railway station was key within BHAFC’s site feasibility assessment; the Transport Assessment concluded high accessibility by rail with 60-75% spare capacity on weekday peak services (Savell Bird & Axon 2008). Similarly, Brentford’s Lionel Road site is well served by public transport, located adjacent to Kew Bridge station and with underground access nearby (WSP 2013).

Matchday traffic exemplifies the negative externalities arising from irregular highly intensive use (Mason and Moncrieff 2008). Concerns over congestion were especially strong in Brighton & Hove; Councillor Hyde, Planning Committee Chair at the initial time of BHAFC’s application, noted this had been addressed well:

The Albion came up with a very good travel plan. They put on buses to bring traffic from the east, that would have come up Rottingdean High

Street, so people got on buses from the surrounding areas rather than cars (interview with Councillor Hyde, 6 July 2018).

Interviewees reflected on similar concerns at Brentford and York, but mitigative action is being taken at both. York's Travel Plan, for instance, includes shuttle bus services and changes to parking restrictions at Monks Cross to discourage individual car users from parking during a match (Arup 2014).

Newly built stadia tend to pose a challenge for pedestrian connectivity, often due to a peri-urban site location (e.g. Place Dynamix 2012, Buckman and Mack 2012).

Although Brentford's proposal contradicts this trend, both BHAFC's and YCFC's stadia are located several miles from the city centre. BHAFC supporter and campaigner Tim Carder noted this as a drawback of the Amex Stadium's location:

Being on the edge of the built-up area reduces potential for pedestrian access (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

As pedestrians are therefore unlikely to naturally pass through the sites at the Amex and York, the absence of organic activity presents an obstacle for placemaking. The Scottish Government (2014), for instance, highlights the importance of places being easy to move around and beyond, echoed by Lynch's (1980) concept of 'access', for instance.

Pedestrian movement was a significant theme in all case studies. Narrow street widths or extensive street furniture would not allow the volume of pedestrian flow required on a matchday, for example:

There is little opportunity for street furniture and planting within the concourse area owing to the pressure for circulation space on match days (FaulknerBrowns 2013:62).

High volumes of people at times means that spaces need to be clear, legible and uncluttered (Holmes Miller 2014:32).

From an urban design perspective this represents a challenge, as vast space accommodating to crowd movement may restrict characteristics associated with successful placemaking, such as sense of 'enclosure', whether structures aesthetically define space with proportionate heights and widths (Clemente et. al. 2005). Similarly, with public realm a core component of the schemes (at York and Brentford in

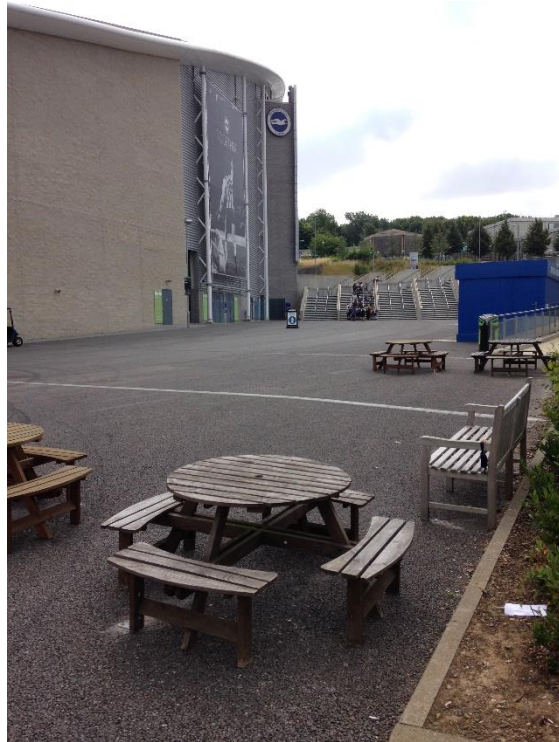
particular), there is evidently a balance to be struck between vibrant and comfortable public space and matchday functionality, including the identified requirement for legibility (Holmes Miller 2014).



Figure 6: The external concourse at the Amex Source: Author (2018).

This is demonstrated by the Amex, where although observation found a fairly open landscape, design features seek to create a comfortable space (figure 6). Firstly, the stadium is set into the ground, with the pedestrian concourse at different heights relative to the stadium around its circumference. This is complemented by external walls on the outside of the concourse, also varying in height and aided by the effect of tree planting at the edge of the site; this corresponds with Whyte's (1980:579) finding that "trees near sitting space provide a satisfying sense of enclosure". Further, street furniture such as benches on the edge of the concourse (therefore not inhibiting

movement) generates a more user-friendly environment at ‘human scale’ (Clemente et. al. 2005) (figure 7). Likewise, additional structures around the perimeter of the concourse, including ‘booths’ for selling matchday programmes, provide buildings in line with human scale vertically. The wide concourse creates fairly long uninterrupted sightlines, further inhibiting enclosure (Clemente et. al. 2005), although limited by the curvature of the stadium limits.



Brentford’s case revealed an insightful intervention aimed at assisting crowd management:

Part of that is building a new bridge over the railway line, that was necessary to allow the dispersal of supporters (...) As a by-product, that’s allowing people who would have been cut off on one side of the railway line on other sites to walk across through this site (...) so it makes the whole area more permeable (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

While assisting crowd management, the bridge also illustrates attention to place holistically (figure 8), connecting previously inaccessible sites and promoting the accessibility championed within placemaking and urban design literature (e.g. Adams and Tiesdell 2013, Scottish Government 2014, Lynch 1960)- unusually for stadium developments often away from urban centres (Place Dynamix 2012, Buckman and Mack 2012). It aptly serves both matchday uses and the day-to-day environment, an integrative measure exemplifying a focus of placemaking.

Figure 7: Street furniture on the Amex concourse. Source: Author (2018).

