

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE TRANSPARENCY OF DEMOCRACY: A
LEFEBVREAN ANALYSIS OF WASHINGTON'S
NATIONALS PARK

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In 2008, the Washington Nationals began play in their new stadium, Nationals Park, which has been subsidized with \$611 million of public money from the city of Washington, D.C. According to lead architect Joseph Spear of HOK Sport, “the transparency of democracy” (as qtd. in Nakamura, 2005a, p. B1) is one of the stadium’s primary design themes, as Spear was inspired by the city’s global image and role in American political life. Using faux-limestone made from precast concrete to look similar to Washington’s myriad of federal buildings and glass to provide transparency, designers claim that Nationals Park is an inclusive space, which promotes civic cohesion and economic growth along the Anacostia River. However, similar to the way that the practice of democracy diverges from Washington’s democratic image as the city’s 586,000 residents are denied political representation in the United States Congress, Nationals Park is actually an exclusionary space as high prices and highly segregated spaces belie the designers’ stated intentions.

This dissertation examines the contradictions between National Park's image and practice through exploring the spatial politics expressed in and through the process approving the stadium, the various economic redevelopment initiatives of Mayor Anthony Williams' administration, the stadium's architecture, and the elimination of the site's previous use as a sexually-oriented space catering to Washington's LGBT community. To do so, this dissertation utilizes the theories and methods of Henri Lefebvre, who examined space as being constitutive and reflective of dominant social relations towards changing those relations to create a more democratic society in which people could create their own lives free from exploitation and alienation. As such, this dissertation investigates Nationals Park not for its own sake, but as a lens through which to examine the ideologies and practices that define the relationships between governments and citizens, communities and individuals, and people with one another within the contemporary moment.

THE TRANSPARENCY OF DEMOCRACY: A LEFEBVREAN ANALYSIS OF
WASHINGTON'S NATIONALS PARK

By

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Preface

This dissertation is part of a journey that began when I was 14 years old in June 1984 in the front seat of my father's Cadillac. Leaving after my brother's high school graduation in Nashville, the two of us spent six weeks traveling together around the United States to attend Major League baseball games in 21 different ballparks. With my father driving the entire 10,000 mile trip, we passed through 29 American states and two Canadian provinces, saw 13 movies together, visited countless shopping malls, ate an unhealthy amount of fast food, experienced the hockey and football hall of fames (but not baseball's), and cemented a bond between us. On that trip, I walked into Fenway Park and Yankee Stadium for the first time and attended my only games at Tiger Stadium, Comiskey Park and Wrigley Field. We saw the Detroit Tigers once as they moved towards their World Series title and the Chicago Cubs twice as they won a division crown – only to fail to reach the World Series after holding a 2-0 lead against the San Diego Padres in the best-of-five National League Championship Series. We saw the emergence of “Doctor K” Dwight Gooden with eight strikeouts in a complete game, followed the next night by another rookie pitcher, Roger Clemens, who struggled as he gave up 6 runs in 3 2/3 innings. We saw Hall of Fame players Steve Carlton, Don Sutton, and Reggie Jackson at the very end of their careers, and Mike Schmidt, George Brett, Ryne Sandberg, Ozzie Smith and Robin Yount in their prime. I received autographs from Nolan Ryan, Dickie Thon and Alan Ashby of the Houston Astros and failed, in 21 ballparks, to catch a single foul ball.

Looking back, much has changed since that summer of 1984. Of the 21 ballparks we visited, only seven remain in use, with two of those, Shea Stadium and Yankee

Stadium, closing at the end of the 2008 season. All the players we watched are now retired, with Clemens and Julio Franco playing their final games last year. Our \$8.50 box seats at Fenway Park now cost \$50 each. The city we visited on June 14, Montreal, no longer hosts Major League Baseball, as the Expos relocated to Washington, D.C. in 2004. From a personal point of view, my father and I were sport tourists without knowing about the concept and, over the miles, I became a sports geographer long before I heard that people could study sport and stadiums as cultural objects, and that geography was more than knowing the capitals of all 50 states.

While writing a dissertation is a solitary project, it has required the input, participation and assistance of many different people. First, I want to thank the people who gave of their time to participate in this project: Jim Chibnall and Pat Tangen of HOK Sport, Stephen Green, former special assistant to Mayor Anthony Williams Michael Stevens of the Capital Riverfront Business Improvement District, Glenn O’Gilvie of the Earth Conservation Corps, Eli Zegas and Nell Schaffer of D.C. Vote, and Ed Lazere of the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute. I give special thanks to Jacqueline Dupree of the Washington Post, whose blog jdland.com has been an invaluable resource for information, photographs, and news updates about the ballpark and redevelopment in the Near Southeast. I also give special thanks to Mark Meinke of the Rainbow History Project, whose energy, knowledge and efforts took my idea for a public forum at which people could remember their experiences in the Near Southeast and turned it into the “Before the Ballpark” event that was attended by more than 50 people.

In addition, I appreciate the several years of effort from my advisor, David Andrews, who has been much more than a mentor with his guidance and friendship as I

have developed as a researcher, teacher, member of my community, and as a person. I thank the members of my dissertation committee, George Ritzer, Michael Silk, Damion Thomas, Cathy van Ingen, and Deborah Young, for their insight, patience and direction throughout this very long process. In addition, I need to recognize that I would not even be pursuing this Ph.D. if not for my Master's advisor, Dan Mason, now at the University of Alberta, asking me if I had ever thought about getting a doctorate and letting me know that studying stadiums was a legitimate (if not cool) topic. I also want to acknowledge the other members of the Physical Cultural Studies unit at the University of Maryland for their support, advice, friendship, and copy editing over the years.

None of this would have been possible without the support of my family, whose patience and perseverance has seemingly known no end. First, I thank my mother who has purchased winter and summer outfits for the last couple of years in anticipation of my graduation. Second, I appreciate my children, Ben and Daphne, for sharing too much of their childhoods with my efforts to earn my doctorate. Finally, I do not think that I can ever fully express my gratitude to my spouse and partner, Sara, for all that she has put up with over the last several years, for raising two beautiful children while I researched and wrote, and for her love and passion. When I doubted, she believed. When I was thought I was alone, she proved to me that I was not. This project could never have been completed without her.

If this project began in the front seat of my father's car in 1984, it ends with me looking at his picture as I sit at his desk and in his chair. He died in 2001, but instilled in me a love of sports that animates my research and teaching and provides me with countless hours of enjoyment. Thank you, Dad, and I miss you every day.

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If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost – Aristotle

The death of democracy is not likely to be an assassination from ambush. It will be a slow extinction from apathy, indifference, and undernourishment – Robert M. Hutchins

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Throughout the globe, there is a Washington D.C. that is readily recognizable. The White House is home to the President of the United States, arguably the world's most powerful person as he oversees the world's largest economy and is Commander in Chief of its most powerful military. The Capitol building houses 535 representatives and senators as legislators in the world's oldest continuing representative democracy. The Lincoln Memorial, honoring the President who emancipated America's slaves and where Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. addressed more than 200,000 civil rights marchers in 1963, is a symbol of hope and freedom. The National Archives displays the Declaration of Independence, United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights – documents upon which many nations have based their own constitutions. The Smithsonian Institution of 20 museums and galleries houses millions of historical artifacts and works of art, significant not only to the United States but for many countries. Yet, just as Henri Lefebvre described there being “a trite Paris” that is “easily available” to tourists and suburbanites, and suggested there are “other Parises” (Lefebvre, 2003f, p. 151), this is the trite Washington – a representation of space that is easily available to billions of global media consumers and millions of visitors.

For the architects of Washington's Nationals Park, the democratic image of the trite Washington has been the inspiration for the stadium's design. The building materials are a faux-limestone concrete reminiscent of the federal buildings around the city, while the extensive use of glass represents, according to lead architect Joseph Spear of HOK Sport, “the transparency of democracy” (as qtd. in Nakamura, 2005a, p. B1). Those sitting in the upper deck can see the Washington Monument and the Capitol

building. In a nod to the President's office in the White House, the team dresses in an oval locker room. On the plaza beyond left field, the stadium has 11 cherry trees, which management hopes will bloom at the same time as the city's world-famous Cherry Blossom Festival. In total, these elements are designed to ensure that people in attendance or watching on television experience the game as originating from Washington. However, **as will be examined within this dissertation, the promises of democracy symbolized by the stadium are contradicted by the deeper crisis within democracy generally during this late capitalist moment and obscure the fact that city residents have been denied their democratic rights for more than 200 years.**

Many researchers have suggested that there is a crisis of democracy in this era, as, in the past 35 years, American democracy has been moving away from expanding rights and opportunities for all citizens towards greater authoritarianism (see Denzin 2004; Giroux, 2003a; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; West, 2004). Reacting to the progress of various subaltern groups between the end of World War II and the 1970s, this authoritarian shift is marked by a reduction, militarization, and commercialization of the public sphere within the late capitalist moment, which is defined by a combination of neo-liberal economic policies, neo-conservative social policies, and the all-encompassing hypercommodification of everyday life (Andrews, 2009; Harvey, 1989, 2005; Jameson, 1991; N. Smith, 1998). Governments, inspired by a neo-liberal economic ideology that fetishizes free markets and individualism, have been reducing their involvement and regulation of economic life since the 1970s (Harvey, 2001a; Klein, 2007; Peck & Tickell, 2002; N. Smith, 2002; Ward, 2003). Yet, governments have increased their surveillance and control of social relations as they

engage in a neo-conservative politics of fear, in which they suggest that perceived threats from crime, drugs, disease, and terrorism require and help legitimate an authoritarian response against suspect and vulnerable populations (Denzin, 2004; Giroux, 2003a; Klein, 2007; N. Smith, 1998). These policies assist and are underpinned by the commodification of virtually all aspects of daily life that normalizes hyperconsumption and distracts people away from political action (Andrews, 2009; Debord, 1994; Jameson, 1991; Lefebvre, 1971).

As a result of ideologically-driven policies, the relationship between government and the governed has been fundamentally altered and created a crisis of democracy as people are being distanced from participating in their own governance. In the place of mutual obligations and rights, a privatized form of citizenship releases individuals from civic obligations (i.e. taxes, voting, public service) and releases government from its responsibility to promote the general welfare (Giroux, 2002c). Instead of acting in the public interest, governments favor capital interests by using scarce public resources in economic development projects and to maintain social control (Harvey, 2001a; Klein, 2007; Peck & Tickell, 2002). In this era, the consumer has become the preferred citizen and consumption has become the ideal act of citizenship. This change in the relationship between government and the governed is perhaps illustrated by the Presidential responses to the two deadliest foreign attacks on the United States. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt mobilized the nation as he asked Americans for shared sacrifice and struggle as the country fought World War II. Following al-Qaeda's attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon in 2001, President George W. Bush told Americans that no mobilization was needed as they should return to

their normal lives by going shopping, while also endorsing tax cuts at the start of the “Global War on Terror” (Bacevich, 2008).

Washington’s decision to spend \$611 million¹ on a new baseball stadium is indicative of the crisis within democracy as it relates to urban governance. In an era when urban governments are reducing service to residents, the stadium is a major commitment of public resources to a project that primarily benefits visitors, corporations, land developers, and wealthy players and owners. The stadium is supposed to be an inclusive space, but limits the ability of city residents to enjoy it due to the high cost of tickets, concessions, and souvenirs. As the city hopes to use the taxes from the economic development created by the stadium to build community by funding services to residents, those residents are removed from the stadium neighborhood and their communities destroyed. As the city talks about expanding the opportunities for recreation in the city, the stadium has reduced the diversity of opportunities by replacing a sexualized-space that has catered to the LGBT community for more than 35 years. As the city leaders chose to develop a stadium, Washington’s government clearly demonstrated its priorities, the services it provides, the people it serves, and whose voices matter. **As such, this dissertation examines the stadium not for its own sake, but as a lens through which to analyze public policy within this historical moment and conjunction of social forces.**

¹ There is no final accounting for the price of the stadium project. While in February 2006, the D.C. Council enshrined a maximum city contribution of \$611 million, there were additional contributions expected from Major League Baseball, team owners and the federal government. In March 2008, the *Washington Post* estimated the overall project cost to be at least \$769.8 million, which included \$45 million in cost overruns on land acquisition costs (with an additional \$2-\$24 million expected once the final eminent domain lawsuits on four parcels are adjudicated) (LeDuc & Nakamura, 2008). While acknowledging this fact, \$611 million is the figure found within general discourse and will be used to describe the city’s investment (contribution, subsidy, etc.) in the project.

This dissertation is underpinned by the theories and praxis of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, and his vision of a truly democratic society in which people directly participate in the decisions that impact their lives, are free from exploitative and alienating social relations, and are free “to realize [their] potential by altering the conditions of [their] existence” (Lefebvre, 1968, p. 79; see also Lefebvre, 1991b, 2003c; Purcell, 2002). Towards achieving this society, Lefebvre proposed a significant expansion of citizenship rights, including the right to the city, which, according to Kofman and Lebas (1996), is “the highest form of rights: liberty, individualization and socialization, environs and way of living” (p. 19). The right to the city also enables “a renewed urban society, a renovated centrality, leaving opportunities for rhythms and the use of time that would permit full usage of moments and places, and demanding the mastery of the economic (use value, market and merchandise)” (Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 19; see also Lefebvre, 1996a). Although Lefebvre’s democratic society exists only as a utopian ideal, it presents a normative standard of a more inclusive and equitable society against which to assess democratic practice in this late capitalist moment (Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002).

The right to the city is far from being realized within Washington, where the crisis of democracy is particularly acute. Despite the city’s image, Washingtonians are politically disenfranchised, as the United States Constitution has been interpreted to deny them Congressional representation. As Congress perpetuates the status quo, the city’s disempowerment manifests itself within the actions of a city government that invests billions to attract capital from corporations and visitors, and decreases taxes on its wealthiest residents, while cutting city services and deferring projects that could meet the

needs of residents. The \$770 million stadium project primarily benefits the wealthy at the expense of necessary capital expenditures on essential public services. As Mayor Anthony Williams pursued baseball in 2004, the city's public library system needed branch improvements of \$167 million ("Mayor's Task Force", 2005); \$400 million was needed for a new D.C. General Hospital; \$2 billion would have solved the city's sewage issues (G. O'Gilvie, personal communication, January 27, 2008); and, \$2 billion was required to repair buildings within the city's crumbling school system.

The Crisis of Democracy in Urban Governance

Within the crisis of democracy of the late capitalist era, city governments have been challenged by the large scale capital flight of the post-industrial economy due to globalization, deindustrialization, suburbanization, and reductions in central government transfers (Garreau, 1992; Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Sassen, 1991). To meet these challenges, urban governments have adopted neo-liberal entrepreneurial strategies, in which they have prioritized attracting capital from mobile corporations and visitors over meeting the welfare needs of urban inhabitants (Harvey, 2001a; Peck & Tickell, 2002). This entrepreneurial strategy is combined with a focus on aesthetics and difference through which the city is marketed to corporations and visitors (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The neo-conservative social policies of the revanchist city fortify urban space through aggressive policing in order to produce physically-safe enclaves for capital and to control unwanted populations (Fainstein & Judd, 1999a; Hubbard & Hall, 1998; Mitchell, 2003; Owen, 2002).

On a practical level, neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism and commodification have been concretized in urban space as they have undermined notions of community and

hollowed out the public sphere. The neo-conservative city is exclusionary and “increasingly carceral, dividing and separating populations like never before along class, race and sexual lines” (Hubbard & Hall, 1998, p. 1). The non-economic uses of public space have been devalued as public spaces have been transformed into commodities for the private sector to control and derive benefits (Schaller & Modan, 2005; Weber, 2002; Zukin, 1995). Large tax cuts for the wealthy have reduced governments’ budgets and forced substantial reductions in funding for public services, which have diminished their quality and effectiveness, thus further undermining popular support. As public capabilities are reduced, governments have become more entrepreneurial by using public resources (tax revenues, public lands) to attract private capital, as neo-liberalism suggests that the largest and broadest public benefits are realized through the market (Harvey, 2001a; Kipfer & Keil, 2002). The spaces of public life have been privatized as well, as corporations and other non-government entities define and regulate acceptable and unacceptable behaviors, speech, and people (T. A. Gibson, 2003; Schaller & Modan, 2005; Zukin, 1995). Notions of public responsibility have been replaced with “an utterly privatized model of citizenship and the good life” (Giroux, 2001, p. 11).

To examine the processes of late capitalist urbanism, I would suggest that sports stadiums are the emblematic building of this era. Just as massive smoke-stacked factories marked 19th century industrialization and skyscrapers defined 20th century corporate capitalism, stadiums are concrete manifestations of the various alienating economic, political, spatial, cultural, and social relations of the late capitalist moment. Economically, most stadiums in the United States are heavily subsidized with government resources (ostensibly the common wealth of the public) for the monetary

benefit of relatively few private actors (owners, teams, players). Politically, stadium subsidies are determined by technocratic urban planners and entrepreneurial government leaders, who attempt to shield negotiations and operations from public oversight and comment (Danielson, 1997; Euchner, 1993; Quirk & Fort, 1999). Spatially, stadiums prioritize visitors at the expense of residents as redevelopment projects use public resources to transform formerly productive industrial urban cores into centers of spectacular leisure consumption targeting suburbanites and tourists (Bale & Moen, 1995; Euchner, 1999). Culturally, stadiums are designed to promote certain images of the city, which are often divorced from and mask the more-dismal realities of urban life (Eisinger, 2000; Friedman, Andrews, & Silk, 2004). Socially, stadiums exacerbate social divisions with highly cost-stratified amenities designed to cater to corporations and the wealthy, maximize income from purchases by middle class attendees through artificial scarcity and spectacular amenities, and exclude poorer fans (Bale, 1994, 2001; Eitzen, 1996).

Within this context, Lefebvre's theorizing about the production of space is highly useful. According to Lefebvre (1991b), space and the city are the products and producers of social relations, the stakes in conflicts between groups, and the media through which groups and ideologies need to constitute themselves. As such, Lefebvre (1991b) suggests that there is a "trial by space," in which groups, classes, ideas, representations and values attempt to "succeed in making their mark on space... [or] lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies" (p. 417). Sports stadiums are one venue in which these contestations occur, and, as I suggest that stadiums are emblematic of this era, they contain, produce, reproduce, and challenge

dominant perceptions, conceptions and uses of space within a clearly defined and highly visible context.

In its design and the process in which it was approved, the stadium in Washington incorporates the various forms of inequality, exploitation and exclusion found within late capitalist urbanism, as well as many that are specific to Washington's historical and contemporary contexts. While I will explore these in detail, it is important to remember that this dissertation is not as much about Washington D.C.'s decision and subsidization of a \$770 million stadium project, as it is an investigation of the ideologies and practices that define the relationships between governments and citizens, communities and individuals, and people with one another. Indeed, the item of analysis is of secondary importance, as the questions explored within this dissertation are fundamental to the society in which we live and the type of society that we want to create for the future: Whose voices and experiences are valued? What are the best uses of society's common wealth? For whom is that wealth used? How and by whom are those decisions made? Towards understanding these fundamental issues, **this dissertation explores the spatial politics of inclusion and exclusion within the contemporary city by examining the degree to which the ideals of democracy are expressed and practiced in and through Nationals Park.**

Research Questions

The stadium in Washington provides a lens through which to explore the production of space and the spatial politics of inclusion and exclusion within the contemporary city. As will be discussed, Nationals Park is a key element in Washington's redevelopment strategy that had been developed by the mayoral

administration of Anthony Williams and included projects such as the new Washington Convention Center, a goal of attracting 100,000 new residents to the city, and the \$8 billion, 25-year Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI). Emerging from a Congressionally-imposed Financial Control Board that stabilized Washington's government after its financial collapse during the 1990s due to severe structural constraints and the mismanagement of Marion Barry, Williams focused on enabling downtown growth to be the "locomotive" for the city's economic growth (Woodlee, 2007, p. B1). Yet, in maintaining this focus, the city government made choices that directly impacted the lives of residents. As such, the stadium raises several questions centered upon the **spatial politics of inclusion and exclusion** that will be addressed in each of the empirical chapters in this dissertation.

Following chapter 2 in which I contextualize the stadium decision within contemporary urbanism and Washington's history, in chapter 3, I examine the city's efforts to attract Major League Baseball (MLB) to move the Montreal Expos to Washington, and the D.C. Council's approval of the contract and lease. In particular, I question: 1) how similar or dissimilar the stadium in Washington is to efforts in other circumstances; 2) the ways in which democratic principles were evident within negotiations and the approval process; and, 3) how the city's efforts exhibits the characteristics of contemporary urbanism.

In chapter 4, I examine the stadium as a key element of the city's plans for redevelopment in the Near Southeast and as part of the AWI. In particular, I question: 1) to what degree was the stadium necessary to redevelop the Near Southeast; and, 2) what

are the social impacts the stadium and redevelopment upon the neighborhood and the people who have lived, used, and worked in the area.

In chapter 5, I examine the architecture of the stadium, in terms of its symbolic and physical elements, as architects attempted meet the stadium's five objectives: being a first-class stadium, being socially inclusive, being integrated into the AWI, being environmentally friendly, and being an iconic architectural structure. In particular, I question: 1) to what degree these different objectives conflicted with one another and how they were balanced; 2) the degree to which the stadium's image and practice are consistent with or contradict one another; and, 3) how this separation between image and practice is indicative of and helps (re)produce the contradictions in Washington.

In chapter 6, I examine the stadium site's previous uses as O Street, SE had been a center of LGBT life in Washington for 35 years, and the efforts that the businesses that operated there to reopen elsewhere within the city. In particular, I question: 1) how subaltern groups are able to produce their own spaces of representation; 2) what happens to existing uses and users when an economically marginal space becomes redeveloped; and, 3) what occurs when sexually-oriented businesses attempt to relocate.

These various questions are not being answered for their own sake nor are they distinct. Instead, they illustrate the challenges to democratic participation within this moment as governments shift their attention from the welfare of residents to the desires of capital and try to control dispossessed populations, while the city and the elements of daily life are undergoing considerable commodification. Nationals Park is not just a space for the presentation of baseball games, but is the product and productive of social relations within Washington and the late capitalist moment. As such, the stadium is

have chosen to police the crisis of democracy in Washington, D.C. as it has been expressed through the new baseball stadium. As described in the following pages, sports stadiums are highly visible and supposedly meritocratic spaces, but this rhetoric mystifies their anti-democratic nature. Washington is also a useful site for this critique as the city's image and function as the center of American democracy is belied by the disenfranchisement of its 581,000 residents.

The answer to the third question about the costs of policing the crisis is beyond my ability to identify, except that, in the face of the challenges to democracy, the risk of inaction may be the costliest choice of all because silence is collaboration. Policing the crisis is required because the state and dominant groups produce and reinforce their positions through fueling moral panics and exacerbating social divisions. By exposing their actions, critical analysis is an essential element in transforming underlying power relationships, as critical knowledge forms the foundation for interventions that challenge alienating and exploitative social relations. In this section, in addition to addressing the value of examining sports spaces and Washington, I discuss the usefulness of Lefebvre in policing the crisis of democracy in the late capitalist moment and how my perspective informs this project.

Democracy and the Spaces of Sport

Sport and sport spaces have frequently been framed in popular discourse as being democratic and inclusive as they are open to all, reward hard work and skill over status, promote civic cohesion and progressive values, produce shared prosperity, and assist people in enjoying healthy and fulfilling lives (United Nations, 2003, 2004). However, this perception of sport and sport spaces is an illusion as sporting institutions have

frequently discriminated against people by race, class, gender and sexuality (to name just a few categories) (Cahn, 1995; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000; T. Miller, 2001; Rader, 2004; Sage, 1998; Theberge, 2000). Through excluding people from participating within sport on these bases, dominant groups have been able to reproduce and normalize their social power.

Facilities for professional sports teams also are exclusionary, especially within the present era. Although many are heavily subsidized with public resources, stadiums and arenas are designed for the benefit of corporations, team owners and players, as high prices for admission, souvenirs, and concessions limit attendance to affluent people and businesses (Delaney & Eckstein, 2003; Fort, 1997; W. D. Keating, 1997; Rosentraub, 1999b; Shropshire, 1995; Zimbalist, 2003). In addition, the public has little influence within the policy process through which teams receive subsidies (Danielson, 1997; Euchner, 1993; Friedman & Mason, 2004; Quirk & Fort, 1999). Stadiums and arenas also serve an ideological function similar to the Roman Empire's "bread and circuses" (Eisinger, 2000), as they distract from and mystify the various forms of political, social, cultural and economic inequality and exploitation (Belanger, 2000; Friedman et al., 2004).

Democracy and Washington, D.C.

As the capital city of the United States, Washington is the symbolic and functional heart of the world's oldest continuing democracy (National Capitol Planning Commission [NCPC], 1997). As originally designed by French architect Charles Pierre L'Enfant in the 1790s, Washington was conceived to be a grand city worthy of a potentially great nation with broad, tree-lined streets, buildings representing the

Constitutional separation of powers in the American government, and sites for public assembly and for monuments (Gillette Jr., 2006; Gutheim & Lee, 2006; NCPC, 1997). L'Enfant's concept and the visions of other planners have been materialized within the federal portions of the city that celebrate democracy through monuments to the country's greatest leaders, memorials to honor the country's war dead and other heroes, museums containing national artifacts, and the buildings in which the nation's laws and policies are formulated, executed and adjudicated. Images of Washington's democratic icons are transmitted around the world through the media, within arts and literature, and in the nation's currency (NCPC, 2004).

However, as Washington symbolizes American democracy, the promise of democracy is denied to the 581,000 residents of the city who are disenfranchised solely on the basis of where they live (LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat). Although D.C. residents fulfill all the obligations of citizenship as they pay more than \$1.6 billion in federal taxes and serve in the military, they are not represented in Congress, which denies them a voting member of the House of Representatives or Senate. This denial of representation is even more undemocratic as Congress maintains a unique oversight role in and power over city affairs with rights to approve the city's budget, to veto city laws, to appoint local judges and prosecutors (T. Y. Price, 1998; Schrag, 1990; S. Smith, 1974). Moreover, Congress has imposed an untenable financial structure upon the city with prohibitions against a commuter tax and property tax restrictions, while forcing the D.C. government to assume many extraordinary expenses (Lazere & Garrison, 2005).

Theorizing the Possible

In order to address the crisis of democracy as expressed through Nationals Park, I am basing my project within the oeuvre of Henri Lefebvre, who focused his life's work on a project "of a different society, a different mode of production, where social practice would be governed by different conceptual determinations" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 419). As he envisioned a society that featured greater social justice and a more democratic future in which people participate in their own governance, Lefebvre sought to create knowledge, alternatives and conditions that would inspire people to transform their conditions. As such, Elden (2004b) described Lefebvre as a "theorist of the possible," as, according to Kofman and Lebas (1996), "one of his often repeated aphorisms was '*demander l'impossible pour avoir tout le possible*' (demand the impossible in order to get all that is possible)" (p. 35).

A belief and optimism about people's capacity to change and create their lives and to realize themselves as "total men" (sic) is at the core of Lefebvre's oeuvre that was, in large part, inspired by Marx. However, Lefebvre recognized that dominant power structures, as realized through the economy and the state, alienate people from themselves and their communities, exploit their labor, usurp their sovereignty, and mystify them from realizing their alienation and exploitation. Although Lefebvre died in 1991, his insights into the nature of social relations in and through space and the commodification and colonization of everyday life are highly applicable to the current conditions of late capitalism.

Besides approaching this dissertation within Lefebvorean sensibilities, I am conducting this project underpinned by the theoretical and ideological commitments of

cultural studies. Within this discipline, culture is not studied for its own sake, but as “an entrance into the context of the unequal relations of force and power” and as “the site of the production and struggle over power” (Grossberg, 1997a, p. 248) as knowledge and power combine to shape the world. Yet, cultural studies demand more than critique, as it “involves using theory as a resource to think and act, learning how to situate texts within historical and institutional contexts, and creating the conditions for collective struggles over resources and power” (Giroux, 2001, p. 11). As such, cultural studies scholars are expected to take actions towards achieving greater social justice, empowerment and freedom (Denzin, 2004; Giroux, 2001; Grossberg, 1997a).

Consistent with being a Lefebvrian and cultural studies project, this dissertation is also a project of educated hope, which seeks to reinvigorate citizenship and politics through critiquing the present moment, redefining the social, increasing sites and spaces for resistance, and offering alternative possibilities (Giroux, 2002b, 2002c, 2003b). In particular, educated hope explicitly counters the arguments by neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologues that suggest no viable alternatives exist to the market economy and the increasing militarization of the Western world. In approaching the current moment with “militant utopianism” and “stubborn optimism”, educated hope seeks to inspire a socially-engaged citizenship and attempts to:

create the conditions that encourage and enable people to participate individually and collectively in administering the basic institutions that shape their lives and exercise control in wielding power over organizations as diverse as the government, workplace, media culture, and school (Giroux, 2001, p. 9).

Personal Politics

In this project, I attempt to engage in the revolutionary critique that underpinned and suffused Lefebvre's oeuvre and is an obligation within cultural studies. However, I will first disclose my various subject positions in order to situate myself in relation to my project and participants, and to identify the biases I bring to this research (see Lincoln & Denzin, 2005; Saukko, 2003; Sparkes, 1995). In addition, I am engaging in this type of self-reflection as I take seriously Merrifield's (2006) injunction that:

when writers and scholars enter the Lefebvrian fray, when they write about daily life and global space, they should think very carefully about whose daily life they're talking about, whose (and what space they mean). When they write about radical intellectuals like Lefebvre, they should think about their own role as radical intellectuals, turning Lefebvrian criticism onto themselves, analyzing their own daily life and space at the same time as they analyze global capitalism (p. 119).

Towards conducting this self-criticism, I would characterize myself as an upper class, white, heterosexual, male, American Jew.

While this positioning has influenced the project in many ways,² my perspective is most impacted by my Jewish identity. As a Jew, my world view and identity have been shaped by almost 2,000 years of diasporic existence in which Jews have been political, social and cultural others, and, as such, convenient target for oppression (Bauman, 2000; Lyotard, 1990; Stratton, 2000). Although I am privileged within American society, I recognize that, historically, similar positions have been no barrier to (and often the incitement for) oppression of Jews, who have been early targets of hatred

² I provide a more detailed analysis of the ways my background has impacted this research in Appendix C.

during difficult times. In this way, I believe that I am better able to empathize with vulnerable groups, as my understanding of the Jewish experience has made me more sensitive to incidents of oppression and injustice. In addition, the ethical teachings of Judaism obligate me to act in the cause of social justice (Fine, 2005; West, 2004). As such, the praxis of cultural studies and Lefebvre resonate with my perspective and ethical commitments.

My research into the stadium in Washington is an expression of my ethical beliefs. **I am calling attention to the inequitable conditions produced and reproduced through the stadium, which is helping transform Washington at the expense of those living in the city to the benefit of elite interests.** By chronicling the experiences of different groups, I hope to challenge and influence discourses about the stadium's impact on the community. By critiquing the stadium, I am attempting to demystify the processes through which dominant groups maintain and reproduce their power, and to encourage political resistance against using public resources to further enrich elites. Overall, this project attempts to identify the contexts of oppression and focus on the various political, economic and social contexts in Washington to develop a better contextual understanding of contemporary conditions towards creating a better future (see Grossberg, 1997). Yet, I also recognize Ian McDonald's critique cited by Samantha King (2005) that "to identify and critically analyze dominant relations can help create the possibility for transformation, but it is not the same as 'securing practical changes'" (p. 33). While necessary, critique alone is insufficient to effect change and must be coupled with public action.

Analyzing the Crisis of Democracy

In addition to furthering Lefebvre's political project, I utilize Lefebvre's oeuvre to inform my use of theory and methods and as I conduct my analysis. Many of the concepts Lefebvre introduced in the *Production of Space*, such as the spatial triad, the trial by space, and space being a social product, underpin my analysis of the various issues surrounding the stadium. To assess the crisis of democracy, I utilize Lefebvre's concepts self-management and the right to the city as standards against which to assess movements towards or away from true democracy and social inclusion. In terms of methodology, Lefebvre's progressive-regressive approach suffuses my approach towards collecting data as I contextualize the stadium diachronically and synchronically. In this section, I address issues surrounding theory, analysis and method.

Towards the Total Man

Best known in the English-speaking world for his studies of everyday life and urban space, Lefebvre examined many different topics, including methodology, Fascism, philosophy, rural life, politics and the state, literary theory, and history, in almost seven decades as a scholar (Elden, 2004b). These disparate topics belie a career and life unified around a single commitment: changing the conditions of society to free people from exploitation and alienation. Within this different society, people could realize themselves as "total" men (sic) – a concept Lefebvre (1991a) attributed to Marx.

According to Lefebvre (1968), "the total man is the 'de-alienated' man" (p. 162), who could create himself without being subjected to exploitative relationships. Within this idealized status, people could create themselves, realize their potential, and enjoy meaningful lives in conditions they help generate (Lefebvre, 1968). This self-production

is not an individualistic activity, but must occur within the context of a free community in which people are able to govern themselves and from which they cannot be excluded (Lefebvre, 1968, 1996a, 2003c). However, the ability for people to realize themselves fully is limited by various social structures and relations, in which people are exploited and become alienated from their labor, community, and themselves (Davies & Niemann, 2002; Lefebvre, 1968, 1969b, 1988; Trebitsch, 1991).

According to van Ingen (2004), Lefebvre's conception of alienation featured "displacement and isolation in ways that limit full, lived engagement in daily life" (p. 259). Lefebvre (1988) defined alienation as occurring when a person could not determine the conditions of his or her own existence "by the action of will and desire" (p. 88; see also Davies & Niemann, 2002)³. Despite the usurpation of their individual sovereignty, the imposition of social constraints, and their economic exploitation, people are not able to recognize the extent of their alienation as mystification masks their awareness of social contexts and history (Burkhard, 2000; Kelly, 2000; Lefebvre, 1991a; Trebitsch, 1991). As such, dominant groups use mystification to interfere with people's ability to think critically and identify inequitable social relations (Lefebvre, 1991a; Merrifield, 2006).

In order to achieve "a new stage of civilization and culture and enable man to realize his potential by altering the conditions of his existence" (Lefebvre, 1968, p. 79), Lefebvre (1969b) proposed a program to overcome alienation and mystification by radically expanding citizenship rights and civil society leading towards "democratic self-management, without bureaucracy or state" (p. 148; see also Lefebvre, 2003c). In particular, he advocated for the expansion of rights (including rights to the city, to

³ To illustrate this point, Lefebvre used the example of women telling him that they did not want to have children as children represented "self-alienation." Lefebvre suggested that this is *only* alienation if a woman is forced to bear children against her will, "but it is different if you want the child" (1988, p. 88).

difference, to information, to free expression, to culture, to self-management, and to services) that would make the state more accountable and responsive to citizens and strengthen civil society to the point that the state could wither away (Lefebvre, 2003c).

Of the new rights advocated by Lefebvre, the right to the city and self-management are the most relevant in this dissertation. As identified earlier, the right to the city would allow people to fully participate in urban life, enjoy full use and appropriation of urban space, and would elevate use value over exchange value (Lefebvre, 1996a). The right to the city suggests a radical restructuring of urban life with different forms of political, economic and social relations in space, as people have the right to creatively live, work, play, represent, characterize, and occupy the city (Elden, 2004b; Fenster, 2005; Lefebvre, 2003c; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002). This combination of creativity and empowerment raises the importance of society's interests and user's needs, such that they are at least equal to the desires of property owners (Kofman & Lebas, 1996).

The right to self-management (also described by Lefebvre as *autogestion*) suggests an alternative governance structure to that of the state, as the alienating aspects of representative democracy are replaced by "transparent, direct relationships between men" (Lefebvre, 1969b, p. 137). Within this devolved form of governance, people would have knowledge about and control over "the conditions governing its existence and survival through change" (Lefebvre, 2003c, p. 252; see also Elden, 2004b). *Autogestion* provides an enhanced form of citizenship enabling social groups "to influence their own reality" (Lefebvre, 2003c, p. 252) by being involved in the decisions that impact their lives.

The right to the city and *autogestion* provide a vision of what a more democratic society would look like, and, while they may be just utopian ideals, they provide useful standards against which to assess the late capitalist moment. The idea of rights has been criticized in postmodern discourse as being an unrealistic and universal concept and for the fact that the rights promoted by capitalist countries emphasize civil and political rights while ignoring social and economic rights (Kidd & Donnelly, 2000; Mitchell, 2003). However, Mitchell (2003) suggested that “rights establish an important *ideal*” (p. 25, italics original) as they represent possibilities for a different future, which, through struggle and contestation, can become actualized within law, public policy and space. **In this dissertation, I analyze the stadium as it contributes or impedes progress towards achieving the right to the city and/or *autogestion*.**

Conflicts in/of Space

In particular, I examine the stadium as part of conflicts over the production of space. According to Massey (1996), “all battles over space and place are in fact battles over *spatialized social power*” (p. 120, italics original) with different groups attempting to define the meanings of and structure space. From his class-based perspective, Lefebvre (1991b) suggested the main conflict over space is between the dominant capitalist utilizers, who seek to maximize the economic value of space, and community users, who inhabit and live within a space. However, I would suggest this presentation of conflict in purely economic terms is too narrow to identify the variety of spatial contestations, as they also include race, gender, sexuality, religion, and ability (among others). Capital is only one of many benefits realized by dominant groups from their control of space, while community users can suffer many different forms of domination.

As such, spatial conflict could be reframed more generally with dominant groups attempting to reproduce and reinforce their social power, while subaltern groups challenge power-based social relations.

The results of conflicts over space are literally concretized within the physical environment and help define its meanings, especially within cities, as according to Lefebvre (2003k), “each mode of production has ‘produced’ ... a type of city, which ‘expresses’ it in a way that is immediately visible and legible on the environment, by making the most abstract relationships -- legal, political, ideological – tangible” (p. 24). The urban form historically has developed to celebrate and reproduce the power of elites in effective ways. Temples, churches and cathedrals were once urban focal points that testified to the power of religion, but, under capitalism, skyscrapers, factories and stadiums are structures that are highly symbolic of this age. Lefebvre (1991b) suggested that critical examination of urban space can expose the abstract relations of power within a given mode of production. As I examine Nationals Park, the abstract relations of power are evident within: the ways in which space is organized; the people and groups who are included in and excluded from the stadium space; the interests that are being favored and promoted, as well as those being rejected and denied; and what ideas and objectives are being represented and the ways in which that representation occurs.

Methodology

Taking into account Grossberg’s suggestion that “one can and should use any and every kind of empirical method, whatever seems useful to the particular project” (H. K. Wright, 2001, p. 145) in order to “produce the best possible knowledge using the most sophisticated intellectual tools” (Grossberg, 1997, p. 254), I have used a variety of

methodological approaches to collect and analyze data. However, being mindful of Grossberg's caveat to "use [method] as rigorously and as suspiciously as you can" (Wright, 2001, p. 145), this section discusses my general approach to research, which is based in Lefebvre's regressive-progressive method, and provides a brief overview of the techniques used to collect and analyze data. For a more detailed description of paradigmatic issues and data collection, see Appendix C.

Lefebvre's regressive-progressive approach to research.

Lefebvre's regressive-progressive research method is useful for its ability to analyze complex societal structures within conditions of local specificity. Lefebvre (2003g) identified two types of complexity – horizontal and vertical – which "intertwine, intersect and interact" and create "a confused mass of facts that only a sound *methodology* can disentangle" (p. 113, italics original). Horizontal complexity involves "techniques and structural relations" made by and occurring between people (Elden, 2004, p. 38). Vertical complexity involves the conditions of historical development.

To disentangle the confused mass of facts related to any phenomenon, Lefebvre's (2003g) regressive-progressive approach involves three phases of analysis: descriptive, analytico-regressive, and historico-genetic that "describe", "date" and "explain" (p. 117) a particular phenomenon (see also Elden, 2004). Within the descriptive phase, Lefebvre proposed theoretically- and experientially-based inspection of a phenomenon through participant observation and interviews. In the analytico-regressive phase, Lefebvre suggested analyzing the described reality by contextualizing its development within historical conditions. In the historico-genetic phase, Lefebvre recommended explaining

the transformation and preservation of elements of the phenomenon by linking them to broader social structures, institutions and functions.

The three phases of analysis are not discrete, but combine towards understanding the totality of any social phenomenon. As historical trends illuminate the present, contemporary conditions also illuminate the past, thus “disclosing aspects and moments of it hitherto uncomprehended” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 65). Lefebvre’s approach creates deep contextualization, not only within historical and social trends, but also in the local realities that impact any social formation. In recognizing that “the sociologist’s perspective interacts with the historian’s, and vice versa” (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 129), this approach answers Andrews’ (2006) challenge, “as much as we have to be diachronous, so we must be equally synchronous in our thinking” (p. 37). Moreover, just as the past and present inform one another, both suggest possibilities for the future (Elden, 2004).

In conducting a Lefebvorean analysis of space, I utilize diachronic and synchronic analyses within each of the empirical chapters. Whether examining sport, urban planning, democratic image and practice, or sexuality in the city, each context is rooted in Washington’s specific historical conditions and those of contemporary urbanism. The stadium is, therefore, a product and producer of Washington’s history and of the late capitalist moment. Moreover, the stadium is also a producer of Washington’s future, and will do so in ways unanticipated by me and the various publics involved in its approval, design, and use. Therefore, although this dissertation may focus its critique on the present and past, it is intended to “[*encompass*] an agenda for transformation” (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 98, italics original).

Data collection.

Given the complexity of urban phenomena, Lefebvre (1996a) suggested that its analysis “requires the use of all methodological tools: form, function, structure, levels, dimensions, text, context, field and whole, writing and reading, system, signified and signifier, language and metalanguage, institutions, etc.” (p. 111). To do so, I have employed a variety of qualitative methods directed toward developing an understanding of the events, discourses, lived experiences, and intentions surrounding the stadium decision and the production of space within Washington’s Near Southeast. In this project, I have collected and analyzed a broad range of primary and secondary sources to better understand the various contexts in which the stadium is embedded, and helps to create.

Based in the philosophical and disciplinary stances discussed earlier, I selected methods for their potential to help describe the world in a non-reductionist manner. Quantitative methodologies were rejected on the basis of their claims to objectively identify causal relationships (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Instead, I have used qualitative methods, including textual analysis, interviewing, and ethnographic approaches, for their ability to allow me to “study things in their natural settings, [and to attempt] to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 3). The research protocol approved by the University of Maryland’s Institutional Review Board can be found in Appendix F.

Through these methods, I attempted to access different people’s perceptions of their social worlds through observation, interaction and participation in those worlds. Additionally, I have focused on the differing discourses – economic, aesthetic, political,

gender, ethnographic, historical – surrounding the production of space in Washington. In all, I am attempting to provide an understanding of these discourses “as an intricate textual construct and understand [sport] as a form of popular culture directly interrelated with other cultural forms and with an economy of representation and practices that make up a ‘way of life’” (Frow & Morris, 2003, p. 507).

Data have been collected through three methods – textual analysis, interviewing, and ethnographic observation. Using textual analysis as the primary method in this research, I have reviewed the discourses found within the media, the Internet, public records, planning documents, and advocacy literature. As text goes beyond the written word, I also examined photographs, architectural designs and proposals, and the built structures of the Near Southeast and Washington, D.C. I supplemented textual analysis with interviews and ethnographic observations, as I used them to inform, confirm, and challenge my interpretations of the various texts I examined. With this additional insight, I reread many of the most important texts, such as the city’s 2006 Comprehensive Plan, the framework for the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, the D.C. Sports and Entertainment’s call for architectural proposals, and the design framework for the stadium district.

Within this research, I interviewed ten people, including one person twice and two people in one interview. These individuals, including an advisor to Mayor Williams, a leader of the stadium opposition, two architects on the stadium’s project team, and a highly influential blogger who has helped shape perceptions of the Near Southeast, were uniquely qualified as producers of the texts I examined. Their insights helped me to identify the most salient aspects of the production process and provided perspectives that

were unavailable or received less attention within media reports. As such, their insights provided important direction to me as I conducted the research, analyzed the source materials, and wrote the text. While I did not conduct any focus groups, I worked with the Rainbow History Project (RHP) to produce a public event attended by 50 people. At “Beyond the Ballpark,” participants, including two presenters and a moderator from the RHP, shared their memories about the O Street businesses that were displaced to make way for the stadium. This event helped reshape my perceptions of the meanings of the O Street businesses for members of the LGBT community.

I used ethnographic observations in a similar supplementary fashion. I entered the field on several occasions to document some of the events discussed in this dissertation. My perspectives on these events were shaped by my field notes, recordings and photographs I collected, and subsequent media reports. Among the events I attended, as part of my field work, were the closing celebration of Zeigfeld’s, the May 8, 2006 stadium groundbreaking ceremony, and the March 30, 2008 exhibition game which was the first between Major League Baseball teams at Nationals Park.

Plan of the Work

As Lefebvre (1996a) suggests, the city is a “*projection of society on the ground*” (p. 109, italics original) created through the dialectical relationship between urban space and its social interactions and relations. This projection of social relations onto space is not coherent as a city consists of multiple, coexisting spaces which combine to constitute a complex urban form. As explained by Lefebvre (1991b), these multiple spaces:

are situated neither in a geometrically objectified space of squares, rectangles, circles, curves and spirals, nor in the mental space of logical inherence and

coherence, of predicates bound to substantives, and so on. For they also – indeed most importantly – involve levels, layers and sedimentations of perception, representation, and spatial practice which presuppose one another, which proffer themselves to one another, and which are superimposed upon one another (p. 226).

Therefore, there is no singular “Washington, D.C.” that can be dissected and explained. Instead, there are multiple Washingtons – physical, imagined, social, economic, cultural, and political – coexisting within and around the geographic borders of the District of Columbia, which produce and are products of people’s interactions with and perceptions of the city. There are global, national, regional and local Washingtons; Washingtons of politics, diplomacy, and the military; Washingtons of commerce, finance, education, science and law; Washingtons of identity and ethnicity belonging to African-Americans, homosexuals, immigrants, Caucasians, and various economic classes; Washingtons of culture, art, music and sport. Even as a geographic entity, Washington is not singular as, on the micro level, it changes street to street, while, on a macro level, the District of Columbia is one of many municipal entities along with innumerable suburban enclaves that demographers, policy makers, and marketers consider as part of the Washington Metropolitan Statistical Area.

As these multiple Washingtons coexist within the same physical and mental spaces, they necessarily interpenetrate, influence, interact and often conflict with one another. Moreover, although some Washingtons may be more influential in the city’s discursive construction at particular moments, none wholly dominates or determines any of the others. With forces of determinancy highly conjunctural, *no study can provide a*

holistic understanding of the complex social weave that enmeshes any city. Just as a single strand of thread in a tapestry is incomprehensible by itself, the many Washingtons only exist in relation to one another, and, in combination, constitute the city's urban fabric. Particular moments and events, such as the stadium in Washington, provide perspective to interpret this tapestry of social relations, which are productive of, produced within, and reproduced through urban space.

There are seven chapters and six appendices in this dissertation, as I explore the spatial politics surrounding the construction of the stadium. In chapter 2, I engage the crisis of democracy within the contemporary moment as it is expressed through the governance of the late capitalist city. In addition, I discuss the Mayoral administration of Anthony Williams within the contemporary moment and in the unique conditions and history of Washington in order to appropriately contextualize the stadium synchronically and diachronically. This discussion frames my examination of the four most relevant Washingtons to this research – the “Sporting”; the “Planned”; the “Symbolic”; and the “Sexual”. Each of these Washingtons will be explored singularly in chapters 3 through 6, as I identify the ways in which the stadium is emblematic of and contributes to the crisis of democracy in Washington. I conclude in chapter 7 by exploring the meanings of the stadium within Washington's urban tapestry and the broader issues of contemporary urbanism.

Chapter 2: Understanding the Crisis of Democracy

Building off the concepts alluded to within this introduction, chapter 2 provides an in-depth exploration of democracy, the late capitalist moment, contemporary urbanism, and local conditions in Washington in order to properly contextualize the

stadium. The chapter begins by defining the crisis of democracy through examining the nature of democracy and human rights under the conditions of late capitalism, in which neo-liberal economic policies, neo-conservative social policies and commodification have been fused in an all-encompassing system. Next, I discuss the ways in which late capitalism has impacted contemporary urban governance through Kipfer and Keil's (2002) competitive city model, in which cities have adopted entrepreneurial, aesthetic, and revanchist strategies and policies. In particular, I focus on the ways in which these have been materialized within the urban spaces of leisure consumption. The third part of the chapter shifts its focus from the general conditions of contemporary urbanism to the specific circumstances in Washington. Washington's historic lack of industry, its patterns of race and ethnicity, and its unique governance structure all impacted the manner in which Anthony Williams led the city and pursued Major League Baseball.

Chapter 3: Washington's Own(ly) Senators – Sporting Washington

Organized sport has had an uneasy relationship with democracy, as it has often mobilized images and discourses of inclusiveness while being highly exclusionary. This relationship has shaped and been shaped by sporting spaces, particularly through the issue of public subsidies for sports stadiums and arenas as local governments have granted them over the past two decades. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between sport and democracy as I examine the process through which the D.C. government attracted the Montreal Expos to move to Washington and approved the contract in 2004 and the lease in 2006. I begin by focusing on sport and democracy, and the politics that have generally surrounded subsidy decisions. I then provide a narrative focusing on the specific events, issues, and actors involved in the debates surrounding the

decision to build the stadium. This narrative is based primarily in textual analysis of media reports, planning documents, and public testimony to the D.C. Council. These materials are supplemented with interviews with Steven Green (Mayor Williams' special assistant for economic development), and Ed Lazere (No D.C. Taxes for Baseball co-chair), as well as my attendance at the D.C. Council hearing in October 2006 about the stadium lease. In particular, I assess the stadium decision as an expression and constitutive of the crisis of democracy and the late capitalist moment as defined in chapter 2.

Chapter 4: "A City of Magnificent Intentions" – Planned Washington

The practice of urban planning has been essential in the Washington's development since its establishment. Since L'Enfant conceived a potential grand capital city worthy of a potentially great nation in 1790s, plans have shaped social, political, cultural and economic relations between people and groups within Washington. As will be discussed, the stadium is a key element in the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI), which is a framework for the city's growth over the first quarter of the 21st century as Washington competes with other municipalities for economic development. In this chapter, I explore the production of space through the planning practice. Following a description of Lefebvre's spatial triad, I focus on the role planning has had in producing Washington. In particular, I examine the AWI and the redevelopment of the Near Southeast neighborhood where the stadium is located. To do so, I focused on the variety of planning documents produced by the D.C. Office of Planning, the National Capital Planning Commission, DCSEC, and other groups, as well as media reports about planning efforts. Interviews with Green, Michael Stevens (Executive Director of the

Capital Riverfront Business Improvement District), Glenn O’Gilvie (Director of the Earth Conservation Corps), and Jacqueline Dupree (proprietor of the JDland internet blog) provided key insight into the impacts of development in the area. My trips to the area during the research process also helped me experience the rapidly changing nature of the area. I then analyze the stadium’s role and impacts within the area’s redevelopment.

Chapter 5: Taxation With(out) Representation – Symbolic Washington

There is perhaps no other city in the United States so closely identified with the ideal of democracy as Washington, D.C., which houses the institutions, artifacts, and symbols of American democracy. However, the image of Washington as a democratic space is contradicted by the historical practice of denying voting rights to the city’s residents. As will be discussed, architects have created a spectacular space in which, similar to the contradiction between democratic image and practice in Washington, the aesthetics and rhetoric of inclusiveness in the stadium are contradicted by the design, construction and operation of its spaces. In this chapter, I first identify the city’s stated intentions for the design of the stadium as stated through the DCSEC’s request for proposal for architectural services, media reports, and interviews with HOK Sport architects Jim Chibnall and Pat Tangen. I then examine the role that architects have in the creation of spectacular consumption spaces and the spectacle of democracy in Washington. In analyzing the stadium through my attendance at several games during the 2008 season, materials produced by the Washington Nationals and from media reports, I focus on the disjuncture between the images of the stadium space and its spatial practices.