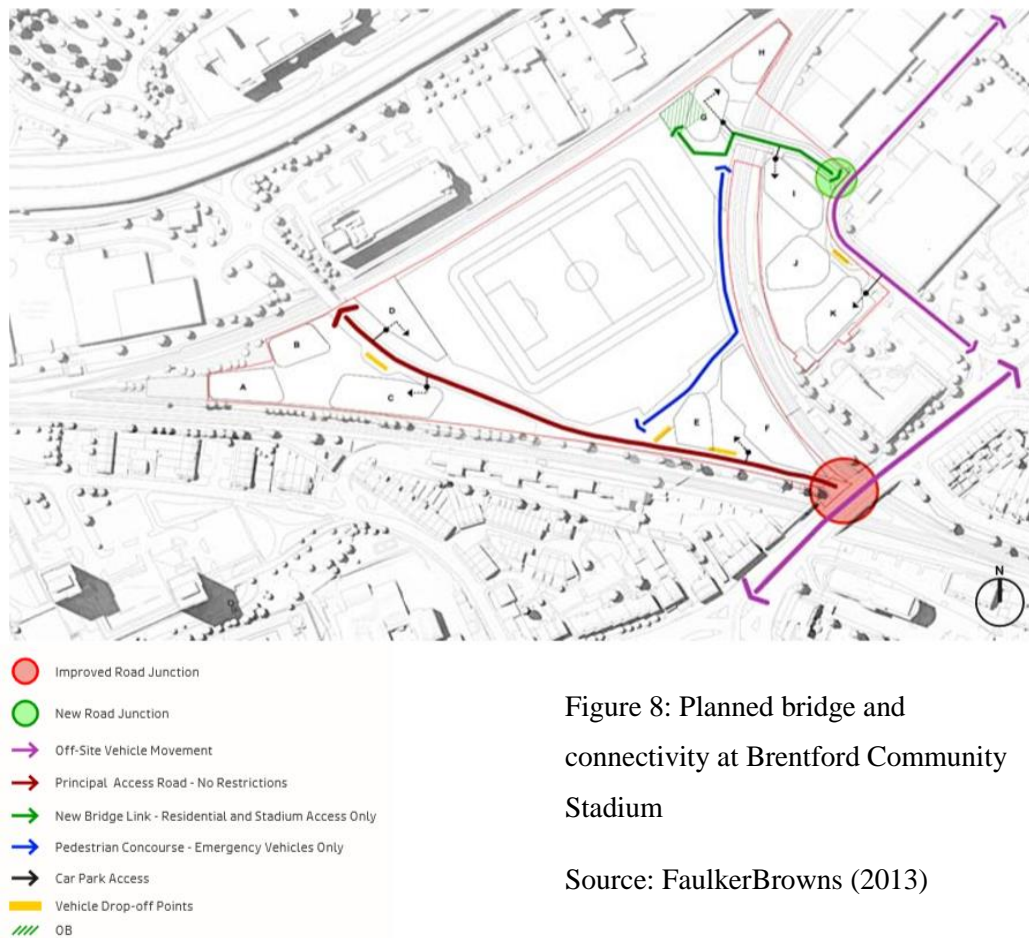


Figure 8: Planned bridge and connectivity at Brentford Community Stadium

Source: FaulkerBrowns (2013)

The planned uses on-site at the case study locations demonstrates desire to maintain activity outside of matchdays, drawing on ideas such as those of Jacobs (2000) and Gehl (2010) in creating a lively environment. Fundamental to all three case studies is inclusion of space to be used by the wider community, including a home for each club's FITC initiative. Indeed, planning permission for the Amex was granted on condition the stadium couldn't operate until significant community space had been made available, including a study support centre and day nursery (DCLG 2007).

York's leisure complex demonstrates a wide range of planned activity:

The proposed mix of uses will transform this area of York into a vibrant quarter that is active all day every day and not just on matchdays (Holmes Miller 2014:20).

The Council wanted an interactive library and the NHS to be able to use the conferencing facilities during the day, with the club retaining it for commercial use during the evening (...). This will be a hub of activity,

with things going on all the time (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

A deliberate consequence of mixed-use activity is natural surveillance; Jacobs' (1961:149) "eyes upon the street". This is identified clearly by supporting documentation:

Spaces are overlooked by active frontage which animates these areas and increases natural surveillance (Holmes Miller 2014:88).

These, alongside the residential uses opposite, provide passive surveillance and contribute to the activity and overlooking of the street. (Faulkner Browns 2013:105).

Natural surveillance and active frontages ameliorate some of the challenges of public realm designed to accommodate crowds. At the time of observation at the Amex, the site was quiet with seemingly only staff visible; however, BHAFC supporters interviewed suggested the space is usually busier. Stadia do have a clear temporal nature, with the experience of the space heavily influenced by the occasion, affecting 'imageability'; places with high imageability are busy and active (Clemente et. al. 2005).

Despite this, a sense of nearby activity and 'transparency' (ibid) is generated by the Amex Stadium's position adjacent to University buildings (figure 9), while a view to the railway station from the stadium concourse reminds the user of the space's broader connections.

Figure 9: The Amex and the University of Brighton's Falmer campus.

Source: Author (2018)



Similarly, the lower floors of the stadium structure have some active frontage, including a club shop and bar. On a matchday, positive design impacts of activity would be enhanced, with the supporters' bar and shop in constant use, and turnstiles in action as people enter and leave the stadium. BHAFC supporters also suggest that activity tends to continue after matches:

People do stick around after the game for food and drink (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018)

Perhaps in contrast to me, supporters generally like to get there early, and many stay behind after a match as the concourse bars and food outlets (and dedicated supporters' bar known as Dick's Bar) are kept open (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

The Amex Stadium's use for community facilities also generates everyday activity. One observable function was an NHS clinic (figure 10). Club historian Tim Carder highlighted the crossover between club and community functions:

It lets out rooms for, for instance, a diagnostic centre (MRI scanning) because there is an overlap with the need for such a facility for players' injuries. So it makes sense to keep it there and use it for the community (interview with Tim Carder 24 July 2018).



Figure 10: Use of the Amex by the NHS

Source: Author (2018).

Tension between matchday and everyday use is addressed by the case studies in innovative ways; particularly through attention to mix of activity and accessibility.

5.3 Stadia and urban change

The case study stadia demonstrate potentially far-reaching impacts upon the wider urban environment.

Development at York and Brentford aims to enhance the surrounding urban environment by integrating with more dense mixed-use developments. Public realm at York is “integrated with the existing urban fabric” (Holmes Miller 2014:5) and has been designed around desire lines and sightlines connecting to the existing Vangarde retail park (figure 11):

Pedestrian connections and desire lines exist within and around the site.

New routes should reinforce the connections between uses and areas and support a pedestrian orientated environment (ibid:18).

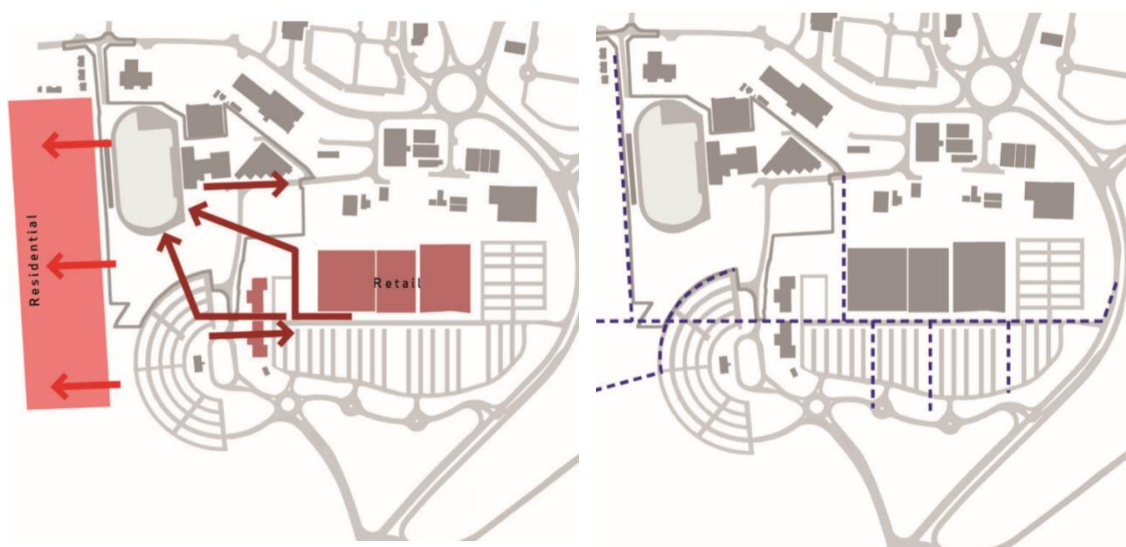


Figure 11: Integrated pedestrian connections at York Stadium Leisure Complex.

Source: Holmes Miller (2014).

This speaks to Ellin’s (2006) belief in the importance of an integrated urban setting. Brentford’s site, meanwhile, is unique among the case studies in that the surrounding dense urban area will produce movement that improves ‘transparency’ and ‘complexity’ of visual richness (Clemente et. al. 2005), through regular activity.

Building on the theme of integration, the case studies reveal extensive consideration of the impact of development on place holistically, at different scales. This aligns with the intention of a ‘community stadium’ to serve local people (Sanders et. al. 2014).

York Community Stadium, for example, is clearly positioned as a city-wide project: “a new facility for the local community as well as for the wider city” (Holmes Miller 2013:6). Ian McAndrew, Stadium Development Director at YCFC described how “a network of sporting sites has resulted”, with the project also developing facilities at both the city’s universities and maintaining Council-run leisure facilities such as Yearsley Pool, previously earmarked for closure:

The aim was to make the development something for the city, not just for football and rugby (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

Planning policy including the National Planning Policy Framework (para 24) and Local Plan (draft policy R4) (HOW 2014) also required the proposal, as a retail development not in an existing ‘centre’, to carry out an impact assessment on town centre investment and vitality (DCLG 2012:26); no significant adverse impacts were identified (HOW 2014).

Another example of the consideration of urban change is the regenerative function of Brentford Community Stadium (BCS 2018), reiterated throughout supporting planning documentation:

The Capital Court and Duffy Sites have been added to the original Central Site to broaden the regeneration benefits of the scheme (Planning Perspectives 2013:11).

The project at Lionel Road South will deliver the regeneration of three sites in two brownfield areas in Brentford (FaulknerBrowns 2013:7).

The impact of the wider regenerative benefits was highlighted by Hounslow Borough Council’s Strategic Projects Manager, Shane Baker:

Other schemes are coming in, and when you look at their design and access statements they are showing how those linkages work and how they’re going to be fitted in with this new scheme, which is at the heart of the regeneration area (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

This idea echoes research into the role of stadia within regeneration schemes, generally concluding that stadia can act as catalysts within a wider strategy (e.g. JLL 2002, London Assembly 2015). Hounslow's spatial strategy for Brentford illustrates this, pursuing "high levels of regeneration over the next 15 years", and supporting Brentford FC's relocation to Lionel Road forms part of this approach within the Local Plan (London Borough of Hounslow 2015:40).

BHAFC had similar aims for the Amex, particularly salient given its location next to one of the most deprived wards in the country (DMH Stallard 2008). The Secretary of State ruled the regenerative benefits of the development were in the national interest, and Councillor Hyde, former Chair of Brighton and Hove City Council's Planning Committee, noted the positive impact of the stadium's location:

The evidence demonstrates that the application proposals would have an appreciable beneficial effect on the economic and social well-being of the ward of Moulescoomb and Bevendean (DCLC 2007:7).

The Albion outreach into the local community, particularly the very local community, has given lots of youngsters the opportunity for work experience. It is a deprived area and its opened the eyes of a lot of younger people (interview with Councillor Hyde, 6 July 2018).

The Amex Stadium's contribution to jobs and community outreach is a strong example of the potential regenerative impacts of stadia; the Amex was expected to create 734 FTE jobs (DMH Stallard 2008). The final location of the stadium, it appears, may have a major influence on the beneficial impacts of stadia, and should be considered as part of a holistic strategy for urban change (e.g Ladd and Davis 2003, in Rydin et. al. 2011:9, Davies 2010).

5.4 Stadia and place identity

Reworking of place identity is a fundamental impact of stadium development, and research identifies a range of strategies for the creation of local sense of place. For Brentford Community Stadium, a direct link to this outcome of placemaking was highlighted:

It was going to be known as a place, and they wanted to get the place buzzing, playing on their name. They wanted the activity and promoted that as part of the planning benefit (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

By aiming to ensure the site was “known as a place”, it would be recognised by residents as a destination with its own identity. The play on Brentford FC’s nickname (The Bees) also demonstrates a quirky intertwining of site use and branding to generate place identity. Encouraging users to spend time at the site reflects Whyte’s observation that people tend to gather where other people are (1980) and echoes Millington’s (2017) observation that ‘City Square’ at the City of Manchester Stadium, is designed to mitigate ‘placelessness’ (Nielsen 1995).

Bespoke design features also seek to evoke emotion (e.g. Madgin et. al. 2016) and create localised place identity. For instance, both York and Brentford plan to include a dedicated ‘fanzone’ at the entrance to their community stadium:

A fanzone between the south and east stands provides the home supporters with a covered external space to enjoy the build up to the match, whilst distinguishing one of the main feature entrances to the stadium (Holmes Miller 2014:54).

A covered branded plaza or ‘fan zone’ helping to contribute to a ‘sense of place’ (Faulker Browns 2013:105).

York’s development incorporates a ‘gateway’ entrance (figure 12), which will add visual ‘complexity’ as well as a sense of ‘enclosure’ (Clemente et. al. 2005). This design fits aptly into Cullen’s (1961) ‘serial vision’, that ‘existing’ and ‘emerging’ views enrich the environment for the user. Passing through a public plaza and beneath the gateway into the stadium site, and then into the fanzone, will form a succession of varied experiences. The design of the stadium complex utilises conservative building heights matching surrounding uses, producing an environment at ‘human scale’ vertically (Clemente et. al. 2005). This contrasts with the open environment of the Amex Stadium, which may be explained by the difference in the size of the clubs; BHAFC and YCFC average crowds of approximately 30,000 and 3,000 respectively (European Football Statistics 2018).