Chapter 6: Last Dance in Southeast – Sexual Washington

Like many other cities, Washington spatially marginalizes sexuality and sexual practices deviating from the heterosexual norm. However, the spatial margins are not fixed locations as development trends adjust the value of space. As I will discuss, the stadium site and the Near Southeast is one such formerly marginal area in which the city's LGBT community had a 35-year non-residential presence. In this chapter, I explore the history and meanings of the LGBT community's use of the Near Southeast, particularly the community's reaction to the closing of the businesses along O Street that were within the stadium footprint. To do so, I relied strongly on media reports, Craig Seymour's *All I Could Bare*, the personal reflections of participants at the Rainbow History Project's roundtable community discussion, *Before the Ballpark*, and my attendance at the final evening of Ziegfeld's. I also examine the difficulties that those businesses have faced as they have failed to relocate within Washington, as I read through media reports, public testimony in front of the D.C. Council and public comments on the Frozen Tropics blog.

Chapter 7: Conclusion – Opening Day

In the conclusion, I examine the ways in which the stadium exhibits the crisis of democracy and the spatial politics of the contemporary moment. I start by reflecting upon my own experience in and around Nationals Park as it relates to its surrounding neighborhood on its pre-opening day of March 29, 2008. Following this description of the journey to Nationals Park and my tour around the stadium site, I focus on the broader implications of the stadium, the city's choice to subsidize it, its impacts on the Near Southeast, and its position within Washington's history and the late capitalist moment.

Appendices

This dissertation has six appendices that provide further information and documentation about this research and the contextual conditions in Washington. Appendix A discusses this research as it relates to Physical Cultural Studies. Appendix B is an academic biography of Lefebvre that addresses the foundations of and influences on his research, Lefebvre's praxis, and his intellectual legacies. Appendix C provides a more in-depth discussion of methodology. Appendix D is a detailed history of sport and sport spaces in Washington. Appendix E provides a detailed history of governance with Washington. The research protocol as approved by the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board is attached in Appendix F.

Chapter 2 – Understanding the Crisis of Democracy

As suggested by Lefebvre's regressive-progressive approach to research, before a phenomenon can be investigated, it needs to be situated within historical and contemporary contexts. This chapter provides the necessary contextualization as I discuss the late capitalist moment and the unique conditions in Washington. First, I examine the crisis of democracy within the contemporary moment as exhibited through the ideologies of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism and consumption-oriented practices of hypercommodification. I then focus on how these three trends are exhibited within the "competitive city" and the way that Lefebvre's oeuvre is useful in critiquing contemporary urban governance. Next, I examine the unique contextual conditions of Washington that have impacted the city's development and the stadium. Together, this contextualization is essential to the empirical analyses of the stadium decision (chapter 3), the redevelopment of the stadium's neighborhood (chapter 4), the stadium's architecture and symbolic meanings (chapter 5), and the displacement of the stadium site's previous users (chapter 6).

The Crisis of Democracy

Since the fall of state Communism in the early 1990s, free market capitalism has been seemingly triumphant with Francis Fukuyama (1989) famously proclaiming an "end to history" as there are no remaining alternatives. As Fukuyama's successors focused on the elimination of the repressive state apparatuses of the Soviet Union and its client states, they claim free markets to be synonymous with democracy, freedom and human rights (see Andrews, 1999; Klein, 2007). However, this conflation is demonstrably false upon closer inspection. Instead of bringing freedom and democracy, the expansion of the

free market has been associated with widening global inequalities, growing economic exploitation and instability, dehumanization, violence and environmental degradation that would seem to be inimical with and to threaten the ideals with which capitalism associates itself (Klein, 2007)⁴.

Within his various writings, Lefebvre (1968) presented an alternative vision of democracy unlinked from the dominant political and economic systems of his era. In a return to Marx's original texts, Lefebvre's democratic society necessarily entailed the withering away of the state in order to allow individuals to create themselves as "total men" (sic) without being alienated from themselves, their work and their community. For Lefebvre (1968), the meaning of life was intimately tied to this process of self-production and "in the full development of human possibilities" (p. 79). Towards creating this new society, Lefebvre (2003c) believed in replacing the state with a strengthened civil society in which people practiced a different form of democracy: "*autogestion*," in which people and social groups exercise effective self-management and control over the decisions that impact their lives. By exercising "*effective power*" (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 172, italics original) over their conditions, people would become "free individuals in a free community," who could realize their "limitless variety of possible individualities" (Lefebvre, 1968, pp. 163-164). This freedom would replace the alienating, inequitable and exploitative relations that Lefebvre recognized as dominant within everyday life, politics, and space.

However, Lefebvre (2001) recognized that "a strongly constituted state does not easily give up its diverse powers, which are in turn guaranteed by the institutions that it

⁴ Obviously, recent economic events have called into question the dominance and stability of free market ideologies. However, it is far too early to identify the extent of the crisis and/or the ability of capitalism to adapt, as it usually has, to meet contemporary economic challenges.

coordinates and dominates” (p. 773). The dominance of the state is legitimated through the discourses and practices of representative democracy, in which individual sovereignty is transferred to a group of elected rulers, such that “we all no longer rule [and] are separated from power and government” (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 244). This separation necessitates the creation of a bureaucracy, which embodies and actualizes the power of the state, subordinates civil society to that power, and creates and maintains the illusion that the state is essential to the function of society (Lefebvre, 1969b). Regardless of its democratic claims, political or economic system, the state is not a democratic institution in either theory or practice. The state is founded upon and exists through perpetuating its alienation of peoples’ sovereignty. Within this context, the notion of a representative democracy is an inherent contradiction. Hardt and Negri (2004) stated democracy implies rule by everyone, but representation concentrates and mediates sovereignty among individuals who are selected by everyone to govern everyone (see also Lefebvre, 2003c).

The framers of the United States Constitution were unapologetic about this contradiction as they explicitly intended to avoid democracy, which they considered mob rule, in their self-proclaimed “republic.” Yet, by the mid-19th century, the representation that was supposed to be a “bulwark against the dangers of democracy” (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 245) became an essential, *if not the defining*, feature of democracy as it is now generally understood. To mystify its usurpation of individual sovereignty, the state not only discursively presents itself as being democratic, but essential to the granting and enforcement of human rights (Hardt & Negri, 2004; Lefebvre, 1969b).

Few ideas are as powerful towards effecting change as human rights, which are universal, granted upon birth, and are those that “are required of all persons in order to

fulfill their basic humanness and, therefore, ‘essential to life worthy of a human being’” (Witkin, 2000, p. 209). Witkin (2000) specifically defined two fundamental rights: freedom, which is the ability to act without interference by others and the state; and well-being, which consists of having the abilities and conditions to live, maintain one’s life and enhance life. These rights are supported by the right to make claims for the exercise of one’s rights (Lefebvre, 2003c; Witkin, 2000).

Human rights were originally operationalized during the American and French Revolutions to protect male property owners from the tyranny of monarchical state power (Lefebvre, 2003c). Despite their original exclusion of women, children, and other races, the idea of human rights has inspired social movements and revolutions as subjugated peoples have demanded their natural liberties, the equal protection under the law, and accepted mutual responsibilities (Lefebvre, 2003c). Although the United Nations (1948) has stated that human rights affirm each person’s dignity and value, promote social progress, equality and peace, and enable people to enjoy better standards of living, there is little effective enforcement of human rights on a global scale (Hardt & Negri, 2004). As such, universal human rights remain an unrealized ideal, and, as a practical matter, have been replaced by citizenship rights.

Lefebvre (2003c) defined citizenship as “membership of a specific society” (p. 247) and “a source of obligations... [that] has from the beginning offered almost nothing in return but the right to vote” (p. 251). As such, citizenship rights are a degraded version of human rights, which the state selectively grants, supposedly guarantees, and unequally enforces when arbitrating rights claims and group conflicts. Lefebvre (2003c) suggested that this corrosion could be remedied by expanding the number and scope of state-

granted rights to include the right to the city, the right to identity within difference, *autogestion*, the right to information, the right to free expression, the right to culture, and the right to services. As a program, demanding and working towards these rights are part of a revolutionary praxis focused on empowering people and strengthening civil society towards creating conditions for the withering away of the state (Lefebvre, 2003c).

As mentioned in the introduction, the concept of rights has been criticized as a goal for progressive action. Mitchell (2003) suggested that postmodern discourse has rejected the idea of rights as distracting people from addressing more urgent needs. Kidd and Donnelly (2000) stated that the focus of Western countries on civil and political rights often ignore social and economic rights, and, as such, prioritize the individual's self-interest over their collective responsibilities and duties. As such, "rights talk" engenders suspicion from those who see dominant groups corrupting the idea of rights to justify, organize, enforce and reproduce their power over society. In answering these critiques, Mitchell (2003) described rights as establishing a standard towards which progressive political actions can aspire, and, therefore, working towards achieving human rights is a progressive act that has enormous revolutionary potential.

As an ideal, the concept of rights provides a standard against which to assess the present moment. Yet, in the crisis of democracy, it is difficult to suggest that rights are being expanded as all sorts of rights actually are being curtailed. Lefebvre (2003c) offered an explanation as he recognized that, in the long-term experience of democracy, "representative democracy swings between direct democracy, which it never achieves, and authoritarian democracy, towards which it always leans, after an 'excess' of liberty" (p. 249). This late capitalist moment could be seen as a time of "authoritarian

democracy,” as, in many ways, it is a reaction to the “excess of liberty” between the 1940s and 1970s, during which time rights were broadly expanded under the aegis of Keynesian economic policies and mass civil rights movements by African Americans, youth, homosexuals, women and Native Americans (N. Smith, 1998). While not idealizing this earlier era, these groups (among others) in the United States contested legal, social, and cultural restrictions and achieved increased economic rights, enhanced recognition and participation within democracy, and greater control of their lives.

Late Capitalism

In chapter 1, I define late capitalism as consisting of three elements: neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism, and hypercommodification. This definition is based in usage of the term by Andrews (see 1999, 2006b, 2009) as informed by Jameson (1991) and Ernest Mandel’s *Late Capitalism* that was originally published in 1972. According to Mandel, late capitalism is not so much a new stage of capitalist development, but “an extension of the ‘imperialist-monopoly-capitalist’ order that had dominated and defined Western economies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” (Andrews, 2009, p. 214), as capitalism, in the search for new sources of surplus values, penetrated into more areas of social existence, especially the relatively underexploited cultural realm. Building off of Mandel’s conception of consumer capitalism, Jameson (1991) focused on cultural production (which he describes as postmodernism) as being the central feature of the most recent phase of capitalist development. According to Andrews (2009), Jameson identified that “culture simultaneously acts both as a core product (through the commodification of superstructural elements) and a core process (through the symbolic

manipulation of commercial consumption through which late capitalism becomes instantiated and experienced” (p. 218-219).

Yet, to prioritize cultural production as the defining element of the contemporary moment fails to appreciate the all-encompassing nature of late capitalism as it attempts to colonize and dominate all aspects of social existence. While cultural domination as realized through hypercommodification is an important aspect, late capitalism also prominently features the free market economics of neo-liberalism that defines the political economy of the moment, and the social control of neo-conservatism that imposes an authoritarian moral order. Moreover, hypercommodification, neo-liberalism, and neo-conservatism are inextricably linked, as each presupposes and relies upon the others. Neo-liberal economic philosophies require the violence of the state promoted within neo-conservatism and the consumerist focus of hypercommodification. Neo-conservative social policies require the belief in atomic individualism as promoted by neo-liberalism to forestall collective resistance and the mystification provided by the spectacle of hypercommodification. Additionally, hypercommodification is underpinned by a neo-liberal emphasis on individualistic consumption and the neo-conservative-fueled fear that drives people towards seeking fantasy for comfort.

Towards late capitalism.

This late capitalist moment can be delineated from the previous era of industrial capitalism as it represents a break from the dominant economic trends of Keynesianism and social trends towards expanding rights, and an intensification of the processes of commodification that Lefebvre (1971, 1991a, 2002, 2005) recognized as the colonization of everyday life. Within this era, there is a new ability to produce, commodify, militarize

and dominate social space on varying spatial scales. Late capitalism has dismantled the Keynesian model of development associated with the previous era, which had been a reaction to World War II and the Great Depression. Practicing Keynesianism, governments believed that they could manage and regulate their economies towards steady growth which would ensure full employment and broad-based affluence, while also preventing the frequent boom-and-bust cycles that caused social and political instability. Towards becoming more inclusive, governments enacted policies that provided a degree of economic redistribution through high tax rates on the wealthy, anti-poverty programs, and support for labor unions, while also pursuing greater social justice for historically exploited groups with civil rights legislation and anti-discrimination laws. While ensuring broad societal support for capitalism, these varying forms of social compensation had significant economic costs for elites as governments accepted less-than-maximal economic growth rates as they paid higher taxes (Brenner, 2004; Peck & Tickell, 2002; N. Smith, 2002; Ward, 2003)

Keynesian policies were unable to survive the economic crises and restructuring that started in the 1970s as economic growth stagnated, inflation began spiraling out of control, and unemployment surged. If, as N. Smith (2002) suggested, Keynesian economic policies emphasized social compensation for the excesses of the market, by the 1980s, it seemed that dominant groups considered the price of social compensation to be too expensive to continue to pay, especially as technology-enabled globalization provided new markets and sources of inexpensive labor in countries with lesser regulatory oversight and costs (see Brenner, 1997; Harvey, 1989; Weiner, 2001).

As a result, government action began turning away from expanding rights for vulnerable groups towards authoritarian rhetoric, neo-conservative social policies, and neo-liberal economic policies that combined to forestall further advances and reassert elements from the previous order. President Ronald Reagan's administration effectively shifted government support from labor to capital and began to reduce trade barriers and economic regulations. Taxes on the wealthy were reduced substantially and government resources were redirected away from redistributive program towards projects that primary benefited corporations and consumers (Hubbard, 2004; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Ward, 2003). The moral panic surrounding the AIDS epidemic was used to justify closing gay bathhouses and increase policing other sexually-oriented (both gay and straight) spaces (Geltmaker, 1997; Tattelman, 1997). The War on Drugs and "broken windows" policing doctrine⁵ have subjected many poor and people of color to unwarranted police attention, false arrest, and undue and disproportionate incarceration (Herbert, 2001; Hubbard, 2004; Vagins & McCurdy, 2006). The proliferation of "business improvement districts" (BIDs) has essentially privatized many public spaces by granting control to unaccountable private entities (Sassen & Roost, 1999; Weber, 2002; Zukin, 1995). Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, fears of terrorism have been used to justify expanding government powers to monitor the public sphere, investigate and detain people not suspected of any crime, and to quiet dissent (Denzin, 2002, 2004; Giroux, 2002d, 2004; Lincoln, 2004).

Neo-liberalism.

Peck and Tickell (2002) define neo-liberalism as combining, "a commitment to the extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound antipathy to all

⁵ Broken windows policing aggressively patrols and punishes people for minor offenses, with the belief that this prevents conditions leading to more grievous breaches of public order (Mitchell, 2003).

kinds of Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies” (p. 381). Neo-liberalism is a return to Adam Smith’s classical economic liberalism of the 18th century, which promised that the exercise of individual self-interest led to the greatest social good and that markets know best (N. Smith, 2002). Within this context, neo-liberal governments frame policy solutions through discourses of competition, deregulation and privatization towards empowering markets and individuals to overcome the limitations imposed by previous government policies (Harvey, 2005; Klein, 2007; Ward, 2003). Rather than being a protector and promoter of the collective public interest, government has been reframed by political conservatives as being the enemy of individual liberty rather than its defender (Giroux, 2002c). Neo-liberalism also devalues the functions and public goods offered by government, such as education, transportation and health care, while simultaneously outsourcing and commodifying them for sale within the private marketplace.

Neo-liberalism promotes atomic individualism, which suggests that a person’s freedoms can only be realized through an unregulated market economy, and that community and collective action through government undermines and constricts a person’s choices and ability to compete. As such, individuals are primarily responsible and accountable for the circumstances of their lives, as neo-liberalism denies the impact of structural or systemic inequalities that, in practice, provide the wealthy with substantial advantages (access to better education, social networks, opportunities, health care, etc.) and burden the poor with significant challenges (Harvey, 2005). By denying these inherent advantages and challenges, neo-liberalism posits that all people have equal opportunities to compete and be successful. A person’s success is considered the reward for his or her hard work and virtue, while failure is the result of personal shortcomings.

Despite the promises of neo-liberalism, its benefits have “[accrued] in such a way to *reinforce* rather than undermine existing inequalities” (Ward, 2003, p. 209, italics original). The political claims of disadvantaged groups for public services, of unions for an equitable share, and of grass roots organizations to address social ailments, have been reframed as economic costs that undermine growth (Gough, 2002; Weber, 2002; D. Wilson, 2004). Economically, measures of inequality show the widest (and a widening) rift between rich and poor in the United States since the 1920s, as the productivity increases of the past two decades have been matched with a decline in real median income (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2007; Piketty & Saez, 2003; U.S. Department of Labor, 2007). Declining incomes are exacerbated by greater economic insecurity due to the slowing of economic growth, jobs losses as corporations outsource and relocate operations to places with less expensive labor and fewer regulations, more than 45 million people lack health insurance, and the nation and individuals are heavily indebted (DeNavas-Walt et al., 2007; Klein, 2007).

The discourses of neo-liberalism speak of liberating individuals economically from government control. However, in achieving economic liberation, neo-liberal policies places people at the mercy of amoral markets and corporations, whose ethics by definition prioritize profitability over all other outcomes. In sum, neo-liberal political practices have “generated pervasive market failures, new forms of social polarization, and a dramatic intensification of uneven development at all spatial scales” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 352).

Neo-conservatism.

As neo-liberal ideologies seek the economic liberation of individuals from government control, neo-conservative ideologies have resulted in a greater government role structuring and policing social relations (Peck & Tickell, 2002). Neo-conservatism is authoritarian and moralistic as it uses militaristic rhetoric and readiness to maintain order against the internal and external threats supposedly besieging the nation (Giroux, 2003; Harvey, 2005). Reacting against the perceived excesses of the 1960s and 1970s as subordinate groups challenged the traditional social order, neo-conservatism attempts to forestall further advances and reassert the traditional dominance of white, middle and upper class males (N. Smith, 1998). Focusing on “‘social’ issues like crime, immigration, policing, welfare reform, urban order and surveillance, and community regeneration”, neo-conservatism has promoted a “deeply interventionist agenda” towards “the aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed by the neoliberalization of the 1980s” (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 389).

Within this deeply interventionist agenda, policy makers have stoked fears about and pathologized marginal social groups through discourses about crime, drug abuse, poverty and welfare, single parenting and teenage pregnancy, disease (AIDS in particular), and, since the attacks of September 11, 2001, terrorism (Flusty, 2001; Giroux, 2002a, 2002d). Giroux (2004) has described neo-conservative social programs as part of the “silent war at home” (p. 207), in which these social crises have been used to justify curtailing civil liberties and to exclude vulnerable domestic populations of the “poor, youth, women, people of color and the elderly” (p. 207) from the spaces of public life. This war is waged by starving for resources the programs that serve vulnerable groups,

and then subjecting those groups to greater governmental and police surveillance (Denzin, 2004; Giroux, 2004; Merrifield, 2000; Punch, 2005; N. Smith, 1998).

Neo-conservative ideology has had its fullest expression during the past seven years within the Orwellian “global war on terror,” a state of perpetual warfare complete with the ever-present fear of imminent terrorist attack, an ever-changing roster of allies and enemies based on the ever-shifting rationales of the Bush Administration, and the requirement to curtail basic civil liberties (Klein, 2007). Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration has tortured suspected (often with little basis) terrorists, sought to unilaterally reinterpret the Geneva Conventions, ignored the basic Constitutional rights of millions of Americans, and abrogated the basic human rights of people around the world (Giroux, 2004; Lincoln, 2004). Law enforcement officials in the United States now have unprecedented power to monitor the public sphere, conduct random surveillance, search people who are not suspected of any crime, and detain without recourse people suspected of having tenuous links to terrorism (Denzin, 2002; Giroux, 2002a, 2003a; Klein, 2007; Lincoln, 2004). A “war on truth,” in which reality is manipulated to serve dominant interests and to justify the rhetoric and policies of the Bush Administration, helps maintain popular support for the nation’s militaristic mobilization in readiness for perpetual warfare (Denzin, 2004).

Oppositional views and more strenuous forms of dissent have become increasingly suspect and have been described by some conservatives as being “treasonous”⁶. A narrow form of patriotism has been reinvigorated through nationalistic

⁶ In 2003, Ann Coulter wrote Treason: Liberal Treachery from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism. Similar charges against dissenters have been a staple of conservative media personalities over the past seven years.

discourses using popular cultural forms such as sport and movies, while those refusing to participate in patriotic displays (even if they are not American) have been criticized within the media (Andrews, 2006a; Silk & Falcoux, 2005). Those suggesting that United States policy in any way contributed to the September 11, 2001 attacks have been censured in the media, while academics, such as Ward Churchill, have come under direct criticism for questioning America's response and its culpability (Denzin, 2004; Lincoln, 2004). The public spaces for the expression of dissent and the nurturing of critical thought are now under greater control and scrutiny as corporations regulate many public spaces and exclude many non-commercial activities, and conservative groups monitor educational settings and seek to stifle dissent by claiming that they want to remove politics from education.⁷

Hypercommodification.

Fredric Jameson (1991) described that aesthetic production is essential within “the cultural logic of late capitalism” as it “has become integrated into commodity production generally” (p. 4) and culture has been increasingly merged with economics. As a result, culture has been commodified and fully brought into the capitalist system, in which aesthetics are used to distract consumers from the underlying economic considerations and exploitation involved in production and consumption (Debord, 1994; Jameson, 1991). Lefebvre (2005) described this process as the colonization of everyday life, which is marked by shopping, the dominance of exchange value over use value, the exploitation of dominated peoples in both consumption and production, and the programming of daily life through the media and advertising. As such, interactions between people have been

⁷ However, the classroom has never been a political-free or value-free space – as Gramsci said, “every relation of hegemony is necessarily an educative one” (as quoted in Giroux, 2001, p. 13).

structured around the marketplace, production and consumption (Debord, 1994; Gardiner, 2000; Lefebvre, 1971, 2005; Merrifield, 2006).

As Western societies have overcome the scarcity that once denied the basic necessities of life to many people, capitalism has had to sustain itself and build the marketplace through producing new needs (Debord, 1994). This production of needs has taken on an aesthetic dimension, as consuming products for their symbolic value has grown in comparative importance to their usefulness (Gardiner, 2000). Symbolic values are often incorporated into products through postmodern designs that are a pastiche of styles and signifiers representing, according to Jameson (1991), “the random cannibalization of all the styles of the past” (p. 18). These postmodern designs are not so much a tribute to past styles and structures, but are useful to the degree they enhance the consumption experience (Harvey, 1989; Ritzer, 1999).

Capitalism’s emphasis on symbolic value has an inherent contradiction as it necessarily produces alienation in consumption as marketers purposefully manufacture limited symbolic satisfaction through frequent changes in fashion in order to encourage people to replace usable (but no longer fashionable) items (Burkitt, 2004; Gardiner, 2000). As dissatisfaction is a powerful ingredient for revolutionary change, capitalism mystifies consumers through spectacles to keep them from recognizing a source of their dissatisfaction (a system that purposefully produces that dissatisfaction) and to channel that energy into consuming behaviors that support the status quo (Debord, 1994; Gotham, 2005a; Lefebvre, 2002). Within this context, the spectacle is an illusion that “serves as total justification for the conditions and aims of the existing system” (Debord, 1995, p.

13), as the function of spectacle “in society is the concrete manufacture of alienation” (Debord, 1994, p. 23).

In manufacturing alienation, the spectacle seeks to keep people from creating the conditions of their own lives, and, as such, is fundamentally undemocratic as it encourages passive reception of images rather than active social and political engagement (Debord, 1994). The spectacle attempts to pacify people and create docile bodies by bombarding them with images and fantasies, which are supposed to encourage them to engage in activities that support the status. The spectacle substitutes signs and symbols of democracy for its actual practice, as spectacle has an apparently contradictory goal: it seeks to exclude people from participation in their own governance while simultaneously making them feel like they are a part of it. A reality of division is mystified by an appearance of unity, as according to Debord (1994), “separation is the alpha and omega of the spectacle” (p. 20).

Henri Lefebvre in the Late Capitalist Moment

As capitalism has been conflated with the liberating ideals of democracy, freedom and human rights within a narrative claiming it to be the pinnacle of human development at the “end of history,” the oeuvre of Henri Lefebvre can offer an alternative to the current state of affairs. Although Lefebvre has been mostly utilized as a theorist of space or of everyday life, at its core, his oeuvre focused on issues of alienation and mystification as the causes that prevent people from realizing themselves their ability to create their own lives. While the “total man” (sic) may be a utopian concept, it provides an ideal through which to identify the alienating and mystifying aspects of the late capitalist moment as represented in and through the baseball stadium in Washington.

As discussed in chapter 1, alienation is disempowering as people are isolated from others and limited in their abilities to create the conditions of their lives (Lefebvre, 1988; van Ingen, 2004). Within politics, the state usurps individual sovereignty and empowers bureaucrats and representatives (Lefebvre, 1969b). Within economic relations, private property separates people from the products of their labor and from enjoying free use of society's resources. Similarly, relations between people are constrained by social expectations, cultural mores and spatial practices. Moreover, alienation exists within individuals as people's understanding of themselves and relations to others are mediated through objects and the market (see Trebitsch, 1991). Alienation encourages fragmentation, artificiality and exclusion within society and social relations.

Alienation occurs within everyday life and space due to the rationality imposed by capitalism. Before the 20th century, Lefebvre (1987) suggested that everyday life existed as an "undifferentiated whole" (p. 7) that was fairly connected to the cyclical rhythms of nature. Everyday life included regular festivals that served as society's safety valves by temporarily overturning forms of authority and suspending its rules. However, within modernity, everyday life became fragmented, rationalized and colonized by the capitalist system that sought to exploit everyday life for its economic potential. As will be described, a similar process has occurred within space which has been heavily commodified, and, as a result, has become increasingly exclusionary.

Against the alienation produced in everyday life and space, mystification is essential to maintaining the status quo, which would break down "once the dominant forces making it possible for these elements to combine with one another is understood, the artificial mechanism of their grouping is recognized and the fatuousness of their

diversity becomes intolerable” (Lefebvre, 1987, p. 8). Kelly (2000) described Lefebvre’s conception of mystification as “a collective process by which social relations, including power relations, are acted out in everyday life in the domain of ideology” (p. 85).

Mystification “masked awareness of social context” (Kelly, 2000, p. 86) and of history through “a generalized process of disguise and inversion of reality” (Trebitch, 1991, p. xviii).

Mystification separates and binds practice and image, and interferes with people’s ability to think critically, identify inequitable social relations and overcome their alienation (Lefebvre, 1991a; Merrifield, 2006). Those in power use mystification to deceive and confuse dominated groups and individuals, as ideologies “have succeeded at certain periods in making men accept certain illusions, certain appearances, and in introducing those appearances into real life and making them effective there” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 146; see also Burkhard, 2000; Kelly, 2000). Recognizing this, Lefebvre (1991b) stated that “power’s message is invariably confused – deliberately so; dissimulation is necessarily part of any message from power” (p. 142).

Lefebvre believed that mystification and alienation were not permanent states, but could be transcended as people gained clearer perspective on their conditions (Kelly, 2000). As appearances and reality are “amalgamated like water and wine” rather than “separated like oil and water in a vessel” (Lefebvre, 1991a, p. 147), critical analysis could help expose the mystifying illusions and the concrete alienation in people’s lives, towards creating knowledge to initiate change. In this way, Lefebvre’s analyzed everyday life and space as the concrete manifestations of alienation and mystification as part of his revolutionary praxis.

Primarily writing before the full emergence of late capitalism, Lefebvre (1976, 1991b, 2002, 2003h) identified the nascent trends towards the hyper-commodification of space and everyday life, globalization, authoritarianism, and symbolic consumption that are key elements of the contemporary moment. However, in many ways, Lefebvre's insights about alienation and mystification are highly relevant to this era as late capitalism purposefully creates alienation and relies upon mystification for its sustenance. With its focus on hyper-individualism, late capitalism seeks to isolate people from their communities and shift all responsibility for creating the conditions of one's life to the individual without providing the resources and liberties to do so. Moreover, with late capitalism's emphasis on consumption, people's access to the public sphere and their social relations are mediated through and largely determined by their economic resources. These forms of alienation are sustained by a system that purposefully seeks to mystify people through spectacle, fear and ideology. In their "shock and awe" due to the fear of attack trumpeted by politicians and echoed by the media and the consumption-oriented spectacles offered by corporations, people acquiesce by allowing government to take their rights and by dutifully shopping as they fear retribution for questioning the status quo or demanding their rights (Klein, 2007).

Producing the Spaces of Late Capitalism

The analysis of Washington's baseball stadium and the spaces of late capitalism begins with Lefebvre's (1991b, 1996a) conception of space being a social product and the city being "*a projection of society on the ground*" (1996a, p. 109, italics original). Urban space is the physical terrain occupied by everyday life and in which the alienating relations of capitalism realize a concrete form, as space is constituted by and through

(while simultaneously structuring) social relations. These social relations are defined by four characteristics. First, multiple social spaces coexist within a given physical space such that none wholly defines or determines it. Second, social spaces intertwine, interpenetrate and intersect and could be thought of as “a matrix of social action” that is a “multilayered, multiscalar, and contradictory scaffolding of social relations” (Brenner, 1997, p. 141). Third, no social space ever completely disappears as new social spaces are built from the fragments and materials from those spaces. Fourth, each mode of production creates its own social space to give concrete expression to and be consistent with dominant ideologies (Lefebvre, 1991b).

As space is a product and expression of the mode of production, space also is the medium, wager, stake and ultimate arbiter of contestations over space (Lefebvre, 1991b). In a “trial by space,” groups, classes, ideas, representations, and values attempt to make their marks on space. Should they succeed, they can become part of the dominant discourse by literally being concretized into existence and influencing social relations through the perceptions, conceptions, and lived experience of space (Lefebvre, 1991b; see also Soja, 1996). However, if they fail to make a mark on space, these groups, classes, ideas, representations, and values lose their effective power and become signs, abstractions, or fantasies (Lefebvre, 1991b). Therefore, the ability to structure space is a source of considerable social power, whether it is wielded by dominant or subaltern groups (Brenner, 1997).

As discussed in chapter 1, the results of trials by space are evident within the urban form, as the abstract relationships of power are visible with the organization, function, perceptions, architecture and representations of the city (Lefebvre, 2003k). The

city is a product and projection of social relations as it “constructs, identifies, and delivers the essence of social relationships: the reciprocal existence and manifestation of differences arising from or resulting in conflicts” (Lefebvre, 2003k, p. 118). The spaces of the capitalist mode of production are global, fragmented and hierarchical as capital has sought to organize itself on a world-wide basis, to commodify and control space, to determine which spaces are the most desirable, and to work towards reproduction of capitalism (Lefebvre, 1991b). Within capitalist space, Lefebvre (1991b) suggested that “*everything... air, light, water – even the land itself*” (p. 329, italics original) is being produced and commodified, including “new scarcities” to create markets for goods despite the abundance provided by industrial production.

The commodification of space occurs through real estate and consumption activities. “Capitalism has taken possession of the land, and *mobilized* it to the point where this sector is fast becoming *central*” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 335, italics original), as many different groups, including banks, governments, investors, speculators, developers and homeowners, all attempt to profit from the sale, development and resale of land. Lefebvre (1991b) described real estate as the second circuit of capital, suggesting that capital flowed between real estate and industrial capital (the primary circuit) seeking the highest level of return (see Harvey, 1973). Space also generates capital as it is produced to be consumed (Lefebvre, 1991b). Traditionally, the consumption of space occurred as commodities were extracted from the land, but now has also become experiential as cities have been transformed into leisure products with amenities catering to and marketing campaigns targeting affluent visitors (Doel & Hubbard, 2002; Hubbard, 1996; Judd, 1999).

In addition to generating capital, space helps to reproduce the capitalist system through structuring and controlling social relations as space “decides” what actions and human interactions can occur within it. As space is produced by dominant groups, they attempt to exert social control by assigning functions to certain spaces, enforcing those boundaries and reinforcing existing social hierarchies. As such, Lefebvre (1991b) suggested that social space “is equivalent, practically speaking, to a set of institutional and ideological superstructures” (p. 349) through its monuments and buildings that simultaneously reinforce and mask the power of dominant groups.

As the production of urban space is dominated by capital, it is concretized in the present moment through the efforts of planners, architects and politicians. Facing the challenges of globalization and following free market ideologies, urban governments have become more entrepreneurial to compete for capital and development (Andrews, 1999; Gottdiener, 1994; Harvey, 1989, 2001a; Jameson, 1991). Anticipating these developments, Lefebvre (2003k) suggested that the abstract power of global capitalism is realized through two principle strategies: neo-liberalism and neo-dirigisme (which Merrifield [2006] translated as neo-managerialism) that merge deregulation with technocratic planning. Although these tendencies are somewhat contradictory, they coexist in the form of a “hybrid Frankenstein... the neoliberal bureaucrat and the managerialist entrepreneur” (Merrifield, 2006, p. 88) who conspire to dominate the lived experiences of urban residents (see also Harvey, 2001a). Urban planning within the contemporary moment exhibits these tendencies, especially as the state deregulates the market while being entrepreneurial in providing financial incentives to induce the private sector to (at least theoretically) work in the public interest.

Despite claims of non-ideological rationality and professionalism, the efforts of urban planners and architects merge to reinforce dominant ideologies as they design space to meet the needs of capital (Lefebvre, 1991b; see also Maycroft, 2002; M. Smith, 2001). Lefebvre (1991b) suggested this is in deliberate contradistinction to the relative spontaneity and organic development of earlier eras. The dominance of capital in space is evident as architects and planners redevelop downtown areas as leisure centers with governments heavily subsidizing amenity construction for the specific purpose of generating private profit. Leisure spaces also reinforce social relations through careful planning that enhances policing and that attempts to limit behaviors and customers to acceptable norms (Silk, 2004). As a result, rather than encouraging participation in urban life, contemporary leisure spaces add to the alienation and passivity endemic in modern society by mystifying consumers with spectacle and an “illusion of festivity” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 310).

Power relations are further inscribed in the urban landscape through a mystifying double illusion of transparency and opacity. The illusion of transparency suggests that space can be visually intelligible, rational, and innocent, and, therefore, lacks hidden “traps or secret places” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 28; see also R. L. Allen, 1999; Soja, 1989). Apparently open and neutral, the illusion of transparency in space conceals and enables inequitable social relations. However, this illusion presents “a problematic view of the spatial imagination” (R. L. Allen, 1999, p. 255) as it structures the way in which people read and decode space and tends to obscure the need for critical analysis. The illusion of opacity, which Lefebvre (1991b) also called the “realistic illusion,” suggests that space has a natural, material essence that can be “fully measured and accurately described”

(Soja, 1989, p. 64). Meanings and understandings surrounding the real and material aspects of space become accepted as common sense, deny alternatives, and obscure social relations within space (R. L. Allen, 1999). Space becomes reified as people accept its apparent substantiality without questioning its underlying forms, functions, and structures (Soja, 1989).

Alienation and mystification in the production of urban space are essential in maintaining and reproducing the dominance of the capitalist system through structuring social relations. Lefebvre (2003k) recognized that “urban alienation contains and perpetuates all other forms of alienation. In it, through it, segregation becomes commonplace: by class, by neighborhood, by profession, by age, by ethnicity, by sex” (p. 92). Although Lefebvre has been criticized for his class-centered analyses (Conlon, 2004; Fenster, 2005; McCann, 1999; Purcell, 2002), his theoretical framework elucidates ways in which exploitative social relations are produced, exist in and are reproduced in space. The bases of subordination and forms of exploitation may differ, but all disempower, repress, dominate and exclude. Lefebvre may have focused on exploitation by class, but his insights into alienation and mystification, space and everyday life are applicable for understanding any type of repressive power relationship, and, as such, an essential part of revolutionary praxis that seeks to end different types of exploitative and oppressive social relations.

The Challenge of the Post-Industrial Economy

Today’s urban economies within the United States and Western Europe have little resemblance to those analyzed by Lefebvre in the 1960s and early 1970s. At that time, cities were centers of industrial production as factories produced goods for mass markets.

Traditional industries such as steel and automobiles provided jobs and negotiated with unions to enable production-line workers to enjoy increasing standards of living, while governments pursued Keynesian economic policies towards achieving full employment and maintaining a reasonable balance between labor and industry. Despite the seeming permanence of the industrial city, Lefebvre (1971, 2003k) recognized fundamental changes related to globalization were occurring within the mode of production such that industrialization was no longer the dominant factor structuring urban space and everyday life. Rejecting the terms “‘post-industrial society,’ ‘technological society,’ ‘the society of abundance,’ ‘the leisure society,’ [and] ‘consumer society’” (p. 2) as possessing partial truths but exaggerated claims, Lefebvre (2003k) proposed that “urban society” best described “the society that is born of industrialization and succeeds it” (p. 2) in the production and reproduction of social relationships.

While Lefebvre’s hypothesis of urbanization being the primary force in the contemporary production of urban life is debatable, there is little doubt that, within North America and Western Europe, the importance of industrial production has waned. The urbanism of late capitalism is less defined by industrialization than had been the case within the period between 1945-1973, leaving municipal governments to address the effects of deindustrialization, suburbanization, and growing perceptions of decline. Adding to the challenges faced by cities are the policies of the federal government, which, after embracing Keynesian policies (such as the Interstate Highway System) that contributed to the trends leading to urban decline, has steadily reduced its assistance to cities. These challenges have resulted in a broad restructuring of urban governance towards the “competitive city” model, which is “defined by a complex of class alliances

and political coalitions, neoliberal planning and economic policies, multicultural ‘diversity management,’ and revanchist law-and-order campaigns” (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 229).

The shift to a post-industrial economy has been related to large-scale capital flight from urban municipalities and traditional manufacturing centers. With deregulated finance and technological advances in communication and transportation, corporations relocated their industrial production to newer facilities in low-wage, low-regulation areas (J. Allen, 1992; Castells, 1989; Harvey, 1989; Sassen, 1991; Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002). While deindustrialization was fueled by the promise of increased profits, suburbanization offered city dwellers who were able to move the promise of a better life with more open spaces and amenities, upgraded infrastructure, greater public safety, lower taxes, and fewer regulations (Garreau, 1992; Leibovitz & Salmon, 1999; Swanstrom, Dreier, & Mollenkopf, 2002).

As corporations and wealthier residents left the city, urban conditions worsened as the quality of city services declined due to a shrinking tax base, aging infrastructure, and increasing crime rates due to greater concentrations of poverty – factors, which together, encouraged further capital flight and reinforced negative images of urban cores (Friedman et al., 2004; Hannigan, 1998). Rather than breaking this destructive cycle, the federal government only seemed to give it further impetus with budgets that decreased transfer payments to cities, policies that encouraged corporate relocations and suburban growth, and policies that devalued and destroyed urban communities with poorly conceived and executed renewal strategies (Harvey, 1989; Leibovitz & Salmon, 1999; Swanstrom et al., 2002; Weber, 2002).

The Competitive City

According to Kipfer and Keil (2002), “the competitive city” model consists of three dimensions: the ‘entrepreneurial city’ that seeks mobile capital; the ‘city of difference’ that commodifies aesthetics and the appearance of diversity; and the ‘revanchist city’ that fortifies and militarizes urban space. Together, “these dimensions each comprise a set of policies, ideological forms, and state orientations that articulate strategies of accumulation (the entrepreneurial city), patterns of class formation (the city of difference), and forms of social control (the revanchist city)” (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 234). The competitive city both manifests and creates the late capitalist moment, as market imperatives are enshrined within space, define social relations, and frame debates about government functions and urban futures.

Within the competitive city model, cities compete with one another towards the goal of attracting capital from corporations and visitors has been prioritized over meeting the welfare needs of urban inhabitants (see also Harvey, 2001a). Believing that this highly mobile capital seeks the highest rate of return, cities attempt to create conditions conducive towards enhancing productivity and profitability (for businesses) or ensuring the quality of consumption activities (for visitors). Development, then, is framed as a zero-sum game in which one municipality’s loss is another’s gain as free markets reward governments that provide the most favorable environments for capital accumulation and punish those that are unable or unwilling to do so. As such:

the logic of interurban competition... turns cities into accomplices in their own subordination, a process driven – and legitimated—by tales of municipal turnaround and urban renaissance, by little victories and fleeting

accomplishments, and ultimately also by the apparent paucity of ‘realistic’ local alternatives (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 393).

Within the competitive city, urban planners have important roles in conceiving and managing urban transformations. Planning has become a strategic process which prioritizes the creation of wealth towards serving the public good rather than serving the public good directly. In this way, planners are the “hybrid Frankensteins” described earlier as they use their bureaucratic and technocratic expertise, as well as public resources, to facilitate and enrich market-oriented, risk-taking entrepreneurs (Merrifield, 2006).

The Entrepreneurial City.

As the first dimension of the competitive city, the entrepreneurial city embeds “the logics, threads, and assumptions of capital accumulation more deeply than ever in the urban landscape” (N. Smith, 2003, p. xxi). The entrepreneurial city materializes neo-liberal ideologies by commodifying urban landscapes with spaces, amenities, infrastructure, and people being reframed as resources which can be marketed, leveraged, incentivized, and reshaped to appeal to corporate decision makers, potential residents, and visitors. Governments no longer take direct responsibility for people’s welfare, but rely upon corporate and consumer capital to expand urban tax bases and revitalize local economies, while hoping the benefits of growth trickle down to improve the lives of urban residents (Harvey, 2001a, 2005).

Owen (2002) described entrepreneurial governance as having several characteristics: centralized planning powers, practices of fiscal restraint, the privatization of government services, assumption of business risks by the public sector, and the

relaxation of planning restrictions on developers (see also Leibovitz & Salmon, 1999; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). In this context, planners view urban space as a commodity that needs to be developed to maximize its capital-generating potential. However, instead of profiting directly from spatial development, governments seek incremental tax gains while partnering with corporations. Entrepreneurial practices and development-oriented agendas are key strategic elements as cities attempt to develop comparative advantages (often through some combination of tax incentives, subsidies, and investments in infrastructure) over other areas in order to attract production facilities, consumer capital, corporate command and control functions, or central government spending (Harvey, 2001a; Hubbard & Hall, 1998).

Within the entrepreneurial city, the value of public space is closely linked to its economic potential, whether as real estate or in consumptive and productive activities, rather than its social utility (Belanger, 2000; Hannigan, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Lefebvre, 1991b; Zukin, 1995). This prioritization of capital has many implications relating to what people have access to the city, how they can use it, and what activities are available to them. For example, cities have promoted the spaces of LGBT life as attractions for visitors, whether from “pink” tourists from other places or heterosexuals seeking exotic experiences (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Johnston, 2005; Quilley, 1997). Yet, in doing so, non-normative sexual practices, identities and displays are further marginalized, as according to Rushbrook (2002), “gay urban spectacles attract tourists and investment; sexually deviant, dangerous rather than merely risqué, landscapes do not” (p. 195). Similarly, entrepreneurial strategies often pursue neighborhood gentrification as new middle and upper class residents and higher property values add to the urban tax base. However,

gentrification also displaces previous residents, many of whom may have lived there for many years, but were unable to afford higher rents or property taxes (Gale, 1987; T. A. Gibson, 2005; McGovern, 1998). In commodifying urban space, entrepreneurial strategies implicitly deny the right to the city as access is determined by capital, and usage is limited to those activities deemed appropriate by the market and the state.

The City of Difference.

The city of difference represents the commodification of city as a cultural product, as according to Kipfer and Keil (2002), it denotes “those municipal policies and discourses that support the integration of ‘culture’ and an aesthetic of diversity into urban development and strategies of economic competitiveness” (p. 236). Identity and appearances are part of the spectacle mobilized to serve the interests of capital accumulation, with their value based upon their monetized contributions to urban economies and their role in naturalizing the capitalist status quo (see Debord, 1994). In so doing, the city of difference perpetuates alienation and fragmentation through a presenting an illusory consumption-oriented diversity that divides and polarizes groups and pacifies people, while marginalizing and excluding them within public life and space (Gotham, 2005a; Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Lefebvre, 2002).

Difference is externally-defined and commodified by policy makers towards developing an urban image attractive to potential visitors, residents, or investors. For competitive cities, creating the image of difference is necessary because development practices tend towards homogenization as aesthetics and amenities are relatively easy to replicate (Harvey, 1989; Ritzer, 1999, 2004; Zukin, 1998). In cities that have implemented consumption-oriented redevelopment strategies, advantages from

developing innovative new amenities are only short-lived as other cities develop similar amenities once they prove to be successful. These landscapes of consumption have become fairly standardized with chain restaurants and shops occupying the waterfront malls that are located near hotels operated by international corporations and publicly-built museums, sports facilities and convention centers (Fainstein & Judd, 1999a, 1999b; Judd, Winter, Barnes, & Stern, 2003).

In marketing the city of difference, planners create superficial discourses of difference, through aesthetics and architecture, paeans to social, class, ethnic and sexual diversity, and by using locally-based histories, natural elements, residents, and events (Belanger, 2000; Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Rushbrook, 2002; Silk, 2004; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996). Architecture, often featuring postmodern designs that appropriate decontextualized markers of place, provides apparent external differences between cities and amenities as buildings perform similar functions using techniques already proven successful elsewhere (Hannigan, 1998; Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991). Similarly, the marketing of LGBT spaces by urban governments is not so much a progressive political act as part of an advertising campaign with LGBT spaces denoting a cosmopolitanism and exoticism believed to be desired by affluent tourists (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Quilley, 1997). Given their superficial nature, these appearances of difference are quickly deemphasized and discarded when they lose their effectiveness or conflict with the desires of capital.

The city of difference is essentially a spectacle that provides appearances of difference without providing the inclusion, empowerment and social justice that Lefebvre (2003c) described as part of a right to difference. Instead, cultural aesthetics and

discourses of diversity are spectacles that mystify by presenting particular images of revitalized city life without improving the underlying social circumstances of disadvantaged urban residents (Friedman et al., 2004; Harvey, 2001b). The spectacle of urban space attempts to mask this separation between image and material conditions towards creating passive individuals whose consumption supports the status quo and distracts them from their exploitation (Debord, 1994).

The Revanchist City.

The third element of the competitive city, the revanchist city, concretizes neo-conservative ideologies within everyday life and space by fortifying and militarizing urban space for economic development and social control. As deindustrialization economically dispossessed many working class urban residents, revanchist city policies effectively seek to further marginalize and control dispossessed groups by making “urban space safe, clean, and secure for investors, real-estate capital, and the new urban middle class” (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 237). As such, revanchist city policies exacerbate the growing urban division between rich and poor, contributing to the “dual city” phenomenon (see Mollenkopf & Castells, 1991), with poorer groups being discursively repositioned as being “non-productive and civically damaging” (D. Wilson, 2004, p. 45). The revanchist city essentially materializes in urban space the reactionary attitudes of social elites against historically subaltern groups through exclusionary practices and by forcing them to parts of the city which are socially, economically, politically, and physically marginal.

Planners create the revanchist city by mobilizing attitudes towards urban space and certain groups as they seek to transform areas into enclaves for entertainment,

tourism, and gentrified living (Fainstein & Judd, 1999a, 1999b; Judd, 1999; Perry, 2003). Often describing urban space as “blighted,” city leaders offer extensive redevelopment programs designed to revitalize downtown cores. However, Gotham (2000) suggests that “blight” historically has been a highly-coded term to “legitimize state intervention to reinforce segregation by isolating poor and African-American populations while ignoring their plight” (p. 157). As such, descriptions of blight help justify the seizure of land from and displacement of socially-marginal users and less-socially accepted uses in order to favor of redevelopment projects that primarily benefit dominant groups (Eisinger, 2003; McCann, 1999).

As downtown areas have been perceived as unsafe, redevelopment projects try to reassure potential visitors of their safety through fortifying improved areas against urban residents and with restrictive rules and heavy surveillance by police and private security (Fincher, 1998; Friedman et al., 2004; Harvey, 2001b; Wagner, 2003). Besides making visitors feel safe, these policies define the social relationships within redeveloped downtown areas as they tend to simultaneously exclude residents by making them feel out of place, restrict their presence in space to carefully prescribed roles (often minimum wage jobs with little opportunity for meaningful advancement), and by forcing them to adopt behaviors acceptable to suburban visitors (Fainstein & Judd, 1999b; Hannigan, 1998; Judd, 1999; McCann, 1999; Silk, 2004). Ironically, these marginalized residents actually subsidize the wealthy by taking poorly paid, part-time jobs, and as visitor-oriented areas receive disproportionate shares of limited public resources, such as police protection, fire protection and public sanitation (Harvey, 2001a; Hubbard & Hall, 1998).

The twin policies of displacement and exclusion of the working class, urban poor, people of color, youth and the homeless preclude the right to the city as they deny meaningful participation and use of urban space (Mitchell, 2003; Murray, 2004; N. Smith, 2002; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). However, this denial of the right to the city is coupled with practices that seek to further reduce the human and civil rights of urban residents. For example, the combination of broken windows police doctrines and the war on drugs has created an environment in which virtually all residents of poor areas are treated as criminal suspects (Giroux, 2004; Merrifield, 2000; Peck & Tickell, 2002; Punch, 2005; N. Smith, 1998). As such, the revanchist city materializes authoritarian social policies towards recuperating urban space for the capital-oriented utilization by civic and social elites, while marginalizing other uses and users.

The Competitive City of Leisure Consumption

Perhaps the most tangible expression of the competitive city governance is found within the ubiquitous visitor-oriented entertainment zones in cities throughout the United States and Western Europe. Lefebvre (1991b) recognized this trend as 35 years ago he wrote that tourist spaces are “planned with the greatest care: centralized, organized, hierarchized, symbolized and programmed to the nth degree, it serves the interests of the tour operators, bankers and entrepreneurs” (p. 59). Planners and developers have created urban tourist spaces by transforming parts of their downtown cores into spaces for leisure consumption through providing generous subsidies to entrepreneurs to develop amenities, by marketing images of the city, and by making consumption spaces highly safe and secure. Governments justify these strategies as “a way of importing spending and exporting the tax burden to generate the revenue to facilitate urban redevelopment and

gentrification” (Gotham, 2005b, p. 1105). However, academic studies have found that economic returns rarely justify the level of public investment (Judd et al., 2003; Norris, 2003; Perry, 2003). In addition, consumption-oriented areas tend to reinforce and exacerbate existing social divisions as they are highly exclusionary and closely monitored by police and other security (Flusty, 2001; Silk, 2004).

Urban planning has had an essential role in developing and implementing these strategies, as cities tend to cluster consumption amenities in order to take advantage of potential synergies between hotels, shopping malls, sports facilities, restaurants, and convention centers (Judd, 1999; Perry, 2003). Planners choose spaces for their central location, access to highways, aesthetic appeal, and for the relatively inexpensive cost of real estate, all of which tend to be found in abandoned manufacturing sites that are on or near urban waterfronts. Consumption areas, described as “tourist bubbles”, are discrete, regulated, sanitized, and heavily-policed spaces which are “cordoned off and designed to cosset the affluent visitor, while simultaneously warding off the threatening native” (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999, p. 26; see also Friedman et al., 2004; Judd, 1999; Silk, 2004). Although consumption spaces are ostensibly for public use, they are often managed by private entities, which decide permissible behaviors and activities, privilege the groups that are able to consume, and enforce codes of conduct to minimize and discourage undesired behaviors (Flusty, 2001; Silk, 2004). As this occurs, tourist areas are designed “to extirpate the spontaneous, the unpredictable, free expression, dissidents, alien cultural practices and the insufficiently affluent from the built environment” (Flusty, 2001, p. 662).

The authoritarian nature of consumption spaces tend to be obscured within its commodification through place marketing and the use of spectacular architecture and events. Challenged by competition with other cities for consumption spending, urban differences are branded and packaged “to appeal to visitors’ tastes for the exotic and unique” (Gotham, 2005b, p. 1101). These differences find architectural expression in facility designs which attempt to provide distinctive and varied settings to enhance the consumption experience (Harvey, 1989; Ritzer, 1999). Moreover, urban festivals, concerts and sporting events not only attract people into consumption spaces, but frequently receive media attention, which adds to their impact for urban marketing and image creation (Cochrane, Peck, & Tickell, 1996; Doel & Hubbard, 2002; McCallum, Spencer, & Wyly, 2005; Quilley, 1999; Silk, 2001, 2002; Waitt, 1999). Despite the seemingly festive nature of these events and spaces, they are providing an illusion of festivity by reproducing the status quo as the planners and government officials attempt to limit participants to highly circumscribed uses through restrictive rules and aggressive surveillance and policing. In doing so, planners also limit the right to the city as certain uses are prohibited and users are limited in their abilities to creatively use space.

This process of transforming the city into a space for leisure consumption is exemplified by the experience of Baltimore, Maryland (Harvey, 2001b; Levine, 1999; Norris, 2003). Starting in the mid-1960s, civic leaders in the city developed, revised and executed a plan to replace the empty warehouses of the Inner Harbor with shopping malls, restaurants, museums, hotels, a convention center, and sports facilities (Friedman et al., 2004). Simultaneously, the city attempted to remake its image among potential suburban visitors and tourists, among whom the city enjoyed little positive recognition, if

any at all. In some ways, the strategy has been successful with more than ten million people annually visiting Harborplace, the National Aquarium, the Baltimore Convention Center, and the Camden Yards Sports Complex (B. W. Hamilton & Kahn, 1997; Harvey, 2001b; Norris, 2003). Perceiving success, many other cities have adopted similar development strategies (Doel & Hubbard, 2002; Fainstein & Judd, 1999b; Zukin, 1998).

More critical analysis has questioned the effectiveness of Baltimore's strategy as its effects are highly localized and its benefits mostly flow to affluent groups and corporations (Friedman et al., 2004; B. W. Hamilton & Kahn, 1997; Harvey, 2001b; Hula, 1990; Levine, 1999; Norris, 2003). The Inner Harbor represents a drain on Baltimore's city government of \$17 million annually as the costs of bond repayments, tax abatements, and other expenses incurred by the city and state to maintain the area exceed tax collections from all sources (B. W. Hamilton & Kahn, 1997). Despite its innovative creation of the waterfront festival marketplace and the iconic retro-design of the baseball stadium, Baltimore's uniqueness was lost as these amenities and aesthetics were copied repeatedly by other cities (Harvey, 2001b; Van Rooij, 2000). While Baltimore's redevelopment strategy has improved the city's image, improvements in other areas of civic life have not kept pace as crime remains high, the education system is ineffective, and public safety is questionable (Friedman et al., 2004). As David Harvey (2001b) describes:

the Inner Harbor functions as a sophisticated mask. It invites us to participate in a spectacle... like any mask, it can beguile and distract in engaging ways, but at some point we want to know what lies behind it. If the mask cracks or is violently torn off, the terrible face of Baltimore's impoverishment may appear (p. 143-144).

Democracy in the Competitive City

In many ways, the competitive city denies residents *autogestion* and the right to the city by preventing them from having meaningful participation within urban governance. The entrepreneurial decisions of urban elites are frequently moved beyond the public sphere through the use of quasi-public authorities or public-private partnerships, whose membership is limited to selected groups and individuals who have been given power over public space but lack public accountability (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Leibovitz & Salmon, 1999; Mitchell, 2003; Schaller & Modan, 2005; Weber, 1997, 2002; Zukin, 1995). Appeals to difference are often superficial as the differential needs of users are largely ignored in favor of capital accumulation desires of developers, real estate speculators and other utilizers (Lefebvre, 1991b). The neo-conservative ideologies underlying revanchist policies use the coercive power of the state to force marginalized groups to acquiescence to their continued exploitation.

Within this context, the planning process is also fundamentally anti-democratic as elected and unelected elites determine the shape and uses of space. Although elites may have received the most benefits from planning between the 1940s and 1970s, there was at least some effort seemed to be made towards sharing benefits of society broadly among the public. However, in this era of the competitive city, planners and government officials invite corporations and the wealthy to gorge themselves further on public largess and promise the leftovers will trickle down to the public at large.

Following the logic of the competitive city, planners and government officials have sought to privatize public services and spaces in the neo-liberal belief that the private sector is always more efficient and effective. As such, the public space has been

positioned as an asset that should be transferred to private control or utilized to serve commercial purposes (T. A. Gibson, 2003; Lowes, 2004; Weber, 2002). For example, many of New York City's public parks are administered by private corporations and commercial districts, which limit access, proscribe uses, and monitor activities (Zukin, 1998). In Seattle, a vibrant pedestrian thoroughfare where people once gathered in the center of downtown for social, cultural, economic and political purposes was stripped of its non-economic uses as it was reopened to automobile traffic in order to attract a Nordstrom's Department Store (T. A. Gibson, 2004). Yet, with the power of eminent domain allowing the government to compel owners of private property to sell their land to the government for a public purpose, this power has been increasingly used to seize private property from its owners in order to transfer it to developers, who promise (but do not ensure) that their project fulfills the required public purpose (C. Allen, 2005).

The competitive city also reduces democracy by limiting the ideas that are legitimized within the public policy discourse. The assumption that economic growth is inherently good underlies most attempts to define urban priorities, especially within the various public-private partnerships that are dominated by business groups (Kipfer & Keil, 2002; Swyngedouw et al., 2002). If reported at all, critical voices proposing alternatives are marginalized within the mainstream media, which often have a large stake in promoting economic development, and interpret the lack of credible (as they define it) alternative voices as community consensus in support of a development agenda (T. A. Gibson, 2004; Leibovitz & Salmon, 1999).

Overall, contemporary urban governance through entrepreneurialism, the use of difference and the militarization of space "represents a broader project of cementing and

reordering the social and moral landscape” of cities (Kipfer & Keil, 2002, p. 235), and as such, is literally concretizing social relations into urban space. Towards this end, both everyday life and space have been increasingly commodified and dominated by elite interests with the objectives of capital accumulation and reproducing their social position. Given this context, this dissertation discusses the construction of Washington’s baseball stadium not as an extraordinary event, but as another project in the contemporary moment that has been conceived and planned by elites primarily for their own benefit.

Washington, D.C.

The stadium in Washington is embedded within unique contextual conditions that go beyond the late capitalism that defines contemporary urbanism as local factors also have contributed significantly to the city’s urban reality. In Washington, three development and historical contexts are particularly salient in the current challenges facing the city. First, Washington never developed an extensive manufacturing base, and has had, since its founding in 1790, a government- and service-based economy in which tourism and leisure has been a significant industry (Gale, 1987; Manning, 1998). Second, racial and ethnic relations in Washington developed differently than those in major industrial cities as the city has always had a large and relatively affluent African-American population and was not a popular destination for immigrants until after World War II (Manning, 1998; Marie Price, Cheung, Friedman, & Singer, 2005). With racial questions rarely distant from the city’s governance, the allocation of public resources and political power are sensitive issues. Third, Washington has a constitutionally-ambiguous status, which has allowed politicians and planners unaccountable to local residents to shape the city for most of its history. This disempowerment is exacerbated by the fact

that residents continue to lack representation in the United States Congress, which unilaterally determines the powers and responsibilities of local D.C. government and retains ultimate authority over its decisions.

Washington's Economy

Washington's economy has been very different from the cities most often associated with the challenges of post-industrial urbanism. Unlike Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Detroit whose economies were decimated by deindustrialization, Washington never developed a manufacturing base that could leave the city (Manning, 1998; O'Cleireacain & Rivlin, 2001). Instead, Washington has been a "company town" (Gale, 1987, p. 21), with the "company" being the United States government. This status is illustrated by the correlation between Washington's population and the size of the federal bureaucracy (Abbott, 1990). Between 1860 and 1880, Washington's population increased from 60,000 to 150,000 as the federal workforce grew by 600%. Over the next twenty years, both the federal workforce and the city's population virtually doubled again (C. Gibson, 1998; Gillette Jr., 2006). During the massive federal expansion during the New Deal and World War II, Washington's population grew to 800,000 by 1950. However, as the federal government decentralized its operations out from D.C.'s urban core in the 1950s, the city's population also began to decline (Gale, 1987; Manning, 1998).

This centrality of government continues within Washington's economy as the city's seven core economic sectors (government, education, professional services, administrative support, membership associations, tourism, and health care, which account for three-quarters of the city's jobs) are directly related to or associated with the federal

government (NCPC, 2006). As such, the city's economy is reliant upon the infrastructure that has developed to meet the needs of and interact with the central government. Trade associations and lobbyists attempt to influence legislation. Political consultants work to elect people to public office. Lawyers address Constitutional issues and specialize in navigating government regulations. Private contractors seek contracts to provide government with goods and services. Scholars work for think tanks to create analyses that influence public policy. This core of groups and individuals directly relating to the functions federal government is supported by a variety of professions, including janitorial and secretarial, that provide a range of essential services and desired amenities, such as restaurants and entertainment venues. Moreover, as people travel to Washington to interact with and learn about their government, Washington has developed an extensive leisure-related infrastructure of hotels, restaurants, museums, retail, transportation and other amenities.

Of Washington's core industries, tourism is the most relevant to this dissertation, as according to the city's Comprehensive Plan (NCPC, 2006), "the District is a premier tourism, convention and special events destination. Its array of attractions and cultural venues, particularly the national museums and federal monuments, rivals that of other great cities around the globe" (p. 7.20). As a result of this mix, more than 15 million people visit Washington D.C. annually,⁸ with the total number of visitors split fairly equally between business and leisure travel ("The American Experience", 2006).

Overall, Washington is the 6th most popular domestic market for visitors and the 8th most visited American city by international visitors ("Washington DC's 2006 Visitor

⁸ Following generally accepted industry standards, the Washington D.C. Convention and Tourism Corporation ("The American Experience", 2006) defines travel as "an overnight-trip or any day-trip greater than 50 miles one-way from home" (p. 3).

Statistics”, 2007). In terms of direct economic impact, visitors to Washington spend more than \$5 billion annually, which provided more than \$563 million in local tax revenues for the city in 2006 and sustained 60,000 jobs (13.2% of all private-sector jobs) within the city (“Washington DC’s 2006 Visitor Statistics”, 2007).

Washington features a diverse mix of visitor-oriented amenities and attractions, many of which are completely unique to the city. The National Mall is bounded by the centers of national power (U.S. Capitol, White House), many of the museums of the Smithsonian Institute, which house the *de facto* national collections for American history, natural history, air and space exploration, and Native American cultures, and contains memorials and monuments to national heroes (Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt) and wars (World War II, Korea, Vietnam). The National Archives displays original copies of the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. While these institutions, parks and historic sites are the favored destination for many visitors to Washington (see “Washington DC’s 2006 Visitor Statistics”, 2007, p. 17), the city possesses many other cultural amenities, including many fine arts museums, performance venues for theater, music and dance, fine restaurants, and sports teams, that attract people from the suburbs and overnight visitors (NCPC, 2006).

In being “*home to the enduring symbols of our country*” (National Park Service, 2008, p. 7, italics original), Washington celebrates the highest values of democracy within the historic, monumental government core that is the “symbolic heart of the nation and the physical expression of our Constitution with its three separate branches of government” (NCPC, 1997, p. 3). Trips to Washington are almost considered to be

democratic pilgrimages with visits to the Capitol building, the National Archives, and various memorials understood to be acts of citizenship through which people celebrate, experience, learn about, protest and petition their government. The democratic image of Washington is not only experienced by visitors (foreign and domestic), but is recognized throughout the world as it have been transmitted through the media, within arts and literature, and through the currency of the United States (NCPC, 2004, p. 161).

Race and Ethnicity in Washington

The fact that Washington has never been an industrial city also partially accounts for its unique racial and ethnic profile among major cities along the urban corridor between Richmond, Virginia and Portland, Maine. With its proximity to the South, African-Americans have lived in the city in relatively large numbers since its founding, and have achieved a greater level of affluence than African-Americans in most other cities despite the impacts of slavery, discriminatory Black Codes and Jim Crow laws (Gillette Jr., 1995; Manning, 1998; T. Y. Price, 1998). The dominance of African-Americans within the low-wage sectors of the city's economy and the few available factory jobs also dissuaded immigrants from settling in Washington, as between 1880 and 1950, the percentage of foreign-born residents in the city was 30%-to-50% below national averages (C. Gibson & Lennon, 1999; Manning, 1998; T. Y. Price, 1998).

As with many older American cities, Washington has been challenged by suburbanization since the end of World War II. Between 1950 and 1970, the city's white population decreased by more than 60%, but was mostly offset by the migration of African-Americans into the city. By the time Home Rule was granted in 1974, many leaders in the African-American community reveled in Washington's status as a

“chocolate city” and extolled their desire to make D.C. a model for African-American empowerment (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). However, as conditions in D.C. have deteriorated due to the challenges of the late capitalist moment and poor governance, almost 200,000 African-Americans moved away from Washington as the city’s population dropped from 756,000 to 572,000 between 1970 and 2000 (Gale, 1987; Manning, 1998; U.S. Census Bureau, 2003). The city’s population losses have only recently stabilized with increased immigration due to Washington’s post-World War II internationalization and the gentrification-related return of some whites (Manning, 1998; T. Y. Price, 1998). Although more than 55% of Washingtonians are African-American, should these trends continue, Washington will no longer be a majority African-American city within a decade (Aizenman, 2007).

Although Jaffe and Sherwood (1994) stated that “racism and racial insecurities made Washington what it is today” (p. 14), the history of race in Washington is relevant in this dissertation in so far as government power often has been directed against the city’s African-American residents. During the antebellum period, the government instituted Black Codes to control the city’s growing free black population, which was 15% of Washington’s total population (Gillette Jr., 2006; Melder, 1989; T. Y. Price, 1998). After the Civil War, the Radical Republicans in charge of Reconstruction provided African-Americans with full voting rights and representatives on the D.C. territorial government. However, these rights were fleeting as, according to Alabama Senator John Tyler Morgan, Congress had to institute the commissioner system because it needed to “burn down the barn to get rid of the rats... the rats being the negro

population and the barn being the government of the District of Columbia” (as qtd. in Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994, p. 24; see also Battle, 1989; Gillette Jr., 2006).

Although Washington was a highly segregated from the end of the 19th century through the Civil Rights Movement, the city “was especially prominent as a cultural and intellectual center for black Americans” (Abbott, 1990, p. 1382; see also Gillette Jr., 2006; Snyder, 2003). With Howard University and opportunities in the civil service, Washington enjoyed “unprecedented African-American prosperity” (F. Siegel, 1997, p. 68) and had the highest percentage of African-American residents of any city in the United States between 1890 and 1920 (Manning, 1998). Despite this robust African-American middle class, the city also had large numbers of African-Americans living in poverty, who often settled in alleyway slums and/or east of the Anacostia River (Borchert, 1982; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994).

As major redevelopment programs were instituted in the city, such as the Federal Triangle project of the 1930s and of Southwest Washington during the 1950s (described by Reverend Walter Fauntroy, who later served as D.C.’s first non-voting Congressional delegate, as “Negro removal”), these less affluent African-American neighborhoods were often targeted, with residents receiving little, if none, compensation and relocation assistance (Gillette Jr., 2006; T. Y. Price, 1998; S. Smith, 1974; Todd, 1987). Moreover, gentrification, in areas such as Georgetown during the 1930s, also has displaced large numbers of African-Americans (T. A. Gibson, 2005; McGovern, 1998). As a result, redevelopment and gentrification programs still tend to be viewed with suspicion by members of D.C.’s African-American population (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; Pianin & Milloy, 1985; T. Y. Price, 1998; Rivlin, 2003; B. Wilson, White, & Fisher, 2001)

Since World War II.

As described earlier, over the past 60 years, racial patterns in Washington have been largely defined through waves of migration and suburbanization. The white flight that started after the war was the function of many different factors. Veterans received housing assistance through the G.I. Bill⁹ and the federal government also built highways to ease transportation into central cities. Additionally, Cold War fears about nuclear attack resulted in a dispersal of government functions to the suburbs (Gillette Jr., 2006; Gutheim & Lee, 2006). White flight accelerated in the 1960s as Washington became an African-American majority city and the riots of 1968 inflamed white fears as more than \$15 million of property was destroyed, 668 businesses were burned, and 5,000 jobs were lost (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; F. Siegel, 1997).

The second trend at work in the changing demographics of Washington since the end of World War II is the internationalization of the city. As described earlier, up until the 1950s, Washington was not a popular destination for immigrants. However, with the start of the Cold War, the decolonization of Africa and Asia, and the placement of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in the city, Washington assumed a much greater role in global affairs and the number of foreign diplomats in the city increased four-fold between 1940 and 1956 (Abbott, 1996; Manning, 1998; Marie Price et al., 2005). While the number of diplomats was still fairly small as compared to the city's overall population, the diplomats were the foundation for "subsequent waves of immigration built on family and social networks" (Marie Price et al., 2005, p. 65) and for the development of cultural, religious and social institutions (Van Dyne, 2006). Between

⁹ Although federal policies were ostensibly race-neutral, discriminatory covenants and lending practices prevented many African-Americans from taking advantage of federal assistance to move to the suburbs.

1970 and 2000, the foreign-born population has been essential in stabilizing the city's population decline, as it has increased from 33,000 to 73,000 (C. Gibson & Lennon, 1999; Marie Price et al., 2005; U. S. Census Bureau, 2003).

African-American suburbanization is the third demographic trend in the changing complexion of Washington, as, since 1970, more than 200,000 African-Americans have left the city. Many have settled in Prince George's County, Maryland, which is now one of the most prosperous majority-black suburban counties in the country (Gale, 1987; Ruane & Cohn, 2005). The reasons for this shift has been traced to increased opportunities to move to the suburbs (Gale, 1987), the dysfunctionality of the D.C. government and a declining quality of life in the city (Abbott, 1990; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; Martin, 2007; F. Siegel, 1997), and policies encouraging gentrification without sufficient attention to issues surrounding affordable housing (T. A. Gibson, 2005; Lazere, 2007; Lee, Spain, & Umberson, 1985). While increased opportunities to move to the suburbs are a result of the Civil Rights movement and the enforcement of the Fair Housing Act, the other two are related to the tribulations of governance in the city since Home Rule was granted in 1974.

Governance

The third unique feature of Washington is its indeterminate political status that is an anachronism rooted in the debates surrounding the ratification of the Constitution in 1789 and the racial ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. This status continues today as a matter of political strategy as Republicans refuse to extend voting rights and representation to a city whose representatives almost certainly would be members of the

Democratic Party.¹⁰ The result of racial prejudices and political expediencies has left District of Columbia residents with a unique status: among the world's democracies, they are the only class of people who are disenfranchised solely on the basis of where they live (LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat). Despite this disenfranchisement, D.C. citizens are expected to fulfill all the obligations of citizenship as the federal government receives more than \$1.6 billion in taxes from D.C. residents, and throughout the nation's history, D.C. has had more residents killed in battle than 20 states.

Washington's disenfranchisement initially occurred due to ambiguity in the United States Constitution, which granted to Congress exclusive authority over the Federal District and has been subsequently interpreted to deny D.C. residents Congressional representation. While the Constitution's framers were vague about the rights of D.C. residents to elect local officials and the powers of a local government, the federal government saw little need for a representative government to manage local affairs as the President appointed city commissioners between 1874 and 1974 and the House and Senate District Committees dictated local policies (S. Smith, 1974). Although Congress passed the Home Rule Act in 1974 to grant D.C. residents the right to elect a mayor and council representatives, Congress placed many conditions on the city that have made governance problematic, if not untenable. Congress restricted D.C. government's ability to levy taxes, gave D.C. all the responsibilities for services typically managed by state governments, and retained privileges that have left D.C. uniquely vulnerable among local and state jurisdictions in the United States to the micromanagement of its affairs by Congress (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; NCPC, 2006; T.

¹⁰ No Republican presidential candidate has received more than 15% of votes in the District of Columbia since the 1976 election when Gerald Ford received 17% (McGovern, 1998).

Y. Price, 1998; S. Smith, 1974). This combination of powerlessness and responsibility is partially responsible for the city's pervasive corruption that led to its dire financial status in the early 1990s, the imposition of a Financial Control Board (FCB) in 1995, and the political rise of FCB-appointed Chief Financial Officer Anthony Williams.

From the city's founding, the relationship between the federal government and local community has been problematic. Before the Civil War, Congress refused to appropriate money to meet the needs of a growing city that was supposed to be the nation's showcase (Gillette Jr., 2006). Given territorial status following the Civil War, Washington had an opportunity to govern itself. Trying to quickly reverse Congress' neglect of its infrastructure, the city amassed an \$18 million debt as sewer, road, and lighting improvement projects tripled their initial estimates (Battle, 1989; McGovern, 1998; S. Smith, 1974). Due to this debt and the prominence of African-Americans in the local government, Congress revoked D.C.'s territorial status and imposed a three-man Board of Commissioners, whose members were appointed by the President and the Army Corps of Engineers (T. Y. Price, 1998).

During the century of Commission rule, D.C. residents were largely powerless in shaping their city. Commissioners were accountable to Congress as the House of Representatives and the Senate each had committees overseeing D.C. affairs, and often consulted with the city's white business leaders through the Board of Trade (Diner, 1989; T. Y. Price, 1998). Within this structure, Congress often worked to deny funding to programs that would help residents, as many Southern Congressmen and Senators refused to approve spending (even if it were derived wholly from local sources) that benefited the city's African-American community (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). South Carolina

Congressman John McMillan, who was chairman of the House District Committee between 1948 and 1972, typified the parochial and racist relationship between Congress and the city. McMillan, who was seen by many as the city's *de facto* mayor, "ruled with courtly indifference to the demands and concerns of the city's residents," saying at one point, "no one seems to object to the work performed by this committee except the public" (as qtd. in S. Smith, 1974, p. 142). Until being defeated for reelection in 1972, McMillan helped stall virtually all legislation that sought to grant meaningful home rule and representation to D.C. residents (Gillette Jr., 2006; S. Smith, 1974).

Home Rule.

During the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson replaced the three-man Commission system with a nine-man appointed Council and one appointed mayor. While this was an improvement in the city's status, the Home Rule Act of 1974 provided Washingtonians with the right to vote for local officials and a voice in Congress through a non-voting delegate. As such, D.C. residents now participate to a much greater extent in their governance as the council and mayor are held accountable to voters in regular elections. Yet, the Home Rule Act did not fully end Washington, D.C.'s colonial status as Congress imposed oversight, restrictions, costs and responsibilities upon the city's government that are unique among urban governments in the United States. In this way, "Congress may have acted with good intentions in 1974... but what it created was a government in purgatory, broke and limping from the start" (Schneider & Henderson, 1994, p. B1).

According to S. Smith (1974), "the heart of the success of the [Home Rule Act] was that it did not provide home rule" (p. 165-166), as significant restrictions were placed

on D.C. government while not limiting the ability of Congress to interfere with District affairs. As such:

It was a government with the power to tax but not the power to spend; a government expected to lower crime but with no control over its courts; a government that could initiate but could not guarantee carrying out what it had initiated; a government expected to act but lacking the freedom to do so; a government that would have to cater to the often conflicting demands of a local constituency and its federal masters (S. Smith, 1974, p. 167).

Thirty-four years of governance has shown that S. Smith (1974) was prescient in his critiques as the Home Rule Act has, indeed, “carried within it the seeds of serious new problems” (p. 167), in terms of the city generating revenue, bearing expenses, and suffering unprecedented Congressional interference and oversight.

According to the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) (2003), Washington, D.C. has a structural deficit¹¹ of between \$470 million to \$1.1 billion.¹² This deficit has been caused by a combination of federal fiscal restraints and burdens, as well as management problems within D.C. Government. In terms of revenues, the city may lose as much as \$2 billion per year due to the amount of tax-exempt land in the city and a unique prohibition that prevents D.C. from taxing commuter incomes (GAO, 2003; LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat; NCPC, 2006; Richards, 2008). In terms of costs, the GAO (2003) noted that D.C.’s costs for public safety are “far above average”

¹¹ The GAO defines a government’s structural deficit as its ability to provide what is considered to be average public services at average tax rates. The degree to which a city has to tax at higher than average rates or needs to spend in order to provide average services is considered to be the structural deficit.

¹² Reviewing the GAO’s methodology, the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute suggested “the most reasonable assumptions place the budget gap at \$900 million to \$1.1 billion, making it the largest structural imbalance in the nation” (Lazere & Garrison, 2005, p. 4).

(p. 63) as the city provides protection for federal officials, foreign dignitaries, special events, and political demonstrations, and incurs greater costs for terrorism prevention. In addition, D.C. government also had higher administrative costs as, for its first two decades, it administered several programs typically managed by states, such as welfare, prisons, courts and motor vehicle registration (NCPC, 1997). Given these limitations in revenue and extra financial responsibilities, D.C. residents have one of the highest local tax burdens of any municipality in the United States, despite services that are far below national averages and a physical infrastructure that has deferred capital needs of more than \$5 billion through 2011 (GAO, 2003; T. A. Gibson, 2005; Lazere & Garrison, 2005; T. Y. Price, 1998).

In addition to imposing an untenable financial model on the city, Congress routinely interferes with local governance as the Home Rule Act requires that the D.C. government send its budget and all of its acts to Congress for approval (Schrag, 1990). As such, Congress can overturn all laws passed by the D.C. Council, revoke actions taken by mayor, and invalidate interpretations of D.C. law made by D.C. judges (LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat). Schrag (1990) identified more than 75 restrictions on D.C. spending imposed by Congress between 1975 and 1990, which interference on minor matters, such as a prohibition on using the Woodrow Wilson High School swimming pool after 9 p.m., and more major issues such as prohibiting a needle exchange program to prevent the spread of HIV or the D.C. government from using local funds to lobby for voting rights (E. Zigas, personal communication, January 23, 2008). Congress also has retained its right to impose laws and programs upon the city, most notably a death penalty referendum in 1992 and a school voucher program requested by

no D.C. politicians (Gillette Jr., 2006; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; E. Zigas, personal communication, January 23, 2008).

While Congress is responsible for many of the struggles of the D.C. government over the past 34 years, the city also has suffered substantial mismanagement and corruption within its own governance. Some of this is a legacy of the commissioner system in which members of Congress viewed D.C. government jobs as patronage to be distributed to their friends and campaign workers without regard for the trustworthiness or competence (T. Y. Price, 1998; F. Siegel, 1997). Much of the corruption and mismanagement, however, can be traced to the four mayoral terms of Marion Barry (1977-1991, 1995-1999), in which Barry built a powerful political machine based on populism, cronyism, and graft (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). During his administration, favored developers and entrepreneurs received public assets at below-market rates and highly advantageous contracts, with little oversight to ensure that public interests were being properly served. Although there were more than 48,000 workers on the city payroll (one for every 13 residents), the quality of city services deteriorated with declining school performance, reductions to the size of the police force, and inadequate maintenance of the city's public housing stock. Barry's political career was believed to have ended in 1990 with his arrest in an FBI sting for smoking crack cocaine with his mistress in a hotel room. However, following his acquittal on all but one misdemeanor charge in a racially-charged trial and his successor's ineffectiveness at cleaning up city governance, Barry was reelected Mayor in 1994 (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994).

As Barry returned to the Mayor's Office in 1995, the city's financial circumstances had grown dire with the city on the brink of bankruptcy due to the fiscal

constraints imposed by Congress and the city government's own corruption and mismanagement (GAO, 2003; Harden & Vise, 1995; T. Y. Price, 1998; Raskin, 1997). Rather than relying upon Barry (or any other local official) to solve the city's considerable challenges, Congress installed the FCB, similar to the one that took over New York City's government in the 1970s. The unelected FCB was mandated to gain control over the city's finances, while the elected mayor and council were generally stripped of their authority. The FCB appointed Anthony Williams as Chief Financial Officer with responsibility to develop long-term plans and enforce budgetary discipline upon the city's agencies (GAO, 2003).

Mayor Williams and Revitalizing Washington

Following his success in beginning the city's financial restructuring, Williams was elected Mayor in 1998 and reelected in 2002. According to the *Washington Post*, in the eight years of the Williams administration, "Mr. Williams restored the city's stature and, as a result, its sense of self. He got the city out of the red, made sure streets were plowed *and brought baseball back to the nation's capital*" ("Lasting expectations", 2006, p. A24, italics added). These accomplishments were achieved through a pro-business strategy that recognized downtown growth as the "locomotive" for economic development throughout the entire city (Woodlee, 2007, p. B1), and included such projects as the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative and the new Washington Convention Center.

As the Williams' administration assessed the development needs of the city, they determined that job creation was unlikely to provide substantial benefits due to the city's lack of a manufacturing base and the federally-imposed constraint preventing a commuter

tax. While recognizing the city had no shortage of jobs, they identified a significant disparity between the needs of D.C. employers and the skills of residents, especially those living east of the Anacostia River (Lazere, 2007; Lazere, personal communication, January 4, 2008; O’Cleireacain & Rivlin, 2001). Therefore, instead of pursuing jobs towards creating economic growth, Williams announced a goal to increase the city’s population by 100,000 people by 2010 (T. A. Gibson, 2005; O’Cleireacain & Rivlin, 2001; Rivlin, 2003). The logic behind this strategy was that these new residents would expand the city’s tax base by paying income, sales, and property taxes. This would initiate a virtuous cycle in which greater city tax revenues could be used to improve city services, provide better schools, and develop new amenities, that, in turn, would attract more residents into the city (T. A. Gibson, 2005; Lazere, personal communication, January 4, 2008; Rivlin, 2003). While the goal of 100,000 seemed ambitious, given the fact that the city’s population declined by 35,000 between 1990 and 2000, O’Cleiracain and Rivlin (2001) suggested that it could be done as several other cities of similar size, such as Denver, Portland, San Jose, Charlotte and Jacksonville, gained more than 90,000 residents in the 1990s without changing their boundaries. Moreover, the goal of 100,000 new residents represented attracting just 10% of the expected regional population growth through 2010.

However, Rivlin (2003), who succeeded Williams as CFO of the FCB, identified three obstacles – resources, “the chicken and egg problem” and suspicion – as having the potential to impede progress towards achieving the goal of increasing the city’s population. In terms of resources, D.C.’s tax base is limited by the federal government, while high concentrations of poverty meant that many residents needed more government

services (GAO, 2003; Rivlin, 2003). Although expanding the tax base with new upper and middle class residents could help solve the resource problem, Rivlin (2003) recognized that it had the potential to create many new problems related to gentrification. As such, Rivlin (2003) recommended ameliorating the negative effects by channeling “those new tax revenues into subsidies for housing and other services that will help low-income people” (p. 6) and by creating “new mixed income neighborhoods on land where hardly any one lives now” (p. 6). Rivlin (2003) identified the “chicken and egg problem” as the contradiction between needing more middle and upper-income residents to move into the city to improve the poor quality of civic services, which were considered the reason that wealthier residents chose not to live in the city. This could be addressed by entrepreneurial efforts which targeted public resources to certain areas in order to make a “visible difference,” and would, thus, attract new residents and additional investments. To ease resident suspicions which were the legacies of racial discrimination and past planning mistakes, Rivlin (2003) recommended engaging residents in plans for revitalization as, by having the opportunity to express “their energy and ideas and hopes for the neighborhood” (p. 8), they would feel included and support transformational projects. As will be discussed, each of these three obstacles was not addressed with the same skill and effort by the Williams administration as they promoted the stadium project.

In pursuing economic growth and 100,000 new residents, city planners realized they not only needed to create new residential units, but to develop surrounding retail and cultural amenities that would be attractive to potential middle-income and upper-income residents (personal communication, S. Green, February 18, 2008). Pearlstein (2007)

suggested that the city attempted to achieve this by targeting public resources to “prime the pump” and attract retail and residential development to particular areas. C. Gibson (2005) discussed the “City Living, D.C. Style” exposition and advertising campaign, which marketed residential opportunities to a middle and upper class clientele with promises of easier commutes, upgraded amenities and reduced racial tensions.

Fueled by growth in the commercial real estate market, D.C. economy grew substantially during the Williams administration, with significant increases in D.C. government tax collections. Where residential development was stagnant in the early 1990s, C. Gibson (2005) found that 5,000 new residential units opened in the city between the late 1990s and 2005. Moreover, the city has emphasized developing affordable housing with a dedicated trust fund that receives its money from commercial real estate taxes, and in projects like the renovation of the Arthur Capper and Carrollsburg public housing in which 707 public housing units are being torn down to create mixed-use neighborhood of over 1,500 residences with a 1-to-1 replacement of public housing units (J. Dupree, personal communication, January 23, 2008; S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008). While the city is unlikely to achieve 100,000 new residents by 2010, the city’s population stopped its 50-year decline to grow by 9,000 between 2000 and 2006 (U. S. Census Bureau, 2008).

Despite these government initiatives, the benefits of this economic growth have not been broadly shared and the pressures of gentrification are still forcing residential displacement throughout the city (T. A. Gibson, 2005; Lazere, 2007). According to a report by the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute, the gap between low and high wage workers is at an all-time high, poverty is at highest level in a decade, employment among African-

Americans and high school graduates is dropping, and Washington has one of the highest income disparities of any major city in the United States (Lazere, 2007). Although the Williams administration instituted several programs to benefit neighborhoods and greatly expand retail options in underserved parts of the city, a strong perception existed that Williams was much more interested in serving the desires of downtown businesses, developers, and visitors than in addressing the needs of the city's residents. In many ways, this perception framed public reaction to Williams' efforts to attract Major League Baseball to return to Washington by spending \$611 million on a new baseball stadium.

Chapter 3 -- Washington's Own(ly) Senators

Perhaps the story of Nationals Park begins in Pittsburgh on August 11, 1994 with a 4-0 loss by the first place Montreal Expos against the Pirates. The Expos, with a record of 74-40 and featuring a lineup with five All-Stars and a future member of baseball's Hall of Fame, Pedro Martinez, had created excitement for baseball in Montreal that had not been seen since the early 1980s as the team was drawing its best crowds in more than a decade. However, the next day, the Major League Baseball Players Association went on strike to preempt the unilateral imposition of a labor contract that they would have found unacceptable. While it took almost four seasons for Major League Baseball (MLB) as an industry to fully recover from the strike and subsequent lockout, baseball in Montreal began a slow, excruciating death which included regular fire sales of players, minimal budgets, relocation threats, ownership turnover, a purchase by MLB, contraction threats, and a highly public auction among cities that lasted almost three years and ended on September 29, 2004 when MLB announced they were moving to Washington.

...Or perhaps the story of Nationals Park begins in 1973 as a group led by Joseph Danzansky was close to purchasing the San Diego Padres. Danzansky and his group wanted a team to replace the Washington Senators who had represented the city in the American League between 1901-1971 (J. C. Roberts, 2005). Rumors during the 1973 season suggested that the Padres were in such deep financial trouble that they could possibly move to Washington *during* the season. When that did not happen, so sure that the move would occur, the Topps Company released baseball cards of Padres players with "Washington Nat'l League" printed on their front. However, the city of San Diego threatened to enforce the remaining 15 years of the lease and the bankers financing the

deal backed out. As the transaction collapsed, San Diego resident and McDonald's Chairman Ray Kroc rescued the Padres' franchise for the city (J. C. Roberts, 2005). Over the next three decades, Washington's hopes were raised whenever a team was for sale or was denied public funding for a new stadium or when MLB expanded (Shropshire, 1995). However, nothing ever came to pass, until September 29, 2004.

...Or perhaps the story of Nationals Park begins on a Broadway stage during the 1950's as the demoness Lola seduced Joe Hardy to sell his soul to the Devil in exchange for his leading the hapless Washington Senators to victory over those "Damn Yankees." Perhaps the fictional Hardy and his teammates had "lots and lots of heart" and the Devil did not get his due, but the real Senators were as hapless as suggested by the musical and some fans considered their play as a form of demonic torture (Bealle, 1947). In 70 seasons, the Senators won just one World Series and inspired the joke about Washington, "first in war, first in peace, and last in the American League" (Povich, 1940; Snyder, 2003). With the original Washington Senators being replaced by an expansion team in 1961 as team owner Calvin Griffith moved the team to Minneapolis-St. Paul because "the trend in Washington is getting to be all colored" (as qtd. in Snyder, 2003, p. 288), the expansion Senators were little better. Late in the 1971 season, despite a relatively new RFK Stadium and some of the best attendances in Washington baseball history to see dreadful play, Senators' owner Bob Short announced that he was moving the team to Arlington, Texas (Frommer, 2006). Washington's ignominious chapter in baseball history seemed to have ended on September 30, 1971 as against the New York Yankees, a crowd of 14,460 stormed the field in the 8th inning, turning a 7-5 lead into a 9-0 forfeit (M. McPherson & Huth, 1971). However, almost 33 years later to the day, on September

29, 2004, MLB opened a new chapter with their announcement they were moving the Expos to Washington.

...Or perhaps the story of Nationals Park begins with the Homestead Grays of the Negro National League. While the Grays ostensibly were based in Pittsburgh, the team started renting Griffith Stadium from the Senators in 1940 and called Washington D.C. their “home away from home.” Featuring players such as Hall of Famers Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell and Buck Leonard, the Grays frequently drew much larger crowds than the Senators and had much greater success as they were in the midst of eight league titles in nine years (Snyder, 2003). As MLB ignored Washington for 33 years, the exploits of the Grays were largely unhonored in the city. However, as MLB announced its return to Washington on September 29, 2004, some people were clamoring to “Remember the Grays” by naming the team for them.

...Or perhaps the story of Nationals Park begins in the compromises in the early days of the United States in 1787. To gain support from Virginia’s congressional delegation to allow the federal government to assume the Revolutionary War debts of the individual states, Congress approved the creation of the Federal District on the “Potomack” (sic) River, with land donated by the Maryland and Virginia (incorporating the villages of Georgetown, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia) and near the Mount Vernon estate of Revolutionary War hero General George Washington. To design the federal city in the style of the great European capitals, the government hired French architect Charles Pierre L’Enfant, who planned for the Anacostia River to be the city’s commercial center. As city leaders celebrated baseball’s return to Washington on

September 29, 2004, they claimed the new stadium would help revitalize the long-neglected Anacostia waterfront.

The really is no singular date that began Washington's development as a sporting space. Instead, these five moments are part of broader sporting context encompassing professional, amateur, college, high school, youth, and recreational leagues and teams, stadiums, arenas, playgrounds and gymnasiums, and sports stars, journeymen, entrepreneurs, fans and weekend athletes. These stories are embedded within Washington D.C.'s broader urban tapestry as the sporting Washington has directly intersected the lives of many, if not most, of those who have come into contact with the many Washingtons (see Appendix D for a more detailed description of the history and geography of "Sporting Washington").

Although the Washington Nationals' stadium opened on March 31, 2008, its impacts have already gone well beyond the region's sports fans. Although only a few residents lost their homes, thousands of people who used, lived, enjoyed and worked on the stadium site were displaced from the spaces they occupied for many years. Residents and office workers surrounding the stadium site have been inconvenienced by increased traffic and noise from construction. Land owners have seen the value of their property (and the taxes thereon) rise, with many selling and/or evicting their tenants. The D.C. government has financed the project by selling \$535 million of bonds, which are secured by dedicated taxes upon the city's medium and large businesses. Moreover, these bonds are a liability for the city that will adversely impact its ability to borrow money for other projects over the next three decades.

The impacts do not end at the city's borders as millions of suburbanites have purchased tickets and come to games since 2004. However, even suburbanites who do not attend or watch games are spending money to support the team, as the Mid-Atlantic Sports Network, which broadcasts the team's games, receives around \$1.25 per month per customer from the region's cable television operators, who pass that fee onto all subscribers. This list of impacts is by no means exhaustive and is certain to grow over the life of the stadium.

Each impact of the stadium reveals and (re)produces a multitude of social relationships. Washington may have other spaces for gay-oriented entertainment, but the Near Southeast and O Street, which had been a center of gay nightlife in the city for 35 years now offers a decidedly heteronormative form of entertainment and, already, is being transformed for the benefit of the region's business community. In funding the stadium to attract suburbanites, tourists and businesses into the city, the D.C. government has prioritized their entertainment over the needs of D.C. residents, for whom bonding authority and increased taxes could have been used for other major projects – school improvement, library expansion, sewage modernization and hospital construction – which may provide much greater direct benefit to residents' quality of life. These impacts are the direct results of choices made by former Mayor Anthony Williams and the D.C. Council, and are expressions of the practice of democracy in the city.

Towards understanding those choices, this chapter investigates the process by which Williams and the city of Washington negotiated with MLB and how the D.C. Council approved the contract. This investigation was conducted through analyzing various texts, such as media reports, planning documents, and public testimony to the

D.C. Council. I supplemented these materials with interviews with Steven Green, one of the city's main negotiators with MLB, and Ed Lazere, one of the leaders of public opposition to the stadium, as well as my attendance at the D.C. Council hearing in October 2006 about the stadium lease. To contextualize the nature of the city's choice to invest public money in the \$770 million project, I now examine the rhetoric and practice of democracy as it relates to sports.

Sport & Democracy

Within dominant discourse, sport has frequently been described as a democratic and inclusive institution. Fields of play are idealized as democratic spaces, which are open to all and where skill and hard work triumph over status. Athletes such as Jackie Robinson, Billie Jean King, Arthur Ashe and Muhammad Ali, have been lauded in the United States as significant social figures for their contributions to social movements expanding civil rights for African-Americans and women. On a global scale, the UN and the IOC have declared sport to be a fundamental human right in so far as all people should have the opportunity to play and practice sport without discrimination (International Olympic Committee, 2004; Sidoti, 1999; United Nations, 2003, 2004).

Sport is framed as helping people enhance their well-being (see Witkin, 2000) and develop community. The UN described that "by its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides" (United Nations, 2003, p. v). For individuals, sport can enable people to more fully develop their personalities and are beneficial as people try to live healthy and fulfilling lives (United Nations, 2003, 2004). More broadly, sport contributes to

sustainable human development by building community, assisting economic development, and serving the cause of peace (United Nations, 2003).

Read uncritically, sport seemingly contributes to a much more democratic future as seen in Lefebvrian terms. Anti-discriminatory rhetoric of a right to sport suggests that people could not be excluded from enjoying or participating in sport, or be marginalized within sport. Moreover, sport seemingly promises a partial realization of the right to the city, as sport enables people to break down barriers and transcend the factionalization promoted by social elites to maintain their dominant position. While Lefebvre did not announce a separate “right to sport,” sport seemingly provides one way through which to achieve Lefebvre’s goals of creating a different society. In this context, sport would be a way through which people could begin to realize themselves as “total men” (sic) by becoming less alienated and overcoming mystification through leading healthier and more fulfilling lives.

Commenting upon sport more critically, Lefebvre (1991b) stated “sports and gymnastics as we know them... are little more than parodies or simulations of a genuine ‘physical culture’” (p. 166). In addition, Lefebvre (1991a) suggested that sport is “apparently incompatible with illusion, and yet in fact it confronts us with a reverse image, a compensation for everyday life” (p. 36). Lefebvre arrived at this conclusion as he attributed sport’s development to its presentation as a “culture of the body” and “school for health” (p. 36), while noting that sport possesses “a curious kind of ‘alienation’” (p. 36) as “sportsmen” and “supporters” participate and play sport “via an intermediary” (p. 36): the athlete. As such, Lefebvre did not see sport as being liberating, despite the rhetoric of those promoting it. Instead, sport was one of the

experiences within everyday life that have been heavily colonized by consumer capitalism. Had Lefebvre made a more extensive critique of sports¹³, he may have described its status as a form of commodified leisure, its societal role as a controlled and regulated festival, and its use as a diversionary spectacle.

Those promoting the right to sport have too infrequently contributed to its actual achievement with practices that have been inimical to their stated goals. Sport as an institution often has been focused on reproducing the rights and privileges of the elite through exclusionary practices and by resisting inclusionary policies. Instead of providing a playing field that is “simple and often apolitical” and highlights the similarities between people (United Nations, 2003, p. 4), sport has been used in the service of the state and discriminatory ideologies to demonstrate the superiority of particular groups and justify the exclusion and exploitation of others. This pattern is evident throughout sport, in both historical and contemporary contexts, and clear within public policy decisions regarding subsidies for sports stadiums. Rather than providing a democratic space that can expand human rights and opportunities to participate in public life, sporting institutions have most often used the rhetoric of democracy to mystify the effects of its discriminatory and exploitive policies and practices.

Democracy in Sport

According to Kidd and Donnelly (2000), “despite the familiar moral claims of sports – the rhetoric of universality, fair play, character and a ‘level playing field’ – few of the initial proponents of modern sports ever intended them to be universal and inclusive” (p. 135). Instead, sport was supposed to be the preserve of upper-class white

¹³ Beyond these two comments on sport, I found just one other brief mention of sport within Lefebvre’s works that have been translated into English (see Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 227).

males, who attempted to prevent others from participating through the economic discrimination of amateurism, the racial discrimination of segregation, and gender discrimination through health discourses and by denying women resources for sport (Cahn, 1995; Kidd & Donnelly, 2000; Rader, 2004). The history of sport, therefore, is replete with events, institutions and movements which have sought to challenge, maintain or reinscribe sport's elitist, racist, and sexist status quo (Sage, 1998). While modern sport has mostly developed beyond its origins, sporting institutions and sporting spaces retain many exclusionary and discriminatory aspects. Dimensions of identity, such as class, race, gender, sexuality, (dis)ability and age, continue to be substantive factors in determining policies that impact access to and inclusion within sports (Birrell & McDonald, 2000; Zirin, 2005). As such, "research on sport and space cannot ignore the ways in which spaces are inexorably linked to the social construction of dominant ideologies and to the politics of identity" (van Ingen, 2003, p. 210).

Just as I described the multiple Washingtons within the first chapter, there is no singular space of sports that can be identified and assessed. Instead, there are multiple sporting spaces, which can be tangible or intangible, are frequently overlapping, and often not readily recognizable as such. While a major league sports stadium or the locker room of an athletic facility may be fairly obvious sporting spaces, family homes are as well, with parents making decisions regarding sporting participation and teaching sport-related expectations and behaviors. From architectural design to the attitudes of those within, sport spaces are shaped by and help structure inclusionary and exclusionary practices and policies within both sport and society (Bale, 2003; Borden, 2001; Fusco, 2005; van Ingen, 2003; Wilcox, Andrews, Pitter, & Irwin, 2003).

The issue of who actually gets to participate and is visible within sports space has had significant implications for the practice of democracy. As a popular cultural form, sport has demonstrated the ability to shape current attitudes towards various groups and present possibilities for the future (Baker, 1997; Sage, 1998). Jackie Robinson's breaking of MLB's color barrier in 1947 showed the possibility of an integrated future in which whites and African-Americans worked successfully together (Barber, 1982; Leonard, 2004; Rader, 2004). Similarly, Billie Jean King's defeat of Bobby Riggs in the 1973 "Battle of the Sexes" demonstrated to a wide audience that a woman could surpass a man in an equal competition, an important consideration as women attempted to shatter the "glass ceiling" and move into roles and jobs that were predominantly (if not exclusively) male (Rader, 2004). However, it must be noted that this visibility entailed considerable risk as failure by either Robinson or King would have harmed the causes of Civil Rights and women's equality, as opponents would have cited their failures to justify the continued societal marginalization of African Americans and women (Zirin, 2005).

While Robinson's and King's successes helped to provide opportunities for other African-Americans and women within sport, they did not provide full access and inclusion to all the spaces of sport as many discriminatory practices and attitudes continued for years and some still persist. For African-Americans, quotas and stacking limited opportunities on the playing field for almost 40 years, stereotypes about intelligence and leadership are still factors in management hiring practices, and only one African-American is a majority owner of a team in the four North American major professional leagues (Cole & Andrews, 1996; Sage, 1998). Although attitudes about and opportunities for females in sport have increased, questions persist about the quality of

women's competition and female interest in and knowledge about sport (Dunning, 1994; T. McPherson, 2000; Nylund, 2004; Sage, 1998). These canards have been used to justify reducing opportunities for participation, media exposure, and employment, and resulted in delegitimizing female athletes through sexualized displays (L. R. Davis, 1997; Disch & Kane, 2000; K. M. Jamieson, 1998).

Despite the various challenges that African-Americans and women continue to face in their quest for full inclusion within sport, their progress is far beyond that of many other groups, including homosexuals and the disabled. Within the four major sports leagues within the United States, there is not a single active athlete among almost 4,000 players who is openly gay, as homophobic attitudes are frequently part of the hypermasculine locker room and sporting culture (T. Miller, 2001; Nylund, 2004; Michael Price & Parker, 2003). Similarly, lesbians have had difficulty living openly within elite sports as well, as their femininity is already under question through their participation and, up until the last decade, sponsorship opportunities have been rare (Clarke, 1998; Kolnes, 1995; J. E. Wright & Clarke, 1999). For the disabled, there is virtually no media attention of their elite sport competitions, while access to sporting spaces has only been mandated in the United States since the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) (Schell & Rodriguez, 2001).

While the rhetoric of the right to sport provides a possibility of a different future, its hope withers within the actual practices that define what people and activities are acceptable and unacceptable within sports spaces. This is especially true within the public policy process in which governments decide to subsidize the construction of arenas and stadiums for major league sports teams. Although Title IX and the ADA have

substantially impacted sport within the United States, they both focus on eliminating discrimination in general rather than serving as policy statements about sport, exercise and recreation (Rader, 2004; Sage, 1998). Subsidization decisions are, perhaps, the most explicit policy statements regarding sport made by governments in the United States as they devote hundreds of millions of dollars and other public resources directly to sporting endeavors.

In their policies, governments implicitly promote particular visions of both sport and its role within society. By providing subsidies to sports teams, governments perpetuate an exclusionary and economically exploitative status quo. Consistent with the ideologies and practices of the late capitalist moment, government resources are devoted to the interests of capital (corporations, land developers, suburban fans) over the needs of poor, urban residents, whose presence in facilities is often as inexpensive labor or as featured performers rather than as paying customers. In addition, the process itself is designed to minimize public input and oversight and seeks outcomes that seemingly favor symbolic achievements over tangible improvements in urban conditions. However, in a broader sense, subsidization represents a choice about sport made by government as even a small portion of the resources devoted to subsidies could make a large difference in the promotion of sport, health and exercise through public programs, providing effective physical education in secondary schools, and developing public recreation facilities.

Democracy and Sports Facilities

Within the popular discourse surrounding economic redevelopment, sport facilities and events have been represented as democratic symbols providing opportunity, inclusiveness, and shared prosperity. However, the recent history of stadium and arena

development suggests that these are empty images as the development of stadiums and arenas demonstrates a widespread failure of democracy by frequently producing outcomes favoring narrow private interests over those of the public (Delaney & Eckstein, 2003; Fort, 1997; W. D. Keating, 1997; Rosentraub, 1999b; Shropshire, 1995; Zimbalist, 2003).

The economics of public subsidies for sports stadiums have been studied extensively within academia over the past 35 years (Baade & Dye, 1988, 1990; Baade & Tiehen, 1990; R. J. Keating, 1999; Lertwachara & Cochran, 2007; Noll, 1974; Noll & Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, 1999b; Siegfried & Zimbalist, 2002). While cities and teams commonly pay consultants to generate favorable economic impact studies (see DeMause & Cagan, 2008; Friedman & Mason, 2005; Hudson, 2001), independent studies have found little, if any (and frequently negative) economic growth related to the presence of a stadium or arena for a major league sports team in a city. Any positive economic benefits from sports facilities tend to be highly localized, but tend to come at the expense of other leisure-focused areas in their home cities (Chapin, 2004; Crompton, 1995; Rosensweig, 2005; Spirou & Bennett, 2002).

Along with their biased and methodologically-flawed economic impact studies, many supporters of sports facilities suggest that they have significant intangible social value, by creating civic image towards tourism through place promotion and by developing civic pride and community cohesion (Danielson, 1997; Ingham, Howell, & Schilperoort, 1987; Sparvero & Chalip, 2007). However, this claim is based on the assumption that sport is an inclusive meritocracy rather than an exclusionary institution. As examined throughout this dissertation, sporting spaces are purposefully designed to

maximize their economic value to team owners rather than their social, cultural or economic value to their communities. This focus not only limits their social utility, but, in concert with inclusionary rhetoric, has made arenas and stadiums powerful spaces for reproducing and masking the status quo.