Figure 12: York Community Stadium’s gateway entrance under construction.
Source: Author (2018).

Another strategy for generating a local sense of place is the presence of a ‘supporters’ wall’ (figure 13) at each case study, enabling supporters to leave a symbol of their support for the club, tangibly linking the emotional and physical aspects of place attachment (Madgin et. al. 2016). Football clubs elicit significant attachment to place (2.4) and moving stadium can have major implications for this (e.g. Cleland 2010, Kiernan 2017, Brown 2010). For instance, Brentford’s current stadium is a place of significance to many for an emotive reason:



Figure 13: ‘Supporters’ wall’ and ‘centenary board’ at the Amex Stadium. Source: Author (2018).

The current ground will be redeveloped for housing, which will also help fund the new one, but there are people who have had their ashes scattered there. There's a requirement for them to provide a public space (...) a memorial garden which will always be there on the current ground (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

Millington (2017) amusingly observes that nobody has their ashes scattered at a branch of John Lewis, distinguishing loyal football supporters who exhibit topophilia (Tuan 1974) from the consumerist logic often applied to stadia (e.g. Duke's 2002 critique). A similar example at the Amex is a memorial garden located on one edge of the external concourse (figure 14). Its incorporation of trellising, planting and seating also adds visual and psychological variety and enhances design 'complexity' (Clemente et. al. 2005), as the user is encouraged to think beyond their immediate surroundings through the act of remembrance. The linkages between football and the spiritual echo Gebauer's (2010) theory of football's religious characteristics, and this distinctive, place-specific manifestation lends itself well to placemaking endeavours.



Figure 14: The memorial garden at the Amex Stadium. Source: Author (2018).

Evident from the Amex is the pride stakeholders feel towards the stadium, in response to its iconic design and the emotional investment into campaigning activity (5.1). This activity underpins the identity of the Amex and was apparent from the responses of BHAFC supporters and campaigners:

It is always a pleasure to visit because it is a thrilling place. To think that I (and many other fans) played a role in securing planning permission for it—in terms of winning the political arguments and winning over politicians—

is a great feeling (...). Because it is such an iconic building in an iconic location, it is a source of great pride (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

Everyone was excited- it had taken 14 years of campaigning. Grown men were crying that day, having seen it finally come to fruition (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

Whereas mixed-use activity on-site is not such a key component of place identity for the Amex as for Brentford and York, its place identity is underwritten by the battle the club faced to secure a 'home'; stadia collect and throw off history (Nielsen 1995) in the same way places collect meaning through everyday encounters (Healey 2010).

Additionally, the community stadia and their club affect external perceptions of place. This serves as another means by which stadia contribute holistically to place, and arguably this offers a permanence of purpose that bridges the disconnect between matchday and everyday function.

Firstly, the stadia have been designed to appear visually iconic and to project a particular image:

One of our focusses in planning was to make sure the stadium was distinctive (...) they got an architect in who designed something that was quite bespoke. It's going to be seen from the motorway so it's quite a prominent structure (interview with Shane Baker, 9 July 2018).

Brentford Community Stadium will be designed to "reflect Brentford FC's individuality and the community involvement of which it is part" (Faulkner Browns 2013:97), with a "strong identity to the stadium which will result in its legibility" (ibid:105) (figure 15). Similarly, YCFC is developing a "unique stadium with a strong identity...recognisable on approach by the four feature floodlights" (Holmes Miller 2014:54). The stadia, in Lynch's (1960s) terminology, act as 'landmarks' that help define and give identity to urban space, improving 'legibility'.



Figure 15: Visualisation of Brentford Community Stadium's distinctive design

Source: (FaulknerBrowns 2013)

A major constraint associated with the Amex Stadium's Falmer site was its position within an AONB, and resultant concern over the impact on the landscape. BHAFC employed innovative design to 'sink' the stadium into the ground lowering the stadium's impact on the view (KSS 2008). In addition to creating an icon through innovative design (Flowers 2011, King 2010), this formed part of measures to enhance sustainability (another feature of placemaking), with chalk and soil from stadium excavation used to re-contour other parts of the site, removing the need to transport 138,400m³ of material (BHAFC 2008, DMH Stallard 2008).

The stadium is also designed to reflect the surrounding Downland setting:

to nestle within the rolling countryside, with a curved arch roof evoking the flowing forms of the surrounding Sussex downs (KSS 2008).

Former Planning Committee Chair Councillor Hyde, initially opposed to the stadium due to concerns raised by her constituents, remarked on the success of this design:

I think the stadium is actually a very beautiful building when you look at it from afar. I do not think it is detrimental to the area, I actually think it enhances the area (interview with Councillor Hyde, 6 July 2018).

The Amex is certainly aesthetically iconic, with a curved roof and fluctuating heights creating interesting variety (figure 16). The stadium's branding, in the form of club crests and colours, is an additional source of distinctiveness and is designed to evoke feeling that contributes to place identity. The structure functions effectively as a landmark and enhances 'legibility' (Lynch 1960), visible from a distance and creating a memorable environment with successful 'imageability' (Clemente et. al. 2005).



Figure 16: The distinctive Amex Stadium structure. Source: Author (2018),

Particularly in the case of BHAFC, following significant on-pitch success in recent years, interviewees highlighted the role of the club in promoting the city abroad:

You couldn't buy the publicity that football team gives us. The amount of television it gets, all around the world- when I travel and get chatting to local people, they say 'Brighton and Hove Albion, you've got a good football team'. It's put Brighton on the map worldwide (interview with Councillor Hyde, 6 July 2018).

Gaining Premier League status has raised the city's profile worldwide. Before last season's debut in the Premier League, I did TV interviews for

stations in France, Denmark, Norway, Germany and USA (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

As the primary physical manifestation of a club and its constituent social processes (Frank and Steets 2010), the stadium plays a fundamental role in projecting place identity. Edensor and Millington (2008) note the accomplishments of sports teams for place marketing, and Bale (2000) believes they can publicise a city in a way unlike any other cultural entity. This is clearly visible in BHAFC's experience, where interviewees were convinced that the stadium was a prerequisite for the club's promotion to the Premier League and the ensuing impact on the city's profile:

That was the ambition, to build a stadium to let them get to the Premier League (interview with Councillor Hyde, 6 July 2018).