Despite their marginal economic and social value, stadiums and arenas receive public subsidies in a highly-stilted policy process in which civic elites benefit at the expense of residents. In general, this process has been fairly similar in most cities and resulted in virtually all teams requesting subsidies eventually receiving them in some form (Friedman & Mason, 2004). In most cases, negotiations between teams and governments often result in highly advantageous contracts for sports organizations, with relatively minimal public involvement (Danielson, 1997; Euchner, 1993; Friedman & Mason, 2004; Quirk & Fort, 1999). When facility subsidies have been referred to the voters in public referenda, the vastly superior resources of corporate-based proponents usually overwhelm an underfinanced and loosely organized opposition (C. Brown & Paul, 1999; Burbank, Heying, & Andranovich, 2000; Friedman & Mason, 2005; “Major League Baseball Park Site”, 2002; Schwirian, Curry, & Woldoff, 2001). However, on the rare occasion when the public is able to intervene and defeats subsidization proposals, teams persist in their efforts by turning to other political venues, or by resubmitting plans at a more advantageous moment (Eisinger, 2000; Fort, 1999; Quirk & Fort, 1999; Sidlow & Henschen, 1998).

This failure of democracy has been attributed to several factors that emerge at each stage of the negotiating and approval process. The major sports leagues in North America operate as monopolies (as they are protected by federal laws and market

conditions providing substantial barriers to entry), which provides teams and leagues substantial negotiating leverage with cities (Eitzen, 2000; Kalich, 1998; Rosentraub, 1999b; Rosentraub & Swindell, 2002; Sullivan, 1998; Vrooman, 1997). In their cities, team owners are often among the wealthiest individuals or are associated with influential corporate interests (Baade, 1996b; Bordson, 1998; A. T. Johnson, 1985; Rosentraub, 1999a; Swindell & Rosentraub, 1998). Local corporations are generally the primary financial supporters of teams as they use games for advertising and client entertainment (Bernstein, 1998; Eitzen, 1996, 2000; Friedman & Mason, 2004). For the local media, sport is a popular and lucrative source of content and status (Cagan & DeMause, 1998; Sage, 1993; Turner & Marichal, 1998; Whitson & Macintosh, 1993). For politicians, facilities are highly visible public projects and ensure that teams will remain within a city (which prevents anger from disaffected sports fans being directed towards politicians) (Bess, 1996; Euchner, 1993; Kalich, 1998; Rosentraub, 1998).

While each of these groups and individuals receive easily defined and tangible benefits from facility construction, the costs are much more diffuse as annual per capita spending on servicing construction bonds rarely exceed \$50, while facility-related community burdens fall substantially on politically-passive poorer neighborhoods (Abrams, Albright, & Panofsky, 2004; Eitzen, 1996; Friedman & Mason, 2005; R. J. Keating, 1999; Pelissero, Henschen, & Sidlow, 1991, 2003; Spirou & Bennett, 2002). As there is no real organized constituency opposing facility development, opposition groups tend to be relatively slow in coalescing into an effective force and usually lack substantial resources.

Sports Facilities as Late Capitalist Structures

As governments increasingly have utilized sports facilities and events as centerpieces within their urban landscapes, the various hallmarks of late capitalist urbanism are clearly evident within the negotiating and approval processes, redevelopment programs, architectural design, and facility management. Negotiations often feature team owners expressing their dissatisfaction with their current facilities and suggesting that they would relocate their teams within a new facility (A. T. Johnson, 1985; Mason & Slack, 1997; Schimmel, Ingham, & Howell, 1993; Vrooman, 1997). As a result, civic leaders and the media frame the issue as a zero-sum game in which their city would suffer significant economic harms and loss of status (Nunn & Rosentraub, 1999b). Negotiations for events and facilities tend to be highly secretive, featuring tokenistic consultation with the public and reduced public accountability (Owen, 2002). Public inclusion is reduced further after construction as facilities are owned and managed by quasi-public “sports authorities” consisting of corporate leaders and politicians, who negotiate contracts that are highly beneficial to the team which often contain several legal exemptions and limit the public’s opportunities for judicial redress (Lowes, 2004).

In terms of their architectural design, sports facilities are created to be signature buildings through which cities hope to shape their marketing images to distant sports fans and to attract tourists and suburban visitors (Euchner, 1999; Fainstein & Judd, 1999b; C. M. Hall, 2001; A. Smith, 2001; Whitson & Macintosh, 1996). Baseball stadiums, in particular, use postmodern designs as retro facilities referring to the classic ballparks of the early 20th century have become ubiquitous (and some say trite) (Friedman et al., 2004; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001; Van Rooij, 2000). This recent generation of stadiums

appropriate and decontextualize disparate aesthetic elements from baseball history, stadium architecture, and their local contexts to create baseball-themed environments (Bale, 1994; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001; Rosensweig, 2005).

However, as baseball stadiums refer back to the start of the 20th century, they are designed to fully maximize their revenue generating potential by combine many different consumption activities through implosion by blending elements of shopping, dining, entertainment and museums in a synergistic mix (Hannigan, 1998; Ritzer, 1999).

Toronto's Rogers Centre (formerly Sky Dome) typifies implosion within baseball stadium as it contains a Hard Rock Café and six other restaurants, a 70-room hotel overlooking the field, a fitness center, and the ability to host a variety of events (Bale, 1994; Kidd, 1995). New stadiums accommodate this range of consumption activities in wide concourses that, in addition to facilitating movement around the stadium, provide ample room for concessions and souvenirs stands, spaces for advertising and other signage, and special spaces for other recreational activities. In these new "mallparks," the game can become lost in a cacophony of consumption opportunities as buying food, souvenirs, and other forms of recreation are now essential parts of the fan experience.

Given the large, frequent crowds that attend games, cities believe that facilities can be anchors in their redevelopment strategies as they provide a critical mass of potential customers to attract restaurants, retail stores and hotels (Baade, 1996a; Bess, 1996; Blair, 1997; Chapin, 2004; Gratton & Henry, 2001; Lipsitz, 1984; Thornley, 2002). Yet, to be successful, these businesses require patronage from middle class and upper class consumers. As a result, lower income residents tend to be excluded since consumption within these areas is generally too expensive and highly-restrictive rules

regarding loitering and appearance discourage non-consuming behaviors (Flusty, 2001; Silk, 2004). Moreover, if residents are present within these spaces, they tend to be employed in relatively low wage jobs that offer little long-term hope for advancement.

While civic leaders highlight the various economic justifications for sport-anchored redevelopment following neo-liberal ideologies and using postmodern designs, sports facilities also function to bolster neo-conservative shifts within the city. In many cases, sports teams are described as being valuable sources of civic pride, around which the city and suburban residents can unite (Ingham et al., 1987; B. Wilson & White, 2002). Yet, this myth of false unity masks various structural and social divides that the facilities themselves help to reproduce. Instead of bring people of different backgrounds together, sports facilities are highly segregated by class with price differentiated seating areas and amenities (Bale, 1994, 2001). Newer sports facilities are even more exclusionary, as, for example, baseball stadiums are much smaller than their predecessors in order to create ticket scarcity and justify higher prices that eliminate most opportunities for spectatorship by the lower and working classes (Baade & Sanderson, 1997; W. D. Keating, 1997; Noll & Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, Swindell, & Przybylski, 1994). There is also a considerable difference between crowds, who tend to consist of white, middle and upper class, and suburban individuals, and athletes who tend to come from less-advantaged backgrounds, in terms of race, class and/or nationality (Rosensweig, 2005).

As key amenities within urban consumption zones, sports facilities are designed to be easily surveilled and to be operated with tight controls over all those within. Although the United States has not had the large-scale fan violence associated with global soccer, stadium and arena designs facilitate crowd control with assigned seats,

broad concourses, limited row lengths, and closed-circuit monitoring equipment (Bale, 2001). According to Bale (1994, 2003), the effect is to create docile bodies, as fans conform to narrow norms of acceptable behavior, which are patrolled by ushers and security personnel, who quickly identify and remove rule breakers. The behavior and appearances of facility workers are also regulated through dress codes conforming with thematic elements and with an expectation of emotional labor (Bryman, 1999).

Stadiums and arenas also serve an ideological function similar to the Roman Empire's "bread and circuses," in which elites fed and distracted the masses to prevent riots and revolution (Eisinger, 2000). Through the spectacular architecture of and events in sports facilities, elites seek to mystify urban populations by distracting them from the deeper political, social, cultural and economic divides that confront them in their lives (Friedman et al., 2004; Harvey, 2001b). With their iconic designs and events, civic leaders describe sports facilities as symbolizing the revitalization of their city's downtown core and producing widespread benefits through economic growth (Friedman et al., 2004; Rosensweig, 2005). However, as urban poverty and decline continue unabated (and likely exacerbated due to a shift in governmental resources), this revitalization often is only symbolic as the most of the tangible benefits are realized by corporations and the wealthy (Danielson, 1997; Noll & Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, 1999b). Yet, as Lefebvre (2002) suggested that spectacle "introduces non-participation and receptive passivity" (p. 76), the spectacular nature of these sports facilities may also serve to mystify and pacify potential political actors by masking the urban "rot beneath the glitter" (Harvey, 2001b, p. 140; see also Friedman et al., 2004)

The failure of democracy and the various anti-democratic aspects of sports facility development are evident to varying extents in Washington. However, the specific contexts of Washington, in terms of the city's unique positioning within discourses about democracy, make the failures of democracy within the present moment all the more tangible. Instead of the stadium being symbolic of the "transparency of democracy" (see Nakamura, 2005a) as the architects suggest, the stadium lays bare the transparency of the *illusion* of democracy, along with the deeper crisis in democracy and democratic participation in the late capitalist moment.

Washington D.C.: The Return to the Major Leagues

As Washington began its pursuit of Major League Baseball, the impact of the Verizon Center arena was central to the city's decision making process, as its success as a catalyst for redeveloping the area around Chinatown represents both the desired outcome for and justification of the city's investment in building Nationals Park (Knott, 2005a, 2007; Martin, 2007; Wilbon, 2004b). Opened in 1997, Verizon Center (formerly MCI Center) is widely considered to be the city's most successful use of sport and leisure towards achieving broader urban redevelopment goals, as according to Gutheim and Lee (2006), the Verizon Center was "key to the development of the District's downtown" as "it attracted restaurants, sports-related retail outlets and other commercial enterprises to the surrounding area" (p. 359; see also Hedgpeth, 2005b; Knott, 2007; Wilbon, 2004b; Wilgoren, 2004).

In 1994, Abe Pollin, who owned the Washington Bullets (now Wizards of the National Basketball Association) and the Washington Capitals (National Hockey League), agreed to move his teams into downtown from suburban Landover, Maryland

after agreeing with the D.C. government on a site near Chinatown. The parcel of city-owned land, which was “a collection of dilapidated row houses, carry-out eateries, trash-strewn parking lots and vagrants looking for spare change” (Knott, 2007, p. B2), was in an area that had long been the subject of many different development plans, none of which were actually implemented (Thompson, 1994). After lengthy negotiations with the city, Pollin agreed to pay \$200 million for the arena’s construction, while the city paid for infrastructure upgrades, provided the land to Pollin at a discounted cost and granted tax abatements on the property (Pearlstein, 2007).

According to Knott (2007), the arena “was the pivotal piece of the development” as “the intersection of Seventh and F streets today is splashed in neon and pedestrians and diners and barhoppers” (p. B2) and has attracted upscale retail and condominiums (see also Hedgpeth, 2005b; Wilbon, 2004b). Current Mayor Adrian Fenty credits the arena as “an incredible catalyst for dynamic, urban revitalization” as “it has become the heartbeat that has pumped life into downtown Washington and brought a renewed sense of pride about everything our great city has to offer” (as qtd. in Knott, 2007, p. B2).

Pursuing Baseball

While there may not be a specific date on which the story of Nationals Park begins, the story of Major League Baseball’s (MLB) return to Washington begins in Montreal, where the Expos never recovered their fan support following a strike and lockout between 1994 and 1995. Playing in the outmoded Olympic Stadium, the Expos sought public financing for a new downtown stadium throughout the late 1990s, but were refused. By November 2001, with little hope of receiving a new stadium, weak fan support, and an upcoming labor battle with the Players Association, MLB owners voted,

28-2, to eliminate the Expos and Minnesota Twins (Jaffe, 2005; Svrluga, 2006). In anticipation of contraction, MLB paid team owner Jeffrey Loria \$120 million for the franchise and allowed him to purchase the Florida Marlins. However, when judges in Minnesota prevented the contraction of the Twins for the 2002 season and owners agreed in their 2002 labor contract with the Players Association not to disband any teams before the 2006 season, it was clear that the Expos would be moved.

Although “top baseball executives” told *Washington Post* baseball columnist Thomas Boswell (2002b) that “‘relocation’ was high on the game’s agenda” (p. A1), MLB did not, as Boswell expected, move quickly to address the Expos status for the 2003 season. Instead, MLB decided the Expos would divide its 2003 home games between Montreal and San Juan, Puerto Rico, while being “resolute” to relocate and sell the team before the 2004 season (Fainaru & Sheinin, 2002). Following a format established by the NBA, MLB decided to negotiate ballpark financing directly with interested cities before selecting the team’s destination and, only then would MLB sell the franchise to local ownership (Asher, 2003b; Jaffe, 2005). Despite fielding presentations from several cities in early 2003, MLB’s relocation committee deferred making any recommendation in time for the 2004 season (Asher, 2003a). Instead, the relocation committee allowed the contending municipalities of Washington, Northern Virginia, and Portland, Oregon, Las Vegas, San Juan, Puerto Rico, Norfolk, Virginia, and Monterrey, Mexico to have an opportunity to improve their offers, and claimed they anticipated making a decision before July, 2004 (Asher, 2004).

Among the contenders for the team, the Washington market was considered to be the most attractive in terms of market size and affluence. Moreover, the region had

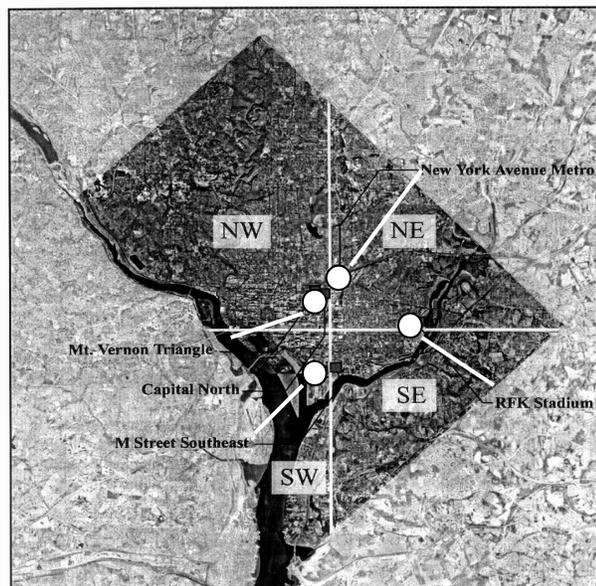
competing bids from the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission (DCSEC) and the Virginia Stadium Authority (VSA) (Boswell, 2002a; S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008; Jaffe, 2005; Montgomery & Heath, 2004). Early in the process, MLB seemed to be leaning towards a Northern Virginia location as it was further from the team in Baltimore, whose owner Peter Angelos was a successful litigator, friends with MLB Commissioner Bud Selig, and staunchly opposed to a downtown D.C. site (Jaffe, 2005; Morton, 2003). However, the VSA was having difficulty in securing a site as, in 2003, the Arlington County Board rejected a proposal to locate the stadium by Pentagon City and, in 2004, state funds never materialized for a project near Dulles Airport in Loudoun County (Jaffe, 2005; Timberg & Jenkins, 2003).

When Washington made its first pitch to MLB in January 2003, the city offered to pay two-thirds of the anticipated \$300 million project cost – a \$200 million offer essentially unchanged from a November 2000 proposal made by Mayor Williams to MLB (Hsu & Asher, 2001). However, when asked about the offer, relocation committee chairperson Jerry Reinsdorf responded to city officials, “we were thinking of a different split. We were thinking three-thirds and no-thirds” (as qtd in. Jaffe, 2005, n. pag). In seeking their “three-thirds” offer from any city, MLB extended the process as long as they could, with Washington proposing in April 2004 to pay the entire cost of an estimated \$436 million project (Jaffe, 2005; Nakamura & Asher, 2004). According to Stephen Green, special assistant to Williams for economic development, “the Mayor’s instructions to me were very clear. He said, I’d rather slightly overpay and get it, than underpay and not get it” (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008). Negotiations between D.C. and MLB lasted four months until it was clear that no other

city would match Washington’s offer, Northern Virginia was no longer a viable option, and MLB needed to set its 2005 schedule (Whoriskey, 2004a). On September 29, Selig called Williams and announced the Expos were moving to Washington, D.C. in time for the 2005 season (Jaffe, 2005).

The stadium was to be located in the Near Southeast, just two blocks away from the Anacostia River and within the zone of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI). According to Green (personal communication, February 18, 2008), the site was one of almost 35 considered by the city, which were required to have Metro access, a minimum of 16 acres, and “no significant residential displacement” (see also Kovaleski & Timberg, 2002; Timberg & Asher, 2002). While most were quickly eliminated, four sites stood out: Mt. Vernon Square near the new Convention Center, in the RFK Stadium parking lots, the Banneker Overlook in Southwest, and the Near Southeast (see Figure 3-1).¹⁴

Figure 3-1. Map of Washington, D.C. showing four finalists for stadium site



¹⁴ Despite its consideration in the 2002 report from which this map was taken, Capital North was not one of the four finalist sites in 2004. Source of map: “Major League Baseball Park Site”, 2002, p. 33

Each of the first three sites had significant problems that made them less desirable. Although Mt. Vernon Square was initially the favored site, it was perceived to be “two stoplights from the guy in Baltimore” (i.e. Angelos and the Orioles) (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008) as its Northwest location was near the start of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway, and it was the most expensive site by at least \$100 million (Timberg & Asher, 2003a, 2003b). Building next to RFK Stadium was the least expensive option, but offered little potential for economic development, was close to an established residential neighborhood, and would have required expensive environmental mitigation – the same factors that were problematic in the 1990s as the city negotiated with the NFL football team before it moved to suburban Landover, Maryland in 1997 (Kovaleski, 2004; Kovaleski & Timberg, 2002; Timberg & Asher, 2002, 2003a). The Banneker Overlook near L’Enfant Plaza was favored by Council member Jack Evans who saw its promise for revitalizing the Southwest waterfront and neighborhood. However, the site was opposed by Southwest residents and would have required building over I-395, which raised concerns about security and safety (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008, Montgomery & Wilgoren, 2004).

The Near Southeast site was considered ideal for several reasons. First, there was no real opposition to the site from anyone on the D.C. Council, DCSEC or MLB, despite the fact all initially dismissed it (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008). Second, real estate in the area was considered relatively inexpensive (Timberg & Asher, 2002). Third, the Near Southeast was being targeted for redevelopment and the stadium could spur “development without causing a negative impact on a residential community” as few people lived in the area (Kovaleski & Heath, 2004, p. A1; see also Kovaleski &

Wilgoren, 2004). Fourth, it was close to the Navy Yard Metro stop (Timberg & Asher, 2002). Fifth, the stadium would shift land in the area from less-desirable industrial uses to recreational uses that were more consistent with the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (Forgey, 2004; Kovaleski & Heath, 2004).

When the deal was announced, the project cost was estimated at \$440 million and was considered one of the most generous stadium deals ever seen by MLB, such that some baseball officials were “amazed” (Whoriskey, 2004a, p. A1). By offering to pay the full cost of the stadium, Washington challenged the predominant trend in stadium financing over the past two decades as teams have been expected to make significant contributions to construction (Rivera & Heath, 2005). The D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute (DCFPI) analyzed the contract and found that all cost overruns would be paid by the city, team financial risks were highly limited with rent whose rise would be slower than inflation, and virtually all stadium revenues would be enjoyed by the team (Lazere, 2004b). In fact, Coates and Humphreys (2004) suggested that nothing in the deal made it likely that Washington, D.C. would have significantly better economic outcomes from its stadium than those in other cities, in which multiple analyses have failed to identify positive impacts.

Proponents countered these criticisms by suggesting that the stadium could do for the Near Southeast similar things that the Verizon Center had done for Chinatown (Knott, 2005b). In addition, Mayor Williams expected “baseball to be a unifying factor in a city long ‘polarized by race and class and, on a federal level, ideology’” (as qtd. in Brady, 2005, p. 1A) and would be symbolic of the city’s economic and political turnaround since the 1990s. According to D.C. Planning Director Andrew Altman, “the great thing about a

stadium is the kind of activity it can generate... It can really be a vital part of how the city works toward our revitalization goals” (as qtd. in Kovaleski & Timberg, 2002, p. C1). Towards these goals, the stadium would be a catalyst by accelerating the pace of the AWI and its redevelopment along the Anacostia River (Wilgoren, 2004). The stadium’s contribution would be in anchoring a “ballpark district” with as much as 785,000 square feet of retail and restaurants, 2,980 units of housing, and 1.6 million square feet of office space and provide a synergy with the redevelopment of the Southeast Federal Center (Boswell, 2005; Lemke, 2005; Lewis, 2004). For the most part, editorials in the city’s most influential media source, *The Washington Post*, “were consistently supportive of the city’s new stadium project” while, in “its reporting, by way of the Metro desk, generally reproduced without much debate the project proponents’ position” (Delaney & Eckstein, 2008, p. 87)

In proposing the stadium, Mayor Williams claimed that it would not cost residents “one dime of tax dollars” (as qtd. in Coates & Humphreys, 2004, p. 2). A “closely guarded secret” through the negotiations with MLB (Montgomery & Heath, 2004, p. B1), the financing plan for the \$500 million in 30-year revenue bonds was originally to come from three sources: team lease payments (annual average of \$7 million), incremental taxes on ballpark activities (\$15.5 million), and a “Baseball Tax” on the gross receipts of large businesses (\$24 million) (Green, 2004). Concern from the business community resulted in its tax burden being cut in half, with the difference in funding coming from the extension of a utilities tax that was set to expire in 2004 (Irwin, 2004; Nakamura, 2004i). Proponents supported Mayor Williams’ claim about taxes on D.C. residents by claiming that the businesses and utilities agreed to pay special taxes that they would not

have otherwise paid, the team would pay the rent, and 80% of expected ballpark users would be visiting suburban residents (Whoriskey, 2004b). Moreover, the money raised from these sources was expected to greatly exceed the expected annual repayment, which would allow the stadium's debt to be retired early and/or address community needs through a \$450 million "Community Investment Fund" (Lazere, 2004a).

Many D.C. residents were unpersuaded by Williams' and proponent claims about the benefits of the stadium, as debate "divided the city along lines of race and class" (Montgomery & Heath, 2006, p. A1). Polling conducted in October 2004 by the No D.C. Taxes for Baseball Coalition found that 66% of residents opposed the proposal (Gross, 2004). According to Montgomery and Heath (2006), "the escalating price tag infuriated many city residents, who tended to view the ballpark as an extravagant gift to MLB's millionaire team owners at the expense of city schoolchildren, the poor and other groups in need of city funding" (p. A1). Opposition to the stadium spurred action with protests in front of the Wilson Building, D.C.'s city hall, and as members of the D.C. Council were deluged by calls and e-mails urging them to reject the deal (Jaffe, 2005; Nakamura, 2004c; O'Bryan, 2004).

According to opponents, public financing of a baseball stadium was part of the city's "Wash Vegas mentality" (Kovaleski & Timberg, 2002, p. C1) and indicative of the skewed priorities of the Williams' administration (Montgomery, 2004a; Nakamura, 2004c). Rather than spending money on a stadium, opponents suggested using tax revenues, especially those on businesses and utilities, to meet other, more urgent, civic needs, such as schools, affordable housing, health care, libraries, environmental clean up and sewers (S. Jenkins, 2004; S. A. Miller, 2004; Montgomery & Woodlee, 2004b).

Council member Adrian Fenty, who succeeded Williams as Mayor in 2007, cited these other priorities for his opposition, stating:

We haven't raised taxes. In some cases we've lowered taxes. So for the council and the mayor to come forward and say we're going to raise taxes for baseball sends the complete wrong signal to the citizens of the District of Columbia (as qtd. in M. Brown, 2004, p. D2)

The Council Considers

Proponents were very optimistic that the D.C. Council would easily pass the stadium proposal as the needed majority of seven members were on the dais when Williams announced the deal with MLB. However, there were early sources of concern. First, three of the Council members standing with Williams had just been defeated in reelection bids by challengers who expressed opposition to the stadium proposal and their terms were ending in December (Montgomery & Kovaleski, 2004; Nakamura, 2004h). Second, Williams, personally, did not aggressively seek Council or public support as he was frequently away from the city (Montgomery, 2004d; Nakamura, 2004f). As Williams was visiting an auto show in Paris, Green, Price and DCSEC chairman Mark Touhey briefed the Council and business community on September 21 and 22 about MLB's imminent decision (Montgomery & Barker, 2004). Williams personally attended just one public forum about the stadium, at which he met a skeptical audience that told him they wanted him to focus his efforts on education and health care (Nakamura, 2004g). Williams traveled again at a critical time in mid-October, as he took an 11-day trade mission to Asia (Montgomery, 2004a). By the time he returned, Council members heard strong opposition from constituents (Montgomery, 2004d). This was reinforced in

a 16-hour public hearing on October 28, during which time Williams was characterized as “busy skulking around the Wilson Building trying not to be noticed” (Wise, 2004, p. E4).

In response to growing public opposition, Williams’ lackluster advocacy, and a revised \$535 million estimate by District Chief Financial Officer Natwar Ghandi, Council Chairperson Linda Cropp recognized that Williams’ proposal lacked enough votes to pass the council (Montgomery, 2004b). When Williams would not negotiate with the Council and seeking to “rescue baseball” (Montgomery, 2004b, p. C9), Cropp offered an alternative plan in early November to build the stadium at the RFK site, which was estimated to save the city 20% of the project cost and would get the stadium built more quickly since the city already owned the land (Montgomery, 2004d; Nakamura, 2004a; Nakamura & Montgomery, 2004a). Cropp also sought private financing for a portion of the stadium’s costs, that could substantially reduce the “Baseball Tax” on the business community (Nakamura & Montgomery, 2004b). However, Cropp’s motives were impugned by the media, which called her “a complete fraud” (Wilbon, 2004a, p. D1) and attributed her opposition to political opportunism and mayoral ambitions (Fisher, 2004; Montgomery, 2004c).

Cropp’s efforts continued as she delayed the vote into December, hoping to find ways to contain the stadium’s rising costs by revising the contract with MLB to limit compensatory damages if the stadium were not delivered by March 2008, expand community benefits to the city from MLB, and secure use of the stadium for more than the stipulated 12 days annually (Nakamura, 2004j). However, MLB held strong to its position, stating that it would not consider alternative locations nor revise any of the

contract terms. Instead, MLB made a couple of “goodwill” gestures as it specified a number of free tickets that the team would give the city for underprivileged youth and by promising to allow the city to use the stadium more than the contracted 12 days per year (Nakamura, 2004b; Nakamura & Svrluga, 2004).

Despite these gestures, on December 15, after an 11-hour hearing, the Council rejected the deal by a 7-6 margin as it approved Cropp’s alternative that required 50% financing from private sources (Nakamura, 2004e). MLB responded by setting a December 31 deadline to approve the original contract, suspending the team’s marketing operations, and offering to refund the deposits of ticket buyers (Boswell, 2004; Nakamura & Montgomery, 2004c; Nakamura & Svrluga, 2004). With the final deadline approaching, on December 20, Cropp and Williams reached a final deal as MLB and the city agreed to split the cost of insurance to cover potential cost overruns, eliminated the city’s liability for compensatory damages if the stadium’s opening was delayed, and allowed the Council to continue to pursue private funding options (Nakamura & Heath, 2004a). The Council then approved the amended deal by a 7-6 margin as Cropp switched her vote (Nakamura & Heath, 2004b). The legislation also enshrined a cost cap of \$165 million for land acquisition, infrastructure construction, and environmental remediation, which required a different site be used if estimates suggested the cap would be exceeded¹⁵ (Nakamura, 2004d, 2005f). According to Ed Lazere (personal communication, January 4, 2008), one of the leaders of the No D.C. Taxes for Baseball

¹⁵ Coincidentally, a March 2005 estimate suggested that site costs would be \$161.35 million, instead of the \$115 million estimated in October 2004. According to the new estimate, land acquisition would cost \$77 million (Neibauer, 2005), but this estimate was dismissed by Mayoral spokesman Chris Bender as “‘worst-case scenario’ by a ‘very conservative CFO’” (as qtd. in Nakamura, 2005f, p. A1). As of March 2008, land-related cost overruns were \$43 million above the \$165 million cap, with as much as \$24 million more still to be determined in court challenges to the city’s eminent domain offers (LeDuc & Nakamura, 2008).

Coalition, “one of the things I’d like to say is we won before we lost” as between December 15 and December 20, the stadium agreement had been essentially rejected.

Even after the stadium proposal was passed in December 2004, the vagaries of the contract allowed the Council one more opportunity to reconsider and renegotiate as it had to approve a stadium lease before the end of 2005 (Nakamura, 2005c; E. M. Weiss & Nakamura, 2005). During that summer, the circumstances of baseball in Washington had evolved substantially from December, which strengthened the city’s negotiating position. First, the Nationals were a box office and financial success with projected revenues of \$129 million and estimated profits of \$20 million, which allowed MLB to set the team’s price at \$450 million (Heath, 2005a, 2005b). Second, project cost estimates, which started at \$440 million in September 2004 and rose to \$535 million in December 2004, increased to \$667 million (Rivera & Heath, 2005). Third, three supporters of the deal had been replaced by three new Council members, all of whom expressed opposition to the stadium project while campaigning (Montgomery, 2004e; Montgomery & Woodlee, 2004a; Nakamura, 2004h).

In sum, these circumstances solidified opposition to a stadium lease among Council members, who believed they could exert some leverage over MLB as the Nationals were enjoying too much success to leave Washington. Through Fall 2005 and into February 2006, the Council sought further concessions from MLB as the city demanded a \$20 million contribution from the team and a \$24 million letter of credit to cover the Nationals’ rent payments in case of terrorism or labor stoppage (Nakamura & Heath, 2005). Despite its threats to leave, MLB eventually agreed to the city’s demands, including a public cost cap of \$611 million for the entire project, of which, the city would

spend no more than \$300 million on the stadium structure (Nakamura & Heath, 2006a). On February 8, hours after the Council first rejected the lease agreement, it gave its final approval by a 9-4 margin (Montgomery & Heath, 2006; Nakamura & Heath, 2006b).

Analysis of the Deal, Approval Process & Lease

In analyzing the narrative of Washington's decision to build a stadium, it is easy to identify many of the hallmarks of the facility approval process described earlier in this chapter. MLB, with its monopoly power, extracted the maximum subsidy possible from the District of Columbia as Williams decided to get the team at virtually any cost. Washington's media was, for the most part, highly supportive of the deal as they cited favorable economic impact studies and promoted its amorphous social benefits, while criticisms were generally confined to the alternative press, *Washington City Paper*. As D.C. corporations pledged their support by agreeing to pay a special stadium tax, opposition was diffused in a coalition of groups focused on promoting other social issues in the city. Negotiations with MLB were highly secretive, conducted through the quasi-private DCSEC, and Council members were expected to express their support before even having an opportunity to review the contract. Moreover, the D.C. government did not heed the desires of voters who, in a September election, removed three Council members supportive of the deal in favor of three politicians who expressed opposition. In combination, these facts would underpin a very strong (but typical) critique of the stadium based in political economy, as the D.C. government allocated \$611 million to fund a project that primarily benefits suburbanites, tourists, corporations, millionaire players and billionaire owners, while costs fall on residents who were essentially ignored

during negotiations and the approval process and who are mostly excluded from using the stadium.

While I do not fundamentally disagree with a conclusion that elites used their power and influence to secure public subsidies, a reading based solely in political economy is an oversimplification of the social, cultural, political, economic and spatial dynamics surrounding the stadium. Instead, I now focus on the stadium decision as an expression of democracy and the late capitalist moment in Washington, by first discussing how the stadium exhibits the crisis of democracy and then examining the stadium within the context of the competitive city. This discussion is the foundation for a deeper exploration of the stadium in terms of the production of space in subsequent chapters of the stadium as it relates to urban planning (chapter 4), aesthetics and spectacle (chapter 5), and exclusionary practices (chapter 6).

Nationals Park: The Crisis of Democracy

Rather than promoting either *autogestion* or the right to the city, the public was denied any meaningful input into the decisions that brought the Nationals to Washington. Negotiations between MLB and the city were held in secret, public opposition was muted in the media and people had few opportunities to be heard on the public record. According to Dorothy Brizill (2004), the executive director of D.C. Watch – a government watchdog organization, as Mayor Williams' administration and the DCSEC negotiated with MLB, they acted in direct contradiction to the spirit of the city's "Sunshine Laws" that require all government business be conducted in public. While the broad parameters of the deal were generally known, the details were kept mostly secret until MLB and the city had an agreement. This secrecy minimized the possibility of

public comment and input, prevented Council members from having meaningful influence on the contract, and forced Council members to indicate their support for the deal before having the opportunity to study its details.

Within the Council's deliberations, the public had only a limited opportunity to speak. In the one public hearing about the stadium in 2004, more than 250 people signed up to speak, but in the first eight hours, testimony had only been heard from 30 members of the public, as Williams' administration and DCSEC witnesses testified for the first five hours. Although the hearing was more than 16 hours long and several speakers left before having the opportunity to testify, Council member Jack Evans, who was chairperson of the Committee on Finance and Revenue, refused to hold additional hearings to allow more people to speak (Nakamura, 2004f). Commenting on the structure of the hearing, Sarah Sloan, who had signed up to be the 172nd speaker, said, "the politicians are afraid to hear from the people, because they know people are opposed to the deal" (as qtd in Nakamura & Williams, 2004, p. A1).

In place of a dialogue with the public, the Williams' administration conducted an intensive public relations and media campaign. Although Williams' personal efforts during late 2004 were lackluster, the administration set up a stadium "war room" to attract the team and build public support and hired a consultant to "sharpen the message" (Montgomery, 2004a, p. A1). While Williams only attended one public meeting, members of his staff were active advocates for the project as they frequently addressed community and business groups about the merits of the stadium. Commenting upon the nature of the administration's efforts, John Capozzi, one of the leaders of No D.C. Taxes for Baseball, questioned Williams' commitment to addressing many of the city's other

needs. According to Capozzi, “he’s persuading baseball teams to move here, but he’s not up at the council persuading people we need a new library. . . . They don’t have a war room to fix our schools” (as qtd. in Montgomery, 2004a, p. A1).

Ultimately, the inhabitants of Washington did not have an opportunity to meaningfully participate in determining one of the most visible public projects in the city. Whenever they expressed themselves, a clear majority expressed opposition. In the elections of September 2005, three incumbents supporting the stadium were defeated by candidates expressing concerns and opposition to the deal. Most of the speakers at the Council’s one public hearing in October 2006 offered testimony opposing the contract, as did the majority of constituent phone calls to Council members. In the forums conducted by the Williams administration, the public was skeptical of the deal, such that the Mayor’s office relied upon a public relations campaign to spin its message. However, instead of heeding the expressed public will, Williams and the D.C. Council expended substantial public resources on a policy that largely benefited city elites, developers and suburbanites at the expense of the city’s residents.

Nationals Park: The Competitive City

Although elements of the entrepreneurial city are clearly evident throughout this chapter, the narrative of the stadium decision does not lend itself to a detailed analysis of Nationals Park as exemplary of the competitive city, as an analysis based in political economy fails to identify the elements of neo-conservatism and hypercommodification that exist within the stadium. In general, this highlights significant limitations of political economy in analyzing sports stadiums (or spatial production in general), as the broader societal implications and contexts are lost in a reductionist approach. As will be

described in chapter 4, the entrepreneurialism of the Williams administration interacted with Washington's two century tradition of planning that has largely conceived the city's spaces without considering the implications for residents. As will be described in chapter 5, the stadium's design has significant implications in the way that Nationals Park expresses Washington, the spatial practices and social relations that are reproduced within it, and who and what activities are included and excluded. As will be described in chapter 6, the stadium has dislocated a sexually-oriented space, which had been produced over 35 years by the LGBT community but lost once the area was no longer economically or socially marginal. To conduct this analysis of the production of the stadium space, I detail Lefebvre's spatial triad of spatial practice-representations of space-spaces of representation in chapter 4.

Conclusion

Although the stadium may have been the proximate issue, the debate over it encapsulated a fundamental disagreement over the role of government, the practice of urban governance, and the allocation of public resources in Washington. On one side of the stadium issue were the gentrifiers, developers, and members of the Williams administration, who shared a neo-liberal belief that economic development would eventually enable the city to address community needs. This belief was encapsulated by Mayor Williams, as he said,

our efforts to build the new ballpark have always centered on making the District a better place for people who work and live here. With a revitalized waterfront, we will reap tens of millions of dollars in new tax revenue in coming years, money that can be used to fund critical social programs to help our neediest

residents, school improvements for our children and crucial road, bridge and construction projects to make our city even stronger (DCSEC, 2006b, p. 1).

Opposing the stadium were community activists and residents who felt that they were not receiving proportionate benefits from the city's growth. Where Williams saw economic growth as generating increased tax revenues that could be used for social programs, opponents saw those increased tax revenues mostly being recycled into programs that benefited the business community and not residents. The stadium's financing plan fits this description as taxes collected in and for the stadium – the special ballpark tax agreed to by the business community and the sales taxes on tickets and concessions mostly paid by visitors – are used to pay off the bonds that were sold to build the stadium. As argued by stadium opponents, had MLB or the team owners built the stadium with their own money, these taxes and associated bonding authority would have been available for other public purposes. As will be explored in the next three chapters, this debate has many implications as stadium subsidization decisions embody and perpetuate the spatial politics of the contemporary moment.

Chapter 4 – “A City of Magnificent Intentions”: Planned Washington

January 1, 2026 – The changes in Washington D.C. in the past quarter century have been incredible. In the last half of the 20th century, the city’s population fell from 800,000 to 575,000, but the city has experienced a resurgence as almost 700,000 people now live within the District. Jobs, never one of the city’s biggest problems, have similarly surged with 125,000 new positions, but, most importantly, many of these new workers are D.C. residents.¹⁶

Much of this century’s growth has occurred along the banks of the Anacostia River. In 25 years, the River has been transformed from being one of the most polluted rivers in the United States and a symbol of division in the city into a vibrant, public space that is central to 21st century Washington and a cornerstone for the greater National Capital Region as people live and work in sustainable neighborhoods and congregate for recreation and leisure. This transformation represents the successful completion of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI) that, with the judicious investment of \$8 billion of public money, has spurred the construction of 20,000 new housing units and 20 million square feet of commercial, office and retail space; provided sites for 10 new tourist destinations; thoroughly cleaned the river such that people swim in it and wildlife has returned – including the symbol of our nation: the bald eagle; and created an integrated river-park system of 1,800 acres of park land accessible to all the city’s residents where they fish in the river, enjoy bike rides, play golf, or just stroll along the Riverwalk and relax in the sun.¹⁷

¹⁶ Population and job figures are found within the 2006 Comprehensive Plan for the National Capital: District Elements.

¹⁷ See *The Anacostia Waterfront Framework Plan* (D.C. Office of Planning, 2003; Santana, 2003; Wilgoren, 2004).

The Near Southeast is most symbolic of the transformation of the Anacostia River as the area supports a mixed-income population of almost 20,000 and employs almost 60,000 people.¹⁸ Where there was once urban blight and isolated pockets of severe poverty, is now a vibrant, active, integrated community anchored by the Yards and Nationals Park. The recently-completed Yards project is a marvel of integrated urban design as it transformed the empty Southeast Federal Center into a neighborhood with 2,600 residential units, 2 million square feet of office space, retail and culture space, a 5.5 acre park and a waterside mall catering to the needs of visitors and residents¹⁹. The Yards form a synergy with Nationals Park, as 2.5 million Nats fans annually shop and dine in the Yards, along Half Street and within the surrounding ballpark district.²⁰

This remarkable transformation has once again placed the Capitol building at the center of city life. Just as the McMillan Plan of 1901 created the National Mall and extended the city's Monumental Core towards the city's western border, recent developments have created, consistent with L'Enfant's original design, grand ceremonial entrances to the central city along North Capitol Street, East Capitol Street, and South Capitol Street.²¹ Of these new areas, the South Capitol entrance is the grandest of them all, the Champs Elysees of Washington²². South Capitol Street welcomes visiting dignitaries, tourists and light-rail passengers into the city's ceremonial heart along the breathtaking new Frederick Douglass Bridge, past the new Supreme Court building and Nationals Park...

¹⁸ See footnote 1.

¹⁹ See (Hsu, 2005a)

²⁰ See (ROMA Design Group, 360 Architects, & Chan Krieger & Associates, 2005)

²¹ See *Extending the Legacy* (NCPC, 1997).

²² The South Capitol Street Urban Design Study states that "The Champs Elysees in Paris, Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, and Unter den Linden in Berlin all demonstrate how cohesive and dynamic streets define and animate the life of their cities. South Capitol Street can be such a place" (NCPC & D.C. Office of Planning, 2003, p. 3)

According to the various planning documents directing future development in Washington, D.C., this is the city they intend to create over the next two decades. While this vision may be compelling and offer hope for a much improved city through public and private investment, more jobs and housing, and new amenities, the reality of urban planning in Washington is that it rarely has delivered upon its promises or improved the lives of city residents. Instead, as described by Charles Dickens in the mid-19th century, Washington remains a “city of magnificent intentions” (as qtd. in Gillette Jr., 2006, p. 12) as the grand plans of L’Enfant, the McMillan Commission, and the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) have created a bifurcated city that most often caters to the needs of the federal government and those interacting with it to the detriment of the residents living within the borders of the federal district. While those involved in planning Washington for the 21st century claim to have learned the lessons of the past, the experience of the Nationals new stadium suggest that the costs and benefits of development are not being equitably shared.

In this chapter, I explore the AWI and stadium within the broader context of urban planning within the District of Columbia. I start by defining Lefebvre’s spatial triad of spatial practice-representations of space-spaces of representation, which is followed by an examination of planning practice within Washington. Next, I examine the particular development context in which the redevelopment of the Anacostia River and the Near Southeast are occurring as the precursor to focusing on the stadium’s role within the AWI and its impact on the surrounding community. To do so, I examined a wide variety of planning documents, including the 2006 Comprehensive Plan, the AWI Framework Plan, and the Ballpark District Urban Redevelopment Strategy, and reports in

the media about these efforts. Interviews with Steven Green, Michael Stevens (Executive Director of the Capital Riverfront Business Improvement District), Glenn O’Gilvie (Director of the Earth Conservation Corps), and Jacqueline Dupree (proprietor of the JDland internet blog) helped me understand the strategies and impacts of redevelopment in the Near Southeast. My trips to the area during the research process also helped me experience the rapidly changing nature of the area.

Conceiving Washington

Within postmodern geography, the spatial triad of spatial practice-representations of space-spaces of representation is considered to be Lefebvre’s most important contribution (Gottdiener, 1993, 1994; Merrifield, 2006; Shields, 1999; Soja, 1989). Through this triad (and many others) presented in the *Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991b) offered a way to understand the “long *history of space*... [as] a set of relations and forms” (p. 116, italics original) rather than as an inventory of things in space or as a discourse about space. In keeping with his belief in dialectical analysis, this triad “[is] no mechanical framework or typology... but a dialectical simplification, fluid and alive, with three specific moments that blur into each other” (Merrifield, 2006, p. 109). The relationship between the three parts is neither stable nor linear as no part of the triad is considered to be superior or determinative. Depending on contextual conditions, the elements of the triad may reinforce or contradict one another as their balance is historically specific (Merrifield, 2006; Shields, 1999). As such, “Lefebvre’s real object of study is the *process* of the production of space, and its configuration in any given historical period” (Shields, 1999, p. 167)

Spatial practice.

The first of Lefebvre's (1991b) three categories is spatial practice, which he described as "perceived space" (p. 38). Shields (1999) suggested that spatial practice is considered to be "commonsensical" and "ignored one minute and over-fetishised the next" (p. 160). Spatial practice encompasses more than just the physical environment, as it includes all that people do within it – everyday routines and activities, and the multitude of human interactions (van Ingen, 2003). Moreover, "spatial practice regulates life" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 358) as it helps to physically organize and structure social relations, frequently through architecture that defines certain spaces as accessible or forbidden, as places of abode, as juncture points, establishes boundaries between them, and assigns particular interactions to each space. In so doing, social relations are reproduced in and through space, such that "the spatial practice of a society is revealed through deciphering its space" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38).

Representations of space.

Representations of space are the second of Lefebvre's three categories. Described as "conceptualized space" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 38), representations of space encompass the mental realm of symbolic elements in which space is conceived and constructed through discourse (or as described by Shields (1999) as "discourses *on* space" (p. 161, italics original)). As such, representations of space are heavily influenced by the intersection of knowledge and power as elite groups most often produce dominant understandings of a given space, in order to support and enhance their interests (R. L. Allen, 1999). Within capitalism, the representations of abstract space tend to further the logics of the marketplace, yet, in previous eras when the church was dominant,

representations of absolute space tended to reinforce the power of religious elites and the nobility (Lefebvre, 1991b). As such, the ideologies of society also can be better understood through examining representations of space as government officials, civic planners, architects, and elite interests seek to inscribe existing power relations into space.

Spaces of representation.

As Richard Johnson (1986) suggests about the meanings of any text, production is not the sole province of the producer, as consumers imbue text with meaning through use. Within the context of Lefebvre's categories, spatial production through use can be seen in spaces of representation, described as "lived space" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 39), Shields (1999) described spaces of representation as the "the discourse *of space*" (p. 161, italics original) as it encompasses "the social imaginary" (p. 164) and defines what is possible and impossible. Moreover, spaces of representation are "produced and modified over time and through [their] use... [and] invested with symbolism and meaning" (Elden, 2001, p. 816). As such, in many ways, spaces of representation "[are] felt more than thought" as meanings are "fluid and elusive" (Merrifield, 2006, p. 110). Given this indeterminacy, spaces of representation are spaces of possibility. They could be used oppressively to reproduce and reinforce dominant power relations, but they also offer potential for resistance and counter-narratives to dominant conceptions of space (R. L. Allen, 1999; Lefebvre, 1991b; van Ingen, 2003).

In understanding the spatial triad, it is also important to note that it is not an application of either Hegel's or Marx's dialectic, nor does it attempt to replace dialectical analysis with a "trilectical" approach (see Elden, 2004b; Merrifield, 1999; Soja, 1989,

1996). While all three elements impact one another, none of should be thought of as a synthesis or negation of the other two. Moreover, I would disagree with Soja's (1989, 1996) assertion that spaces of representation combine the "real" or physical elements of spatial practice and the "imagined" or mental aspects of representations of space.

Instead, I would suggest that the symbolic elements of spaces of representation combine with the other two to give insight into the totality of space (see Shields, 1999). While, as Soja (1996) suggests, Lefebvre may have had a preference for spaces of representation as the strategic terrain of political struggle, the concept of trial by space would seem to require that any transformative political strategy be realized within both perceptions and conceptions of space.

Within the context of this dissertation, the three categories do not have equal weight in my analysis in each chapter. In this chapter, I focus on the ways in which planners have conceived Washington in and through the stadium and the impacts those conceptions are already having upon the city. In chapter 5, I examine the tensions between representations of space and the spatial practices that the stadium's architects have incorporated into Nationals Park. In chapter 6, I explore the conflict between spaces of representation and representations of space as the stadium displaced the LGBT community from a highly sexualized space they had created for themselves over 35 years. These various focuses are not to discount the other parts of the spatial triad, but utilize the most relevant of Lefebvre's insights in my analyses, especially as they relate to the broader project of urban transformation conceived and executed by the Williams' administration within the context of the city's history and the late capitalist moment.

Washington: A Planned City

From its founding by the United States Congress in 1790, Washington has been shaped by urban planning. While Charles Pierre L'Enfant's original vision for the city was only loosely followed during the 19th century, it was the template used by the McMillan Commission as it redesigned and the NCPC as it reshaped Washington into the city it is today. However, in reshaping Washington towards L'Enfant's design and to meet the needs of the moments in which they worked, the McMillan Commission and NCPC were working within an inhabited city as they transformed established neighborhoods. As a result, the two century tradition of ambitious urban planning has been tested by the tension between creating a monumental federal city conceived to symbolize the nation's ideals and a lived city of people who inhabit, work, travel, and create communities within those or adjacent spaces (Gillette Jr., 2006; NCPC, 2006).

In negotiating the tension between the federal and lived cities, planners and urban decision makers have often focused on the monumental core to the detriment of the city's residents, "as [they] created an aesthetically pleasing monumental core at the heart of Washington, [they] allowed many of the surrounding neighborhoods to fall into the social and physical decay now considered endemic in urban areas" (Gillette Jr., 2006, p. x). Often, these detrimental impacts have been the unintended consequences of plans that chose to ignore the poverty in close proximity to the monumental core. However, as the case of the 1950s redevelopment of Southwest Washington demonstrates, the lived aspects of the city have also been the focus of grand, but disastrous plans.

As part of the AWI, the stadium is also within this two-century tradition of elites conceiving grandiose visions for Washington and then attempting to execute them,

without much regard for their feasibility or impacts on residents. In his original design, L'Enfant “envisioned a new kind of city suited to the American space and reflecting the conditions of its national growth” (Gutheim & Lee, 2006, p. 13), complete with broad, tree-lined streets, integrated open spaces, sites for public assembly and monuments, and locations for industry, culture and commerce, as well as residential areas. However, his plans were unrealized as the federal government did not provide enough funding for the city’s infrastructure and economic development. As a result, Charles Dickens observed that Washington was a “city of magnificent intentions” with “broad avenues that begin in nothing and lead nowhere” and spaces wanting “only houses, roads, and inhabitants” (as qtd. in Gillette Jr., 2006, p. 12).

Featuring some of the leading architects, landscape designers and urban planners of the turn of the 20th century, the McMillan Commission of 1901 used L'Enfant’s design as the foundation for modern Washington (Gillette Jr., 2006; Gutheim & Lee, 2006; NCPC, n. dat). Led by Daniel Burnham²³ and guided by the principles of the City Beautiful movement which suggested that the myriad of social and economic ills of urbanization could be avoided with comprehensive public planning (McGovern, 1998), the McMillan Commission’s plan included such features as the National Mall, the Tidal Basin (and Jefferson Memorial), the Lincoln Memorial, the city’s traffic grid, and abundant park space. The plan also proposed the Federal Triangle project that centralized federal bureaucracy in the city and, with its Classical Revivalist style, became the architectural vernacular for public buildings in the United States (Gutheim & Lee, 2006).

²³ Burnham provided the guiding vision for the 1893 World’s Fair in Chicago and later created urban plans for Chicago, Cleveland, and San Francisco. His maxim “make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men’s blood” has guided generations of urban planners (Gutheim & Lee, 2006).

The McMillan Plan's concepts were institutionalized and acted upon by the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), which was created in 1926 and remains a powerful actor within city and regional development. NCPC plans guided the Capital Beltway project of the 1950s and the development of the Metro subway system during the 1970s, both of which have been essential for suburban growth. While the Home Rule Act replaced the NCPC with the mayor as the city's official planner, NCPC retains a significant role as it protects and promotes federal interests as the city government develops a comprehensive plan. Within the 2006 plan, the AWI and the stadium are key elements for the city's transformation.

To varying degrees, each of these planners have conceived Washington as an *abstract space*, which Lefebvre (1991b) defined as the space created by capitalism. As described by the spatial triad:

In *spatial practice*, the reproduction of social relations is predominant. The *representation of space*, in thrall to both knowledge and power, leaves only the narrowest leeway to *representational spaces*, which are limited to works, images and memories whose content, whether sensory, sensual or sexual, is so far displaced that it barely achieves symbolic force (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 50, italics original).

In creating abstract space, Lefebvre (1991b) describes architects and city planners as conceiving space as being empty and primordial as it is "a container ready to receive fragmentary contents, a *neutral* medium into which disjointed things, people and habitats might be introduced" (p. 308, italics original). However, the spaces in which these

various planners worked was not empty, but contained natural elements and people who had to be displaced to realize the planners' conceptions of what Washington should be.