It has meant so much for the city, including being put on the map. (...) Without the stadium that wouldn't have happened. The stadium was a silver bullet (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

Through a role as a place marketer, football clubs and their stadia also attract visitors in a more everyday sense:

It brings in visitors, even before we were in the Premier League – opposing fans of course, but also, for instance, Japanese tourists keen to see where their national rugby team beat South Africa in the World Cup of 2015 (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

The England under 16s played at Bootham Crescent [York City's current stadium] a few months ago, and we hope to attract similar matches to York Community Stadium, as well as events such as the Tour de Yorkshire and York Marathon (interview with Ian McAndrew, 16 July 2018).

This idea ties in with theory regarding sporting mega-events, especially the production of a new image for a place alongside achieving economic benefits (e.g. KPMG 2013, Ahlfeldt and Maennig 2010, Flowers 2011). Stadia act as a resource to the wider city, as well as a symbol of its identity, further illustrating their contribution to place in holistic terms.

Another element of place identity uncovered through interviews, following BHAFC's recent on-pitch success, was civic pride, further solidifying the relationship between football club, stadium and place:

The human element won over- jobs, community, civic pride. 100,000 people turned up to the open top bus parade when the club won promotion to the Premier League (interview with Alan Wares, 11 July 2018).

There is another factor in "identity" and that is civic pride. Currently, with the club in the Premier League, everyone is interested in how the team does. Youngsters increasingly wear Albion shirts. It's great to be associated with the club (interview with Tim Carder, 24 July 2018).

The club and its success, therefore, has shaped place identity through collective pride, alongside the visual and place marketing role of people increasingly wearing BHAFC shirts. This aspect of stadium impact, acting as a durable and iconic representation of place (Bale 2000), partially reconciles the discrepancy between the intensity of matchday use and everyday space. It can be argued that this serves the wider city intangibly, through the psychological benefits of success and resultant pride in place (e.g. Tuan 1974).

6.0 Conclusion

This chapter draws conclusions in response to the research questions, recommending how the benefits for place of stadium development can be achieved, and suggesting how further research could enhance knowledge of stadia and placemaking.

6.1 Conclusions by research question

1) How are placemaking principles used in the planning and design process for community stadia?

Firstly, consideration of placemaking principles occurred within the ‘real’ world of market and regulatory forces (Carmona et.al. 2010). Each case revealed major concern over scheme viability, including issues such as funding, site availability, and likelihood of receiving planning permission, demonstrating the complexity of the decision-making environment. A collaborative approach involving multiple stakeholders (e.g. Scottish Government 2014, UDG 2011) ultimately resulted in plans that better address the needs of surrounding communities, illustrating local authorities’ ability to influence priorities. This was particularly evident at York, where a city-wide network of facilities is being led by the Council..

The impact of stadia on place was considered holistically, demonstrated by the benefits to deprived areas of Brighton and Hove, and expected regenerative impacts of Brentford Community Stadium. Similarly, the community stadia demonstrate an aim to maintain regular activity outside of matchdays, balancing the competing demands of a matchday space able to accommodate crowds and a people-friendly everyday space; hosting a FITC is one example. York and Brentford Community Stadia will integrate with neighbouring mixed-use schemes, with a safe and vibrant environment an aim of design (e.g. Jacobs 2000, Gehl 2010). Significant elements of this mixed-use, including Brentford’s residential and aspects of York’s commercial space were proposed by necessity as enabling development, linking the realities of the development environment with placemaking outcomes.

2) How does the design of the stadia and surrounding space contribute to place quality?

The need to accommodate crowds has a prominent influence on the resulting landscape. From a conventional urban design perspective, such as that used by Clemente et. al. (2005), large stadia would not perform especially well, as observation at the Amex Stadium implies. Wide concourses free of street furniture present an open environment that lacks ‘complexity’, alongside highly temporal primary activity, are a challenge for developing a place of high quality. However, the Amex Stadium’s iconic design addresses this through features including a varying topography and additional uses along the concourse, creating an ‘imageable’ (ibid) and legible space (Lynch 1960).

Two primary factors influence the Amex Stadium’s place and design quality, relative to plans for York and Brentford. Firstly, the Falmer location is on the very edge of Brighton and Hove, limiting scope for pedestrian connectivity and therefore organic activity. Brentford is a much more urban site and the stadium aims to actively enhance permeability in the area, and York Community Stadium’s situation within a retail park and leisure complex means some regular pedestrian activity is expected. Secondly, the crowds BHAFC receive are significantly larger than the other clubs (approximately ten times York’s and three times Brentford’s). Therefore, impacts of designing for larger crowd movement are more pronounced, and research suggests that York Community Stadium is more likely to exhibit high quality urban design, with its user-centred and integrated public realm.

3) How do community stadia contribute to place identity and community belonging?

The case study developments deployed a range of strategies to create a distinctive identity. Firstly, iconic stadium design produces a recognisable and ‘imageable’ (Clemente et. al. 2005) space capable of projecting a desirable image. Bespoke design features such as a supporters’ wall were also a key strategy for creating sense of place at each location. A key foundation of the Amex Stadium’s identity is the emotional investment and campaigning work that went into securing planning permission; it represents a space of resilience and collectiveness, illustrating how stadia symbolise history and emotion (Nielsen 1995, Schafer and Roose 2010).

The stadia also perform an active role in place marketing, attracting visitors to the locality and raising the profile of the area (Edensor and Millington 2008, Bale 2000). The case study stadia illustrated the opportunity to attract mega-events, such as Rugby World Cup matches at the Amex. Interviewees from Brighton and Hove revealed a significant sense of pride in relation to the stadium, and this sentiment also extends to civic pride in response to BHAFC's recent on-pitch successes.

The permanence of place identity shaped by the stadia, it is argued, forms a durable constituent of place that links the transient and temporal nature of stadium use over the longer term.

6.2 Recommendations and further implications

The contribution of community stadia to placemaking has been considered in relation to three very different case studies. Stadia place difficult demands upon the urban environment and generate particular impacts on the urban form. The following recommendations suggest how this can be managed within the placemaking process to maximise positive outcomes from stadium development:

- 1) Proposals should arise from a collaborative approach that engages football clubs, authorities and a range of community representatives in designing a scheme that meets a wide range of needs.
- 2) Wherever possible, urban sites with high connectivity should be prioritised to harness organic activity and create locally-realised economic and regenerative benefits.
- 3) Strategies to actively create a destination with a clear sense of place should be employed, including transport planning and a careful mix of uses, particularly when the site is away from an urban centre.
- 4) Stadia should emphasise their local distinctiveness and serve as a strong representatives of place identity.