The redevelopment of Southwest Washington during the 1950s is, perhaps, the best example of this disregard for the lived spaces that inhabitants had created for themselves. Towards the city's twin goals of eliminating its slums by the mid-1960s and in slowing the outmigration of whites from the city, the 551-acre government project promised a revitalized Southwest Washington, which was a poor, but vibrant community that exhibited a high degree of residential stability (Gillette Jr., 2006; McGovern, 1998; T. Y. Price, 1998; S. Smith, 1974; Todd, 1987). However, due to its location less than ½ mile from Capitol Hill and the fact that 80% of its 23,500 residents were African-American, the area was considered prime real estate for radical redevelopment with 400 acres of structures being razed in favor of all new buildings (C. Allen, 2005; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). Court challenges to the use of eminent domain to seize all the land in Southwest Washington was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1954, which wrote "the entire area needed redesigning" (as qtd in C. Allen, 2005, p. B1) and entrusted urban planners with that task (S. Smith, 1974).

The result of this radical redevelopment is widely considered to be a failure due to its aesthetic sterility and its economic and social costs (C. Allen, 2005; Gale, 1987; Gutheim & Lee, 2006; Meyer, 2005; NCPC, 2006; S. Smith, 1974). Where members of a vibrant community had once interacted with one another, featureless, concrete modernist buildings and empty tree-shaded sidewalks now dominate the landscape (C. Allen, 2005). Instead the active commercial district on 4th Street, SW, on which residents once shopped, the area's main shopping area is the mostly-empty Waterside Mall, which is a

commercial failure and “glaringly hideous even by New Southwest standards” (C. Allen, 2005, p. B1). The community also lacks a diversity of retail outlets, including tailors, video-rental outlets, or anywhere for people to eat lunch (C. Allen, 2005). The human costs are considerable as well. While the many residents found better housing conditions in other parts of the city, their social conditions deteriorated. One study found that five years after being dislocated, former residents were still experiencing high levels of alienation and regret as only 14% felt safe in their new communities after dark and 25% claimed not to have made new friends (Gillette Jr., 2006; O’Cleireacain & Rivlin, 2001).

The redevelopment of Southwest is particularly relevant for the stadium as it sits directly on South Capitol Street – the border between Southeast and Southwest Washington. As described in the previous chapter, one of the main factors in choosing the stadium site was the fact that there would be minimal residential displacement. However, the negative externalities related to stadiums, such as traffic, parking, light pollution, noise and crime (see Bale, 2001), will be disproportionately borne by the inhabitants of Southwest. The experience of Southwest redevelopment is also relevant as it informs Washington’s current planning practice, especially in plans for the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative that has been described as being an “effort... on a par with the McMillan Commission Plan” (Santana, 2003, p. T3), as according to AWI project manager Uwe Brandes, “the McMillan Plan created the federal image of the Mall. The Anacostia Waterfront Initiative will completely overhaul the quality of life in the District” (as qtd. in Santana, 2003, p. T3).

Redeveloping the Near Southeast

For much of the city's history, the Near Southeast (see Figure 4-1) has been considered a blighted area. Achenbach (2004) described the neighborhood as “crusty, grimy, dusty, muddy and just a bit peculiar” (p. D1). Hedgpeth (2005b) noted the area was a “hodgepodge of vacant lots, abandoned buildings, nightclubs, auto-repair shops and parking lots for buses and taxicabs” (p. E1). Socially, the Near Southeast was one of the most impoverished neighborhoods in the city, with “extreme issues of poverty, crime and violence” (G. O’Gilvie, personal communication, January 27, 2008) that were mostly centered on the Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg public housing projects. Jacqueline Dupree, who began chronicling changes in the Near Southeast in her JDland blog in 2002, “I think that it was a pretty common feeling among the people [living] on Capitol Hill, that unless you went to the nightclubs or to the Navy Yard... there’s just nothing there and really probably best to stay away” (J. Dupree, personal communication, January 23, 2008).

Figure 4-1. Map of Washington, D.C. showing the location of the Near Southeast



Source: (Navy Yard/Near Southeast)

The stadium area has historically been one of the few industrialized areas in the city and has largely had a working class character (Cohn, 2004). In L'Enfant's plan, the Anacostia River was supposed to be the city's commercial waterfront, with the Washington Navy Yards as the city's first major employer (Meyer, 2005). As such, the area originally developed an industrial and warehouse character, while many workers found housing in the area (Cohn, 2004). Due to its location near Capitol Hill and being one of the few areas in the city with underutilized land, the Near Southeast has been the target for many development efforts that have failed for various reasons. For example, in the 1790s, the area was also supposed to be one of the first new residential community beyond the borders of Georgetown and Alexandria in the newly established capital city, but, instead was involved in a major land speculation scheme, in which the three perpetrators accumulated \$13 million in debts and were incarcerated in a debtor's prison (Arnebeck, 2004). Up until the late 1990s, despite the intentions of planners, other development efforts have enjoyed little more success or sustainability than the first one.

Sustained development efforts started succeeding within the Near Southeast following the 1997 announcement that the Naval Seas Systems Command (NAVSEA), the Navy's procurement division, would relocate to the Navy Yards in 2001. As Navy regulations dictate that suppliers be located within walking distance of the "Commandant's door," developers started building offices at 80 M Street and 300 M Street to accommodate the anticipated demand among Navy contractors (Dupree, 2007; M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008; M. A. Weiss, 2005). Also in 2000, the federal government passed legislation to permit private development on the

vacant 55-acre Southeast Federal Center (SEFC) site, which was followed in 2001 with the Department of Transportation announcing that it would build its new Michael Graves-designed, 1.4 million square foot headquarters on the SEFC site (Dupree, 2007). The late 2001 announcement of a Hope VI grant to the D.C. Housing Authority to replace 707 units of public housing at the Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg projects with 1,562 units of mixed income housing further cemented the Near Southeast's reputation as an emerging development zone, long before the area was seriously considered for the baseball stadium (Dupree, 2007; S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008).

Anacostia Waterfront Initiative

As development in Washington largely bypassed the Near Southeast and areas generally East of Capitol Hill through the city's first 200 years, the Anacostia River earned a reputation as the city's "forgotten river" and became symbolic of the city's economic, social and racial divides (Hsu, 2005a; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; Lemke, 2006; NCPD, 2006). Over the last three decades as cities, such as Baltimore, Cleveland and San Antonio, have sought to develop leisure amenities along their waterfronts, Washington has largely ignored its rivers. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, in 1997, the Anacostia earned the distinction as America's dirtiest river, a status achieved despite the fact that Washington never developed extensive heavy industry (Meyer, 2005). Instead, the Anacostia River's main source of pollution comes from "20,000 tons of trash and debris per year, [and] two billion gallons of untreated human waste mixed with storm water" (G. O'Gilvie, personal communication, January 27, 2008) that flow into the River on 75 days annually as city's combined storm and waste water system lacks sufficient capacity and requires a \$2 billion upgrade (Fahrenthold, 2007; Phillips, 2004).

When Anthony Williams announced his first mayoral campaign on the banks of the Anacostia, he made its revitalization one of his top priorities as he recognized the river as an underutilized resource for business, recreation, and neighborhood development (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008; NCPC, 2006). However, any serious, comprehensive revitalization effort required that 20 different public agencies, including six cabinet-level federal departments (Interior, Agriculture, Transportation, Labor, Housing and Urban Development, Environmental Protection Agency), the Army, Navy and Marines, the NCPC, and four D.C. authorities, had to agree on a general framework in which they agreed to coordinate their diverse, divergent and often conflicting priorities (D.C. Office of Planning, 2003). Although acquiring waterfront land was not considered too difficult as 90% of it was publicly-owned (see Figure 4-2), developing it in a comprehensive manner was considered problematic as 40% of the AWI's acreage is owned by different federal agencies "that historically haven't cared to cooperate with city officials, or for that matter, with each other" (Swope, 2004, p. 6).

Figure 4-2. Map of the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative



Source: (D.C. Office of Planning, n.dat., n. pag)

The 25-year, \$8 billion AWI is one of the most ambitious undertakings in the city's history with seven different initiatives covering 3,070 acres over the river's 6.8 miles within the District of Columbia. According to the AWI Framework Plan (D.C. Office of Planning, 2003), which won the American Planning Association's 2004 award for Outstanding Planning (Swope, 2004), five overarching themes encompass development planning: creating "a clean active river"; "gaining access to, along, and across the river"; creating "a great riverfront park system"; creating "a riverfront of distinct places and cultural destinations"; and "building and sustaining strong waterfront neighborhoods" (p. 108). While doing so, planners claimed they would use best planning practices as they tried to avoid the mistakes of the past, which they explicitly identify with examples (including, "underutilize urban, waterfront land – Southeast Federal Center" and "displace existing residents – Southwest urban redevelopment" (p. 105)).

Within the AWI framework, redeveloping the Near Southeast and South Capitol Street corridor are considered two separate initiatives, but the stadium is part of both. Planners do not consider the stadium as the catalyst for redevelopment in either area, but an accelerant to activities already underway since NAVSEA relocated to the Navy Yards (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008; M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008). Between the late 1990s and 2004, more than \$1.5 billion had been invested in the Near Southeast. Over the last decade, more than 20 projects have been completed that have added 4.4 million square feet of retail, 650 residential units, two museums, a hotel, eight restaurants and varied retail (see Figure 4-3) (Capitol Riverfront Business Improvement District [CRBID], 2008). In 2005, Forest City Enterprises of Cleveland was selected to develop 42.5 acres of the SEFC, as, over 18

years, they anticipate investing \$1 billion in the “Yards” project to add 2,600 housing units, 2 million square feet of office, retail and cultural space, and create a 5.5 acre public park on the river (Hsu, 2005a).

Figure 4-3. Map of Near Southeast Washington, D.C. showing areas and development projects.



Map is from jdland.com. Copyright 2008 by Jacqueline Dupree. Reprinted with permission.

While the stadium and the Yards are the lead projects, there are more than 60 projects that have been completed, are under construction, or are planned for the next several years. In total, more than 12-15 million square feet of office space, 9,000

residential units, and 1,200 hotel rooms will be built (CRBID, 2008; Dupree, 2008b)²⁴.

This office, residential and tourist oriented-area will be supported with more than 800,000 square feet of retail space expected to be an “appropriate” mix and almost eight acres of public parks towards creating an active, 24-hour neighborhood (M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008). Within the city’s overall context of the next 20 years, the residential growth is expected to be more than 15% of the city’s new units and contain more than 20% of the city’s new jobs with as many as 25,000 (NCPC, 2006).

All this expected activity has resulted in rapidly rising land costs, as commercially zoned land within the Near Southeast has risen from \$20 per buildable square foot in 2000 to between \$50 and \$80 per buildable square foot by 2005 – a price similar to that in suburban Bethesda, Maryland (Hedgpeth, 2006a). Land speculators, like Marty Chernoff who purchased numerous parcels since the late 1980s, realized substantial profits as they sold their land. In one of many examples, Chernoff, who had purchased a recycling lot in the early 1990s for \$800,000, sold that parcel to developers in 2005 for \$35.9 million (Hedgpeth, 2006b).

While development in the Near Southeast was well underway, plans for revitalizing South Capitol Street were still being prepared, although planners recognized that if they did not act quickly, “market forces... will rapidly overtake and make irrelevant any set of unrealized ideas—no matter how grand, elegant, or visionary”

(South Capitol Street Corridor Washington, D.C.: Implementation Plan, 2003, p. 11).

With traffic volume around 100,000 cars per day crossing the deteriorating Frederick

²⁴ Capital Riverfront BID Executive Director Michael Stevens contextualized this development by comparing it to other major cities. Memphis, Tennessee has a downtown office inventory of 6.5 million square feet, St. Louis has 7.5 million square feet, and San Antonio has 6-7 million square feet (personal communication, January 3, 2008).

Douglass Bridge from I-295, South Capitol Street had the potential to be a symbolic gateway into the city, yet was “a jumble of fast food restaurants, gas stations, poorly maintained commercial uses, vacant businesses, and parking lots” (NCPC, 2006, p. 19.18). As a result of this potential, transforming South Capitol Street was a priority for the NCPC and the D.C. Office of Planning (Cohn, 2004). Although not specifically slated for a stadium, as early as the mid-1990s, planners identified the area around the stadium site at the foot of the Frederick Douglass Bridge as a prime location for a monument, museum, important government building (possibly housing the Supreme Court), or other signature structure (NCPC, 1997).

The Stadium and the Redevelopment of the Near Southeast

For many discussing the Near Southeast following the September 2004 announcement of the Expos relocation, the stadium site was a blighted area. Forgey (2004) wrote that “the site currently is a classic, haphazard urban service district” with vacant lots, warehouses, light industrial, and, despite the “lively exceptions” of the Washington Sculpture Center and Secrets nightclub, “there is nothing genuinely compelling about the mix” (p. C1). Wilgoren (2005b) characterized “the journey from the aging Frederick Douglass Bridge up South Capitol Street to the U.S. Capitol [as] a mile-long tour of urban ugliness” (p. T10).

In documenting the area, Dupree (2008b) identified 25 buildings within the stadium site that were demolished during 2006 following their seizure by the city through eminent domain (see Figure 4-4). Among these buildings were five residences, four buildings housing gay-oriented businesses and nightclubs, three garages, three automobile repair shops, four warehouses, the aforementioned Washington Sculpture

Center, an asphalt company, a salvage company, and a trash-transfer station. In addition, the area had several empty lots.

Figure 4-4. Photographs of buildings demolished from the stadium site in 2006



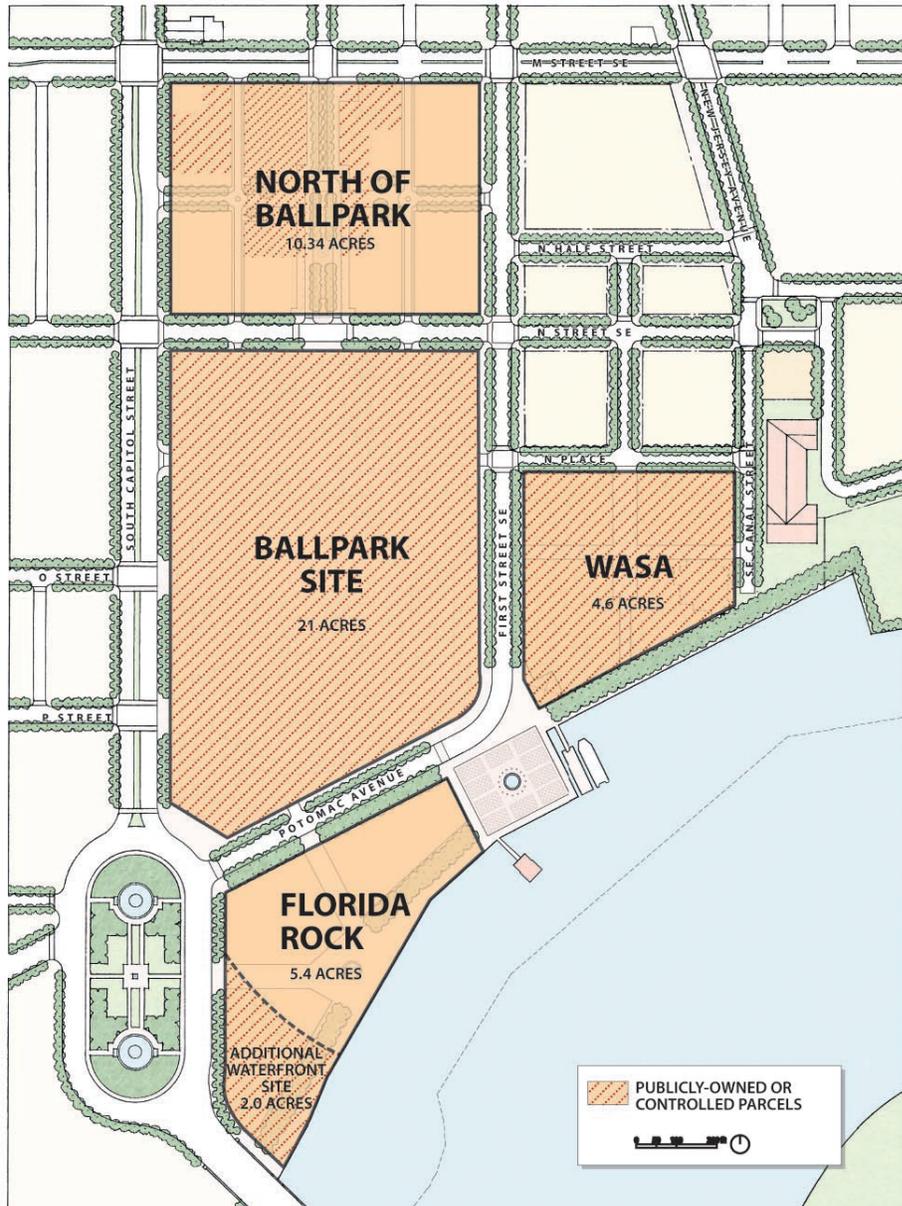
These photographs are from jdland.com. Copyright 2008 by Jacqueline Dupree. Reprinted with permission.

This inventory, however, does not capture the lives, experiences or dreams of those working, inhabiting and using the area. As will be examined in much greater detail in chapter 6, the six businesses displaced on O Street were an essential part of

Washington's gay community for almost 35 years. Towards serving this community, Bob Siegel, a former nurse, owned many of these buildings as he dreamed of creating a "gay Disneyland" in the Near Southeast (Morton, 2004). Also owning a slice of the Near Southeast, Reinaldo Lopez and Patricia Ghiglinio used their sweat and vision to create the Washington Sculpture Center at 1336 Half Street, which provided a space for the city's artists to create beautiful works (Knott, 2004). Former Marine Ken Wyban recognized that the area's location provided him an opportunity to open a Bed and Breakfast within a mile of the Capitol as he purchased and renovated a rowhouse on N Street (Morton, 2004). Legal ownership was not necessary for Alton Majette, who rented an N Street rowhouse and transformed an empty lot that had been covered by trash and weeds to create the "Garden of Love" as he removed trash, mowed the grass, and planted vegetables (Morton, 2004).

However, instead of seeing the individual stories of those living in and using the area, city planners considered it to be a "doughnut hole" (S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008) among several other projects that were nearing completion or in the midst of being planned within the redevelopment of the Near Southeast (see Figure 4-5). To the north, several office buildings were already being built on M Street. The SEFC was directly east of the stadium site, while the mixed-use 1.1 million square foot Florida Rock project was due south (Dupree, 2008b). South Capitol Street was the western border of the stadium site. While there was little doubt among planners that this area would eventually be redeveloped before 2025, the 21-acre site was not associated with any pending projects (M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008).

Figure 4-5. Map of the Ballpark District



Source: (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 6)

The selection of the stadium site, then, did not create new development where there otherwise would have been none, but accelerated and guided development that was already expected to happen and be completed by the private sector (Hedgpath, 2006a;

Hsu, 2005a; Wilgoren, 2005a). In doing so, the stadium ensured that the area would have non-office uses and that it could become a recreational destination on par with Georgetown's Washington Harbour and the area surrounding the Verizon Center (Hedgpeth, 2005b; Lemke, 2005; Nakamura, 2005e). As such, the stadium was:

Viewed as an important opportunity to revitalize SE and SW Washington, to enhance the quality of the environment for residents and workers in the area, and to reinforce ongoing efforts to restore the Anacostia River as a citywide recreational resource (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 1).

This opinion not only covered the stadium site, but on the 10.3 acres between the stadium and M Street, 7.5 acres to the south, the adjacent 4.6 acres of the D.C. Water and Sewer Authority (WASA), and various other parcels to the northeast towards New Jersey Avenue (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005)

Within this 60-acre total Ballpark District, the city sought to create a “vibrant mixed-use waterfront destination” by featuring shops, restaurants and entertainment venues on these various parcels surrounding the stadium (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 1). On game days, it was anticipated that 80% of game attendees would be approaching the stadium from the Navy Yards Metro Station and parking lots north of the stadium, the Ballpark District, especially Half Street, was perfectly situated to serve as a “‘decompression zone’ – a place where fans would pause to eat and shop because they would feel they have arrived at the ballpark even though they are not yet inside” (Nakamura, 2005b, p. A1). As such, Half Street would be closed to automobile traffic in order to create and maintain a public promenade with sidewalk cafes, restaurants, bars,

boutique shopping, and kiosks that would “encourage people to linger well beyond the event of the ballgame” (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 11).

The Ballpark District was envisioned to be active year-round rather than just on game days. The Anacostia riverfront would be an essential attraction with a “concentration of shops, restaurants and entertainment uses on the WASA and Florida Rock sites that will energize the open space with a critical mass of activity” (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 11). Plans for hotel, residential and office uses would ensure that the area would have both daytime and nighttime use as visitors, residents and workers frequented the shops and restaurants that would locate near the stadium. The stadium itself also would have essential non-event day uses as it was planned to feature several storefronts on First Street and an open plaza as the “romance of the field and the spatial drama of the empty seating bowl will development the destination uses surrounding it and become one of the City’s and the neighborhood’s most memorable and appealing public gathering places” (ROMA Design Group, et. al, 2005, p. 11). For the city, the Ballpark District was promised to be an economic boon as it would create “as much as \$100 million in additional tax revenues a year” (Lemke, 2005, p. A1).

As the stadium opened in 2008, the Ballpark District remains unrealized as the first phase, Monument Realty’s Half Street project, is not expected to be complete until the spring of 2009 (Nakamura & Hedgpeth, 2006). When it is finished, Half Street will have 340 residential units, 275,000 square feet of office space, 50,000 square feet of retail, mix of restaurants, clubs and bars, and a 196-room “boutique hotel” along one side of the road between the Navy Yard Metro Station and the stadium (Monument Realty, 2008).

Assessing the Stadium and the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative

From a development perspective, there may be significant value in the city's entrepreneurial investment of \$611 million in the stadium. To the many in the city, it represented a substantial allocation of resources to an area that had been the subject of many plans, most of which were never initiated, and helped overcome skepticism about the city's commitment to the AWI (J. Dupree, personal communication, January 23, 2008; M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008). However, except for the relatively-uninformed members of the sports media, most involved in or reporting on development issues have been reluctant to credit the stadium with fueling the growth in the Near Southeast. Instead, they acknowledge the stadium as an "accelerant" to the activity that had been underway since the late 1990s (M. Stevens, personal communication, January 3, 2008). From this perspective, the city's construction of the stadium may be a loss-leader, but could become a net positive if it were to result in earlier development of the Yards, the Florida Rock project, and/or some of the other projects that are under consideration.

However, this conception of space is one that is truly abstracted from the lives of the people who have been living in the Near Southeast. The prospective spatial practices are centered upon capital from investors, developers, residents, office users, and stadium attendees and other visitors, while the area's inhabitants (residents and visitors) and elements of the civil society they have created have been removed. Moreover, these practices and conceptions of space are designed to leave limited possibilities for alternative uses which are discouraged as the city and Capital Riverfront Business

Improvement District control the types of businesses and development welcomed in the area.

Within all the talk about square footage, residential units, rising property values, and investments, the human impacts have been lost. The people who previously used the stadium site lost the lifestyles that they had created over a period of years. In addition, their land was seized by the city through eminent domain, which is a coercive use of government power only mitigated by the promise of “just compensation” made to property owners by the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution after the state has taken private property. Within this context, the 23 landowners lost economic opportunities to profit from their long-term commitments to an area underserved and largely forgotten by the city for many years. In order to conform to the politically-convenient land estimate included in the stadium financing agreement,²⁵ the city made very low offers based on outdated and non-comparable data on the condemned properties and then refused to share the appraisals on which those offers were made with property owners (D. Jamieson, 2006; Knott, 2005a). As a result, many landowners felt compelled to engage in expensive litigation in order to secure the “just compensation” to which they were entitled (D. Jamieson, 2006). According to the Washington Sculpture Center’s Lopez, “this is like reverse Robin Hood to me. They are taking from the poor and giving it to the rich” (as qtd. in Knott, 2004, p. C1).

The social implications move well beyond the stadium site and address broader questions about the gentrification of Washington and the impact of planning on its residents. According to Achenbach (2004), the stadium site was:

²⁵ See page 125, footnote 15.

An eccentric area in a city that's not sure it wants any such thing. This town has been, from the very start, meticulously plotted, built on a grandiose scheme, every street and public square serving to call attention to the greatness of a nation. Plans rule this city. And if you're not part of the plan, you're out of luck (p. D1).

In the emerging moral economy of the Near Southeast, its long-time residents and users have tended not be part of the plan and have been mostly out of luck. The residents of the 707 units of public housing in the Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg projects were all forced move with, as described by former resident Debra Frazier, "callous disregard for us as humans, as people being displaced" (as qtd. in Cherkis, 2005, n. pag). Although the city's commitment to making sure that all public housing units will be replaced in the area's redevelopment is commendable and a significant break from past planning practice, a community has been irretrievably destroyed and its residents have to create new lives in other parts of the city without guarantees that they will ever have an opportunity to return (Cherkis, 2005).

This is also a problem that extends into the structures of the civil society that residents had developed for themselves, as they are sacrificed in favor of projects prioritizing monetary over social value. Twice since 2005, developers have purchased the "Blue Castle," a distinctive late-1800s building used to repair cable cars, trolleys and buses that has housed charter schools since the late 1990s. While Eagle Academy and Key Academy have leases that run through 2012, developers are considering transforming the space into a mix of retail and restaurants and may offer buyouts to the schools (Dupree, 2008a; Hedgpeth, 2005a).

In another case, Positive Nature, a non-profit organization serving as many as 50 at-risk youth, is another potential casualty of the area's redevelopment. Founded in 2000, Positive Nature features therapeutic psychological treatment for emotionally disturbed youth from throughout the city (Gray, 2008; Positive Nature, 2008). After starting in a converted locker room in a Southeast middle school, Positive Nature moved into an old warehouse on New Jersey Avenue in 2004 as they agreed to pay rent and the building's property taxes in return for the owners reconfiguring the space to meet the organization's needs (Cherkis, 2008a). When they moved in, Positive Nature paid \$9,000 in property taxes, only to see its tax bill rise to \$83,699 in 2007 (Pierre, 2008). As a result of taxes comprising 30% of its operating budget, Positive Nature has been forced to reduce its programming and staff, and is at risk of closing (Cherkis, 2008a).

The disjuncture between the benefits for capital and the costs for residents is fairly typical of the broader effects of the competitive city, whose elements pervade the AWI and the stadium plan. Following the tenets of the entrepreneurial city, Washington has heavily invested in infrastructure throughout the Near Southeast in the hope of generating a future return in increased taxes and by attracting direct spending by the federal government. Although financial projects created by the city promise a substantial return on the more than \$611 million it has spent on the stadium project, it is more likely that Nationals Park will have similar economic impacts to those already analyzed by academics who found little-to-no positive impact from stadiums. As such, Nationals Park is likely to be a drain on the city's resources as the city services the stadium bonds for the next 30 years, while private developers and Nationals team owners profit substantially. Moreover, while the taxes from the stadium and the redevelopment of the Near Southeast

are supposed to allow the city to fund programs like Positive Nature, it is ironic that it may become a casualty of development. This central irony highlights the fundamental problem with entrepreneurial strategies, in so far as *governments could often provide the services that the new taxes from development are supposed to create from the funds targeted to support development projects.*

The stadium project and the AWI exhibit elements of the city of difference through its reliance on the commodification of urban space and its reliance upon aesthetic difference. Williams vision for the Anacostia River is one in which the river becomes a consumption amenity, much like waterfronts in other cities, that helps attract people to live, work and play in areas in Washington outside of its monumental core. This aestheticization of space extends to the redevelopment of South Capitol Street, which will be transformed, with the help of the stadium, into a monumental gateway into the central city. However, while the stadium is supposed to market and promote the city, it is unlikely to substantially add to the city's appeal to visitors, as sport activities ranked tenth of 11 categories of leisure activities in which visitors engaged (waterfront activities were last) ("Washington DC's 2006 Visitor Statistics", 2007). As will be discussed in chapter 6, the city has actually reduced the diversity of potential activities available to visitors in order to build the stadium.

The stadium project and the AWI also demonstrate elements of the neo-conservative revanchist city. Although planners claim that these are inclusive spaces, they have been created by the forcible eviction of residents from the Arthur Capper/Carrollsborg housing projects and the people who lived their lives around the stadium site, the seizure of property through eminent domain, as well as the more subtle

economic dispossession demonstrated by travails of Positive Nature. As the spaces are being redeveloped, they are also becoming heavily policed by the city and partially privatized by property owners through the formation of the Capitol Riverfront Business Improvement District.

Whether or not the Near Southeast and the Anacostia waterfront ever develop in the ways intended by planners, there has been a substantial human cost that will only rise as Washington seeks to further develop its leisure economy in order to become more competitive for visiting suburbanites and tourists. Despite rhetoric about creating an “inclusive city” (NCPC, 2006, p. 1.2), many are being evicted from the spaces they used for several years and being excluded from the new spaces of the Near Southeast.

Chapter 5 – Taxation With(out) Representation

When selected as architects for Washington, D.C.'s new baseball stadium in February, 2005, Joseph Spear of HOK Sport described one of the primary design themes as “the transparency of democracy” (as qtd. in Nakamura, 2005a, p. B1), referring to the city's image and role in American political life. Following the parameters established by the city, HOK Sport sought to design an iconic ballpark in the Nation's Capitol that would help meet the city's development goals of becoming more socially inclusive and encouraging economic growth along the Anacostia River (D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission [DCSEC], 2005; Nakamura, 2005d). However, with its opening in 2008, Nationals Park's high prices and highly segregated spaces belie the stated intentions of stadium designers to create a democratic space. As examined in this chapter, this disparity between image and practice is not unique to the stadium, but indicative of broader contradictions within the late capitalist moment and in the city of Washington.

Shortly after the D.C. Council approved the contract with Major League Baseball (MLB) in December 2004, the DCSEC started soliciting proposals from architects to design the stadium. Identifying its goals of the new facility, the DCSEC stated that architects would have to design “a first class, open-air baseball stadium” (DCSEC, 2005, p. 3) that would meet or exceed the requirements of the city's contract with MLB. Second, the design had to help the city “accomplish [its] social and economic goals” (DCSEC, 2005, p. 3), which were being articulated within the city's governance and in the process of creating a new comprehensive plan for an “inclusive” city (NCPC, 2006). Third, as the stadium was located near the Anacostia River, it had to “incorporate key planning, design and environmental principles from the [Anacostia Waterfront] Initiative

(AWI)” (DCSEC, 2005, p. 3). Fourth, the DCSEC also desired “to build an environmentally friendly ballpark” (DCSEC, 2005, p. 3) that could enable it to become the first major league stadium in the United States certified under the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) Green Building Rating System (DCSEC, 2006). Fifth, with its location on South Capitol Street, the stadium “must have an architectural presence befitting its prominent location..., yet also reflect the city’s modern growth” (DCSEC, 2005, p. 3), and, as such, rejected the retro design of the most recent generation of baseball stadiums and recognized its potential to become an iconic building in a city full of monuments.

As it received the architectural commission, HOK Sport sought to create a design distinctive to Washington, as, according to HOK Sport senior designer Jim Chibnall, “from the very beginning, the client [Washington] stated that they wanted something that was of the city. They wanted something that reflected the city, not only in its architecture, but in its democratic ways” (personal communication, January 23, 2008). However, although the city and architects had high aspirations for the stadium, their highly ambitious goals were not fully compatible, and, indeed, conflicted with one another. For example, the desire of team owners to capture as much economic activity within the stadium competes with the commercial aspects of the AWI as its restaurants, bars, and shops also seek the entertainment spending of stadium attendees. Moreover, as the city’s spending on the stadium project was capped at \$611 million, not all of the city’s goals were achievable within the budget constraints. Therefore, the city had to devote its limited resources to those aspects of the project that it considered to be the most important. These decisions are highly telling as the city pursued its various goals

and expose the contradictions between the stadium's symbolic intentions and meanings and the ways in which architects organized the spaces in and around the stadium.

In this chapter, I explore the tensions between image and practice as Nationals Park is a spectacle that attempts to mystify its highly commercialized and exclusionary nature behind democratic and inclusionary discourses. First, I focus on the spectacular nature of urban space within the contemporary moment and the role that architects perform in creating it. Next, I discuss the fundamental contradiction between the image and practice of democracy within Washington, as I explored through media reports, materials produced by DC Vote, attendance at a DC voting rights march in 2007, and an interview with two DC Vote employees. This contradiction problematizes the decision of HOK Sport to emphasize democratic imagery and symbolism in the stadium design. Then, I investigate the ways in which the stadium attempts to achieve the goals articulated within the DCSEC's Request for Proposals by examining the ways they were originally conceived, as I interviewed HOK Sport architects Chibnall and Pat Tangen and read media reports, and how they are concretized within the stadium's construction and use, as I attended several games during the 2008 baseball season and reviewed materials produced by the Nationals. As such, I explore the ways in which representations of space conflict with the spatial practices that have been materialized within the stadium.

Architects and the Design of the Urban Spectacle

A division between image and practice is a defining feature of spectacle, which according to Debord (1994), "appears at once as society itself, as a part of society and as a means of unification... [however] the unity it imposes is merely the official language of generalized separation" (p. 12). As it "is a social relationship between people that is

mediated by images” (p. 12), the spectacle is a mystifying illusion that helps to support, justify, and maintain the status quo through (re)producing alienation (Debord, 1994).

In particular, spectacle is used within leisure consumption which has been controlled, rationalized and commodified within an all-encompassing capitalist system (Lefebvre, 1991a). Spectacular spaces have been designed to facilitate consuming behaviors, discourage other behaviors, and organized to be easily monitored and policed. Their heavily-programmed natures are obscured by aesthetic features that attempt to dazzle visitors and/or provide an illusion of choice by overwhelming them with images and various types of consumption activities (Ritzer, 1999). However, there are few permissible activities as alternative uses are actively discouraged in these spaces, through rules, surveillance equipment and security that demand, monitor and enforce compliance (Flusty, 2001; Silk, 2004).

Given their ability to shape urban space, the work of architects is highly political, despite their claims of technocratic or artistic neutrality (Ellin, 1996; Harvey, 1989; Lefebvre, 1996b). According to Lefebvre (1991b), architecture is “*ideology in action*” (p. 309, italics original), which architects make concrete through “their every gesture” (p. 338). As architects conceptualize a space, they attempt to produce its dominant uses and understandings which help to inscribe existing power relationships into that space (Hubbard, 1996; Lefebvre, 1991b). In their designs, architects assign functions, behaviors and activities to specific areas and attempt to minimize the possibility of undesired uses. Although the meanings of a space are contested in its use, architects help to initially define them, often with aesthetics and symbols whose meanings have already been established in other contexts (Jameson, 1991; Lefebvre, 2002).

Architects are fully invested in the capitalist system which provides the parameters of and the rewards for their work (Ellin, 1996; Zukin, 1991). Historically, “the architect is, by convention, identified with the ruling powers of society, the only force capable of amassing and supplying capital, materials, land, and the authority to act; typically considered requisites for architecture” (Clarke, 1988, as qtd. in Ellin, 1996, p. 245). As such, society’s ruling powers have been the patrons and clients of architects, with the nobility and church providing commissions before the ascendancy of capitalism (Ellin, 1996). Architecture has grown beyond its elitist origins within capitalism, as architects provide a consumer product to corporations, governments, and others in a competitive marketplace (Zukin, 1991). While architectural work has become fairly standardized, the commissioning a “star” architect, such as John Portman, Michael Graves, and Frank Gehry, confers status to a project and gives it a potential to become a “signature building” that has economic and symbolic value beyond its use (Ellin, 1996). As such, architects and architecture “directly mediate economic power by both conforming to and structuring norms of market-driven investment, production, and consumption” (Zukin, 1991, p. 39).

Architecture and urban landscapes can be read as texts that testify to social power as architects and planners imbue space with meanings and structure spatial practices. In particular, Lefebvre (2002) ascribes particular significance to monumental structures that are “laden with symbols which merge with their decorations and aesthetic style” (p. 308). These symbols are drawn from various sources of social authority, many of which have little effective force beyond their historic meanings. As such, significant buildings serve as “[the city’s] memory and the representation of its past, the affective and active

nucleuses of its present everyday life and the prefiguration of its future” (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 308). However, the importance of and the meanings ascribed to particular structures are never fixed, as, for example, Lefebvre (2003f) suggested the Eiffel Tower was originally designed as a “technological manifesto” but has been transmuted into a “work of art” (p. 152) and become Paris’ most iconic structure.

With competitive cities seeking capital from visitors and corporations, they have frequently developed visitor-oriented entertainment zones, which were described in Chapter 2. Architecture has a significant role in these tourist bubbles, as it structures spatial practices and creates a fun environment through designs featuring a “consumerist postmodernism” which “is an architecture of surfaces and appearances, of playfulness and pastiche” (Urry, 2002, p. 111; see also Jameson, 1991). The designs of these consumption-focused buildings is not so much a tribute to past styles and structures, but are used to make buildings more attractive sites for consumption activities (Gottdiener, 2001; Hannigan, 1998; Ritzer, 1999; Urry, 2002). Ritzer (1999) described these buildings as “cathedrals of consumption,” as they “offer, or at least appear to offer, increasingly magical, fantastic, and enchanted settings in which to consume” (p. 8). These environments are designed to be spectacular through the use of extravaganzas, simulations, and the implosion of boundaries that once differentiated forms of consumption, time and space (Ritzer, 1999).

Consumption environments use extravaganzas and simulations towards creating spaces that are attractions in themselves as people desire to be within and experience them (Ritzer, 1999). In many cases, architecture provides a consumption space with an interesting and grandiose appearance, while providing areas in which other aspects and

attractions can be incorporated (Hannigan, 1998; Ritzer, 1999). These spaces are often decorated with simulated and thematic elements that borrow from other spatial and temporal contexts in order to imbue the consumption space with meanings from those contexts (Gottdiener, 2001; Hannigan, 1998; Ritzer, 1999). The retro-style baseball stadiums that have opened since Baltimore's Camden Yards in 1992 exemplify this trend as the stadium has become much more than a venue for staging a game, but an attraction as well (Friedman et al., 2004; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001; Van Rooij, 2000). In Camden Yards, various elements which may have had functional purposes in historic stadiums have been brought together as aesthetic embellishments. Concession stands are decorated in old-style fonts and given baseball-related names. On a plaza outside Camden Yards, the Baltimore Orioles have honored their greatest players with 4-foot high numbers and Baltimore native Babe Ruth with a statue (Friedman et al., 2004). In all, these elements allow for the presentation of "baseball with a baseball theme" (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 110), and has been so successful that the 15 MLB stadiums to open since 1992 have each incorporated similar aesthetic elements to those at Camden Yards (Friedman & Silk, 2005; Van Rooij, 2000).

Similar to the aesthetics and extravaganzas that attract people to consume in a space, the implosion of barriers between forms of consumption also has the benefit of increasing the economic capacity and value of space. Tourist-oriented spaces provide a critical mass of amenities within a limited space as they blend shopping, dining, entertainment, sports, lodging, and museums in a synergistic mix that attracts, eases and encourages further consumption (Belanger, 2000; Hannigan, 1998; Judd, 1999; Norris, 2003; Ritzer, 1999). The use of implosion is prominent within the baseball stadiums of

the past 20 years, which incorporate food courts, bars and restaurants, shopping, video arcades, museums and elements of amusement parks to enhance the experience of attending a baseball game (Bale, 1994; Friedman & Silk, 2005; Kidd, 1995; Ritzer & Stillman, 2001). In many ways, the design and organization of stadiums, which were once centered on providing a space that could maximize gate income from those attending sporting events, is increasingly determined by once “supportive” sources of income such as luxury suites, food and merchandise concessions, and advertising sponsorships (John & Sheard, 2000).

The centrality of consumption within postmodern architecture has a dual ideological role – to normalize the logics of capitalism and to mystify consumers through spectacle. According to Hubbard (1996), critics of postmodern architecture have most often described it “as mobilising meaning in favour of supporting existing social structures” (p. 1445). Architects do this as they conscientiously design spaces to maximize their economic value by prioritizing functions that enable consumption behaviors and discounting non-consuming uses that could provide different societal benefits. While not necessarily ideologically-motivated, the perspectives of architects are so thoroughly embedded within capitalist logics that alternative uses are hardly considered as architects consult “with other agents of this production... foremost the user, but also the bureaucrat, the politician, the financier, and so on and so forth” (Lefebvre, 1996b, p. 193; see also Ellin, 1996).

As architecture normalizes consumption, it also mystifies as dominant social groups attempt to obscure the alienating aspects of both capitalism and the spectacle. Through fashion and planned obsolescence, capitalism necessarily produces

dissatisfaction towards ensuring further consumption, while spectacle attempts to distract people from realizing that this is a source of discontent. In this effort, spectacle detaches images from the material aspects of life that they had once represented (Debord, 1994). This is problematic as spectacles give viewers unrealistic visions of underlying material conditions, as “[spectacle] may gild poverty, but it cannot transcend it” (Debord, 1994, p. 31). Yet, in doing so, the practices related to spectacle often cause or exacerbate the ailments they seek to hide (Friedman et al., 2004; Harvey, 1989).

As baseball stadiums provide an image of fun, mystery, and, perhaps, enchantment, their appearances are only façades that mask highly-rationalized consumer spaces and distract from the exploitative social, cultural, political and economic relations that are perpetuated within consumption-oriented landscapes (Friedman et al., 2004; Ritzer, 1999; Zukin, 1991). Although Eisinger (2000) has described stadiums providing the modern equivalent of the Roman Empire’s use of “bread and circuses” to pacify the masses, new facilities are not designed to be enjoyed by the masses, despite the use of public money to build them. Within similar (if not larger) acreage, new baseball stadiums have 20-30% fewer seats than the 1960s-era facilities they have replaced, but are much more efficient generators of income as these stadiums focus on premium seating and as fewer seats allow for higher ticket prices by creating scarcity. The urban poor, working class and much of the middle class are not completely excluded from the stadiums that were built with their taxes, as stadiums offer many part-time, low-wage, service-sector jobs in which they can prepare and sell food and souvenirs to game attendees, show them to their seats, and clean up after them following the game. Yet, public investment in these exploitative and intentionally exclusionary spaces is justified

by proponents as a tool to increase civic cohesion and pride (Danielson, 1997; Ingham et al., 1987; B. Wilson & White, 2002).

As discussed in this chapter, Nationals Park mobilizes spectacle towards encouraging consumption and to mystify the exploitative relations perpetuated by the stadium and existing in Washington. The stadium celebrates democratic ideals and inclusion, but is a highly-stratified, exclusive space. To create the stadium's inclusive image, architects have mobilized aesthetic symbols from the past and the surrounding city. However, as they have created a space that is symbolically democratic, architects have designed Nationals Park to functionally exclude people from freely enjoying it. In many ways, this detachment of image and practice is not only a prominent feature of late capitalist urbanism, but an enduring feature of democracy in Washington as its 581,000 residents have no representation in Congress.

The Image and Practice of Democracy in Washington

The status of democracy within Washington, D.C. is highly illustrative of the detachment between image and practice in the contemporary moment and within the design of Nationals Park. Within the popular imaginary, notions of democracy are often intertwined with visions of Washington, as the city celebrates the highest values of democracy within the historic, monumental government core that is the "symbolic heart of the nation" (NCPC, 1997, p. 3). As a result, "[Washington] has always been a mecca for all its citizens because it is the capital of the American dream and the repository of so many of its memorials, artifacts and symbols" (Martin, 2007, p. 13), as more than 15 million people annually visit the city to celebrate, experience, learn about, protest and petition their government ("The American Experience", Washington DC, 2006).

As they designed the city, planners sought to represent democratic values within the architecture and organization of the city's public buildings, memorials, and other public spaces (Gillette Jr., 2006; Gutheim & Lee, 2006). The National Mall is supposed to encourage mass assembly as citizen petition government and celebrate national holidays. The U.S. Capitol exudes permanence and grandeur as it provides a solemn and majestic space symbolizing the importance of legislative work. The Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials use the words, lives and figurative presence of former Presidents as instruction for the public morals and values of the nation. These images of Washington are also transmitted around the world through the media, within arts and literature, and through the nation's currency (NCPC, 2004).

The democratic images of Washington are contradicted by more than two centuries of anti-democratic practice during as the city's residents have been disenfranchised. According to S. Smith (1974), "Washington does not participate in the Union, it waits on it. It stages a pageant of democracy without sharing in the democracy that is portrayed" (p. 3). Although D.C. residents pay more than \$1.6 billion in federal taxes annually, serve in the military, and fulfill the other obligations of citizenship, they have neither a voting member of the House of Representatives nor Senators. As a result, D.C. residents lack the same right that, according to C. King (2001), "their fellow Americans have: the right to fully participate, through their senators and representatives, in creating the rules under which they are governed" (p. A21).

The disenfranchisement of Washington residents highlights the city's inherent contradiction between its status as the United States capital and as the home to 581,000 people, many of whom have limited direct contact with the federal government (NCPC,

2006, p. 2.12). These people live in neighborhoods throughout the city that comprise far more land than the federal enclave within downtown, and their interests and needs are little different than those of people living in any other municipality. They want quality public services, reasonable rates of taxation, and an effective, responsive and honest local government (O’Cleireacain & Rivlin, 2001). Just like any other urban area, Washington has concentrations of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and at-risk populations (all of whom are, on average, more reliant upon government support and services than the general population)(Lazere, 2007).

The relationship between the federal and lived cities is highly complex. As Washington was created to be a government town, government employs more than 230,000 people – around 1/3 of the city’s total workforce (many of whom do not live in D.C.). Many more thousands work in industries, such as hospitality, financial services, or business services, whose vitality is directly reliant upon the federal presence within the city. Institutions of arts and culture, such as the Kennedy Center and Smithsonian, are sustained and derive their importance from being within the capital city. Washington’s international character originates from its multitude of foreign embassies and international organizations that are in the city for the purpose of interacting with the United States government (NCPC, 2006, p. 2.12).

However, the benefits of the federal presence are mitigated by substantial burdens and demands that the federal government places upon local government and residents. District of Columbia police are responsible for providing protection for foreign embassies and for national celebrations and political protests, for which the city receives inadequate compensation from the federal government. Residents are regularly inconvenienced by

the motorcades and other road closures required for the safety of top federal officials and foreign dignitaries. Thousands of suburban residents enter the city each day to work for the federal government or in jobs interacting with the government, but, as per the Home Rule Act, the city cannot tax their incomes to maintain the infrastructure these suburbanites use. In addition, the city has huge swathes of tax-exempt lands consisting of federal property, foreign embassies, or owned by non-profit organizations, yet the presence of these land uses increases the value of adjacent properties well above national averages (General Accounting Office [GAO], 2003).

Further complicating the relationship between the federal and lived Washingtons is the unique role that Congress has in governing the city and its neglectful (some would suggest abusive) relationship with the D.C. government. As described in Chapter 2, the Constitution granted Congress exclusive jurisdictional authority over the Federal District, which Congress interpreted as providing it with oversight over local government and an unrestrained ability to directly interfere in local affairs. Yet, unlike other urban residents who can elect representatives to state legislatures and to Congress, and thus directly influence legislation that impacts their cities, District of Columbia residents are denied representation in a body that makes decisions about the ways in which their tax money is used and how public services are directly provided to them. If, as argued earlier, representative democracy is an alienation of the right to self governance, the situation in Washington is an even greater usurpation of democratic rights given the fact there is little pretense of representation.

This gap between the image and practice of democracy within Washington, D.C. is indicative of the much deeper crisis within democracy in the present moment as images

and discourses of inclusion help to mystify entrenched exclusionary practices. While the architecture, urban plan and monuments in Washington testify to the ideals of democracy and the sacrifices that many have made to secure it, the American citizens living in the shadow of the Capitol building do not get to influence the proceedings occurring within it. As will be discussed, the design of the stadium works in much the same way as democracy in the city. The stadium alludes to the symbols of American democracy and its architects speak of inclusion. However, just as residents in Washington are excluded from participation in American democracy, the stadium space is effectively designed to exclude many of those disenfranchised residents from enjoying its use.

Designing a Stadium for the Nation's Capital

In designing Nationals Park, HOK Sport architects were presented with a challenging urban space, constrained timetable for completion, a generous though limited budget, and a set of highly ambitious and somewhat contradictory goals. As the self-described leading sport architecture firm in the world having designed projects in China, Australia, the Middle East and Europe in addition to North America, HOK Sport has been involved in designing and building several MLB stadiums, including Camden Yards which started the design trend for retro stadiums (HOK Sport, 2008; Van Rooij, 2000). As per the commission, HOK Sport was expected to breakaway from dominant design trends and create a stadium that would be distinctive to Washington. To achieve this, lead architects Joseph Spear and Earl Santee planned to use limestone and glass as the predominant materials, in order to evoke the look of the city's many federal buildings and monuments and represent an openness they associated with democratic ideals (Nakamura, 2005a). However, just as limestone was replaced with a less expensive pre-

cast concrete alternative designed to look like limestone for budgetary reasons, the city's goals for the stadium were achieved in ways that were more symbolic than substantive, and were often unrelated to or contradicted the underlying material realities.

Creating a Democratic Space

In building one of Washington's signature structures of the 21st century, designers produced a space that serves the interests of Major League Baseball, team owners, the city's corporate elite and suburbanites at the expense of needs of Washington's residents. Towards alleviating this tension, the stadium's producers have used symbolic elements to represent democracy and inclusiveness which serve to obscure the intentionally exclusionary nature of the highly commodified stadium space. Although architects claimed they were attempting to represent the "transparency of democracy," they have created a fundamentally undemocratic space that conceals the social relations that helped create it and that it produces and perpetuates. As such, Nationals Park is a spectacle that furthers mystification and contributes to the city's inequitable social relations.

Upon its 2008 opening, Nationals Park had received the greatest public subsidy of any sports facility in the United States. However, the city's \$611 million investment created a space more beneficial to team owners, who will reap most of the benefits, than city residents who bear the cost. The inclusionary rhetoric of Nationals Park is contradicted by a design that has 15,000 less seats than RFK Stadium, where the Nationals played between 2005 and 2007. Fewer seats allow the team to charge much higher ticket prices, as within the new stadium, seats are highly price segregated with 25 different seating types offered to the public at 19 price points between \$5 and \$335. The stadium's 5,600 premium seats (which include 78 suites – four more than in the original

contract with the city) have significantly upgraded comfort and amenities as they have the potential to generate as much as \$60 million annually for the team. The stadium also generates substantial revenues along its concourses, where there are 48 permanent concessions and souvenir stands, as well as numerous portable units.

The consumption-oriented functions of Nationals Park occur within a space that symbolically is designed to represent democratic ideals and project an image of Washington to local and global audiences through tying into the city's architectural vernacular and political iconography. Rather than designing another retro ballpark, stadium architects sought inspiration from the city's neo-classical monuments and buildings (J. Chibnall, personal communication, January 23, 2008). However, the architects eschewed the columns that are ubiquitous throughout the federal portions of the city as they decided to design the stadium to be similar to many of the buildings constructed since World War II, with the stadium's most distinctive portion – the South Capitol Street façade with a triangular building at its base – being reminiscent of the modernist East Building of the National Gallery designed by I.M. Pei (see Figure 5-1) (Catesby, 2006; Nakamura, 2005b). Other design elements around the stadium are more subtle, but also speak to its Washington identity. For example, there are 11 cherry trees along the entry plaza, which the team hopes will bloom during the city's world-famous Cherry Blossom Festival coinciding with the start of the baseball season (Heath, 2007).

Figure 5-1. View of stadium from South Capitol Street compared to East Building of the National Gallery



Photo by Sara Friedman



Photo by U.S. Department of Interior.
Source:<http://www.senate.gov/visiting/resources/graphic/xlarge/East-Wing-NGA.jpg>

While the stadium is consistent with local architecture, designers have sought to link the building to democratic ideals through incorporating political symbols. Architects have featured views of the Capitol dome and Washington Monuments, which are especially prominent in televised aerial shots. The team's locker room is oval, like the President's West Wing Oval Office in the White House. The ballpark's most exclusive area is the "Lexus Presidential Seats" whose patrons get to enjoy the exclusive "Oval Office Bar," while those sitting in the less-exclusive "Stars and Stripes Club" section can enjoy their drinks at the "Donkey and Elephant Bar" – referring to the symbols of the Democratic and Republican political parties. Those purchasing suites have three options: the "Washington", the "Lincoln", and the "Jefferson." The team's mascot is Screech, a bald eagle, and the team's most popular promotion is the "Presidents Race" in which the four Presidents honored on Mount Rushmore – Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Theodore Roosevelt – run a lap around the infield (see Figure 5-2).

Figure 5-2. Aesthetic references to Washington, D.C. in Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

Creating a Space Integrated into the Near Southeast

As discussed in Chapter 4, Nationals Park is part of the redevelopment of the Near Southeast and the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative (AWI) as planners conceive the area becoming a fully active neighborhood with an appropriate residential, retail, entertainment, and offices. As one of the neighborhood's focal points, the stadium is supposed to be integrated into the area with street level shops and spaces for communal gatherings besides baseball. While the stadium has several unoccupied storefronts along First Avenue, two above-ground, three-level parking garages help isolate Nationals Park from the remainder of the Near Southeast.

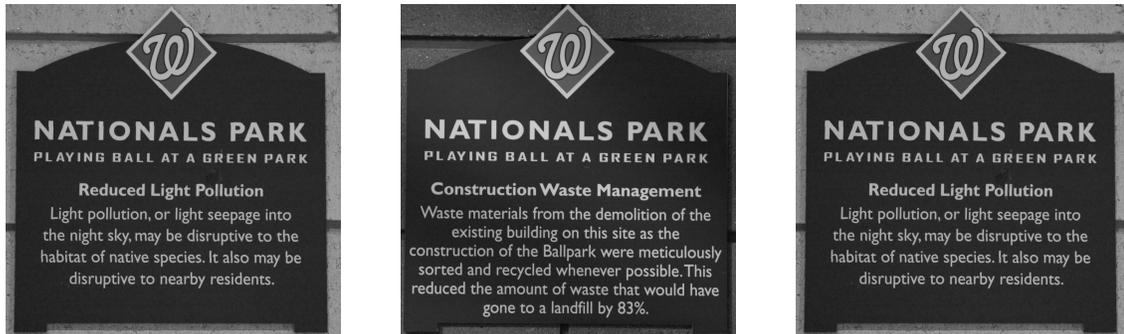
Despite initial renditions that showed aboveground parking, architects and city leaders hoped that the garages providing the Nationals with the 1,225 parking spaces promised in the contract could be placed underground (Nakamura, 2006c). By doing so, the stadium would have had a better view of the city, but more importantly, it would have greater potential to promote street-level development with restaurants, retail, residential and office uses (Lewis, 2006). In contrast, "aboveground garages are rarely beautiful and usually street-deadening" (Lewis, 2006, p. F5), which was contrary to the city's stated

intent. However, as underground parking took longer to build, was estimated to cost \$50 million (\$29 million more than was budgeted), and the Nationals threatened to hold the city liable if the parking spaces were delivered late, the city chose to build the parking towers to flank the centerfield entrance to the stadium (Nakamura, 2006d, 2006e).

Creating a Green Space

As the DCSEC stated they wanted a stadium to be environmentally friendly, designers began focusing on creating a facility that could meet LEED standards (Hales, 2006). Towards this end, Nationals Park incorporated numerous green-design elements. During construction, the stadium recycled 5,500 tons of construction waste, used adhesives to reduce gaseous emissions, and 95% of the stadium's steel had been previously recycled (Leo, 2008b; Philips, 2008). In its operations, the stadium uses high efficiency light bulbs, low-flush toilets, has a 6,300 sq ft. green roof, and a state-of-the-art water filtration system (Leo, 2008b; Philips, 2008). Additionally, the stadium includes informational signage describing the various environmental measures used within the stadium's construction and operations, as well as more than 100 recycling bins (see Figure 5-3). Together, all of these elements only added 2% to the stadium's overall cost (Philips, 2008). In March, 2008, Nationals Park became the first baseball stadium to achieve LEED certification, receiving "silver status", and it has been honored as the Project of the Year by the US Green Building Council-National Capital Region (Leo, 2008a, 2008b).

Figure 5-3. "Green" informational signs in Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

The Contradictions of Nationals Park

For all the rhetoric surrounding democracy, communal integration, and environmentalism, the stadium truly celebrates another American ideal, capitalism, and sacrifices notions of democracy, communal integration and environmentalism when they conflict with the desires of capitalism. As architects sought to tie-in the stadium's aesthetics to the city's political iconography and architectural style to represent democracy, they intentionally created a space that excludes most people from enjoying its use. As urban planners sought to create a vibrant and connected streetscape, two parking towers for the use of premium ticket holders help separate the stadium from the surrounding community. As Nationals Park celebrates its LEED silver rating, Exxon-Mobil is one of the Nationals leading sponsors and a possible naming-rights partner.

Nationals Park as a Democratic Space

In tying into the city's political iconography and architectural style, designers have attempted to create a space that, as Chibnall explained, reflects the city's democratic ways. While designers were successful in their efforts, it is not in the positive, non-critical manner they intended. First, just as the mayoral administration of Anthony

Williams was criticized by many residents for prioritizing the needs of businesses and economic development ahead of those of residents, the stadium provides a vastly superior game experience to patrons in premium seats, while other fans sit in seats with less room than those in RFK Stadium. Second, rather than being a space for the celebration of democratic ideals as suggested by designers, Nationals Park primarily functions in the service of consumption while using democratic symbols to encourage consuming behaviors and to mask this emphasis. Third, the inclusionary discourses of the stadium masks its exclusionary practices, much in the same way that Washington's democratic image belies democratic practice in the city.

Nationals Park and urban governance.

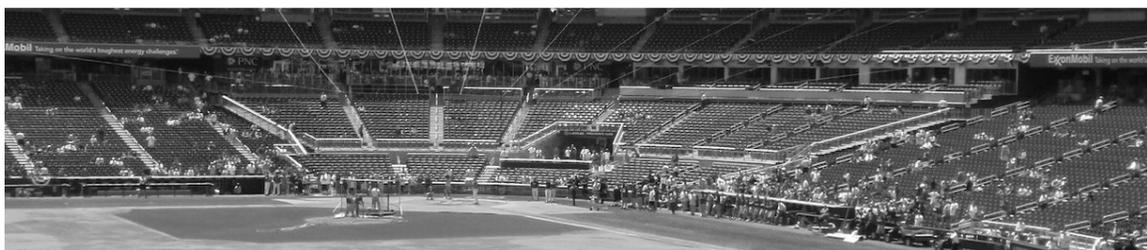
The relocation of the Expos to Washington is considered to be one of the major accomplishments of Williams' mayoral administration between 1999-2007, which also included substantial growth in D.C.'s economy, growth in the city's population, a new convention center, and generalized improvement in public services ("Lasting expectations", 2006). However, economic inequality within D.C. also expanded significantly during Williams' term with the wage gap between high- and low-income workers at an all-time high and poverty at its greatest level in more than a decade, while rising real estate prices encouraged gentrification and residential displacement (Lazere, 2007). These growing disparities led to a generalized perception, reinforced by the stadium, that Williams "catered to the affluent" (Schwartzman, 2006, p. A1) as a disproportionate share of the city's economic growth seemed to mostly benefit downtown businesses and suburban visitors.

According to Chris Weiss, a leader of the anti-stadium group, No D.C. Taxes for Baseball, “this [stadium] goes to the core of what is wrong with government in the District... we have to focus on what will make the lives better for D.C. residents and not on something that may primarily benefit visitors from Maryland and Virginia” (as qtd. in S. A. Miller, 2004), who were expected to comprise more than 80% of game attendees. Yet, as one African-American resident said to a reporter, “suburban whites [were receiving] ‘another toy at our expense’” (as qtd. in Fitzpatrick, 2005, p. D9). These expenses go well beyond the \$45 million annually D.C. needs to repay stadium bonds. The less affluent residents living near the stadium bear the nuisances of stadium traffic, parking, noise and lights. The stadium is encouraging further gentrification in the city, which already suffers a significant shortage of affordable housing. Moreover, many people believed there were better uses for \$611 million of capital spending, the additional taxes levied on the city’s business community to repay bonds, and the mayor’s time and political capital, which were expended in the efforts to attract baseball and secure D.C. Council approval of the stadium contract.

As the politics surrounding the stadium are indicative of some of the deeper economic and social divisions within Washington, so too is the stadium’s highly price segregated design. In the \$335 Lexus Presidential Seats, fans are closer to home plate than the pitcher and sit in upholstered, 22-inch wide seats with up to 36 inches of leg room, receive complimentary in-seat food and beverage service, and have exclusive access to the “President’s Club” where they can enjoy a gourmet buffet and watch players practice in the Nationals’ indoor batting cage (Levin, 2005; Washington Nationals, 2007c). In the \$175 PNC Diamond Seats, that are located directly behind the Presidential

Seats, fans have similar seats, in-seat food and beverage service, and access to the Nationals Club, which is a “one-of-a-kind restaurant that embodies Washington baseball history and heritage” (Washington Nationals, 2007c, p. 10). The 78 suites, which range in price from \$160,000 to \$400,000 annually, feature high-definition televisions, leather seating, marble countertops, private restrooms, and concierge service (Washington Nationals, 2007b). The 2,500 club seats, selling for \$45 and \$55 per ticket, provide fans with 21-inch wide, padded seats and exclusive use of the Stars and Stripes Club that features three bars and “a variety of culinary offerings... featuring sauté and salad stations, grill works and brick oven pizza” (Washington Nationals, 2007a). Guards aggressively control access to all of these seating areas and steel barriers clearly mark the borders of the Presidential and Diamond seats (See Figure 5-4).

Figure 5-4. Separations and barriers in Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

People sitting in Nationals Park's 36,000 other seats do not enjoy luxury and amenities that approach the quality and comfort available to those in the stadium's premium areas. Within non-premium areas, the seats are actually smaller than those at RFK Stadium at 19-inches wide with narrow 33-inch treads as compared to 20 inches of width and 36 inches of depth. Due to two levels of suites, the upper deck at Nationals Park is 21 feet higher off than ground than that at RFK Stadium. Non-premium ticket holders also will have to contend with much longer lines for concession stands and restrooms than those sitting in premium seats, as well as non-refrigerated water fountains that provide unfiltered city water to patrons who choose not to pay \$3.50-and-up for the stadium's selection of assorted beverages (Levin, 2005).

The divisions within the stadium pale in comparison to those between the stadium and its surrounding area. Some of the D.C.'s most profound poverty is between the stadium and the two prominent Washington landmarks which architects sought to incorporate, but below the view of and ignored by the television cameras that capture the city's skyline. As noted by *Washington Post* architectural critic Phillip Kennicott (2008),

from the top of the stadium, look out at the skyline, toward the Capitol Dome. At first, it seems like a happy accident that it is most visible from the cheapest seats. But now look down into the neighborhoods where public schools have become dilapidated brick bunkers, their windows covered in forbidding metal mesh. It's enough to make you weep. Not about the stadium, which is as generic as it goes. But rather the cynical pragmatism that governs our priorities, socially and architecturally. Washington is a city where people can stare straight at the most

powerful symbol of their democratic enfranchisement, and still feel absolutely powerless to change the course of our winner-takes-all society (p. C1).

Nationals Park as a space for spectacular consumption.

As Nationals Park intensifies social divisions by benefiting affluent visitors at the expense of urban residents and with a design segregating patrons by wealth, the stadium also reinforces the centrality of consumption within leisure with its use of theming and implosion. While the stadium mobilizes democratic images and icons, everything within the design is subservient to and influenced by economic imperatives. For example, although architects wanted to utilize limestone similar to that used in the city's federal buildings, the stadium's façade is covered in less expensive pre-cast concrete designed to appear similar to limestone (J. Chibnall, personal communication, January 23, 2008).

According to Kennicott (2008),

It's hard not to focus on the economic aspects of this architecture, because so many of the unfortunate architectural decisions are essentially economic decisions. The ballpark – like most shopping malls, airports, sports facilities and, alas, many new museums – belongs to what we might call the architecture of distraction. We don't tend to think of these buildings in architectural terms, as having form or line, balance or symmetry, shape or presence. Rather, it's all about program, circulation and keeping boredom at bay (p. C1).

In the design of Nationals Park, concessions and souvenirs are not incidental to the enjoyment of a baseball game, but are considered primary functions of the building (see Figure 5-5). Functionally, concourses have been designed to facilitate purchasing food and beverages with 40 feet of width and more than 181 points-of-sale (Washington

Nationals, 2007c). Throughout the stadium, advertisements encourage fans to visit concessions stands while vendors walk through the aisles offering beer, sodas, pretzels, hot dogs, ice cream and cotton candy.

Figure 5-5. The concourse and points of sale at Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

To create a fun and exciting atmosphere conducive to consumption, in addition to the political theme already detailed, Nationals Park is decorated to present “baseball with a baseball theme” (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001, p. 110). Although the city explicitly rejected a retro-style stadium, Nationals Park utilizes similar thematic elements. On the main concourse, the stadium features an extensive art package with 60 10-foot paintings honoring players in the Baseball Hall of Fame and a display honoring D.C. baseball history (see Figure 5-6). Baseball memorabilia cover the walls in the Red Porch restaurant, while baseball terms are used in the names of many concession stands, including “Base Line Brews,” the “Grand Slam Grill,” and the “Taste of the Majors.”

The baseball theme is augmented by elements celebrating Washington’s unique baseball history. On the entry plaza at the corner of South Capitol and Potomac Avenue, significant years are embedded in brick (with accompanying interpretive guides on columns – see Figure 5-7) with plans for statues of legendary Washington baseball stars Walter Johnson, Josh Gibson and Frank Howard (Loverro, 2008). Bars and concession

stands around the stadium celebrate the MLB Senators and the Negro League Grays, while the Nationals Club “features a baseball-themed atmosphere including a replica of a scoreboard from the 1924 World Series,” which was the only title won by Washington (Nationals, 2008, p. 12). Washington’s baseball venues are remembered as well, with the outfield dimensions of Griffith Stadium being replicated and by designing some seats to bounce as they do at RFK Stadium (Goldin, 2006).

Figure 5-6. Elements from stadium art package and baseball-themed signage



Photos by Sara Friedman

The thematic elements augment a design in which several forms of consumption have been imploded such that Nationals Park is a “a machine for baseball and for sucking the money out of the pockets of people who like baseball” (Kennicott, 2008, p. C1). The

stadium features a total of three team stores and a Build-a-Bear Workshop at which fans can make their own Screech mascot dolls. There are a variety of dining options from the upscale gourmet offerings of the President’s Club and Stars and Stripes Club, restaurant-quality food offered by local establishments such as Five Guys, Red, Hot and Blue, Hard Times Café, Gifford’s Ice Cream and Ben’s Chili Bowl, and the more basic fast food offerings typical of ballpark fare. The stadium provides a playground for small children with a free jungle gym, while older children can pay to use batting and hitting cages, in which they compete against video simulations of MLB players. The stadium also provides a video arcade, the PlayStation Pavilion, where attendees can try out PlayStation games, including *MLB08: The Show* and *Guitar Hero 3*.

Figure 5-7. Washington-based thematic elements, consumption in Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

With its broad concourses, numerous concessions stands and various thematic elements, the ballpark's design "unifies the two central purposes of the building: baseball and the fleecing of baseball audiences" (Kennicott, 2008, p. C1). Through theming and implosion, the stadium not only enhances peoples' abilities to consume, but has created an environment in which consumption is an essential element of the overall leisure experience. However, when the theming of the stadium comes into conflict with the economic and functional aspects of the building, the Nationals clearly have prioritized the later over the former. While the paintings of Hall of Fame players on the stadium's support posts are supposed recognize their contribution to baseball, the garbage cans and recycling bins in front of most seemingly detract from the honor (see Figure 5-8).

Figure 5-8. Recycling bins and stadium art



Photo by Sara Friedman

Nationals Park and the inclusive city.

In the politics surrounding the stadium and in its consumption-oriented design, Nationals Park is fairly typical of professional sports facilities in the contemporary era. However, the contradiction between the designers' uses of democratic symbolism and the disenfranchisement Washington residents provides a unique and incisive context for exploring the nature of democracy in the contemporary moment and as it relates to the production of sporting spaces. Just as Washington "stages a pageant of democracy without sharing in the democracy that is portrayed" (S. Smith, 1974, p. 3), Nationals Park provides a celebration of democracy while failing to be a democratic or inclusive space.

The stadium's designers attempted to represent the notion of democracy by extensively using glass and by offering glimpses of the field to those outside the stadium. The glass provides the stadium with transparency, which Chibnall (personal communication, January 23, 2008) describes as "commensurate with the true democratic way of the nation". Glass is also supposed to "give the building an openness and connectedness between interior and exterior that allow its activities to be visible from various outside elevations and allow the building to serve as a beacon when illuminated at night" (DCSEC, 2006a, p. 2). This glass provides visibility, but also serves as a physical barrier separating and preventing people from accessing and participating within a space. Nationals Park may use a variety of democratic symbols in its design to suggest inclusion, but the practices and policies of the team and the physical environment tend towards exclusion.

The contrasts between RFK Stadium and Nationals Park demonstrate that designers did not create a space that embodied their rhetorical claims of inclusion.

Nationals Park has 15,000 fewer seats than RFK, which rarely sold out despite offering \$5 tickets in 51 upper deck sections. These inexpensive seats have been virtually eliminated at Nationals Park, which has just two sections of \$5 seats. Prices have risen substantially on tickets throughout the stadium with season tickets for non-premium seats increasing from \$23 to \$32 per game (including premium seats, the average increases from \$29 to \$48 per game) (Koski, 2007). In 2008, Washington also has the greatest increase in the cost of attending a MLB game, as a family of four could attend a game at RFK in 2007 for \$148, but this year would pay \$195 to buy the same items²⁶ (“Team Marketing Report”, 2008). The expense of attending may help explain the reasons that attendance for the Nationals is less than 30,000 per game, despite projections in the city’s 2004 economic impact analyses that were based on an average game attendance of 37,720 (Economic Research Associates, 2004).

While Nationals Park is a space of economic exclusion, in December 2007, the D.C. Council passed legislation that would have made the stadium part of the city’s efforts to advocate for political inclusion through securing voting rights for D.C. residents. In the Nationals three years at RFK Stadium, fans were greeted at the stadium’s main gate by a large banner that replicated the city’s Taxation without Representation license plates that read “GO NATS.” It was believed that this prominent sign helped educate attendees about the city’s disenfranchisement, in a manner similar to the city’s license plates (E. Zegas, personal communication, January 23, 2008). City leaders sought to continue this educational effort with a “Taxation without Representation” message board outside the stadium to show the amount of federal taxes

²⁶ The Fan Cost Index consists of 2 adult and 2 children average-priced tickets, 2 small beers, 2 small soft drinks, 4 regular hot dogs, parking for 1 car, 2 game programs and 2 least expensive adult-sized caps.

paid by D.C. residents. However, the Nationals, who were given exclusive rights to all stadium signage, opposed this effort and there is nothing in or around the stadium, as there is in city-run RFK Stadium, testifying to the city's lack of voting rights.

Nationals Park as an Environmental Space

While the efforts of HOK Sport to create an environmentally-sensitive space are progressive, the actions of the Nationals have the potential to undermine the positive environmental impact of Nationals Park as ExxonMobil is one of the team's major sponsors. As small placards throughout the stadium educate fans about the various green elements of the facility and the Earth Conservation Corps brings its raptors into the Kids Zone as part of its educational mission, ExxonMobil has a large sign covering much of the leftfield wall, several backlit signs on the stadium concourses, prominent advertising placement in game programs and other team-printed materials, and, for the first half of the season, sponsored the seventh-inning stretch (see Figure 5-9). Moreover, ExxonMobil is considered to be a possible candidate to purchase the stadium's naming rights. According to an ExxonMobil spokesperson, "the company entered the partnership because it provided a great platform to promote energy efficiency. 'One of the things we focused on was using the venue of Nationals Park because it's an icon of energy efficiency'" (as qtd. in Krietsch, 2008, p. 9).

To protest the team's partnership with one of the leading deniers of global warming, a leader of the grassroots Strike Out Exxon stated that "Exxon, outside the park, continues to make a mockery of everything the Nationals try to do" (Tidwell, 2008). While environmentally-sensitive, sustainable design is important, the Nationals have diluted the impact of the stadium by closely associating it with one of the world's

worst polluters and giving ExxonMobil the potential to “greenwash” its image without taking substantive actions to curb its pollution. According to Strike Out Exxon organizer Mike Tidwell, “It's perfect politics. They get to associate their name with the goodness of baseball and environmental generosity” (as qtd. in Becker, 2008, p. A15).

Figure 5-9. ExxonMobil signage in Nationals Park and protester



Photos by Sara Friedman

Conclusion

The inclusive, democratic, and environmental symbolism of the stadium is contradicted by the stadium's capital-focused physical spaces and practices. As such, Nationals Park is a spectacular space with a division between image and practice. Within this context, although architects claimed that they sought to represent the “transparency of democracy,” the stadium is much more indicative of the crisis of democracy in the contemporary moment and within Washington. This crisis of democracy is driven by neo-liberal and neo-conservative ideologies and policies that lavish public resources upon the wealthy, fetishize economic growth (particularly through consumption), marginalize those with lesser abilities to consume, and attempt to mystify their origins and obscure

their impacts through spectacle. Rather than being a democratic space described by Lefebvre (1991b) in which diverse populations have access to, can participate, use as they desire, and challenge inequitable power relations, Nationals Park is a highly exclusionary space that, through its emphasis on consumption, exacerbates social divisions and reinforces the inequitable status quo.

The priorities of the designers of Nationals Park are evident within the choices they made at each stage of the stadium's design, construction and operations. Of the DCSEC's five priorities (first class stadium, inclusiveness, connection to AWI, environmentalism, and architectural presence), four were reduced, limited, or compromised by economic considerations. The city's goal of an inclusive city was contradicted by the stadium's highly exclusionary design. Connections to the surrounding neighborhood were weakened with two parking garages that tower over the stadium and limit the possibilities in the streetscape. The stadium's environmental message has been sullied with the team's advertising partnership with ExxonMobil. The stadium's iconic potential and architectural presence was compromised by choosing less expensive materials by building the parking garages above ground. However, only the stadium's revenue generating capacities were enhanced as Nationals team owners agreed to contribute \$11 million to make upgrades to the original design (including a high-definition scoreboard, cherry trees, restrooms in suites) and, following its requests, received additional suites and premium seats (Heath, 2007; LeDuc & Nakamura, 2008; Levin, 2005).

While these compromises to the stadium may be somewhat abstract, the treatment of the stadium's art package provides a tangible example of the way that its symbolic

elements are eclipsed by functional and economic concerns. With \$2 million from the D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities (LeDuc & Nakamura, 2008; Nakamura, 2006a), the art package enhances the stadium's baseball theme with a display about Washington's baseball history, sculpture, and paintings of baseball memorabilia and players in the Baseball Hall of Fame. While the player paintings on the support posts are the most prominent artistic display, they are obscured by trash cans, recycling bins, and concession stands, which are placed near the paintings in order not to interfere with people's movement around the concourse. This utilitarian focus is demonstrated most poignantly by the Josh Gibson painting, which honors one of baseball's greatest players who never had an opportunity to play in the Major Leagues due to the color barrier. Gibson, who played many of his home games in Washington with the Homestead Grays, will be honored on the entry plaza with one of three statues, but his painting on the concourse is obscured by a concession stand selling cotton candy (see Figure 5-10). While it is unlikely that Nationals management intended to denigrate Gibson, its placement of a concessions stand demonstrates its disregard for aesthetic elements that could otherwise interfere with the stadium's commercial functions.

Figure 5-10. Gibson painting as obscured by concession stand



Photo by Sara Friedman

While the Gibson painting may represent the most tangible example of the prioritization of the stadium's commercial aspects, the stadium's fundamental contradiction between its democratic image and capital-oriented function is inscribed throughout National Park. Rhetoric may claim the stadium is a democratic and inclusive space, but all fans attending Nationals games are not considered equal as money determines many aspects of the game experience: where people sit and the comfort of their seats; where people eat, the quality and diversity of food selections, and the type of food service they receive; where people go to the toilet and the convenience of restrooms; and the temperature and quality of water emanating from the public water fountains. Moreover, these separations in the quality of the game experience are not subtle with steel barriers and a moat separating the President and Diamond seats from other sections in the seating bowl, guarded entrances to the club and the suite levels, and large glass panels on the main concourse through which fans can see, but not enjoy, the comfort and amenities available in the exclusive PNC Diamond Club.

Yet, for all the divisions occurring within Nationals Park, the stadium obscures and exacerbates the much deeper social chasms implicated in its approval by the city's political leaders, the general practice of urban governance in this era, and the disenfranchisement of D.C. residents. When they approved a \$611 million subsidy for the stadium, city leaders made clear their prioritization of economic growth and the desires of suburbanites over the needs of D.C. residents. However, by using scarce public resources on a baseball stadium they hoped would encourage economic growth and transformation in a neighborhood that is already being redeveloped, city leaders also chose not to provide that \$611 million to make capital repairs to the school system; to

clean up the Anacostia River, which was rated as the most polluted river in the United States during the 1990s; to rebuild a public hospital east of the Anacostia River to serve the city's poorest residents; or use a small portion to revitalize the city's outmoded public libraries.

Washington is by no means unique or extreme in its provision of public resources to professional sports facilities, as deMause and Cagan (2008) estimate that taxpayer subsidies are almost \$2 billion annually, or in its policies that cater to the desires of mobile capital over the needs of residents. To many cities, building a spectacular stadium is a central element in their redevelopment strategies as they hope that a stadium's presence would attract leisure consumers and businesses to serve them (Fainstein & Judd, 1999b). In Washington, these inequitable practices possess deeper symbolic meanings, as the city simultaneously represents the highest ideals of American democracy and contains its most exclusionary practices. In many ways, then, Nationals Park does, indeed, capture the essence of democracy as it exists as a spectacle within Washington, as the stadium's designers offered visions of unity and inclusion, but provided a reality of division and exclusion.

Chapter 6 – Last Dance in Southeast: Sexual Washington

April 3, 2006, closing night at Ziegfeld's. There is a palpable sadness in the air as an era is ending. Weeks of court challenges have come to naught as the eminent domain orders were served and appeals exhausted. The city decided that the land under Ziegfeld's and the other businesses on O Street has a much more important public purpose – constructing a ballpark for the Washington Nationals.

Some of the other businesses on O Street have already shut their doors and said goodbye. Tonight is Ziegfeld's opportunity as on April 4th, the D.C. Sports and Entertainment Commission takes possession of the building at the corner of Half and O Street, with demolition to occur on some yet to-be-determined date. The building itself is fairly unremarkable, cinderblocks painted black, a neon sign facing Half Street, an awning for Secrets on O Street. The interior is fairly nondescript as well with threadbare carpet, a U-shaped bar at the back along with an elevated platform to afford more people a view of the show, which takes place on the wooden floor in the center of the room that doubles as a dance floor.

However, this mundane exterior masked the longest running drag show in Washington. Under the direction of show manager Ella Fitzgerald, Ziegfeld's has become an institution in Washington's LGBT community. On this night, the building is packed for its final show. The performers come down a spiral staircase from the dressing room for their final performances at Ziegfeld's, lip-synching to songs from Mariah Carey, Diana Ross, Whitney Houston, Celine Dion. Two performers choose Gloria Gaynor's *I Will Survive*, perhaps for its defiant tone, perhaps for comfort in the face of an uncertain future. Most performers collect their tips, take their bows, and move off the stage, but

Xavier Onassis Bloomingdale expresses the anger that many feel as she grabs the microphone and enflames the crowd by telling them “they’re going to build a baseball stadium here. And what are we going to do when it’s done? Burn it down!... Fuck baseball! Who gives a fuck about baseball!” She ends her rant against baseball and grabs her crotch in a rare act of defiance and bravado, and the mood returns to a festive though somber tone. The evening ends well past midnight as Ella has the long song, Donna Summers’ *Last Dance*, which she reprises one final time to the cheers and tears of the audience.

The next day, O Street was very different. Several buildings already have fences and signs reading, “no trespassing, government property.” There are a few people milling around as the businesses clear out their final goods and padlock the doors. The manager of Follies and Glorious Health and Amusements (a.k.a. “The Glory Hole”) says they will reopen in a couple of months down West Virginia Avenue and that the owner of Heat has retired to Fort Lauderdale. The street is quiet, littered with the detritus that accumulated over the area’s 35 years as a queer space. However, soon the bulldozers and dump trucks will arrive, to be followed by the excavators, cement trucks, and construction cranes. Within two months, there will be no sign that this area had once been a center of LGBT life in Washington.

Describing the last night at Ziegfeld’s in the *Washington Post*, Stuever (2006) noted,

going down to Navy Yard made you feel a little dirty (or a lot dirty), in an adventurous or perhaps even anonymous way. It never felt completely safe... it

may be hard to understand Half and O as a lost gay authenticity; harder still to assign it any civic value (p. C2).

Stadium proponents certainly did not recognize the area's civic value, as they saw urban blight and its economic potential. In the days following MLB's announcement, Mayor Williams stated, "anyone driving down M Street [near the proposed stadium site] and saying, 'this is what we want' [to keep]... I'm not sure what they're thinking" (as qtd. in Sheridan, 2004, p. B2). Williams and other proponents failed to recognize that, to the various people who lived their lives in the area – the performers and audience of Zeigfeld's, the owners, employees and patrons of the various businesses on O Street, the artists at the Washington Sculpture Center, the people working in the car repair shops, warehouses, asphalt company and other businesses in the stadium footprint, and the few residents in the row houses on N Street – the area was already central to *their* lives in Washington.

Although Stuever may have noted that people found it difficult to assign "civic value" to the O Street businesses, this chapter is an attempt to recognize and document the meanings the area had within Washington's LGBT community and the city in general. This history is set within broader notions of queer space and power relations within space as they have developed within Washington, D.C. and the present neo-liberal moment. As I will discuss, the gay community's use of and eviction from the area and the subsequent failure of any of the businesses besides Ziegfeld's/Secrets to reopen are representative of the marginal positioning of sexual identity and practice in general the past 40 years.

This chapter begins with an analysis of the sexuality of space using theoretical insights from Lefebvre and scholars of queer space. Then I examine the Washington context and the development of O Street from the early 1970s as an important part of the city's LGBT community, before discussing the impacts that redevelopment in the Near Southeast had upon the LGBT's use of the area. In examining the uses and meanings of the Near Southeast as a queer space, media reports from the *Washington Blade* and *Metro Weekly* helped to frame my understandings of the area. The Rainbow History Project's roundtable community discussion, *Before the Ballpark*, provided me with much deeper insight into the area through the personal reflections from the 50 members of the audience, featured speakers Carl Rizzi and Marty Crowetz, and presider Mark Meinke. Craig Seymour's book, *All I Could Bare*, was also a very useful first person narrative of the uses of the area. In analyzing the impact of the stadium, I focus on the difficulty that these businesses have had in reopening in other parts of the District of Columbia, as I examined media reports, public testimony in front of the D.C. Council and public comments on the Frozen Tropics blog.

The Sexuality of Space

Lefebvre (1991b) described space as being constitutive of power relations by bearing social norms, being the terrain in which those social norms are contested, and being the stake of contestations between groups. In this trial by space, groups, ideas, classes, representations and values attempt to "make their mark on space" or risk becoming irrelevant (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 417). As such, attaining visibility within space is a necessary, but insufficient, element in any successful contestation to social norms. Given their social significance, sexual practice and identity are key sites for contestations

over power with gender- and sexuality-based dominance and discrimination common (Binnie, Longhurst, & Peace, 2001; Binnie & Valentine, 1999; Knopp, 1994; Skeggs, 1999).

In general, society attempts to heavily control sexual expression, practice and identity, often through defining which sexualities (i.e. types, forms and people) can be visible within certain spaces (Lefebvre, 1991b). As such, space itself is highly sexualized through seemingly innocuous practices that, in actuality, reproduce socially dominant and acceptable heterosexual practices and identities (N. Duncan, 1996b). According to Myslik (1996),

engagement announcements, bridal showers, wedding ceremonies and rings, joint tax returns, booking a double bed at a hotel, shopping together for a new mattress, casual references in conversation to a husband or wife, a brief peck on the cheek when greeting or leaving a spouse, photos of spouses on desks at work, holding hands at the beach, and even divorces are all public announcements and affirmations of one's heterosexuality (p. 159).

Moreover, these public displays of heterosexuality are socially encouraged as people, regardless of their sexuality, usually conform to them without offering resistance or displaying their sexual identities in transgressive ways (Chouinard & Grant, 1996; Desert, 1997).

While these dominant practices are naturalized and visible within space, non-normative and transgressive practices are relegated to the social and spatial margins through various forms of repression (Duncan, 1996; Ingram, 1997). Public displays of homosexual affection continue to receive social approbation, and, in many circumstances,

have induced violent responses (Binnie, 1994; Ingram, 1997a; Myslik, 1996; Valentine, 1996). Sexual acts, no matter the participants sexual identities, are generally confined to acceptable locations with those being performed publicly considered immoral, if not illegal (Bell, 1994; Knopp, 1998; Lefebvre, 1991b). Sex work also is generally restricted to the social, legal and spatial margins, despite its increasing commodification under capitalism (Califia, 1997; Hubbard, 2004; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003; Lefebvre, 1991b). Within this late capitalist moment, questions over sexual identity and practice have become even more complicated with the seemingly conflicting neo-liberal economic goals which tend towards commodifying sexuality and neo-conservative social goals which seek to control sexuality.

Marginality and Queer Space

The hegemonic heteronormativity of space has been increasingly challenged over the last half century by LGBT communities who have claimed the right to be visible within space as individuals and as groups (Bell, 2001; Chisholm, 1999; Ingram, 1997; Valentine, 1996). From being invisible and defined as mentally-ill during the 1950s, the gay rights movement since the 1960s has been successful in gaining greater social acceptance for queer identities and legal acceptance of same-sex practices. Nonetheless, LGBT communities, sexual identities and practices continue to face different degrees of marginalization within the present moment.

There were few challenges to heterosexist assumptions about space through the 1960s as homosexuals generally sought to avoid public attention by remaining on the social margins since they were subjected to social approbation, heavy police surveillance and legal regulation (Grube, 1997). Homosexuals found it difficult to work in

government jobs as they could be fired because it was believed that they were security risks who could be blackmailed to expose secret information (Seymour, 2008).

Homosexual encounters were often clandestine and anonymous, occurring in bathhouses, public parks and bathrooms (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Chisholm, 1999; Grube, 1997; Ingram, 1997b). According to Rothenberg (1994), this marginality also extended to the location of “gay male bars and discos, [which] tend to be in out-of-the-way places, particularly warehouse districts” (p. 168).

However, within the torrent of 1960s activism as African-Americans, Latinos, women, and youth marched for their civil rights, homosexuals also demanded their rights, with the watershed moment occurring with New York’s Stonewall Riots²⁷ of 1969 (Ingram, 1997a; Johnston, 2005). Within the past four decades, homosexuals have become more forthright in publicly proclaiming their individual and collective identities. Individually, people have “come out” of the metaphorical space of the closet to announce their sexual preferences (Desert, 1997; Polchin, 1997; Skeggs, 1999). In so doing, they escape the silence that intensifies their marginality and alienation through isolation and invisibility by publicly embracing an aspect of themselves that is outside heteronormative standards (Ingram, 1997a). This public announcement is an inherently political act through which they claim their right to be visible as sexual individuals within public space.

²⁷ Grube (1997) suggests it is too simplistic to provide a pre-Stonewall, post-Stonewall dichotomy due to uneven development of LGBT activism around the world. Although activism was growing through the 1950s and 1960s, the Stonewall Riots do mark a turning point in so far as they attracted national media attention on efforts to achieve LGBT rights (Ingram, 1997a). However, visible LGBT activism began earlier in some places such as San Francisco and Washington D.C. during the 1960s (Seymour, 2008), and later in Toronto (Grube, 1997) and Great Britain (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Quilley, 1997). In addition, LGBT activism is still nascent in places such as Singapore (Kean Fan, 2004) and remains completely repressed in other places.

Claims for visibility in the public realm by LGBT communities are pressed on a broader societal level through pride parades, AIDS activism, and by creating residential and commercial “gay ghettos.” These are elements of an effort to colonize space in order to “gain access to economic and political power” (V. Miller, 2005, p. 65) and, within the context of trial by space, to concretize those gains. In these actions, LGBT communities make demands for public services, create social infrastructures, engage in political activities, and disrupt normative understandings of sexuality in heterosexual spaces (Bell, 2001; Forest, 1995; V. Miller, 2005; Mitchell, 1995, 2003; Valentine, 1996). As such, the gay liberation movement and gay identity have substantial spatial elements as “gays self-consciously use place to move themselves into public visibility by claiming and reshaping public space” (Forest, 1995, p. 151).

The challenge to the heterosexist hegemony over space has been met with a backlash in which various forms of repression and domination attempt to reinscribe the marginal status of homosexuals (Desert, 1997; Ingram, 1997a; Valentine, 1996). Heterosexuals have used a variety of tactics to assert their dominance and limit the presence of homosexuals within public space, whether through “gay ghettos” that concentrates much of the LGBT community within a defined space, and through violence and homophobia that undermines feelings of safety and security within the LGBT community (T. Davis, 1994; Johnston, 2005; Knopp, 1994; Myslik, 1996). Neo-conservative politicians have used the moral panic surrounding AIDS to justify the closure of bathhouses, to move sexually-oriented businesses catering to the LGBT community to less visible spaces, and to medically intervene within and monitor sexual practices within the gay community (Rofes, 2001; N. Smith, 1998).

Heterosexist domination of space is even reinscribed through seemingly supportive activities as visiting homosexual nightclubs and within discourses of tolerance. In visiting homosexual spaces, heterosexuals frequently view natives as exotic curiosities to be photographed and questioned, while they consume perceived differences (Johnston, 2005; Rushbrook, 2002; Skeggs, 1999). Claims about toleration also contain contradictory elements that reproduce heterosexist assumptions over space as tolerance suggests that there is *something outside acceptable norms that needs toleration*. I doubt that many public figures in the United States would make pronouncements lauding the “toleration” of the dozen heterosexual practices identified earlier in this chapter.

Within the heterosexual spaces of the public sphere, homosexuals are expected not to openly express their identity and desire in ways that would be acceptable for heterosexuals (Bell, 1994). In general, this means that homosexual desire should only (if at all) be expressed in private areas, as public displays of affection, such as kissing or holding hands, invite backlash (T. Davis, 1994; Myslik, 1996; Valentine, 1996). In order to remain safe and accepted, many homosexuals attempt keep their sexuality invisible in order to “pass” for heterosexuals within public space or do not admit their sexuality by remaining in the closet. As such, the combination of societal pressures to remain invisible, discourses of tolerance, the threat of violence, and the circumscription of public expression of alternate sexualities work together to marginalize homosexuals within the broader community and alienate homosexuals from enjoying their sexuality (Ingram, 1997a).

The Commodification of Queer Space

While the fight for visibility in public space is an inherently political and confrontational act, the commodification of queer space and identities has served to forestall and co-opt many challenges to the status quo. In many cities, LGBT communities are valued as symbols of cosmopolitanism through which to attract tourists and for their roles in gentrification (Binnie, 1994; Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Desert, 1997; Johnston, 2005; Rothenberg, 1994). In return for this increased acceptance and visibility, overt, non-normative sexual practices have been further marginalized, as according to Rushbrook (2002), “gay urban spectacles attract tourists and investment; sexually deviant, dangerous rather than merely risqué, landscapes do not” (p. 195). Through commodifying queer spaces, urban decision makers, planners and elites have been able to reassert their control over spaces that had been effectively appropriated by a marginalized group.

According to Skeggs (1999), consumption “has been fundamental in generating a particular form of gay male visibility” (p. 215). In the press, homosexuals often have been recoded as white, male, middle class individuals who are affluent consumers and potential gentrifiers as members of dual-income, no-children households (Binnie, 1994; Bouthillette, 1997). This is ironic since “gay ghettos” historically developed as LGBT homebuyers and renters were discriminated against in more affluent communities, such that their options were limited to neighborhoods with less desirable housing and amenities (V. Miller, 2005). For example, in Washington, the LGBT community is considered an anchor for the redevelopment of the distressed neighborhood surrounding Dupont Circle and has been on the leading edge of the gentrification of Mount Vernon

Square, that was devastated by middle class black flight following the 1968 riots (Desert, 1997; Paris & Anderson, 2001). Rather than being a process conceived and guided by planning agencies, the gentrification created by LGBT communities has been a relatively “organic” process, as, until recently, there has been little active involvement by government (Bell & Binnie, 2004).

The role of government in producing and promoting LGBT spaces has grown in the past two decades as cities have begun focusing on attracting “pink” capital through tourism (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Binnie, 1994; Kean Fan, 2004; V. Miller, 2005; Quilley, 1997). As there is a perception that members of LGBT communities are affluent consumers, cities, such as Manchester and Singapore, that until recently have repressed LGBT populations as a matter of policy, have rebranded themselves by promoting new policies of tolerance, marketed the presence of an active LGBT nightlife, and staged festivals to attract gay tourists (Binnie, 1994; Kean Fan, 2004; Quilley, 1997). These reconceptions of urban space are not solely directed at LGBT communities as tolerant public policies are positioned as markers of cosmopolitanism (Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Quilley, 1997). In addition, the LGBT communities themselves, with gay bars, drag shows and pride parades, are marketed as spectacles for the heterosexual gaze (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Binnie & Skeggs, 2004; Johnston, 2005).

The increasing commodification of LGBT spaces has resulted in the creation of a “homonormativity” in which only certain sexual expressions or identities are considered to be desirable in public spaces (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Rushbrook, 2002). By further marginalizing alternative sexual practices, sexual subcultures, and eliminating gay male sex zones in the name of cleaning up sleaze, the economic value of a gentrifying

neighborhood can be protected and enhanced, while LGBT community receives greater acceptance as being more consistent with heteronormative standards (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Rushbrook, 2002). Moreover, within homonormativity, “once transgressive political displays are now corporatised, regulated and controlled” (Johnston, 2005, p. 101), as overt challenges to the status quo are toned down in order to be more attractive to potential consumers and sponsors.

Homonormativity has produced new forms of marginality that are created by and enforced by dominant elements within the LGBT community, which tend to be male, white, and middle or upper class (Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2002; Rothenberg, 1994; Valentine, 1996). In many ways, queer spaces help to reproduce existing racial, sexist and pro-capitalist discourses, as homosexual status does not necessarily nullify the dominance of whiteness, patriarchy or wealth (Hubbard, 2004; Knopp, 1994).

Additionally, there are further delineations within the LGBT community based upon appearance, age, and sexual practice that privilege certain groups and individuals over others (Binnie, 1994; Califia, 1997; Hemmings, 1994; Rushbrook, 2002). As such, lesbians, bisexuals, people of color, and the poor suffer differing degrees of exclusion from queer space and life (Binnie & Valentine, 1999; Hemmings, 1994; Knopp, 1994; Pritchard et al., 2002).

Far More Than Blight

Despite the rhetoric used by ballpark proponents, there was much more to the stadium site than the blight described in media reports, seen in drive-by tours, gleaned from tax records, or offered in the justifications of urban planners. As described by Morton (2004),

buried under all the ballpark-booster rhetoric about the purportedly blighted industrial district is a real neighborhood. A neighborhood with streets and streetlights and occupied buildings. A neighborhood with places to work and play and garden and meet lots of men. A neighborhood where you can walk your dog without a leash. A neighborhood where you can do what you want and be left alone, because no one's around to bother you or be bothered by you (n. pag).

As described in chapter 4, within this neighborhood, there were Ken Wyban's plans for a Bed and Breakfast, Alton Majette's "garden of love", Patricia Ghiglino and Reinaldo Lopez' Washington Sculpture Center, and Bob Siegel's "gay Disneyland" (Hruby, 2004; Knott, 2004, 2005a; Morton, 2004; Nakamura, 2006b). Then there are the stories of men like Craig Seymour who worked as strippers in order to pay their way through school or otherwise live (Seymour, 2008). Perhaps these were all lives that were lived within a "blighted" area, but they all had value and contributed to life within Washington. By exploring the 35-year history of the gay community's use of O Street, I hope to prevent these stories from being rendered invisible behind the "transparent" glass and pseudo-limestone façade of Nationals Park.

The History and Geography of Queer D.C.

The history of the LGBT community in Washington is similar to those discussed earlier in the chapter. According to a timeline of recent LGBT history in D.C. created by the Rainbow History Project (RHP) (2003b), LGBT activism and community building did not occur in earnest until the 1960s, as before, LGBT individuals kept a fairly low profile to protect their jobs, housing and other benefits and to avoid police harassment. While not visible, LGBT individuals found a few places in the city where they were

welcome to congregate. The RHP suggested that militant activism began in 1961 as Frank Kameny co-founded the Mattachine Society of Washington, which used public actions, political organizing and picket lines to demand equal treatment in employment and housing, to work towards removing homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's list of mental illnesses, and to challenge police harassment and entrapment. Along with this increased activism came the establishment of businesses, clubs and bathhouses that openly catered to homosexuals. The RHP defined the 1970s as a period in which LGBT individuals established a community through creating organizations and other social infrastructure, such that "much of what we know today as Gay D.C. began in this period" (RHP, n. dat, p. 20).

The social geography of Washington's LGBT community closely tracks this history. The RHP's Mark Meinke (2002) identified almost 400 locations associated with LGBT life in the city from the 1920, but found that less than 80 had appeared before 1960. Gay neighborhoods were not residential areas, but "existed in so far as restaurants and clubs that welcomed gays and lesbians tended to cluster together" (Meinke, 2002, p. n. pag). It was not until the 1970s that the first gay commercial and social institutions were established in the city, many of which were near Dupont Circle and through which solidified that area's status as the political, residential and commercial center of D.C.'s LGBT community (Desert, 1997; Meinke, 2002; Myslik, 1996).

The Near Southeast as a Queer Space

This quick geographic and historical overview contextualizes the conditions under which the Near Southeast became associated with the LGBT community, starting with the opening of the Pier 9 dance club at Buzzard's Point in 1970 [see Figure 6-1, #13 on

map] (Chibbaro Jr, 2004c). As gay-owned and oriented businesses were displaced by redevelopment in Northwest D.C., entrepreneurs found inexpensive rents and few neighbors to complain in the Near Southeast, while patrons found anonymity in the area's relative remoteness (RHP, 2003a). With a notable exception (Tracks at 80 M Street – see Figure 6-1, #8 on map), businesses clustered in two areas: on L Street between South Capitol and 1st Streets, and O Street between South Capitol and Half Street. O Street became a commercial zone of nightclubs featuring drag shows and nude dancing, adult theaters, adult bookstores, bathhouses and gyms (Chibbaro, 2004). While the area never developed a residential presence, the Near Southeast was not just an area for sexual encounters as it was perceived by many. It also played an essential role in the development and life of Washington's LGBT community over a 35-year period. Moreover, its history is illustrative of neo-liberal and neo-conservative trends since the 1970s, as the area came under increasing social regulation before it was permanently transformed by capital.

Figure 6-1. Map of LGBT sites in the Near Southeast



Source: This map is from Gay DC Walking Tours: S Capitol Street. Copyright 2003 by the Rainbow History Project. Reprinted with permission.

According to Kameny, the Near Southeast became associated with the gay community when “exiled” into the area in the early 1970s by Police Chief Jerry Wilson and other civic leaders (Chibbaro, 2004). Before the move, a similar zone of gay-oriented businesses was located between 9th and 14th Streets in Northwest, but was closed when the city wanted to built the Washington Convention Center²⁸ (Bugg, 2005; Hruba, 2004; Schwartzman, 2005). Although the area is within a mile of Capitol Hill and near South Capitol Street, a main artery for traffic into the city, “the area was far from tourist friendly, full of abandoned buildings, vacant lots, and houses that looked like they were one brick away from being condemned” (Seymour, 2008, p. 14). The businesses were fairly invisible to most city residents and visitors as they were located in an economically marginal area near the forgotten Anacostia River and next to the abandoned Southeast Federal Center (Schwartzman, 2005). Essentially, Washington’s urban planners did not focus too much attention or city resources on the Near Southeast as they had other priorities and had little incentive to try to transform it

Rather than following the guidelines of city planners, members of the LGBT community created Near Southeast to meet their own needs. Within the four buildings on O Street, which Schwartzman (2005) described as “a kind of 24-hour mini-mall of prurience” (p. A1), there were a succession of sexually-oriented businesses and nightclubs serving Washington’s LGBT community. At 1345 Half Street (see Figure 6-1, #9 on map), three previous dance and entertainment clubs, including the lesbian Other Side, operated before Ziegfeld’s opened in 1988. The address was also shared by Secrets

²⁸ This Washington Convention Center is different that the one promoted by Mayor Williams. This one opened in 1983 and was replaced in 2003.

nightclub, which featured nude male dancing. Next door at 24 O Street (see Figure 6-1, #10 on map), the adult movie theater Follies shared a space with Glorious Health & Amusements. Club Washington Baths II, which was Washington's second modern gay bathhouse and only gay bathhouse in Washington to survive the 1980s, operated at 20 O Street (see Figure 6-1, #11 on map). The building at 18 O Street (see Figure 6-1, #12 on map), which was on the corner of South Capitol, had multiple uses and tenants, including a steakhouse and pizza restaurant. During the 1980s, it hosted a leather club/disco, which was followed by La Cage aux Follies and Heat, both of which featured nude male dancing (RHP, 2003a, 2005; Schwartzman, 2005).

According to Seymour (2008), "[O Street] came alive at night, when La Cage and the other clubs turned on their neon signs and all sorts of men looking to get it on with other guys descended upon the sidewalkless streets" (p. 14). The primary purpose of the businesses on O Street was to facilitate homosexual encounters, whether in the Club Baths, the wooden maze at Follies, the private video booths of the Glory Hole, or in the strip clubs in which intimate contact between dancers and patrons was encouraged until a 1997 crackdown (Meinke, Crowetz, & Rizzi, 2008; Seymour, 2008). The highly permissive atmosphere attracted gay tourists, as many cities, including San Francisco and New York, restricted adult entertainment such that they did not have clubs that served alcohol while featuring nude dancing (Bugg, 2005; Schwartzman, 2005).

While facilitating sexual encounters may have been the primary purpose of the businesses on O Street, according to Marty Crowetz, a former Marine and part owner of Follies, the area "was not all about sex" (Meinke et al., 2008) as the users of the Near Southeast created a space that met their diverse needs. As such, the O Street businesses

served important functions in the constitution of Washington's LGBT community and in forming people's sexual identities. Within the area's relative remoteness, men and women had opportunities to explore their sexual identities in ways that were otherwise unavailable to them, whether by dressing in drag or just relaxing, watching television and playing pool with other men without hiding one's sexual preferences (Meinke et al., 2008). Crowetz described the area as providing "freedom" as "I didn't have to hide. It was my getaway" (as qtd. in Schwartzman, 2005, p. A1). Ron Baker, a bartender at Ziegfeld's, described the area as "a place where people would come and let go of all their hang-ups and just be who they are" (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2006c, p. 1). Seymour (2008) observed that for many club patrons, "their time... seemed less like a hedonistic indulgence and more like a taste of hard-won freedom" (p. 39) as they escaped the secrets and compromises they had made in their lives in order to maintain their reputations, jobs and families. The area was also a very emotionally safe, welcoming space where people could find others like them and for those who had been rejected by their families for their lifestyles (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c; Meinke et al., 2008).

Although the area was a highly male space, the Near Southeast and O Street did have a lesbian presence. Before becoming Ziegfeld's in 1988, 1345 Half Street was the site of "The Other Side," a "women's dance and drag bar" (RHP, 2005). However, after the Other Side closed, the lesbian community borrowed space on a frequent basis from the gay community. Once a month for 10 years, the Wet nightclub on L Street hosted "Soft N Wet Afternoons," which was described as a "lesbian erotic dancing event." (Volin, 2006). According to Vicki Harris, who created and organized the event,

it was never about social status. It was just about one common goal, and that was just to have fun and for the women to really enjoy the dancers and to enjoy each other. We could mourn the death of friends and celebrate the life of grandchildren or new kids in our lives (as qtd. in Volin, 2006).

On a wider community level, the O Street businesses served many functions as spaces for political activism and education, and for community uplift as well. According to Chibbaro (2006a),

the clubs – nearly all of which provide adult entertainment like nude dancing, X-rated films or off-color jokes by the drag performers – have provided an uplifting, gay-affirmative edge that may have made some gay activists squeamish but which boosted the spirits of its patrons during good times and bad (n. pag).