This work presents a number of opportunities for further research. Firstly, as Brentford and York Community Stadia are under development, it has not been possible to effectively assess their impact. Follow-up research at these cases once they are operational could consider whether the placemaking principles applied during

planning have been realised. Similarly, additional interviews with residents of Brighton and Hove, Brentford and York, that do not have a direct involvement in the stadia, would provide a comparison with the views recorded here.

In addition, given site location has been shown to exert significant influence on placemaking outcomes, a comparison of stadia using a defined typology of urban, semi-urban and peri-urban locations could more closely identify the opportunities and challenges of each location. Similarly, research could consider stadia not branded as ‘community stadia’. For example, larger football clubs whose priorities may be shaped more strongly by global economic and media imperatives may show different priorities within their stadium focus, allowing a comparison of outcomes for place with stadia that have a different emphasis. Further, stadia designed for different sports may display different usage patterns and functionality, offering another comparison.

The recommendations here present key suggestions as to how planners can realise the benefits of stadium development. Within the UK planning context, particularly given the number of mega-events hosted in recent years, an understanding of the impact of stadium development is vital in ensuring positive outcomes for place.

This work suggests priorities to help create better places around stadia, and believes community stadia offer significant opportunities for developing sports venues suited to meeting diverse needs.

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Appendix A: Interview participants

The following participants were interviewed, and all consent to being named within the write-up:

Name	Roles and organisation
Shane Baker	Case officer for BFC's application, Strategic Projects Manager. Hounslow Borough Council
Tim Carder	Official club historian since 2014, member of BHA Supporters Club committee, and campaigner since 1995.
Councillor Lynda Hyde	Former Chair (during the time of BHAFc's application) and current Member of the Planning Committee, Brighton and Hove City Council
Ian McAndrew (FRICS)	Stadium Development Director, York City Football Club.
Alan Wares	BHAFc supporter and campaigner, presenter of 'Albion Roar' radio show.

Appendix B: Interview transcript

Interview with Shane Baker, Strategic Projects Manager at Hounslow Borough Council

9 July 2018

Design of stadium/space Impact on community Negative externalities

Community response Impact on identity Everyday activity

Transport and pedestrian environment Strategies for creating place identity

'Home' and local ties Matchday functionality Stakeholder collaboration

Management of negative externalities Regeneration impact within wider area

Site availability Financial Viability

Firstly, thank you for agreeing to take part. This interview forms part of the research for my masters dissertation into the role of community stadia in placemaking. You are still free to withdraw at any time, and without giving a reason.

If you are happy to proceed, I will now ask you a series of fairly broad questions, with follow-ups based on your initial answer. If I ask anything that you would rather not answer, please say so. I will be taking notes as I go, so please bear with me if I seem to be pausing.

How did you come to be involved in the Brentford Community Stadium project?

I'm a Planning Officer and I was the area manager for the area the stadium was to be located in. So I provided some pre-application advice, and that followed through to being the case officer.

How long has your involvement lasted?

My initial involvement was from the middle of 2012.

How would you define the concept of placemaking?

A mix of physical and usage- a combination of those to create an environment which is of a particular identity. It could be anything...a piece of art in a park, or a cohesive scheme of development where the buildings are of a particular type of architecture or style which gives it identity. Something about it needs to be distinctive.

The next few questions relate to the initial concept of the stadium and the process behind that. When the proposal for a new stadium came onto the agenda, what were the Council's priorities for the project?

It's got quite a long history. The club was bought by a person who wanted to do redevelopment of some sort, a long time ago. He was investigating selling off the ground, and if he couldn't get support for his aspirations to do development, he would move the team out of Brentford. The initial thought he had was to move it somewhere nearby to a piece of land that the Council may give him, but when that wasn't...well, moving forward he tried to move the team to a town 15 miles out of London towards Woking. In response to that some of the supporters formed a political party and stood in the local elections, and won a lot of votes and actually won a seat on the Council. The Council took notice a bit more, gave the club a loan to help sustain it for a bit longer, and in the mid-2000s they were discussing a scheme on this site. A year later, about 2006, they allocated a site (the final site for the new stadium) for a new stadium, giving it some planning policy background. That original scheme involved a deal with a housing developer, and that fell through after the global financial crash. The club was then sold to another person, and he has subsequently bankrolled the scheme- he actually went and bought the site, paid back the Council, and that was all around 2012.

Was the Council keen to keep the club in Brentford, in the immediate area, then?

Very much so. In the Local Plan, one of the objectives is to find a new home for the football club, to ensure in the long term it was financially sustainable. They had an objective to create a hub for the community, a sporting hub, with the stadium at its heart. The idea then was that you might also have some health services there, some other sporting activities there, and general commercial uses that were related such as a hotel, various things like that.

Do you know where that objective came from?

There were a number of studies done by the Council, in cooperation with the club, to try and find an alternative site. They looked at sites in the greenbelt, in other boroughs, Council owned land, former industrial areas- none of the other sites came out as high up as this site. This site was in Brentford, it was next to a train station, less than a mile from the current ground- it ticks a lot of boxes. The other sites were all very hard to get to. From those discussions the Council's planning policy officers wanted to see something more than just a identikit new stadium- one of the key things was they didn't want it to be dead on weekends when the team wasn't playing, or out of season. It had to have some form of use that promoted community activities, and just activity in general.

I've been to plenty of those stadiums you see that are in the middle of car parks, you can imagine very little happens apart from once a fortnight.

Yes, like that one out in Colchester.

That's a Community Stadium as well but it doesn't seem to be especially integrated with the community... So, the Council wanted to see more uses, and gradually it crystallised into the development coming forward at the moment.

Yes.

During that process, you touched on the idea of Brentford supporters becoming more politically active. How engaged do you think the wider community was with that process?

They were quite highly involved. When the club had their new owner and decided to really go back to the drawing board, using the Council's policy support for direction, they came to talk to the Council. We then had a workshop with key staff members from planning, transport, housing, Councillors as well, and we discussed the difficulties. It's a very urban site, with lots of housing around and lots of heritage around it- it's one of the most difficult sites you could put a stadium on.

It's an interesting shape by the looks of it.

Yes, a rectangle going on a triangle. The fundamental issue really was how to fund this stadium and achieve what we wanted- the only way to do that was for them to propose a lot of housing, a series of tower blocks. They held public exhibitions, spoke to supporters, put information in match programmes, and had a Lionel Road Liaison

Group- that was a forum for the club to speak to and speak to all of the local community groups, landowners, businesses, neighbouring residents, as well as the supporters, and for them to give feedback. The way Brentford's ownership is structured- it's privately owned but there is a golden share which is held by the Supporters' Trust, so they have a bit of a veto over the club moving. They were kept informed as it went through the various design stages for the pre-application process and there were many, many meetings with them.

Do you think that Liaison Group was successful in terms of getting the community involved and on board?