In terms of political engagement, the area played a key role in gay rights efforts. During the 1970s, club owners provided start-up money of the city LGBT Gertrude Stein Democratic Club (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c). During the 1980s, the businesses were at the forefront of AIDS education and prevention by providing condoms, and, for a short time, HIV testing (Meinke et al., 2008). Ziegfeld's and the other clubs held fundraisers for AIDS-related causes, gay rights initiatives, and even to help Kameny make his mortgage payments when he was in danger of losing his house in the mid-1980s (Meinke et al., 2008). The "Soft N Wet" lesbian events at Wet nightclub featured information about and opportunities to conduct breast self-examinations, at which five women detected lumps at an early stage and were able to receive treatment (Volin, 2006). In addition to action and education, club owners helped fund the city's first LGBT community center (Bugg, 2005; Chibbaro Jr, 2006a, 2006c).

The O Street businesses also provided employment opportunities that were otherwise unavailable to members of the LGBT community. Dancers in the clubs found stripping a relatively easy way to earn money, whether for college or as a profession, and to express their sexuality (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c; Seymour, 2008). The drag show at Ziegfeld's enabled drag queens to earn good money regularly, especially as the city lacked other venues for the commercial drag performance (Meinke et al., 2008). Phil Pannell of the D.C. Coalition stated, "these establishments have employed people in our community who are the marginally employable" (as qtd. in Bugg, 2005, n. pag), specifically citing transgendered people.

Despite the area's importance for Washington's LGBT community, it was, for the most part, fairly unknown to the remainder of the city. According to Kameny, the city's attitude towards the area was "an out-of-sight, out-of-mind kind of thing" (as qtd. in Schwartzman, 2005, p. A1) and the police generally left the area alone (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c). As such, O Street remained outside the public eye with a few notable exceptions. In 1976, police raided the Club Washington baths as part of a generalized effort to clean up the city for the bicentennial. Charges against the patrons were dropped after protests by the LGBT community and its allies (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c; RHP, 2003a). In 1977, a fire at the Cinema Follies²⁹ killed nine men, brought extensive media coverage, and led to tightening and increased enforcement of the city's fire code (Meinke et al., 2008; RHP, 2003a; Schwartzman, 2005). In 1992, police raided Follies and charged operators with running a "bawdy house," but charges, again, were dropped after protests from the LGBT community (Bugg, 2005; Meinke et al., 2008). During the mid-1990s, several police

²⁹ Cinema Follies was located at 37 L Street (Figure 6-1, #3 on map). Follies reopened on O Street following the fire (RHP, 2005).

officers were arrested for blackmailing men who were patronizing the area (Bugg, 2005; Meinke et al., 2008).

In some ways, the marginal status of the Near Southeast was beneficial as Marion Barry's promise in 1978 to end raids on gay bars allowed the O Street bars to pretty much set their own rules and standards of conduct (Seymour, 2008). However, this attitude also carried over into the provision of public services, which were generally lacking in the area (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c). Parking in the area was risky as cars were frequently broken into (Meinke et al., 2008; Stuever, 2006). Patrons were forced to provide for their own security, as Crowetz, along with other former Marines, formed the "GEMs" (Gay Ex-Marines) to patrol the area (Meinke et al., 2008; Schwartzman, 2005). Crowetz also purchased a snowplow to clear the streets, which were ignored by D.C. workers.³⁰ With the lack of police protection and the neighborhood's dangerous reputation, cab companies would not service the area, so Crowetz arranged service through a Baltimore cab company owned by his grandfather (Meinke et al., 2008). During the 1980s, medical personnel refused to go into the O Street businesses and treated the injured while wearing gloves for fear of AIDS, inspiring the chant, "hey hey, ho ho, your shoes and gloves don't go" (Meinke et al., 2008). However, this lack of medical services had serious impacts, as at the RHP's "Remembering What We've Lost" public forum, Crowetz recounted how he and another man had to remove a person who had died of a heart attack from Follies because emergency medical technicians refused to go inside.

In many ways, Near Southeast status as a queer space was determined more by its uses and users than by the conceptions and plans of urban elites and planners. This,

³⁰ The lack of snow removal was a frequent complaint throughout the city at this time. As such, I would suggest that the lack of civic services is probably more related to inefficiencies in D.C. government than any anti-homosexual bias.

however, is not to imply that capital had no role in shaping the area's use as the clubs, theater, bath house, and adult bookstore were all for-profit businesses, or that the businesses were not subjected to licensing and zoning restrictions. As people inhabited the area, they were producing and consuming a lifestyle that provided economic sustenance to many like Craig Seymour and enriched a few people like Bob Siegel. Acknowledging that, the economic value did not dominate use value within the Near Southeast to the same extent as in more central areas of Washington. Given its marginal status, the Near Southeast was allowed to develop as a queer space beyond the attention of police, planners, and other city officials. However, by the mid-1990s, economic and political concerns, as well as social pressures, were beginning to transform the Near Southeast.

The Changing Landscape – Final Days of O Street

As described earlier, the prominence of neo-conservative ideologies were changing public policy as it related to sexually-oriented displays. While regulatory efforts in reaction to AIDS forced many gay bathhouses to close during the 1980s and forced greater supervision of LGBT spaces, efforts in DC generally focused on ensuring that sexually-oriented businesses were contained in a few areas. Throughout the 1980s, zoning restrictions on sexually-oriented businesses were tightened as few, if any, were allowed to open in the city, regardless of the sexual preferences of their clientele³¹ (Chibbaro Jr, 2004c, 2007c; O'Bryan, 2004). For the most part, these restrictions had little impact on the operations of the existing businesses throughout the Near Southeast as, following Barry's promise, enforcement efforts were almost non-existent.

³¹ However, existing operating and liquor licenses were exempt from new zoning regulations and were transferable (at the same location) between the operators of the businesses and clubs.

The first signs of change in the relative autonomous status of O Street and the Near Southeast started occurring in 1997 as the D.C. Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC) Board began enforcing existing legal codes that banned sexual acts in establishments serving alcohol. Legally, the ABC could levy fines of up to \$10,000 and suspend liquor licenses, which, according to Seymour (2008), caused the strip clubs to ban the intimate contact between dancers and patrons which had become an expected part of dancers' performances. At the same time, there was a more generalized desexualization of the LGBT community in the city as Dupont Circle became more gentrified and sought a more middle-class friendly reputation as nude venues in that area began to close.

Even with more strict enforcement of legal restrictions, the Near Southeast was one of the few places in the United States that offered a cluster of businesses featuring gay-oriented, sexually-explicit entertainment. However, this status changed not because of enforcement efforts, but because of the changing nature of development within Washington. With the downtown core essentially built-out, the federal government and developers began seeking other areas that were convenient to Capitol Hill and had low property values. As discussed in Chapter 4, the relocation of NAVSEA to the Washington Navy Yards created a market for higher-end office space in the Near Southeast (which did not exist in the area) as Navy contractors had to be within walking distance. With additional projects following NAVSEA, such as the redevelopment of the Southeast Federal Center, the new headquarters for the Department of Transportation, and the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, the Near Southeast was no longer the "out-of-sight" area to which the LGBT community had been "exiled" to in the 1970s. Instead, of

being on the margins of the city, by the early 2000s, the Near Southeast became the focal point for city's redevelopment for the Mayor's office, the NCPC, and private developers.

The first tangible sign of these economic pressures occurred in 1999 when Tracks closed. According to the RHP (2003a), Tracks "reigned as one of D.C.'s premier dance clubs," was "very popular with gays and lesbians," and "presented performers such as RuPaul" (p. 1). 80 M Street, which housed Tracks, had previously been a car dealership, but was boarded up by the mid-1980s. At that time, Marty Chernoff purchased the building for \$925,000, and opened a nightclub similar to one he owned in Denver. As developers sought to build office space to cater to Navy contractors, Chernoff sold 80 M Street for \$5.5 million in 1999. After the office building opened, the developer was able to resell 80 M Street for \$105 million in 2004 (Hedgpeth, 2006b). Given this context, with its prime location, emerging uses, existing infrastructure, lack of residents, and development focus, the Near Southeast was a top candidate for the new stadium as early as 2002 (Brailsford & Dunlavey, 2002; S. Green, personal communication, February 18, 2008).

With the announcement that the Expos were coming to Washington, there was relatively little organized resistance from the LGBT community to prevent the transformation of O Street. There was not a single LGBT group among the 23 organizational sponsors of the No D.C. Taxes for Baseball coalition opposing the stadium project in 2004 (Lazere & Weiss, 2004). Official responses from the Gertrude Stein Democratic Club and the Gay and Lesbian Activists Alliance (GLAA) focused on ensuring that the impacted businesses would have an opportunity to relocate elsewhere within the city (Bugg, 2005; Chibbaro Jr, 2004a, 2004b; Crea, 2004).

There were incidents of individual resistance from members of the LGBT community whose livelihoods were directly impacted by the stadium's location, or were opposed to the project for reasons other than its impact on the LGBT community (Chibbaro Jr, 2004b; Nakamura, 2005g; O'Bryan, 2004). Siegel, who was landlord for several O Street businesses, served on the Advisory Neighborhood Commission for the Near Southeast and estimated the stadium would cost him \$800,000 annually, was perhaps the most prominent and active. Siegel helped fund opposition groups, purchased advertisements in the media, testified against the stadium, sued the city over its eminent domain offer, and conducted a public relations campaign through the media (Hruby, 2004; Kovaleski & Wilgoren, 2004; J. Siegel, 2004).

Despite the fact the city caused the displacement of the businesses, there was relatively little organized opposition to their closure. Perhaps this acquiescence was at least partially based on the fact that, according to John Olinger, the chairman of the Rainbow History Project, the businesses were victims of commercial development and not anti-gay bias (Chibbaro Jr, 2006c). Chernoff, who, in addition to Tracks, owned other businesses in the area, offered an alternative explanation as he said, "I don't feel like getting into a massive fight because I don't think we can win... I would like to see them fight the city successfully. But in the end, the city always gets what it wants. And they want baseball." (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2004b, n. pag).

Since the city wanted baseball, the arguments for relocation made by LGBT activists generally focused on the city's responsibility for the closure of the businesses. According to Kameny, "[the city] exiled us there [O Street] in an out of sight, out of mind philosophy and they have a moral obligation, regardless of whatever zoning officials say,

to relocate the businesses,” (as qtd. in Crea, 2004, p. 6). Richard Rosendall (2007), former President of GLAA, suggested that the city owes “a remedy to the problem it caused” to the businesses and their customers because “the clubs displaced by the District government in favor of a baseball stadium were legitimate, tax-generating businesses” (n. pag).

The closure of the O Street businesses and the various clubs around the Near Southeast was not part of an explicit agenda by city leaders and planners against the interests of Washington’s LGBT community. Instead, it was part of what Lefebvre (1991b) described as the second circuit of capital as investors sought to profit from developing and selling real estate. During the 1970s, as developers focused on the area surrounding the original Washington Convention Center they forced several gay-oriented businesses located there to close and allowed them to reopen in the Near Southeast. This effort essentially transferred these businesses from one marginalized space to another as city planners and developers conceived of a different focus, use and meaning for the area around the convention center the city was building. By the time the entrepreneurial redevelopment wave reached the Near Southeast in the early 2000s, there were few economically marginal spaces available to which the businesses could move and conservative attitudes towards sexually-oriented spaces made that relocation virtually impossible.

Relocation Fights

Despite promises of city officials and the arguments of LGBT activists, relocating the businesses required much more than purchasing real estate and opening the doors. Instead, relocation efforts were stymied by zoning and regulatory boards, neighborhood

resistance, and needed favorable legislation from the D.C. Council that took more than one year to pass. As a result, more than two years have passed since the O Street businesses were closed by the city, and, besides Ziegfeld's and Secrets which reopened at 1824 Half Street in Southwest Washington, it is considered highly unlikely that any of the other businesses will ever reopen.

Although members of the LGBT community and business owners were optimistic that they would have the opportunity to relocate and reopen, their optimism was dampened due to zoning fights, neighborhood opposition, challenges on the D.C. Council to pass favorable legislation, and realization that nothing similar to O Street would ever have a chance to be remade within the present context. While promises to the LGBT community were made by Mayor Williams and proponents of the stadium project, practical and political realities have all but made it impossible for those promises to be kept. Although some members of the LGBT community blamed the relocation difficulties on homophobia (which was certainly evident), the difficulties highlight a much broader neo-conservative reaction against *any* form of overt, public sexual display.

When the businesses on O Street originally opened, the city's zoning regulations were fairly liberal regarding sexually-oriented businesses. However, in the 1980s, laws were changed such that sexually-oriented businesses could not locate in an industrial-warehouse zone, unless they received a special variance from the Zoning Commission. According to Rick Rindskopf, the manager of Follies, the Zoning Commission had not approved any sexually-oriented businesses to open in more than 20 years (Bugg, 2005; O'Bryan, 2004). The businesses along O Street maintained their licenses as their locations were "grandfathered" as they had sexually-oriented uses before laws were

changed. However, according to “one District official... [the Zoning Commission] has not approved a variance or special exemption for a sexually oriented business in recent years. ‘If you’re designated as sexually oriented, you can forget it’” (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2004c, p. 26).

Zoning issues for strip clubs were even more complicated as they also had to conform with the ABC’s standards, which only allowed relocation of a liquor license to other areas within the same zoning district, and restricted clubs with nude dancing from opening within 600 feet of another club, school, church or library (Chibbaro Jr, 2004c, 2007b; O’Byran, 2007d). Moreover, the ABC and Zoning Commissions allow neighborhood groups to file protests about any proposed business licenses in their district, which has the affect of delaying businesses from receiving their licenses and often forcing business owners to pay expensive legal fees to work through the process (Chibbaro Jr, 2004c). Finally, should a business be able to find a suitable location and navigate through neighborhood opposition, monthly rents were becoming prohibitively expensive, particularly in the downtown business district where monthly rents were exceeding \$20,000 (Chibbaro Jr, 2006b). As such, while adult-oriented businesses are *legally* allowed to open within Washington, D.C., as a practical matter, it is difficult, if not impossible.

These problems were demonstrated when Siegel purchased property in a warehouse area on West Virginia Avenue in Northeast Washington and, with Ron Hunt, the former owner of the Edge-Wet nightclub, attempted to open a new club with female dancers (O’Byran, 2007a). Although the ABC dismissed the five neighborhood protests filed against the nightclub for procedural reasons, the board refused to allow the permit

transfer on a zoning technicality, which essentially made “the difference between a license having a very limited number of possible relocation sites, versus having an *extremely* limited number of sites” (O'Bryan, 2007c, italics original, n. pag; see also O'Bryan, 2007a).

To remedy the practical impossibility of the city following through on its promise to the LGBT community to allow the businesses to relocate, Council member Jim Graham introduced legislation that would create a one-time exemption to the zoning and ABC restrictions (Chibbaro Jr, 2007b). In a memo written to other Council members, Graham wrote, “without Council action, all of those licensees that were located in or near the stadium site will be unable to relocate and thus will be permanently forced out of business” (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2007b).

The bill set off intense opposition, especially from Ward 5 Council member Henry Thomas, whose district was a likely destination for the clubs and businesses due to its availability of low-cost industrial space, which was rare in the city (O'Bryan, 2007b). Responding to constituents who did not want “a new ‘red light district’ on their doorsteps” (O'Bryan, 2007b), Thomas offered a series of amendments that, despite Graham’s intentions, had the practical effect of making it virtually impossible for the businesses to move. According to Skip Coburn, executive director of the D.C. Nightlife Associations, “they passed a law that essentially says we’re going to let you move to absolutely nowhere where you’re qualified to move under the requirements of both the zoning laws and the ABC laws” (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2007c). Graham was not as pessimistic as Coburn as he wrote, “while this bill does not give the businesses a ‘free

pass' to go where they please, it gives them a fighting chance when previously they had no choice" (Graham, 2007).

Moving beyond debates on the D.C. Council, the opposition from residents of Ward 5 came from a number of different sources and was expressed through a number of Internet sources. While some postings on online newsgroups were certainly homophobic (see Chibbaro Jr, 2007d), several postings on the Frozen Tropics blog³² expressed concern about the crime or other social problems people perceived as being associated with nightclubs and/or sexually-oriented establishments (see Anonymous, 2007b; Rob, 2007). According to one person who claimed to be a neighborhood resident,

Red-light districts can leave indelible marks on a city. Red-light districts near in near residences depress property values, create long-standing blight and bring about migraines for law enforcement... Also, the people who frequent red-light districts create all kinds of problems for themselves and the public that can lead to a city being labeled unhealthy – substance abuse, uninsured health care, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS (Simmons, 2007, p. A21).

Besides expressing fears about the effect the businesses could have upon the capital value of property, Simmons expressed the neo-conservative view that the former users of the Near Southeast were morally and economically dangerous, whose activities had to be controlled, if not completely eliminated from the city.

While moral concerns were noted in several postings, much of the expressed opposition to the clubs and businesses was based in a belief that the Ivy City and Trinidad areas were ripe for redevelopment and the clubs could deter potential investors (see

³² Frozen Tropics described itself as a blog that is "A look at what's going on in Trinidad, on H Street and in the larger area north of Capitol Hill." See <http://frozentropics.blogspot.com/>.

Anonymous, 2007a; Kimber, 2007; stutterer, 2007). According to Ward 5 resident Audrey Ray,

Ivy City, as many of us know, has really been under the gun of high crime, prostitution, high drug distribution, high everything that's bad...and now we're being given a chance to restore and revitalize as a family oriented area. We would love to have a J.C. Penney's, a Starbucks, a Chuck E. Cheese (Chibbaro Jr, 2007a, p. 8).

Ray's and similar comments express a belief that their neighborhood is ready to be transformed, but that the opening of sexually-oriented businesses would signal the continued economic marginality of their area, and, thus, deter retail, restaurants, and family-oriented businesses.

In many ways, the debate about Graham's bill was between two marginalized groups who were trying to influence the use of space to their interests. On one side were the impoverished residents of Ivy City and Trinidad who were hoping to attract amenities and opportunities available to residents in the wealthier parts of Washington. On the other side were members of the LGBT community, who wanted to be able to enjoy the same type of sexually-oriented entertainment that had been available to them for 35 years without leaving the city. According to a drag performer and former host at Secrets who goes by the name Latroya,

The way I look at it, they want to push the gay community away... they want to scoot us off and make us disappear... It will not happen, but that's what they're trying to do. That's what it's all about (as qtd. in Chibbaro Jr, 2006c, n. pag).

Discussion

In walking around Nationals Park, there is no sign that the area had once been a queer space that had been essential in the development of Washington's LGBT community (see Figure 6-2). Members of the LGBT community are not excluded from the space, as more than 2,000 LGBT fans attended the 4th annual Night Out at the Nationals in June. The Nationals promoted the evening prominently on its website, discounted tickets and invited the Gay Men's Chorus of Washington to sing the National Anthem (Armendariz, 2008). However, in the spaces where Ella Fitzgerald, Xavier Onassis Bloomingdale, Latroya, and Craig Seymour and countless other drag performers and male strippers once entertained audiences, members of the LGBT community are only visible as consumers rather than producers as there is not a single MLB player who is openly homosexual (Charing, 2008). In what was once a liberated space in which men and women felt comfortable to explore and claim their sexual identities, no member of the Nationals or opposing clubs self-identifies as gay or bisexual for fear of homophobia and discrimination.

Figure 6-2. Informational sign about stadium site's previous uses at Nationals Park

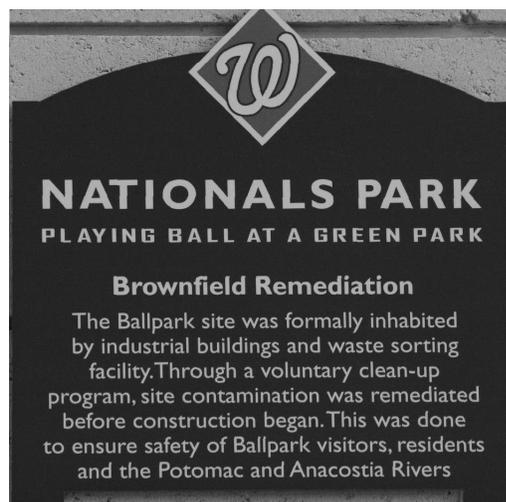


Photo by Sara Friedman

Putting aside this irony, the LGBT community's use of the Near Southeast between 1970 and 2006 demonstrates the potential that people have in creating their own spaces of representation without the interference of the state. After being removed from a redevelopment zone in Northwest Washington, the LGBT community was left alone to create its own space in the Near Southeast to fulfill its needs for a space conducive to and safe for exploring sexual identity. As this area was socially invisible and economically marginal until the mid 1990s, planners and city officials allowed the LGBT community relative autonomy as the city devoted few public resources to serving, regulating, or transforming the Near Southeast. The users of the area responded by creating their own structures, policing their own boundaries, and meeting their own needs. As Frank Kameny said, "we were given a lemon and we made lemonade" (as qtd. in Bugg, 2005, n. pag).

Yet, less optimistically, the history of the Near Southeast also shows how fragile this freedom actually is, as the state and capital were able to effectively regain control of the area and eliminate the LGBT community's role in producing it with minimal organized resistance. This displacement began as downtown D.C. had few remaining underdeveloped space by the mid-1990s, which provided developers and investors with opportunities for substantial profits due to the inexpensive real estate and location of the Near Southeast. As the area was no longer marginal in the city's development, the LGBT community began losing its position in shaping the area as Near Southeast became the focus of city planners through the AWI and stadium project. In the end, 35 years of the LGBT community's use and participation in the production of space in the Near

Southeast was devalued in favor of the economic potential the area that was recognized by city planners and with the profits to be realized by developers.

Within this process, the Near Southeast first had to made less sexually explicit, as, according to Rushbrook, areas perceived as sexually deviant or dangerous do not attract tourists or investment. While more aggressive enforcement of zoning and alcohol regulations may have limited some forms of explicit sexual behavior on O Street, market forces were used to achieve an outcome that social conservatives desired and few (if any) D.C. elected officials would have promoted: the elimination of fully-nude male dancing in the city, and the closure of many sexually-oriented gay businesses. As described in Chapter 4, the owners of real estate on the stadium site were prevented from realizing the full benefit of these market forces as their property was seized by the city through eminent domain. Yet, the users who created the spaces of the Near Southeast received no compensation as their efforts and experiences were devalued and forgotten. All the city officials offered them were vague promises that were virtually impossible to fulfill in the face of legal restrictions and neighborhood opposition. In the meantime, the O Street created by the LGBT community has been buried beneath the concrete of the stadium with nary a sign to remember its existence.

Conclusion

In July 2008, Ziegfeld's reopened with Ella Fitzgerald again as MC of the city's preeminent drag show and, next door at Secrets, men were dancing again in little more than socks. The two clubs are located less than four blocks from the stadium site at 1824 Half Street, SW, in the same building where Pier 9 became the first LGBT club in the area (RHP, 2005). They also share a building with the Crucible, a "pansexual" club

providing a space for alternative sexual communities “from the kinky to swingers” (The Crucible, 2008). Despite the presence of this sexually-oriented space, the other businesses that once surrounded Ziegfeld’s and Secrets on O Street are likely never to reopen in Washington, forever to be listed as victims of the stadium.

However, this is far too simplistic a reading for understanding the final days of the O Street. The businesses were “exiled” to the Near Southeast in the 1970s when it was “out-of-sight, out-of-mind” on the peripheral of the city, as the LGBT community could use the area because it had very little economic value. By 2000, the value of the Near Southeast was no longer marginal as the city targeted the area for redevelopment. Just as Tracks was sold to a developer who built an office building, the businesses along O Street would eventually have been closed in favor of a mixed-use office, residential and retail complex. As this occurred, there would have been no promises by the mayor allowing them to reopen elsewhere, nor sustained efforts by Council members to grant exemptions to zoning and ABC regulations. Instead, the passing of O Street would have been noted in the LGBT press, but it would be very unlikely to merit even a brief mention in the *Washington Post*.

In many ways, O Street in its final days was an anachronism, outside of homonormative standards and resistant to the broader neo-conservative trends that sought to erase sexual practice from public space. Unlike Dupont Circle which had gentrified, O Street was an overtly and openly sexual space, where men could meet other men for the express purpose of a sexual encounter or enjoy sexual displays in the strip clubs and adult movie theater. Typical of the gay spaces identified by Rothenberg (1994), its location was on the physical and social margins of the city, where men could go to Washington’s

last operating gay bathhouse or experience the anonymity of the glory hole. It could be suggested that O Street's time had past and it was less necessary with the comparatively widespread acceptance of LGBT identities and the availability of the Internet as an alternative space to meet other men. Yet, in the end, the businesses on O Street were the victims of the combination of urban planners which devalued the experiences and contributions of the LGBT community had made to the Near Southeast, developers who recognized the potential to profit, neo-conservative attitudes which oppose public displays of alternative sexual practices, and the forces of homonormativity which easily accepted the desexualization of a queer space.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion: Opening Day

March 29, 2008, opening day... sort of. In my wallet, I have a ticket to the 6:00pm Baltimore Orioles-Washington Nationals game to be held at Nationals Park. While it is the first game at Nationals Park between major league players, it is not the official opening as it is only an exhibition and the official “Presidential” opening is the next day. That game will be against the Atlanta Braves, be televised nationally on ESPN and have President Bush throw out the first ball (as I later learned, it is the 48th time and Bush is the 12th President to throw out the Major League Baseball season’s first pitch at a Washington game, with the home team sporting a 25-23 record). Game tickets for tonight were only distributed to season ticket holders, but I purchased mine through a ticket broker – paying a little more than two times the face amount of \$63, but still much cheaper than what I would have had to pay for the Presidential opener.

I plan to try to get to the stadium when the gates open at 3:00, but I get in my car around 2:55. Although I am writing a dissertation, I am also a spouse and parent and I needed to get the house ready for them as they are arriving at the airport at 8:51 after spending spring break with my in-laws. As all month, I’ve heard radio ads telling me that I can’t park near the stadium, I decide to take Metro to the game. However, I don’t go to my usual station since I have to head to Dulles Airport after the game. Instead, I brave the unknown wilds of Northern Virginia, where I have never ridden on Metro, and hope for the best. After a half-hour of driving, I see the sign for the Metro and mercifully pull off I-66 just before becoming embedded within Northern Virginia’s infamous traffic, which seems no better on a Saturday afternoon than it is on the other days of the week. I

find the East Falls Church station, where parking is so scarce that I wait for another person to pull out of an illegal space just so I can take it.

As I walk into the station, I pick up a copy of *Washington City Paper* to scan on my half-hour (or more) trip into D.C. (hoping that the alternative press will provide me another insightfully critical article on the stadium) and fish my SmarTrip Metro fare card out of my wallet. I write down the station name, part out of wanting to ensure an accurate description of my journey, and part out of a firm belief that, if I don't, I'll forget where I've left my car. As I walk into the station, I hear the loudspeaker announcing that the Nationals' opener will be tomorrow and that I should plan on taking Metro to the game and, for more information, I should check out www.metroopensdoors.com.

The train pulls up after a 5-minute wait and I get into a car in which all of the seats are already occupied. Looking around, I notice at least 15-20 people wearing baseball apparel – mostly Nationals hats, jackets or shirts, but other teams as well. I'm wearing a Cal Ripken Orioles jersey to show a loyalty, though strained, I have held since the team went to the World Series when I was 9 as I was growing up within three miles of my current home. As the train moves towards the District, more people get on, such that the car is fairly packed by the time it reaches the city. At some point, I decide to take my head out of the *City Paper* to look at the Metro map to figure out how I will get to the stadium. I see that I will have to switch to the Green Line at L'Enfant Plaza, and note that RFK Stadium is another four stops on the Orange Line after L'Enfant and, if I got on the train and headed in the wrong direction on the Green Line, in five stops, I'd be at the Howard University/Shaw station, right near where Griffith Stadium used to be.

I'm surprised when, at the stop before L'Enfant Plaza, 2/3 of the people standing on the mostly-packed train, exit. Then I notice that it is the Smithsonian station and remember that, no, not everybody is going to a baseball game, but that it *is* Saturday, it *is* Washington and the Cherry Blossoms are in bloom. The train pulls into L'Enfant Plaza and the rest of the standing-room crowd exits the train, many milling around on the platform, confused (like myself) as to which set of escalators to take to head in the right direction. As I reach the top of the escalator, I notice a train pull in and begin to hurry, with the rest of the crowd, to catch it. However, as people quickly jump off the train, I note that it is a Yellow Line train that, in two stops, will be at National Airport, not Nationals Park. I find a recycling bin and drop my *City Paper* in there as I didn't find anything about the stadium in there – not even a listing for the game in the calendar section – except for one advertisement promoting an open house for condominiums (Immediate Move-ins! Studios from the \$190's) that are three blocks from the Southwest Waterfront and eight blocks to the new baseball stadium.

On the loosely-packed platform, maybe ¼ of the crowd is wearing baseball apparel, and many other families seem to be headed in that direction as well. In the train, I see an advertisement for the Lupus Foundation, which next to a picture of four people (mixed races and genders) in big type wrote the following: “One day she will win a seat in Congress, Today she is winning her fight with Lupus” and in the smaller type noted that 1.5 million people, “enough to fill 30 RFK Stadiums” have Lupus. I wonder as I leave the train at the Navy Yard station if the people from the Lupus Foundation were aware that, if the woman featured at the center of the advertisement was a resident of the

District of Columbia, there is no Congressional seat for her to vote for today or to win in the future.

I take the escalator up from the platform and my first vision of the new Near Southeast are three flags on top of 20 M Street (a Lerner Enterprises building) – the United States, the District of Columbia, and the curly W of the Washington Nationals. Leaving the station, I see a table selling \$5 Nationals SmarTrip cards (half the price of those in Northern Virginia) featuring the team logo. Across the street, I see a large banner on Metro bus garage welcoming people to Nationals Park. As I stand still to write all this down, a person comes up to me, says she is with Metro’s media relations department and asks me if I am with the media. When I respond, “no, I am writing a dissertation,” she offers to answer any questions I may have and lingers nearby. She then helpfully explains to me that the bus garage was built in 1936, was vacated yesterday, the Nationals are using the it as parking for season ticket holders, the D.C. government is helping Metro relocate to a new garage, and the station just reopened yesterday as well. I ask her about the half-completed building atop the station, and she tells me that will be an office building with ground floor retail. I ask her about the future of the bus garage, she shrugs, says Metro is in the process of selling it and that she is “sure it will be a high rise soon enough.”

I begin walking down Half Street towards the stadium and observe the construction site on my left. The fence is covered along its height and length by a billboard promoting the Half Street Experience that will open in 2009. Along with graphics showing what the street will look like, the advertisements promote the street as a place to “live, work, shop, play, eat, stay” as it details the 340-unit condominium tower,

the 250,000 square feet of Class A office space, the 50,000 square feet of retail, the area's position as the pedestrian gateway for the ballpark and Southeast riverfront, and the variety of restaurants and 196-room boutique hotel that will eventually open. For more details, I am directed to visit halfstreet.com.

Walking down further, I notice 15-20 people wearing t-shirts and collecting donations for Positive Nature – an organization providing support services for local youth. I fish in my pocket for a dollar and take a flyer. I soon realize that this is the same organization I read about in Wednesday's *Washington Post* that is struggling with an \$83,000 property tax bill. I ask the next person if it is, and then put a \$20 bill in the can. Before I reach the end of the street, I still don't feel like I've done enough, and put another \$5 into a can held by a 10-year kid.

As I near the stadium, I am struck by the fact that I haven't seen any street vendors except for this funky-looking green truck pulled off to the side. I look at the food, and it seems much more upscale than the usual fare I've seen from the typical D.C. street vendor, whose white, boxy trucks are ubiquitous near on the Mall's tourist sites (see Figure 7-1). When I get down to the corner across from the stadium, I find out why there aren't other vendors as a crowd of 15 people are holding signs saying "no vendor gentrification" and chanting "we want to work" and "stop discrimination." A member of the group explains to me that the city is not allowing them to work on Half Street.

Instead of going right into the stadium, I decide to walk the perimeter for the first time. While I have visited the area several times during the stadium's construction phase, I always stayed in my car. I go to the left, towards First Street, where at the corner, I notice a large burnished steel sign for the Yards – Forest City Enterprise's redevelopment

of the Southeast Federal Center, whose first phase will be complete in 2009. While ground was broken on the project last October, I don't notice construction activity – I wonder if the recent recession and credit crunch has slowed the project down. As I walk along, I notice that I am fairly alone in my choice of routes to enter the stadium. I see several small, unoccupied store fronts on the stadium's ground level and wish the future occupants luck if current foot traffic is any indication of future foot traffic. There is very little else of note on this side of the ballpark as I walk along towards Potomac Avenue and South Capitol Street. A couple of police command centers, a fenced off area of construction vehicles and supplies that were being used for last minute stadium details, the Earth Conservation Corps pumphouse on the Anacostia River, and very, very few people.

Figure 7-1. Photographs of the area surrounding Nationals Park



Photos by Sara Friedman

I come to the home plate entrance of the stadium at the corner of Potomac Avenue and South Capitol Street. There are a lot more people here, but a little more than an hour before game time, it is still pretty quiet in this area. I find the ceremonial plaza – no statues yet, but there is a series of nine years embedded in brick in the ground, with pillars helpfully offering descriptions of the years' significance: 1859 – the first team (inaccurately, but conveniently, called the Nationals³³); 1910 – the first Presidential first pitch (William H. Taft); 1924 – the only World Series title; 1937 – Washington's first All-Star Game; 1948 – The Homestead Gray's ninth title; 1961 – the relocation of the first Senators & the opening of RFK Stadium; 1971 – the last game of the second Senators; 2005 – baseball's return; 2008 – no pillar, but you're at the stadium's front gate.

Walking up South Capitol Street, the windows allow clear views into the team's soon-to-be-occupied offices. I decide that I would hate working there because there is no privacy at all. I look up towards the club level and see a very comfortable looking lounge, complete with a souvenir stand. I look around for the rumored views of the field available from street level and see that all you get a hint of green rather than a view of the game. I stop briefly at the corner of O Street and remember what was lost to make way for the stadium. As I near N Street, I come across a group of about 20 neighborhood kids and a few adults, who, in reading Monday's newspaper, were given tickets by the club to enjoy the exhibition game. On N Street, I pass by the ticket windows in the street level of the parking garage, where I hear the ticket sellers explain to a disappointed fan that the team was not selling any tickets for the game, but distributed them only to season ticket

³³ See Appendix D, page 311.

holders. I also realize that I didn't see too many scalpers in my trip around the stadium, and later read that nine had been arrested.

I looked at my watch, it was 5:15, and time to enter the stadium. From this point forward, I could detail my thoughts and experiences inside... my impressions of the centerfield entry plaza... the kids area where you can try out PlayStation 3, build your own stuffed animals (including the Nationals' mascot Screech) or take practice swings off a simulation of Pedro Martinez and other Major League Baseball pitchers... the variety of fare, prices and long lines at the concessions stands... the 25-minute pre-game ceremony in which it seemed anyone who had anything to do with the stadium was on the field and was recognized... Mayor Adrian Fenty, who voted against the stadium as a Council member, welcoming fans to the stadium and throwing out the first pitch, while former mayor Anthony Williams is nowhere to be found... the views of the city and surrounding community... the stark, visual difference of the seats in the President's Club and Diamond Club from all the others in the stadium... the cramped comfort of my \$63 face value seat... the foul tasting water from the free, public fountains on the concourses (all the better to inspire you to buy a \$3.50 soda, \$4 bottle of water, or \$7.50 beer – just to get the taste out of your mouth). All are observations and critiques that certainly have their time and place in future research, but do not speak to the transformations in the Near Southeast and the District of Columbia. Instead, in the remaining pages, I want to focus on the meaning of the stadium and the experience of Washington within the broader context of the late capitalist moment.

The Spatial Politics of Late Capitalism

As I stated in the introduction, the stadium in Washington demonstrates the priorities of the D.C. government, the services it provides to residents, the people government chooses to serve, and whose voices matter within debates over public policy. These priorities, services, people and voices are indicative of the spatial politics of the late capitalist moment, as well as the specific historical and localized context of the city of Washington. As evaluated against Lefebvre's right to the city and *autogestion*, these elements, individually and within the context of the stadium as a whole, reveal the crisis of democracy and the general erosion of citizenship in the present moment.

As there were several alternative uses for the bonds, taxes and other public resources utilized in the stadium project, D.C. government clearly prioritized economic development over providing for the needs of residents. Perhaps the Williams' administration could have been correct in its belief that downtown growth was the locomotive that could provide the tax base for other civic services, but the experiences of other cities which have financed sports facilities have shown that stadiums and arenas are poor public investments as they are not powerful economic engines.

Despite the claims of Williams and stadium proponents, the city will be lucky if the stadium is not a burden on government finances for the next 30 years (see Table 7-1). Annual debt repayment on stadium bonds will be \$38 million per year through 2038 (Pearlstein, 2006). Yet, of the estimated \$1.14 billion the city will spend on repaying principle and interest, only \$205 million (or 18%) will be paid by the team through its rental payments, with the balance divided between sales taxes on stadium activities and business taxes collected from the utilities tax and the special ballpark tax. The \$935

million from these sources that will be devoted to bond repayment are not wholly new taxes that are solely due to the stadium. While the city estimated \$468 million in total on-site sales tax collections, it is unclear how much of this is new economic activity and how much has been switched from other taxable activities within the city. Using the city’s own estimates, 20% will come from D.C. residents and it is likely that a sizable portion of the remaining 80% imported into the city from visitors would have been otherwise spent in Georgetown, around the Verizon Center, downtown restaurants and theaters, or in other D.C.-based recreational opportunities. Of the \$816 million raised through the ballpark tax and the utilities tax, that money could have been raised through normal tax mechanisms and would have been available for other public purposes. Williams’ claim that the stadium will pay for itself is political rhetoric based on a financial slight-of-hand. For the next 30 years, the stadium’s financing plan ensures that between \$20 and \$30 million in tax revenues that would have been otherwise available for other public services, will be devoted to spectator sports.

Table 7-1. Stadium bonds – Debt service and collections

Collections	Annual Avg.	Total
Team Rental Payments	\$6.8 million	\$205 million
In-Stadium Sales Tax Collections	\$15.6 million	\$468 million
Amount from non-D.C. residents (80% estimate)	\$12.5 million	\$375 million
Ballpark Tax & Utility Tax	\$27.2 million	\$816 million
Total Collections	\$49.6 million	\$1,489 million
Total Payments for Debt Service	\$38 million	\$1,140 million

In prioritizing economic development over the needs of residents, the stadium raises the provision of spectator sports over other public services. The plight of Positive

Nature exposes that the hypocrisy of the city's approach to using economic development to create resources for service provision. According to Mayor Williams' entrepreneurial strategy, the city's investment of public resources in economic development is supposed to generate new tax revenues that can be committed to social programs, similar to those offered by Positive Nature. However, in this case, Positive Nature is a victim of economic growth, as, ironically, the increased property taxes that were supposed to provide funds to allow it to provide services now threaten Positive Nature's very existence. Moreover, despite promises made by various council members when Positive Nature's difficulties were reported in *Washington City Paper* and the *Washington Post*, as of June 2008, a bill to exempt the organization from property taxes was languishing in committee with little expectation that it would be considered (Cherkis, 2008b).

The decision to build a stadium is also indicative of a long term plan that emphasizes serving visitors over meeting the needs of residents, as the stadium is a key element in the city's attempt to attract 100,000 new residents. Although Major League Baseball left Washington, D.C. in 1971, the city's population decline of 180,000 between 1970 and 2000 was not due to the lack of a baseball team. This exodus was much more related to the ability of the city to provide quality public services to residents at a reasonable rate of taxation and the disenfranchisement of D.C. residents. With the structural imbalance and the corruption and inefficiency of the Barry Administration, the city's schools were among the worst in the United States, public safety declined as drug use, crime and murder rose to intolerable rates, snow remained unplowed on city streets, and the Anacostia River became the dirtiest in the country.

Perhaps the stadium and the images of revitalization it promotes will attract some people to move into the city, but those new residents will not stay long unless the realities of urban life are consistent with the images the city is projecting to attract them.

Ultimately new residents will choose to move to and stay within Washington, D.C. based on the quality of life the city has to offer: whether their streets are plowed quickly after it snows; the speed that police, fire and emergency services respond when they are needed; the quality of education provided to their children; and the availability, quality and accessibility of stores at which they want to shop and restaurants at which they want to eat. Whether or not the Nationals win the World Series, become a competitive team or even continue to play in the new stadium will ultimately matter little when compared to the other factors that help determine the quality of urban life.

In the decision to build the stadium, the city also demonstrated whose voices and interests actually matter and were included in determining public policy. Within the debate, community activists who were advocating for greater funding for education, the environment, libraries, and public health had little impact on the ultimate outcome. The residents and users of the Near Southeast were similarly marginalized as their lives and the spaces they used were disparaged, they were presented inadequate (and insulting) compensation offers, and they were denied opportunities to relocate elsewhere in the city. The will of the voters also seemed to be ignored as in September 2004 they replaced three council members who supported the stadium project with three candidates who expressed their opposition. While the voices of community activists, voters and the users of the Near Southeast were unheeded as they were excluded from urban governance, the city

catered to the interests of capital, as represented by visitors, developers, and Major League Baseball.

Altogether, the stadium reinforces the practices, ideologies, and policies found within the neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism, and the hypercommodification dominating the present moment. The stadium expresses the belief that economic development is an unalloyed social good and that cities need to invest in entertainment amenities in order to attract visitors and corporations. Yet, as cities offer hundreds of millions of dollars to sports teams, they enrich billionaire owners and millionaire players for the enjoyment of the wealthy and to the exclusion of the poor and much of the middle class. Cities mystify this perverse use of public resources through paeans to the inclusive nature of sport and misty nostalgic tributes to \$2 box seats where CEOs supposedly sat alongside assembly line workers without anyone being able to tell the difference. Rather than being an expression of democracy as declared by the architects of HOK Sport, Nationals Park expresses the dominance of capitalism as only consumers (and wealthy ones at that) can enjoy the full use of society's common wealth that all citizens have provided to the state for the common good.

Assessing the stadium against the standard of Lefebvre's right to the city further illuminates the fundamental failure of democracy in Washington. Rather than working towards freeing people from exploitative and alienating social relations, the stadium adds to exploitation and alienation. First, the stadium reinforces capitalist hegemony as its design is predicated upon, focused towards and glorifies the consumption experience. Second, the stadium adds to social separation with the way it divides classes through the design and organization of physical space, and with the clear social and racial divisions

between stadium workers and spectators. Third, the stadium has replaced the socially and sexually liberating space created by the O Street businesses with one that reinforces class, gender and sexual norms. Fourth, the stadium provides a spectacle that encourages consumption and masks the exploitation and alienation that it is perpetuating.

Beyond adding to exploitative and alienating social relations, the stadium does not allow the creative use of space through appropriation. Police and private security patrol in and around the stadium to ensure the area is being used in the ways desired by city officials, architects, and members of the Nationals staff. Within the seating bowl, ushers strive to maintain decorum and identify troublemakers. Security personnel remove rule breakers and other offenders from the stadium premises, while police are available to arrest lawbreakers, including fans trespassing on the field or becoming too drunk in the stands, and scalpers reselling tickets in the area around the stadium. In addition, police are monitoring the entire area from a mobile command center.

On a broader level, the stadium contributes to the domination that elites have been able to exercise over the creation and use of space. This domination is evident in a number of ways. Politicians, along with their allies in the business community, were able to push through the stadium project, despite objections of many residents. Planners exercised their dominance over space as they developed the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative, which is an extension of D.C.'s historic planning practice and fits in with the waterfront development ubiquitous within urban development in the present moment. Domination over space was exercised by architects who have used democratic signs and symbols found within the local environment and incorporated them uncritically into space.

The stadium is a highly exclusionary space, despite the rhetoric of architects and urban planners. The notion of the “transparency of democracy” that supposedly inspired the stadium is not really evident, beyond the superficial use of glass on the stadium’s façade. Instead, the stadium testifies to the illusion of democracy with its aesthetic references to the democratic ideals supposedly embodied within the city, while furthering exclusionary practices similar to those that disenfranchise city residents. Ironically, the D.C. activists working for full voting rights are not seeking true democracy, as they are demanding representation within the United States’ non-democratic representative democracy, in which people have little engagement with or control over the actions of politicians who make the decisions that impact their lives.

In concluding this dissertation, the transparency of democracy is a very useful metaphor for understanding the position and meaning of the stadium in Washington. As they promoted the notion of transparency, the architects attempted to represent a unity between the external façade and the internal structure, thus bringing together image and practice. However, the image and practice of democracy in Washington has never been unified in the city’s 218 years as there are many deep social, economic, cultural, spatial, racial and political divisions. The city is divided within a colonial federal-local relationship that has been defined by racism and parochialism. There are divisions between a city of Caucasians and African-Americans, in which whites once monopolized political and economic power and only relinquished it once they left the city and created untenable governance structures. There are divisions between the intentions of planners and architects who have created the city for visitors, and the actual uses of residents who live in the city. And then, there are the divisions between the rhetoric of an inclusive city

and practices that have excluded and devalued the lives of the former users of the Near Southeast.

The architects' use of glass to represent the transparency of democracy is particularly symbolic in this regard. While glass may be transparent, it is also an impermeable material. It provides the opportunity to see alternatives, but serves as barrier that physically separates people from actually realizing them. Reaching these alternatives may be as simple as walking through a door or as impossible as touching the U.S. Constitution in its hermetically-sealed display case in the National Archives. Lefebvre's life project was to help people identify and focus on the possibilities of different futures and provide ways to open doors, or, if necessary, shatter windows to achieve a society that will be freer, more equitable, and more just.

Ultimately, the architects have created a stadium that truly embodies the city of Washington. In the stadium they designed, the rhetoric of democracy and inclusion could not be physically realized within a space that is dominated by exclusionary capitalism. The only thing transparent about the democracy in the stadium and the city of Washington is that it is an unrealized promise. However, as Lefebvre made so eloquently clear within his oeuvre, a promise is a possibility that, through struggle and hope, could eventually be realized.

Appendix A – Physical Cultural Studies

This is research informed by and committed to the project of Physical Cultural Studies (PCS). Following in the tradition of British cultural studies with its focus on dominant power structures, PCS addresses the ways that these structures “become expressed in, and through, socially and historically contingent embodied experiences, meanings, and subjectivities” (Andrews, 2008a, pp. 54-55). In order to situate this dissertation more fully, in this appendix, I discuss the intellectual foundations and ideological commitments of the PCS project. I start by defining PCS and the ways in which it combines and advances the empirical foci and ideological commitments of its intellectual antecedents: cultural studies, sport sociology, and studies of the body. I then discuss the ways in which I spatialize PCS in and through this project. First, I discuss Lefebvre’s focus on the body. Then, I identify exemplary PCS-type studies of bodies in space. I conclude by discussing the positioning of the body in this research.

Physical Cultural Studies

According to the members of the PCS unit at the University of Maryland (Andrews, 2008b), “Physical Cultural Studies advances the critically and theoretically-driven analysis of physical culture, in all its myriad forms” (n. pag.), which include sport, dance, health, exercise, and movement-related practices. Moreover, PCS is “dedicated to the contextually based understanding of corporeal practices, discourse, and subjectivities through which active bodies become organized, represented and experienced in relation to the operations of social power” (Andrews, 2008b, n. pag). PCS does not wholly associate itself with one disciplinary, methodological, or theoretical approach, but uses concepts, theories, and methods from a variety of disciplines. Moreover, PCS is an

explicitly political project that “seeks to illuminate, and intervene into, sites of physical cultural injustice and inequity” (Andrews, 2008b, n. pag).

In seeking to understand the contexts in which power works, PCS recognizes that, as discussed by Lefebvre (1991b), “Western philosophy has *betrayed* the body; it has actively participated in the great process of metaphorization that has *abandoned* the body; and it has *denied* the body” (p. 407, italics original). This betrayal, abandonment, and denial of the body are quite clear within the approaches of PCS’ parent disciplines (cultural studies and the sociology of sport), in which the body has often been absent or an abstraction (Andrews, 2006a, 2008a; Cole, 2000; Loy, Andrews, & Rinehart, 1993). PCS attempts to address this absence as it tries to reclaim the body as a focus of critical inquiry. PCS recognizes that the body is simultaneously a material object and a socio-cultural construction that is produced by and (re)produces societal power relations (Ingham, 1997). As such, the body “constitutes the most striking symbol, as well as constituting the material core of sporting activity” (Hargreaves, 1987, p. 141).

However, in studying the body, it is not an object to itself, but is considered to be the “place where social forces, discourses, institutions and processes congregate, congeal, and are contested in a manner which contributes to the shaping of human relations, experiences, and subjectivities, in particular, contextually contingent ways” (Andrews, 2008a, p. 57). As such, the body is constituted by and is constitutive of the contemporary moment, with research identify and exploring the various articulations between the body and various cultural and social practices (Ingham, 1997).

As a program, PCS directly answers Ingham’s (1997) call to end the fragmentation and ghettoization of knowledge within the field of Kinesiology, as it is an

integrative approach to bridge the divides between practitioners, bench scientists, and critical researchers. This approach has begun to be materialized within the Department of Kinesiology at the University of Maryland, as it has moved away from being a traditional sports studies program, in which it was populated by single faculty members teaching and researching in history, philosophy, management, and sociology. Whether PCS turns out to be a localized intellectual fad, wholly connected to its physical home, or coalesce into a broader subdiscipline within cultural studies, kinesiology, and/or the sociology of sport is still too early to tell. Nonetheless, as will be described, it is an approach that seems to accurately describe and encompass a broad range of research into physical practices that are often misidentified as “sport,” and promotes an ideological commitment to progressive political practice (Andrews, 2008a, 2008b).

Cultural Studies

PCS draws much of its epistemological and ontological foundations from the British tradition of cultural studies as developed through the University of Birmingham’s Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) (Andrews, 2008a). As such, this section addresses the background, theoretical and methodological approaches, and the political comments that PCS has derived from cultural studies.

According to Norman Denzin (1999), in its most generic form, cultural studies is about understanding the manner in which people live their lives within historically-based structures. In this context, culture is defined as a person’s way of life or as a dynamic process that encompasses a range of practices, meanings and identities, but needs to be understood as it relates to different relations of power (Denzin, 1999; Grossberg, 1997a).

Therefore, cultural studies is inherently political with culture being analyzed towards understanding the manner in which power operates towards changing those relations.

There are numerous disciplinary approaches that fit within the critical paradigm, of which I align with cultural studies, which has been described as an “interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary field” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 312; see also R. Johnson, Chambers, Raghuram, & Tincknell, 2004). In many ways, describing cultural studies as a discipline is problematic as there are multiple cultural studies traditions (i.e. British, American, Australian, feminist, post-colonial, etc.) that share, as a common topic, “an examination of how the history people live is produced by structures that have been handed down from the past” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 187), and, to differing degrees, a commitment to identifying and intervening into sites of iniquity and injustice (Andrews, 2006a). In this way, cultural studies exhibits “unity in difference” (Grossberg, 1989, p. 414), as the field has continually evolved through embracing new theories, methods, and contextual conditions. Moreover, “cultural studies is fundamentally *about* investigating the making of meanings, and we cannot understand such cultural processes in the absence of accounting for their particular historical political-economic contexts” (di Leonardo, 2006, p. 218)

Foundations.

Cultural studies began in the United Kingdom during the 1950s in response to the rapid changes in British culture due to decolonization, recovery from World War II, fears of Americanization, and the expansion of the mass market through the introduction of television. With Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson among its progenitors, cultural studies sought to understand the reasons the working class supported

the Conservative Party, in apparent contradiction to their economic interests (Andrews & Loy, 1993; Grossberg, 1997b; R. Johnson, 1986). The development of cultural studies is also related to the emergence of the New Left in the United Kingdom, as Soviet-style Marxism fell out of favor among the Left following the USSR's actions in Hungary in 1956 and Khrushchev's exposure of Stalin's crimes. As such, the emergence of cultural studies occurred within similar conditions to Lefebvre's expulsion from the French Communist Party.