I think it was in the end. There was opposition to the scheme from people in particular suburbs next door- they were concerned about the scale of the housing, and there were some planning issues associated with it- it's a very protected part of London. It helped everyone understand why it was happening, and in the end most people were supportive of the club staying in the area and having a new ground. The main issues and objections were the impacts of the housing. It wasn't successful in ensuring there were no objections- there were a lot of objections- but it meant that people understood the scheme and had that information so in a way it was successful.

In what ways was placemaking considered during the planning stages?

We had an urban design officer, who was also a conservation officer, and she came to all of the main pre-application meetings. One of our focusses in planning was to make sure the stadium was distinctive- and the club was committed to not having just a bland, rectangular stadium- they got an architect in who designed something that was quite bespoke. It's got some unusual forms and how they join, it's a sort of a rounded bowl. It's going to be seen from the motorway so it's quite a prominent structure, so they wanted to make it distinctive. The concrete realm around it, the concourse and uses around the stadium, we wanted to ensure people knew what it was, so it's going to have colours put in it's going to have the team badge. The ground floor uses were going to be areas of retail, cafes, shops, things like that where people could spill out. So it was going to be known as a place- back to the earlier point of the activity, there's a whole lot of other activity there including classrooms and commercial uses, and the offices for a charity which is run by the club, the Brentford Community Sports Trust. It was going to be known as a place, and they wanted to get the place buzzing (playing

on their name). They wanted the activity and promoted that as part of the planning benefit.

Do you think the club were keen to make sure it was an interesting and attractive development, and not just about the stadium?

Very much so, the site now is part of a wider area of regeneration and is seen as being at the heart of that. It's going to create this new mixed-use quarter. The stadium will have public realm around it which will be pedestrianised, people will be able to walk around it and it'll be open to the public. It'll create a space on non-match-days where people can walk through and it'll have a bit of identity, rather than what we were saying earlier, it being just a car park and a bit of a wasteland.

Were any significant negative impacts of the stadium identified during the planning process?

There were going to be effects on public transport- on matchdays there would be congestion, a lot of people walking through the streets. Parking especially associated with that. They were the main football related impacts. The actual stadium, by being funded by the housing- a sort of indirect effect- the concern there was how that was going to appear within the townscape and skyline, as well as heritage areas nearby, conservation areas like the world heritage site at Kew Gardens. The concern was about how tall and bulky the towers were. We balanced that- we found that negative finding to be in contrary to our policies- against the public benefit of the stadium. There's a long planning report that explains that in detail.

You mentioned the role of the site within the wider regeneration aims for the area- what do you think might happen next in the area? Will it be a catalyst for further development nearby?

Hopefully- the stadium scheme is now being implemented. Part of that is building a new bridge over the railway line, that was necessary to allow the dispersal of supporters but it also provides access to one corner of the site, and as a by-product, that's allowing people who would have been cut off on one side of the railway line on other sites to walk across through this site and the activity there, and up to Gunnersbury park, a major open space nearby, so it makes the whole area more permeable.

Other schemes are coming in, and when you look at their design and access statements they are showing how those linkages work and how they're going to be fitted in with this new scheme, which is at the heart of the regeneration area. Also the new skyline it's creating, they're coming in with buildings of a higher density and more intense nature than in the past, so you're ending up with new development which was really triggered by the stadium.

So it's setting something of a precedent in terms of the design?

In a way- it's hard to say these sites wouldn't have come forward anyway, but, the designation of this site for a stadium and mixed-use enabling development, means there is a much stronger policy basis for regeneration. When we were looking at that we noticed all the other land next to it and expanded the Council's aspirations- they're much wider now, and it's fair to say the stadium was a key trigger for a lot of it.

The final few questions look at the intended impact, more in terms of identity. How do you think the stadium will change the area's overall image?

It will transform it. At the moment, the site was a former rail yard and then became a construction waste recycle area- full of lorries with waste, it was dirty, very few buildings on it- it had no presence in the area. It was just a leftover space between railway lines. It was very hard to get around, with only the one road through it and the three railway lines converging- no way for the public to get around it, purely at the moment for the public it's a rat-run, with the major roads. With the new scheme it's a lot of new buildings, the stadium does have a distinctive style and form, the housing buildings have been modified a couple of times and are quite attractive buildings, the space between them (the landscaping itself) is of a much higher quality than when we first approved it actually, so it's going to be a good quality space. There will be a lot of people there. They're looking at a number of blocks being private rented blocks, so a lot of younger people. It will be known as a space- there's a tube stop fairly close and an overground railway next door- we're now looking at a new station on the northern side of the stadium, as a new idea, potentially to serve the stadium but also helps unlock the rest of the capacity for new growth around the stadium.

Do you still have hopes for Crossrail to come out towards the site?

The new station will make use of an existing freight line, so wouldn't need any new line. That line would be able to link up to Old Oak Common, which is quite a financially efficient way of gaining transport capacity because the railway line is already there- we just need to ensure you could get a service that runs from Old Oak Common, which is on Crossrail, down to Brentford, and the rest of the area which is on the M4/A4. That's something which is being progressed and we're fairly confident that will happen.

That'll be useful for getting fans in and out.

It could indeed just be for residents- unless we can get the site which is nearby redeveloped at the same time there won't be enough space for a major station. Longer term that is the aspiration, for it to be a bigger station that will be able to accommodate football crowds, sort of 10 years away.

How important would you say the football club and the stadium are to the overall identity of the area?

Very high- it's interesting that the club was formed literally across the road from the site, back in 1889 or whenever it was. It's a longstanding cultural sporting asset. When it became apparent there was this underlying support, which was multi-generational as well- there were a lot of people writing in saying about their grandad etc. It became apparent there were strong roots still there- a lot of people had moved further out over time. Many places like to be known for something. Brentford was the default county town for Middlesex, there was the magistrates court, police station, county court, other larger institutions which have all closed in the last 5-10 years. But the football club was still there and it was quite important to the Council to have it known for something like that. It was seen as a real planning benefit to try and keep it in the Borough. If they were going to be playing in Working or somewhere it's not quite going to be the same.

I always wonder when teams move stadiums, how easy is it for people to transfer their memories and affections to a new site. Is that something that's been thought about within your work?

The current ground will be redeveloped for housing, which will also help fund the new one- there are people who have had their ashes scattered and things like that.

There's a requirement for them to provide a public space in the middle of it which is a park, a memorial garden which will always be there on the current ground. With the new one there's talk of having a supporters' wall- where people can buy a brick and things like that. There'll be some form of supporters' wall at the new stadium. From what I've heard many of the supporters are quite sad to go, but it's seen as being essential to trying to secure that long term future. At the moment the current ground is very poor as far as of catering and toilets, things that people expect in modern day sport. They looked into refurbishment and extensions, but it's surrounded by terraced houses, it's just not feasible. Reluctantly people have accepted it, but many actually see it as a good opportunity to secure that long term future.

Great, thank you. That's it from me- is there anything you'd like to ask me?.

What other ones are you looking at?

I'm looking into Brighton, and York are doing something fairly similar with a mixed-use development but led by the Council.

We looked at Swansea, Arsenal too. There's some very interesting statistics on how a new ground uplifts spectator numbers.

That's interesting- being sceptical I wonder how much is short term, how much can be put down to success on the pitch.

True, you've got to be playing well.

Darlington was the sad example of course, opening a new stadium and going bankrupt soon after.

The other thing is it's incredibly expensive to fund- there were many discussions about viability and how it was going to be feasible and fundable, especially in London where the land is very expensive. That was one of the real difficulties.

That's why the housing is there isn't it, to cross-fund the stadium?

That's right. Another one that's come up might be Wimbledon, they're doing something similar.

Great, I'll look that up too. Thank you very much.

Appendix C: Document analysis

The following sources were analysed during the document analysis component of research. The documentation is available via the relevant local authority's online database of planning applications; to retrieve documents, the relevant planning application number should be entered.

The Amex Stadium

A number of planning applications are associated with Brighton and Hove Albion's development, primarily, BH2001/02418/FP, LW/02/1595, BH2003/02449/FP, LW/03/1618 and BH2008/02732.

The 2008 application, relating to site amendments, provides the richest source of publicly available supporting documentation, likely due to its more recent timing than the initial round of applications.

BHAFC (2008). *Environmental Statement: Non-Technical Summary*. Online, available at: <https://planningapps.brighton-hove.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=ZZZR6UDMXE163>. (Accessed 26/07/18)

DCLG (2007). *Secretary of State Decision*. Online, available at: <https://planningapps.brighton-hove.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?keyVal=ZZZR7LDMXE480&activeTab=summary> (accessed 06/07/18).

DMH Stallard (2008). *Planning Statement*. Online, available at: <https://planningapps.brighton-hove.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=ZZZR6UDMXE163> (accessed 04/07/18).

KSS (2008). *Design and Access Statement*. Online, available at: <https://planningapps.brighton-hove.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=ZZZR6UDMXE163>

Savell Bird & Axon (2008). *Transport Assessment*. Online, available at: <https://planningapps.brighton-hove.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal=ZZZR6UDMXE163> (26/07/18).

Brentford Community Stadium

The main planning application studied was P/2013/1811, although an additional two (P/2017/3891 & P/2017/3892) were approved in 2017 in relation to minor amendments.

FaulknerBrowns (2013). *Design and Access Statement*. Online, available at: http://planning.hounslow.gov.uk/planning_search.aspx (accessed 24/07/18).

Greengage (2013). *Environmental Statement: Non-Technical Summary*. Online, available at: http://planning.hounslow.gov.uk/planning_search.aspx (accessed 26/07/18).

Planning Perspectives (2013). *Planning Statement*. Online, available at: http://planning.hounslow.gov.uk/planning_search.aspx (accessed 08/07/18).

WSP (2013). *Addendum Transport Assessment*. Online, available at: http://planning.hounslow.gov.uk/planning_search.aspx (08/07/18).

York Community Stadium

The main planning application studied was 14/02933/FULM. An earlier application for outline planning permission was also submitted in 2011 (11/02581/OUTM)

ARUP (2014). *Transport Assessment*. Online, available at: <https://planningaccess.york.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?keyVal=NGS6ZJSJH2900&activeTab=summary> (accessed 14/08/18).

Holmes Miller (2014). *Design and Access Statement*. Online, available at:
<https://planningaccess.york.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?keyVal=NGS6ZJSJH2900&activeTab=summary>
(accessed 24/07/18).

HOW Planning (2014). *Planning and Retail Statement*. Online, available at:
<https://planningaccess.york.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?keyVal=NGS6ZJSJH2900&activeTab=summary>
(accessed 08/17/18).

Appendix D: Urban design scoresheet

measuring urban design qualities scoring sheet		auditor		
street	from	date & time		
step		recorded value	multiplier	(multiplier) x (recorded value)
imageability				
1. number of courtyards, plazas, and parks (both sides, within study area)			0.41	
2. number of major landscape features (both sides, beyond study area)			0.72	
3. proportion historic building frontage (both sides, within study area)			0.97	
4. number of buildings with identifiers (both sides, within study area)			0.11	
5. number of buildings with non-rectangular shapes (both sides, within study area)			0.08	
6. presence of outdoor dining (your side, within study area)			0.64	
7. number of people (your side, within study area)	Walk through 1			
	Walk through 2			
	Walk through 3			
	Walk through 4			
	Total			
	Total divided by 4		0.02	
8. noise level (both sides, within study area)	Walk through 1			
	Walk through 2			
	Walk through 3			
	Walk through 4			
	Total			
	Total divided by 4		-0.18	
			add constant	+2.44
			imageability score	
enclosure				
1. number of long sight lines (both sides, beyond study area)			-0.31	
2a. proportion street wall (your side, within study area)			0.72	
2b. proportion street wall (opposite side, within study area)			0.94	
3a. proportion sky (ahead, beyond study area)			-1.42	
3b. proportion sky (across, beyond study area)			-2.19	
			add constant	+2.57
			enclosure score	
human scale				
1. number of long sight lines (both sides, beyond study area) *from above			-0.74	
2. proportion windows at street level (your side, within study area)			1.10	
3. average building height (your side, within study area)			-0.003	
4. number of small planters (your side, within study area)			0.05	
5. number of pieces of street furniture and other street items (your side, within study area)			0.04	
			add constant	+2.61
			human scale score	
transparency				
1. proportion windows at street level (your side, within study area)			1.22	
2. proportion street wall (your side, beyond study area) *from above			0.67	
3. proportion active uses (your side, within study area)			0.53	
			add constant	+1.71
			transparency score	
complexity				
1. number of buildings (both sides, beyond study area)			0.05	
2a. number of basic building colors (both sides, beyond study area)			0.23	
2b. number of basic accent colors (both sides, beyond study area)			0.12	
3. presence of outdoor dining (your side, within study area) *from above			0.42	
4. number of pieces of public art (both sides, within study area)			0.29	
5. number of walking pedestrians (your side, within study area)	Walk through 1			
	Walk through 2			
	Walk through 3			
	Walk through 4			
	Total			
	Total divided by 4		0.03	
			add constant	+2.61
			complexity score	

Source: Clemente et. al. (2005).