The theoretical foundation of cultural studies has been influenced by a broad range of Marxist, feminist, and post-structural and post-modern theories (Johnson, 1986). As influenced by Marx, Gramsci and Althusser, cultural studies has recognized culture as embroiled within social relationships, subject to power, and as a contested terrain between social groups. While there are many ways to read Marx' fecund oeuvre (see Elden, 2004b), cultural studies uses the Marx of the *Grundrisse*, who recognized that society was the product of many determinations and relations (Marx, 1977). Through Gramsci, cultural studies utilizes the related notions of hegemony and conjunctural humanism to analyze culture as a key site in which groups compete with one another (S. Hall, 1996). Althusser's influence on the development of cultural studies is through his notion of overdetermined structuralism, as society involves a multitude of determinative relations at different levels, with the economic determining at the last instance (S. Hall, 1985; R. Johnson, 1986).³⁴

³⁴ Within the context of this dissertation, the position of Althusser within cultural studies could be seen as being somewhat problematic due to Lefebvre's critique of Althusser's theorizing as being reductionist, technocratic and helping to reproduce dominant power relations (see Appendix B). It could be argued, that given Lefebvre's paradigmatic groundings, research topics, methodology and political commitments, Lefebvre would be a better fit than Althusser for cultural studies. Towards this critique, Shmuely (2008) provides a very interesting analysis of the similarities and differences in background and theorizing of

Intellectual project.

Cultural studies is part of a hermeneutical tradition that uses dialectical analysis to understand the social world through “cultural criticism revealing the power dynamics within social and cultural texts” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 311; see also Denzin, 1999; Frow & Morris, 2000). Believing “in order to understand the part, the inquirer must grasp the whole, and vice versa” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 299), cultural studies has a fundamental notion of “radical contextualism,” in which “context is everything and everything is contextual” (Grossberg, 1997a, p. 255). This radical contextualism recognizes that every social practice is embedded within a multitude of discourses (including spatial, economic, aesthetic, political, gendered, ethnographic, and historical), which are implicated in relations of power (Andrews, 2002; Frow & Morris, 2000; S. King, 2005; McDonald & Birrell, 1999). In order to understand any social practice, it is necessary to analyze the conditions (of which that practice is a constitutive part) in which the practice occurs and the manner in which the conditions and practices are linked (Grossberg, 1996; Slack, 1996). However, this knowledge is not being produced as an end to itself, but as part of an ethical commitment towards using knowledge for social emancipatory purposes (see Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Notions of radical contextualism also lead cultural studies to reject notions of simple determinacy, as social phenomena cannot be understood through single explanations, but only through the broader factors in which they are embedded.

According to Birrell and McDonald (2000) analyses of power relations through class, race or gender are inadequate, because “a focus on only one line of power results in

Lefebvre and Raymond Williams. However, as interesting an argument as this may be, it is one that I may address in the future as it is tangential to this dissertation.

partial analyses that do not adequately capture the complexity of relations of dominance and subordination within culture” (p. 6). Nonetheless, cultural studies also recognizes that each of these constructs have real material effects in people’s lives (S. Hall, 1996). Theory, then, is also radically contextualized and becomes a tool for understanding particular contexts, rather than an all-purpose explanation of the social world (Andrews, 2002; S. King, 2005). By removing theory from a dogmatic position, cultural studies demands that researchers “wrestle” with theory as they choose the most relevant theory to serve as a starting point for inquiry, while also questioning its applicability throughout the research and writing process (R. Johnson et al., 2004; Slack, 1996).

Inquiry within cultural studies is through a process of articulation, which S. Hall describes as “the form of a linkage that *can* make a unity of two different elements under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time” (Grossberg, 1996, p. 141, emphasis original). According to Andrews (2006a), articulation is “aggressively non-reductionist... yet contingently determinate” (p. 32), as causality cannot be reduced to one specific factor but certainly exists within the multitude of forces. As these articulated relationships are contextually contingent, Hall (1996) suggested “Marxism without guarantees” as, similar to classifications of class, race and gender, relationships between ideology and discourse have real material effects. However, those effects are not predetermined or inevitable, but are based in contextual conditions (S. Hall, 1996). In many ways, then, articulation is both theory and method. Theoretically, articulation seeks to understand the conditions in which ideology coheres (or fails to cohere) with discourse. Methodologically, it is a process of creating connections by identifying relations of power and their effects and

linking “[events] to the multiple material and ideological determinations which suture the event – in a dialectic sense – in to the conjuncture of which it is a constituent element” (Andrews, 2006a, p. 34; see also Grossberg, 1996; Slack, 1996). Contexts, then, can be understood through a process of deconstruction and reconstitution as, according to S. King (2005),

in order to ‘do’ articulation, it is necessary to reconstruct or fabricate the network of social, political, economic, and cultural articulations, or linkages, that produce any particular cultural phenomenon and trace, in turn, how the phenomenon (re)shapes the formation of which it is a part (p. 27).

Political Commitments.

Cultural studies began as an inherently political project as it was formed in response to very specific political questions. Since its beginnings, cultural studies has expressly promoted a progressive agenda, such that, according to Grossberg (1997a), the process of studying contextual conditions is “to give a better understanding of where ‘we’ are so ‘we’ can get somewhere else, hopefully somewhere better” (p. 254) with that better place having greater social justice and a more equitable distribution of wealth and power throughout society. However, identifying where we are and identifying where we want to go are insufficient as practice in cultural studies. Instead, according to Grossberg (1997a), the politics in a piece of cultural studies work is not in the audience we are addressing or the people for whom we are speaking, but in those that we speak against and challenge and in the conditions we attempt to change.

A second political commitment of cultural studies is its educational purpose. While being a public intellectual, as Stuart Hall has been throughout his career, especially

during the 1980s as he spoke against Thatcherism, is a worthy goal, education has been a particular emphasis of cultural studies practice. As Gramsci has noted that any hegemonic relationship is necessarily an educative one (see Giroux, 2001), education has a clear potential as a site to change power relationships and develop new opportunities. Hall's move from the CCCS, where he engaged primarily with graduate students, to the Open University in 1979 is particularly indicative of this central role, as the move was made, in part, to engage in a more "popular pedagogy" and have a greater direct impact (S. Hall, 1996).

The Sociology of Sport

The sociology of sport can be considered to be the second subdisciplinary parent of PCS. While cultural studies has provided the epistemological and ontological frameworks for PCS, the sociology of sport has been the area in which many of the empirical studies of physical culture have occurred. While Loy, et al (1993) described that the sociology of sport largely avoided embodiment within its first two decades as a recognized subdiscipline, over the past 15 years there has been a burgeoning focus on the body, the various forms of physical culture, and a multitude of theoretical and methodological approaches. As such, Andrews (2008a) suggested, "there is a plausible argument to be made that the sociology of sport, as practiced and exhibited within its numerous journals and its various conferences, is neither exclusively sociological nor is it exclusively focused on sports" (p. 52).

Researching the body.

While the active body is considered to be undertheorized within both the sociology of sport and cultural studies, PCS recognizes it as the corporeal site at which

power operates (see Cole, 2000, 1993; M. C. Duncan, 2007; M. A. Hall, 1993; Hargreaves, 1987). Cole (2000) identified three primary manifestations of research into the sporting body: 1) sport as embodying modern processes; 2) sport as it relates to embodying deviance; and 3) sport as embodying consumer culture. In general, body-related research has attempted to analyze the broader societal implications as the corporeal body has related to dimensions of identity, such as race, gender, sexuality, and (dis)ability, (Carrington, 1998; Cole, 1993; M. C. Duncan, 1994; Dunning, 1994; T. Miller, 2001; Pronger, 1999), health (Dworkin & Wachs, 1998; S. King, 1993), celebrity (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Cole, 1996), and the late capitalist moment (Howell & Ingham, 2001; S. King, 2000). Foucault, in particular, has been a significant influence as much of his “research keyed on explicating how the growth of systematic modern knowledges coincided with the expansion of power relations into the realm of controlling bodily practices and existence” (Andrews, 2000, p. 121). The active body has many different dimensions beyond sport, as PCS also studies the body at work, in exercise, dancing, movement in general, health, and activities of daily living (Andrews, 2008b).

Spatializing PCS

While PCS is interested in studying the body as it articulates to various social processes, it is easy to overlook the integral dialectical relationship between bodies and space. As people engage in physical activity, they are necessarily producing a space and their activities are shaped by their environments as well (Fusco, 2005; van Ingen, 2003, 2004; Vertinsky, 2001; Young, 2003). However, as suggested by Bale (2000), the field of sport geography often has made had a “fetish of cartography” (p. 173), with studies focusing on the origins and flows of athletes, the global diffusion of sport, the location of

sports teams, and the localized impacts of sports facilities. Within these studies, people are reduced “to dots or flow lines on maps” and “the subject of study” is fragmented (Bale & Philo, 1997, p. 6). As such, similar to sport sociology, the body is absent in much of the research on sporting spaces. This absence has been rectified to a degree through studies of sport landscapes rooted in the humanist geography of Tuan, Bachelard, and Relph (see Bale, 1994; Bale & Vertinsky, 2004; Gaffney & Bale, 2004; Raitz, 1987), extensions of Foucauldian theorizations on disciplinary technologies (see Bale, 1993; Fusco, 2005; Spielvogel, 2002; Thomson, 2004; Vertinsky, 2004), and Lefebvrian analyses of the social production of sporting space (see Borden, 2001; van Ingen, 2004). In this section, I discuss how Lefebvre’s understanding of the relationship between bodies and spaces can contribute to PCS and the ways in which bodies (including my own) are present within this dissertation.

Bodies and the Production of Space

Lefebvre’s corporeal focus is consistent with his focus towards trying to understand totalities, as the body serves as both the departure point for all analysis and the destination for his revolutionary praxis. This emphasis is not limited to his research on space as it also includes his research into everyday life, which together form the spatial and temporal core for his project of “rhythmanalysis” (Lefebvre, 2004; see also Elden, 2004b; Simonsen, 2005). Through rhythmanalysis, Lefebvre (2004) sought to understand the cycles and rhythms of social and biological life in and through the body, especially as they have been interrupted and impacted by rationalizing tendencies of capitalism.

In analyzing space, Lefebvre (1991b) recognized that “the whole of (social) space proceeds from the body” (p. 405). Rather than being an abstract idea, Lefebvre recognized that the body is a material reality and space is only produced in relation to the body. As such, the body is not separate from the various processes involved in the production of space, but is *integral* as “it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived – and produced” (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 162), and, therefore, subject to the same forces of alienation and mystification operating within dominant power relations. Given this status, the body is also an important part of praxis, as “any revolutionary ‘project’ today, whether utopian or realistic, must, if it is to avoid hopeless banality, make the reappropriation of the body, in association with the reappropriation of space, into a non-negotiable part of its agenda” (Lefebvre, 1991b, pp. 166-167)

The Body and the Transparency of Democracy

As this project is Lefebvrian, the body is present in some way as an object of analysis throughout this dissertation. While in some chapters, such as the discussion of the LGBT community’s habitation of the Near Southeast, it is explicit, the body’s relative absence in the analysis of the sporting Washington is very telling. Rather than being recognized for its material being and its contribution to the production of space, the body is a virtual abstraction in chapter 3, which I would suggest is a fairly typical analysis of the stadium based in political economy. As suggested by Lefebvre (1991b), this is one of the fundamental weaknesses of typical Marxist analyses.

The body is central to the next three chapters, as they explicitly use Lefebvre’s spatial triad to analyze the production of space. In chapter 4 on planning in Washington, I highlight the failure of urban leaders to account for the existing bodies in the stadium

space as they conceived plans for Washington's future. Although planners claimed to learn the lessons of previous planning failures, they conceived of space as being abstract and empty despite the residents of the Near Southeast and the users of the stadium site. In the attempt to redevelop the area, these bodies of existing users were essentially ignored and, then, removed from the area. In chapter 5 on symbolic Washington, the abstract images of Washington and the stadium that spoke to inclusive democracy were contrasted with material spatial practices that were intentionally exclusionary. As such, the chapter focused on what bodies were included in and excluded from space, and the ways in which images were promoted by those in power to justify the positioning of those bodies. In chapter 6 on sexual Washington, I examined the ways in which the physical usage and habitation of space creates meanings. As studies of queer space tend to be embodied, this chapter continued in this tradition as I examined the bodily practices and their dislocation from the Near Southeast.

In chapter 7, I opened with my own initial experiences in the newly produced stadium space. Lefebvre (1991b) suggested,

the more carefully one examines space, considering it not only with the eyes, not only with the intellect, but also with all the senses, with the total body, the more clearly one becomes aware of the conflicts at work within it (p. 391).

Towards sharing my embodied experience in journeying into the stadium space, the opening of this chapter placed me explicitly within the dissertation. As such, it is a self-reflective exercise that I hope provides readers with a fuller sense of the area, albeit mediated by my role as researcher and author.

Appendix B – Locating Lefebvre

While Elden and Lebas (2003) suggest, “to subsume Lefebvre within any disciplinary boundaries is inherently problematic (p. xii),” it is equally problematic to neatly characterize a life and body of work that developed over almost the entire 20th century. As a burgeoning academic in the 1920s, Lefebvre first engaged the writings of Marx and Engels during the early years of the Soviet Union and was among the first people to translate many of Marx’s writings into French. Despite his eviction from the French Communist Party (PCF) in the 1950s following the revelation of the brutality of Stalin’s regime, he remained a faithful adherent and promoter of a heretical form of Marxism that did not accept the orthodoxy of economic determinism. An outspoken critic of Nazism during the 1930s and member of the French Resistance during World War II, Lefebvre was an ideological inspiration to the leaders of France’s student revolt in May 1968. Lefebvre, who died in 1991 (thus outliving the Soviet Union and witnessing the fall of the Berlin Wall), continued to believe in the potential of Marxist ideology to open possibilities of a future free from the exploitation and domination of capitalism and the state.

The span of his work shows a similar engagement with the major philosophical movements of the 20th century. Rob Shields (1999) poses the question whether Lefebvre was “a ‘Zelig’ or a Leonardo” (p. 4) – a passive, unidentified bystander or a significant contributor to diverse fields – and suggests that he was an important “conducting wire” (p. 4) connecting ideas between groups and generations. Just as he engaged the Dadists and Surrealists of the 1920s, Lefebvre interacted with the Situationists of the 1950s and 1960s. A core member of the 1920s *Philosophies* who helped inspire Sartre’s

existentialism and a critic who challenged Sartre for being too humanistic, Lefebvre was no less critical of Althusser and the various forms of structuralism (Burkhard, 2000; Elden, 2004b; Shields, 1999). As the supervisor for Jean Baudrillard's doctoral dissertation, mentor of Manuel Castells, and an inspiration for many of the postmodernist geographers, he remained fully within the modernist project as he sought to understand and reconstitute totalities, while also recognizing the tendencies of capitalism to create fragmentation.

To examine the multiple Washingtons as they exist in the present conjuncture, this dissertation is grounded within Lefebvre's oeuvre. Although there are many approaches to space utilized throughout geography, cultural studies and sociology, Lefebvre's conception of space as a social product helps bridge the disciplinary divides and allows for a more holistic understanding of the multiple processes that shape space. While interested in the ways in which the physical environment is shaped, Lefebvre's theorizing, methodology and practice seek to examine the processes that help determine what behaviors, practices and relations are acceptable within a space, through which a space is designed and for what purposes, and how the shape and meanings of a space are changed through use. Within this appendix, I provide an overview of Lefebvre's oeuvre, in terms of his overall project, foundational beliefs, influences, and life. Rather than focusing on specific elements of his theorizing, this appendix seeks to contextualize Lefebvre as a scholar and as a proponent of revolutionary praxis.

The Lefebvorean Project

During the concluding chapter of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991b) described the book as being informed by a project "of a different society, a different

mode of production, where social practice would be governed by different conceptual determinations” (p. 419). This description can also be applied to his entire life as Lefebvre worked towards creating a society in which people would overcome the alienation of capitalism and possess a greater ability to realize themselves as “total” people (Lebas, 2003a; Shields, 1999). Drawn from his readings of Marx and Nietzsche, Lefebvre believed the “total man” would be emancipated from the exploitative labor and social relations that dominated people’s lives. Freed from exploitation, total people could create their own lives as oeuvres and pursue “all activities of self-realization or collective self-management” (Ronneberger, Brenner, & Kipfer, 2002, p. 43). As such, the total man also represented a break from dominant religious and economic interpretations of the individual, as Lefebvre sought a future in which people had the freedom to create themselves, their histories, situations, human natures and even their own realities (Burkhard, 2000; Lefebvre, 2002; J. Roberts, 2006).

Moreover, the total man had a number of inherent rights that went well beyond those granted by the state as benefits of citizenship (as well as the obligations also imposed by citizenship) or the rhetorical rights of man used to justify private property (Lefebvre, 1969b, 2003c). Building on Marx’s critique of the rights of man and citizenship, Lefebvre (1969b) describes them as forms of alienation through the political state. As citizens, individual sovereignty is subsumed by the state, which uses representatives and bureaucrats as intermediaries to mystify relations between people (Lefebvre, 1969b). As for the rights of men, Lefebvre quotes Marx that these rights are based “on the separation of man from man” (Marx, n.d. as quoted in Lefebvre, 1969b, p.

132) as they are used to justify property rights and set people in competition with one another for scarce resources.

Instead of rights limited and defined by the state, Lefebvre foresees a society of “democratic self-management, without bureaucracy or state” (Lefebvre, 1969b, p. 148). Consistent with Marx’s vision of communist life, the political state withers away, the alienating aspects of representative democracy are replaced by “transparent, direct relationships between men” (Lefebvre, 1969b, p. 137), and the functions of the state are taken over by society as a whole. As such, Merrifield (2006) has explained “Lefebvre’s notion of socialism plainly revolves around an association in which *dealienated* individuality can prosper within a democratic community” (p. 154-155). However, while communist self-management may be on (beyond?) the edge of the possible, Lefebvre (2003c) also sought to expand the common conception of citizen rights to include the right to city and the right to difference (both of which will be explored in much greater depth in this dissertation), as well as rights to information, free expression, culture, forms of self-management, and services which would expand human freedom and “cause the political State to wither away” (p. 254).

However, to Lefebvre, the state was only one entity through which capitalism prevented people from realizing their totality, as social relations helped enslave and alienate workers from their labor and themselves, and then mystify them to believe they were living well. In addition to the state, ideology, nationalism, the media, and advertising all contributed to alienation and mystification, which were the central problematics in Lefebvre’s oeuvre as they prevented the person from becoming emancipated. As discussed in chapter 2, Lefebvre recognized that the production of

everyday life and space represented the tangible manifestations of alienation and mystification within capitalism (Kipfer, 2002). To examine these processes, Lefebvre strongly advocated using dialectical methods throughout his research, published *La Materialisme Dialectique* in 1939 (which, besides *The Production of Space*, is his most translated and best-known work), and was recognized as the “father of the dialectic” in France (Shields, 1999, p. 109). While Marx moved “toward a science of history,” Lefebvre sought to move toward a science of space, not that would elevate space over time, but to restore their dialectical relationship. As Lefebvre (1991b) wrote in *The Production of Space*,

It is to be hoped that, at the conclusion of an analytical and critical studies such as the one here in vision, the relationship between time and space would no longer be one of abstract separation coupled with an equally abstract confusion between these two different yet closely connected terms (p. 351).

As discussed in the next section, the purpose of Lefebvre’s project – *changer la vie* – informed his paradigmatic stance. Lefebvre sought knowledge not for its own sake, but as it could allow people to critically analyze and understand their own contexts, identify alternative possibilities for the future, and enable them to act in ways that would change their realities (Lefebvre, 2002).

Foundational Beliefs

In engaging Lefebvre, it is insufficient to rely on *The Production of Space* or to consider him just as a geographer. Instead, just as Lefebvre did not privilege either the “early, ‘humanist’ Marx, or the later, ‘scientific’ Marx” (Elden, 2003, p. 3) but read his lifetime work as analyzing a common problematic in different ways (see Lefebvre,

1969a), a Lefebvrian project needs to be based in the totality of his work and have a sensibility, which like Lefebvre's, is open to possibilities, fluid and dynamic (Elden, 2004b; Kofman & Lebas, 1996). The concept of totality is at the foundation of Lefebvre's entire project, as according to Lefebvre (2002),

When we are dealing with human reality, both theory and practice encompass a conception of totality (i.e., of society and mankind), implicitly or explicitly.

Without this concept, there can be no frame of reference; no generality, and even more, no universality. Without it, knowledge itself ceases to have a structure (p. 180).

Yet, in seeking to understand totalities, Lefebvre was not trying to develop all-encompassing systems and explanations. Instead, he was attempting to identify and create opportunities to make meaningful societal changes that would allow people to have greater control over their own lives.

This insistence upon totality has five closely related ontological and epistemological implications. First, Lefebvre extensively used dialectical analysis to better understand the contexts of social relations. Second, Lefebvre opposed reductionism which he believed was an oversimplification of social relations. Third, Lefebvre was anti-disciplinary as different academic specializations contribute to the fragmentation of knowledge. Fourth, Lefebvre was critical of positivistic science, which he described as producing overreaching analyses that support existing power relations. Fifth, Lefebvre was suspicious of using models and forms of systemization, which artificially close off possibilities.

Lefebvre considered dialectical analysis to be one of, if not the most, important of Marx's contributions, and its use permeates his academic analysis and praxis (Kipfer, 2002). However, Lefebvre did not simply adopt either Hegel's or Marx's dialectic as he considered both systems to be relatively closed as the third term represented a culmination of the other two (Elden, 2004b; Shields, 1999). Yet, for Lefebvre (2002), "the third term is always that which is possible" (p. 151) as he sought to "bring together the conflictual and the contradictory, [link] theory and practice,... [and] to reveal the continual movement" between the terms (Kofman & Lebas, 1996, p. 9-10). As such, Lefebvre uses dialectical analysis to reconstruct the contexts in which social relations occur, and, therefore, is more interested in the interactions between individuals and societal structures (Kofman & Lebas, 1996).

Second, Lefebvre was strongly opposed to forms of reductionism, which although he recognized as necessary to simplify "the complexity and chaos of root observations" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. 105), he also warned that it is a "trap" which oversimplifies the material world as totalities are not often reconstructed. Lefebvre's opposition to reductionist practices was paired with his rejection of determinism which he saw as relying upon general theoretical and ideological assumptions rather than critical analysis. As such, Lefebvre was an outspoken critic of both the economic determinism that was Communist Party orthodoxy during most of the 20th century and the humanistic reductionism of existentialism in Sartre's early works (Soja, 1989). Moreover, Lefebvre's anti-reductionism and anti-determinism also manifested themselves in his suspicion of ideology, as adherents frequently make dogmatic claims of its absolute truth (Lefebvre, 2002).

Third, in addition to his opposition to the oversimplification of the material world, Lefebvre added the fragmentation of knowledge as academic disciplines “[encourage] us to forget the totality” from which they were carved (Lefebvre, 2003e, p. 36). Lefebvre (1971) suggested that the disciplines were determined both practically and ideologically within the modernist project which sought to rationalize, understand and control knowledge. According to Lefebvre (1969b), “mankind’s ‘socio-economic formation’ (as Marx calls it) simply has too many aspects, exhibits too many differences and goes on at too many levels to be treated by a single discipline” (p. 18). Within his own career, Lefebvre refused to categorize himself as a philosopher, sociologist or historian, as he believed that this specialization encouraged the further fragmentation of knowledge and contributed to the dominance of powerful groups. Instead, in order to challenge this dominance, Lefebvre advocated interdisciplinary work which he suggested was essential towards understanding the world and creating significant changes (Lefebvre, 1971).

Fourth, closely related to both his anti-disciplinary and anti-reductionist stances, Lefebvre was highly critical of “scientism” as he considered positivism, empiricism, epistemology, and structuralism as “[rejecting] lived experience as a fact, alienation as a concept, and humanism as a project” (Lefebvre, 2003k, p. 33; see also Elden & Lebas, 2003). Moreover, Lefebvre (1969b, 1971, 2005) considered positivist science to be dangerous as well, as its practitioners sought to apply its limited and fragmentary conclusions to the totality of the social world. Lefebvre (2003k) also suggested, just as he did about fragmented academic disciplines, that over-reaching scientific explanations and reductionist practices tend to reinforce dominant relations as knowledge is pressed into the service of power.

Fifth, Lefebvre opposed systemization and model development to be antithetical to understanding totalities and the broader Marxist project as they “tend to *close off* reflection, [and] block off the horizon” (Lefebvre, 1996a, p. 63; see also Lefebvre, 1969b, 1991b, 2003k). With Norbert Guterman in the 1930s, Lefebvre claimed that Marx’s writing and dialectical materialism were not overarching systems, and as such, should not be considered scripture and ideology as believed by many orthodox Marxists (Burkhard, 2000). Merrifield (1995) stated that Lefebvre’s bias against systemization has impacted the reception and understanding of his overall oeuvre. As an example, Merrifield (1995) suggested that, within the introductory chapter of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre presented what many geographers consider a model for understanding space – the spatial triad of spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation. Yet, Merrifield (1995) adds that “Lefebvre spends the rest of the book seeking to subvert the coherence of the introductory statement” (p. 298) in order to be both “*eruptive and disruptive*” (p. 298, emphasis original).

Influences

Although Lefebvre was influenced by a variety of predecessors and contemporaries, the single most important influence on Lefebvre’s oeuvre was Marx. However, Lefebvre had a very different interpretation of Marx from the ideologues of the Communist parties throughout Europe, as he chose to read Marx in his totality rather than accepting the favored periodizations (Kipfer, 2002). According to Elden (2003), Lefebvre read Marx “as a theorist of alienation and production, as a dialectician, moving toward a science of history” (p. 3, italics original). Lefebvre (1988) described Marx’s thinking as “a point of departure, not a point of arrival” (p. 84), and as such opened

critical analysis rather than served as a systemization of laws that explained the social world (see also Lefebvre, 1969a, 1969b). In doing so, Lefebvre (1969b) refused to define Marx as a political economist, historian, philosopher, sociologist or psychologist, although he did recognize that aspects of Marx's oeuvre spoke to topics within each of those disciplines. Instead, Lefebvre believed that Marx sought to explore totalities and comprehend the whole of human existence, which were denied by the tools and techniques of the academic disciplines and party ideology. As such, Lefebvre (1971) interpreted Marx's focus on production to extend well beyond the factory floor as it encompassed the spiritual production of creations (social time and space), the material production of things, self-production of a human being (including social relations), and reproduction (including biological, tools of production, technical instruments and social relations).

In keeping such an open definition of Marx's writings, Lefebvre (1969b) recognized both its limitations and usefulness as he stated, "Marxian thought is not alone sufficient, but it is indispensable for understanding the present day world" (p. 188). As such, Lefebvre (1991) suggests "Marxism should be treated as one *moment* in the development of theory, and not, dogmatically, as a definitive theory" (p. 321). Lefebvre continually engaged the philosophy and thought of Marx and Engels, as well as Hegel, Nietzsche and others where appropriate, in order to understand the continually-changing contexts and crises within capitalism (Kipfer, 2002). Rejecting scientific Marxism and structural analyses, Lefebvre sought to use Marxism as form of critical knowledge, which differed from its technocratic use by those in power in the Eastern Bloc and dominating the PCF (Kipfer, 2002).

By taking such a humanistic approach and through his rejection of Marxist orthodoxy, Lefebvre was expelled from the PCF in 1957 for his heretical ideas³⁵ (Shields, 1999). However, to classify Lefebvre only as a humanist also fails to appreciate the breadth of his project, as Lefebvre recognized that structural elements helped determine social relations. In so doing, Lefebvre staked a central position between the Marxist humanists (such as Sartre), who relied primarily on Marx's early writings, and the Marxist structuralists (such as Althusser), for whom Marx's later works represented a scientific core (Elden, 2003; Soja, 1999). Lefebvre believed that while history and social structures constrained agency, people could act to change those structures (or, as Marx stated, "men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please") (Burkhard, 2000).

Although Marx was the most important influence upon Lefebvre's oeuvre, he also recognized the contributions to his work made by Nietzsche and Hegel (Merrifield, 1995; J. M. Roberts, 2001). Moreover, his work was also influenced by numerous contemporaries, whether through the complementary projects of the Surrealists and the Situationists, in contrast to Heidegger and Sartre, or in opposition to structuralism.

In 1975, Lefebvre (2003d) wrote a book in which Marx, Hegel and Nietzsche were explored together as "all three... grasped 'something' about the modern world, something that was in the process of becoming" (p. 43). While there is incompatibility within the totalities of the three philosophers' projects, Lefebvre found insights in each which help illuminate aspects of modernity. Stating "*the modern world is Hegelian*" (p. 42, italics original), Lefebvre (2003d) credited Hegel with developing the political theory

³⁵Despite his expulsion, Lefebvre claimed that his exit from the PCF came "from the left" as he maintained his Marxist beliefs (2000).

of the nation-state, which “engulfs and subordinates the reality Hegel calls ‘civil society’, that is to say, social relations” (p. 42). Stating “*the modern world is Marxist*” (p. 42, italics original), Lefebvre (2003d) credited Marx with predicting that economic matters, industrialization and production in particular, would be the central concerns of the state and would be accompanied with rational planning. Stating “*the modern world is Nietzschean*” (p. 43, italics original), Lefebvre (2003d) presented Nietzsche as a philosopher who protested and challenged the status quo and wanted to “change the world” as political forces cannot dominate all facets of civilization as art and lived experience are potential preserves against the pressures of the state and society.

The philosophies of Hegel, Marx and Nietzsche were much more to Lefebvre than lenses through which to view the modern world. Although Shields (1999) recognized Lefebvre as the “father of the dialectic” in France, modern dialectical thought originated with Hegel, while Marx’s dialectic was developed in specific contrast to Hegel. However, despite the official Marxist disfavor of Hegel, Lefebvre recognized a strand of revolutionary logic through which the contradictions of capitalism could be transcended (Burkhard, 2000; Soja, 1989). Particularly resonant with Lefebvre was Hegel’s conception of totality, which Burkhard (2000) described as having pieces of fragmented empirical knowledge as part of a broader whole, but also retaining contradictions and tension which allowed for an open system rife with possibilities. Moreover, Lefebvre (1969b), in reading Hegel through Marx, identified the foundation of ideas surrounding praxis and civil society.

Although Nietzsche’s works were favored by fascists throughout Europe, Lefebvre was one of the first philosophers on the left during the 1930s who sought to

challenge the right's claim to Nietzsche (Burkhard, 2000; Elden, 2004b). Merrifield (2006) describes Lefebvre's personal bond with Nietzsche as "*hot*" (p. 156, italics original) as Lefebvre responded to Nietzsche's humanism, emphasis on lived experience, iconoclasm, polemicism, and sense of the possibility within his work (see also Merrifield, 1995). Moreover, Lefebvre suggested that the "will to power" did not necessarily apply only to the powerful, as subordinate minorities could develop a "will to *empower*" (Merrifield, 2006, p. 159, italics original) through which they could confront the powerful. This will to empower is very important in the way in which Lefebvre conceived the right to difference (Merrifield, 2006). Within his overall project, Kofman and Lebas (1996) suggest that Lefebvre's "emphasis on the body, sexuality, violence and the tragic, and the production of differential space and plural times, have direct resonances in Nietzschean thought" (p. 5).

Lefebvre was also influenced by a number of his contemporaries. He was a central member of the *Philosophies*, which included Georges Politzer, Norbert Guterman, Georges Friedmann, Pierre Morhange and Paul Nizan (Burkhard, 2000). As a group and individually, they tried to understand malaise of post-World War I France through examining a broad range of philosophic and religious approaches to issues surrounding alienation (Burkhard, 2000). While a member of the *Philosophies*, Lefebvre engaged with the Surrealists and with Tristan Tzara, one of the founders of Dadaism (Shields, 1999). Burkhard (2000) describes that the *Philosophies* and Lefebvre's intellectual journeys eventually led them to an idealistic and humanistic Marxism that brought Hegel into their understanding of Marx and Lenin.

Lefebvre's contact with the Surrealists and Dadaists during the 1920s showed him the potential that people had to creatively control their lives (Shields, 1999). From the Dadaists, which were influenced by Nietzsche's description of the radical potential of art and the disillusionment of World War I, Lefebvre recognized the ways in which they sought to challenge "traditions and sources of legitimacy and authority" (Shields, 1999, p. 54) through art which surprised, shocked, and upended audience expectations. Through the Surrealists, who believed that the rationality of the modern world led to alienation, Lefebvre was introduced to Hegel's work and the problematic of everyday life (Gardiner, 2000; Shields, 1999). However, while the Surrealists sought to escape from the banality of the everyday, Lefebvre sought to harness its revolutionary potential in order to transform life (Gardiner, 2000).

More than three decades after his brief relationship with the Surrealists, Lefebvre was introduced to Guy Debord and the Situationists in the late 1950s (Merrifield, 2008). In many ways, the Situationists could be seen as ideological successors to the Surrealists as they shared concerns about alienation and sought to *changer la vie* (Goonewardena, 2008; Lefebvre, 2005). As the Situationists were inspired by Lefebvre's notion of the moment (which had been partly inspired by the Surrealists), Lefebvre's engagement with the Situationists helped shift his focus more squarely to problems of urbanization and space (though his previous work on the everyday had touched on these issues) (Elden, 2004b; Ross, 1997; Shields, 1999). A relationship best characterized as tumultuous, Lefebvre and the Situationists split in 1962 with personal recriminations and mutual accusations of plagiarism (Merrifield, 2006; Ross, 1997).

Lefebvre's contacts with Sartre and Heidegger were much more tangential than his involvement with the *Philosophies*, Surrealists or Situationist, but helped Lefebvre formulate and develop his positions as engaged with their ideas (Elden, 2004a; Kofman & Lebas, 1996; Shields, 1999). Sartre, who was younger than Lefebvre, had been a peripheral member of the *Philosophies*, as he was friends with Nizan and Politizer (Burkhard, 2000; Shields, 1999). According to Shields (1999), mid-1920s articles by Lefebvre anticipated "many of the arguments made by Sartre" (p. 83) as he developed existentialism. However, as Sartre became highly influential in French intellectual life in the 1940s, the PCF called upon Lefebvre to write its rebuttal (one Lefebvre would later suggest should have been subtitled "the art of making enemies" [see Elden, 2004]), in which "in one stroke, Lefebvre gave himself credit as the first existentialist, relegating Sartre to the position of mere latecomer, and presented a self-criticism in which existentialism was exposed as juvenile" (Poster 1975, as qtd. in Elden, 2004, p. 20). As Lefebvre and Sartre reconciled following Lefebvre's expulsion from the PCF, their work became more dialogic, as Shields (1999) describes Sartre's existential Marxism in the *Critique of Dialectical Reason* being a refinement of the positions of Lefebvre and other former members of the PCF. Similarly, through engagement with Sartre, Lefebvre refined a number of themes in his own work.

Elden (2004) suggests that Heidegger could almost be the fourth major influence upon Lefebvre's theorizing as "Lefebvre appropriated a number of ideas from Heidegger, whilst subjecting them to a Marxist critique" (p. 87) and practically applied many of Heidegger's theoretical insights. Despite Lefebvre's criticism of Heidegger for his ideas being "insufficiently concrete", Elden (2004) identified Heidegger's critiques on

Cartesian understandings of space, his insight of the political nature of space, and his concept of *wohnen*, regarding the habitation of and lived experience within space, as being particularly influential upon Lefebvre.

Despite the contemporary influences of Heidegger, Sartre and the Situationists, much of Lefebvre's oeuvre developed in direct opposition to the Marxist orthodoxy imposed by the Soviet Union and the PCF. While Lefebvre sought to read Marx for his humanism and within the context of his complete works, Stalinist dogma considered these ideas heretical, especially as the State became entrenched and oppressed its citizens, rather than withering away and allowing individuals greater freedom. In particular, during the 1940s and 1950s, Lefebvre dissented from Marxist orthodoxy (and, perhaps in his own words, sought to "put an end to the notion of an orthodoxy" (Lefebvre, 2005, p. 22) through his rejection of economism, which he considered as reductionist, and through his interest in examining everyday life.

Following Lefebvre's expulsion from the PCF, he continued to offer alternatives to Marxist orthodoxy, especially after its turn to structuralism as espoused by Althusser during the 1960s. According to Elden (2004), Althusser and Lefebvre understand Marx in fundamentally different ways as Lefebvre chose to read Marx in totality, while for Althusser, there is an epistemological rupture between Marx's early humanist works and the later scientific analyses. Lefebvre (2003b) considers Althusser's structuralist approach as an "elimination of Marxism" and an "elimination of dialectic" which retreats from studying history and lived experience and replaces dialectical methodology with "*techniques* elevated into method and epistemology" (p. 40, italics original). Moreover, by privileging of structure over all other concepts rather the trying to understand the

relationship between form, function and structure, Lefebvre (2003b) considers structuralism as a form reductionism and as constituting and creating an ideology. Lefebvre (1976) also suggested that Althusser and other structuralists were reifying dominant power relations in the service of the state, particularly to conceal the failures of the Marxist states in Eastern Europe (see also Elden, 2004b; Lefebvre, 2003b; Merrifield, 2006). As such, Lefebvre considered Althusser's supposedly scientific theories as being reductionist, technocratic, mystifying and helping to reproduce, rather than challenging, existing power relationships (Elden, 2004b; Gardiner, 2000; Lefebvre, 2003b, 2005).

Lefebvre and cultural studies.

Although Lefebvre is not identified as working within the cultural studies tradition as developed through E.P. Thompson, Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and Stuart Hall, Lefebvre's emphasis on praxis, along with his political and theoretical positions, coincide with cultural studies in many ways. Just as Lefebvre parted from the French Communist Party following Khrushchev's renunciation of Stalin and the Soviet invasion of Hungary, these events also caused the formation of the "New Left" in Great Britain, in which Thompson, Hoggart, Williams and Hall were among the leading intellectuals. For Lefebvre and members of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham the study and critique of everyday life were seen to provide insight into the inequitable conditions of capitalism, which endured in spite of the ideologically-driven analyses of orthodox Marxist political economists (see R. Johnson et al., 2004).

The commonalities between Lefebvre and cultural studies extend beyond genealogy as they share a common approach and commitment. Like Lefebvre's project,

cultural studies in the British tradition is an expressly political approach to studying culture and contexts with the intention of challenging and changing them (Andrews, 2006a; Grossberg, 1989). In addition, cultural studies and Lefebvre share dialectical approaches to research, notions of radical contextualism in which conditions are conjuncturally dependent and not guaranteed in advance, rejection of simple determinancy, and question dogmatic approaches to research. Moreover, both Lefebvre and cultural studies have sought to move beyond the traditionally narrow disciplinary structures of academia and its detachment to engage in work that is transdisciplinary and overtly political (see R. Johnson et al., 2004). As such, both recognize the usefulness and need for multiple methods that are appropriate for the empirical context.

For the many similarities that seem to align Lefebvre with cultural studies, there are some differences as well, with cultural studies' use of Althusser as the most significant. Despite the presence of this key difference, it does not lead to an a priori rejection of Lefebvre's oeuvre. Instead, cultural studies demands that researchers use an inclusive approach that wrestles and utilizes the most applicable theoretical and methodological tools (see Grossberg, 1997a; Slack, 1996; H. K. Wright, 2001).

Life as Praxis

For Lefebvre, theory was necessary but insufficient practice, as according to Lebas (2003b), "for Lefebvre, the lived is political" and "there is no Lefebvre without politics" (p. 217). As stated earlier, Lefebvre's academic work was driven by a Marxian project of a different society and mode of production which had different forms of social relations. However, Lefebvre was not content to sit and theorize in the ivory tower of academia or in coffee houses among the intelligentsia of the French Communist Party.

He may have philosophized about a utopian society, but did so with a practical purpose as he believed that demanding and working for the impossible would allow people to realize all that was possible, and, perhaps, make possible what had been considered impossible.

As suggested by the subtitle of Stuart Elden's (2004) biography, "Theory and the Possible," Lefebvre sought to expand the possible by identifying opportunities for change and imaging alternatives. Lefebvre (2002) described the existing world as "a possibility [that has] been made effective or actualized" (p. 195) and believed that Marxist thought "is a theory of action, reflection on praxis, i.e., on what is possible, what impossible" (Lefebvre, 1969b, p. 160). Lefebvre (1991b) recognized Marx and Engels were "great utopians" (p. 422). They glimpsed "the dawn now beginning to break on the far horizon" (Lefebvre, 1991b, p. p. 422), as their focus went beyond the material conditions of their society, which allowed them to envision a new society and to inspire others to seek it. Following their example, Lefebvre practiced "critical utopianism," which he defined as:

[concerning] what is and what is not possible. All thinking that has to do with action has a utopian element. Ideas that stimulate action, such as liberty and happiness, must contain a utopian element. This is not a refutation of such ideals; it is, rather, a necessary condition of the project of changing life (Lefebvre, 1988, p. 87; see also Gardiner, 2000)

As such, the highly iconoclastic Lefebvre approached membership in the PCF and Marxist ideology from a markedly different perspective from his contemporaries. Rather than understanding communism as "loyalty to a man or men, to a country, to a nation, [or] political institution" (p. 232), Lefebvre (2003a) defined his communism as one of "movement... *towards* a possible future" (p. 234, italics original), in which people had

much greater rights, opportunities and freedoms that were not granted or guaranteed by the state, but were inherent in the human condition and exercisable within daily life. In rejecting the determinism and reductionism of party orthodoxy, Lefebvre (2005) sought to “open up Marxist thought to the realm of possibilities, rather than focusing it on the ‘real’ (economic) and the factual (historical)” (p. 15).

Despite technological and scientific advances in the 20th century that opened up previously undreamt possibilities, Lefebvre recognized that dominant social groups and the state were trying to reduce alternatives and that rationality subverted utopian thinking. Towards creating a different future, Lefebvre (2002, 1991b) advocated revolutionary change that went beyond altering political and economic relations, as he recognized that revolution had to change the forms of social relations in everyday life and space or little would truly change (see also Aronowitz, 2007). This revolutionary change begins at the level of academic practice and theory, as “*there can be no knowledge of the everyday without critical knowledge of society (as a whole). Inseparable from practice or praxis, knowledge encompasses an agenda for transformation*” (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 98, italics original). Yet, Lefebvre (1968) also realized that the transformations of society he sought and the realization of the total man were not inevitable outcomes of human activity, but required individuals to act towards it (and even then there was no guarantee of success).

To Lefebvre (1969b), praxis required the practical application of theory to society as “abstract logical consistency, theory divorced from social activity and practical verification, have no value whatever” (p. 34). As such, Lefebvre’s Marxism was directly tied to action, as he stated that “praxis is first and foremost *act*” (Lefebvre, 1969b, p. 45, italics original), with revolutionary action being its highest form. In his praxis, Lefebvre

sought nothing less than the transformation of society through the emancipation of the individual. He recognized that modernity, industrialization, urbanism, capitalism, and the state were invading, colonizing, structuring, organizing and repressing the most private recesses of existence more deeply than ever before. Lefebvre (2003a) saw the state-sponsored Communism of the Soviet Union and its client states as providing a poor alternative as conditions were as alienating as capitalist countries, with individuals serving the state rather than the state withering away. As such, Lefebvre (2005) sought to redefine revolution as

not confined to economic transformations (relations of production), or political transformations (personnel and institutions), but (to merit the title) could and must extend as far as everyday life, as far as actual 'disalienation', creating a way of living, a style – in a word, a civilization (p. 15-16).

Creating a Total Life

For Lefebvre, the project of revolution and disalienation started with himself as he sought to emancipate himself and realize his own totality. Born in 1901 in the Pyrenees near the Spanish border, he rebelled against both the puritanical religious beliefs of his mother and the bourgeois values of his father (Shields, 1999). Lefebvre spent World War I in a Parisian Lycee, where he was exposed to both the privations and hopelessness of the war, as well as the works of Nietzsche, Spinoza and Schopenhauer. In university, Lefebvre sought his degree in philosophy, first studying Catholic theology at the University of Aix-en-Provence near Marseille and then classical philosophy at the Sorbonne, where he met the other members of the *Philosophies*, who were similarly

critical of the detached and overly-formal approach of academic philosophy and struggled with the same post-war disillusionment (Burkhard, 2000; Shields, 1999).

According to Shields (1999), in discussing Lefebvre's academic training, "it is difficult to separate Lefebvre's intellectual life from his pursuit of intelligent and beautiful women" (p. 12) or the "endless series of irritations, pranks and disturbances" (p. 12) he propagated on his professors with the other *Philosophies*. Shields (1999) suggested that these activities represented an anticipation of the tactics of the Surrealists and Situationists as well as the sexual liberation of the 1960s, as Lefebvre had a "taste for life, love and adventure" (p. 12) that influenced his work.

Lefebvre's middle-aged years were centered on his membership in the French Communist Party. Although his non-orthodox Marxism was a constant theme through this time period, the PCF became increasingly dogmatic following World War II. At first, Lefebvre attempted to ingratiate himself with party leadership by focusing on topics of their choosing, including writing a scathing critique of Sartre and Existentialism in 1947, and was rewarded by being recognized as the PCF's leading intellectual for a short time. However, he soon fell out of favor as the PCF pulped one of his books, heavily censored others, and limited him to writing literary criticisms. By the late 1950s, Lefebvre tired of the party's dogmatic stance which had little room for his ideas, especially his critiques of Stalinism (Elden, 2004b; Shields, 1999).

Following his expulsion, Lefebvre had much greater freedom to pursue his analyses of everyday life and space and to advocate a more humanistic and grass-roots Marxism. During the 1960s, he exchanged ideas with the Situationists and took a teaching position at Nanterre, which is generally considered the source of the events of

May 1968, which included a general strike throughout France and threatened the stability of the Fifth Republic. Lefebvre claimed he “stirred things up a bit” (Ross, 1997, n. pag) after he was asked by University officials to provide a list of radical students. Warning students of an impending blacklist (whether the threat was real or not), Lefebvre helped motivate student resistance at Nanterre, which Shields (1999) described as representing “the synthesis of theory and practice that he sought” (p. 144; see also Lefebvre, 1969a; Ross, 1997).

While Lefebvre attempted to push the boundaries of the possible in work and life by refusing to curtail his activities to meet bourgeois conventions or religious morality, Lefebvre failed in many important areas to live his politics. Shields (1999) notes that Lefebvre was conspicuously silent during the Hungarian uprising of 1956 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 – key moments in European history. His treatment of women demonstrated similar failings as he seemed to view them as objects for conquest or muses, and, despite a writing style in which he dictated and did not revise his material, he rarely acknowledged the female typists whose efforts and ideas contributed to his work (Shields, 1999).

Intellectual Legacies

According to Kipfer, et al (2008), Lefebvre had become increasingly commonplace within English-language research following the translation of the *Production of Space* in 1991. This use has led to a reexamination of Lefebvre’s work in France and the rest of Western Europe, where he had been marginalized since the 1970s for failing to follow dominant intellectual trends. Within Anglo-American academic circles, Lefebvre’s research into everyday life and space have had the most resonance.

In geography, Lefebvre challenged Cartesian conceptions of space as an empty vessel to be filled and helped inspire critical and postmodern geographers. Kipfer, et al. (2008) noted two strands of geographical research that have been associated with David Harvey and Edward Soja. As used by Harvey, Lefebvre's work is "a strategic entry point to understand and revolutionize the capitalist mode of production as a whole" (Kipfer et al., 2008, p. 7). Building off of Lefebvre's notion of the second circuit of capital³⁶, Harvey sought to theorize the role of urbanization within capital accumulation. However, Harvey and other urban political economists have only found limited utility within this partial reading, as Lefebvre never developed his critique more fully, nor did he seek to create a theory of urban political economy (Kipfer et al., 2008). Indeed, Lefebvre sought to critique political economy for its reductionism, rather than contribute to its further development.

Lefebvre also could have taken issue with the partial appropriation of his work by Soja and other postmodern geographers. As Kipfer, et. al (2008) noted, Soja was attempting to create an ontology of space and lost Lefebvre's focus on the dialectical relationship between space and society. Rather than trying to understand the relationships between space and time, which was essential to Lefebvre's overall project, Soja privileged space at the expense of Lefebvre's theorizing of difference and everyday life, and his focus on totality and revolutionary praxis (Kipfer et al., 2008).

According to Kipfer, et. al (2008), a "third constellation of Lefebvre readings" (p. 13) have emerged. In the most recent uses, they suggest that newer readings are committed to understanding the "overall orientation and historical context of his work"; use Lefebvre as a point of departure (much in the same way that Lefebvre used Marx);

³⁶ See page xxx for a more detailed discussion.

make use of his metaphilosophical approach that utilizes space and time and his entire oeuvre; and use Lefebvre's theories, methodologies, concepts and overall approach within their research.

Appendix C – Methodology

In Chapter 1, I briefly introduced the methodology I have employed in this dissertation. As described, data were collected through qualitative sources – textual analysis, interviews, ethnographic observation – for their potential to help describe phenomena in a non-reductionist manner and as they served to enable analysis through Lefebvre’s regressive-progressive approach to research. In this Appendix, I will discuss in much greater detail: the paradigmatic issues underpinning this research; the reasons that certain methods were used to collect data; the sources I consulted; and the ways that my various subjectivities have impacted this dissertation.

Paradigmatic Issues

Towards this end of creating a better society, I would define myself as a critical researcher in so far as I generally accept the seven assumptions of critical research as currently constituted and defined by Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) as follows. First, thought is mediated by power relations as constituted socially and historically. Second, facts are intimately linked to and cannot be removed from values and ideology. Third, meanings and relationships between objects are not fixed and are related to social relations within capitalism. Fourth, “language is central to the formation of subjectivity” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 304). Fifth, certain groups are privileged and oppression characterizes contemporary society, especially as subordinated groups accept their status. Sixth, there are many forms of oppression that are interconnected. And, seventh, mainstream research practices tend to reproduce oppression (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Moreover, critical research also requires that “inquiry... must be

connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305).

Paradigmatically, these stances have ontological, epistemological, and methodological implications as reality has been shaped over time by various values (social, cultural, political, economic, ethnic, gender, etc.), knowledge is subjective and mediated through social relations, and dialectical approaches to research are the most useful for creating an understanding of that reality (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Moreover, critical research diverges significantly from the hegemonic model within academia of positivistic research in which unbiased and uninvolved scientists attempt to uncover an objective reality using rigorously-verified techniques (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Instead, the value of critical research is related to its emancipatory potential, and there is no pretense to objectivity as the researcher critiques and attempts to change the status quo (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

Writing about the future of qualitative inquiry, Lincoln and Denzin (2005) suggest that reconnecting social science to social purpose will be one of the major issues facing researchers. Lincoln and Denzin (2005) advocate an “engaged social science” in which researchers work towards social justice as “research should be driven by an ameliorative purpose; it should seek to solve some problem, to allay some maldistribution of resources, to meet a genuine need” (p. 1117). Within this context, then, critical research has an emancipatory purpose, with the value of research assessed on “the researchers’ ability to expose the contradictions of the world of appearances accepted by the dominant culture as natural and inviolable. Such appearances may, critical researchers contend,

conceal social relationships of inequality, injustice, and exploitation” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 306).

While virtually any social practices can be articulated to one another, a key question in any research is the degree to which particular linkages are illustrative of a perceived historical and social reality. In general, validity attempts to assess the trustworthiness and authenticity of research (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Saukko, 2005). Saukko (2003) provided an alternative framework for cultural studies, by recommending that research be assessed in terms of dialogic, deconstructive, and contextualist validities. Dialogic validity judges research on how well it was able to capture the lived realities of others through further engaging participants to find out if the research is an accurate description of their perspectives (described by Saukko [2003] as “truthfulness”), the ways in which researchers assess the influence of their own life experiences upon the research (self-reflexivity), and how the research captures many lived realities (polyvocality). Deconstructive validity attempts to assess how well the research is able to unravel problematic social discourses by highlighting multiple realities (post-modern excess), challenging truth claims by exploring their historical roots (genealogical historicity), and questioning the binaries that organize thought (deconstructive critique). Contextualist validity evaluates research in its ability to elucidate the social, economic, political conditions of a phenomenon through using multiple perspectives and resources (sensitivity to social context) and by acknowledging the role of the researcher in creating understands of that context (awareness of historicity) (Saukko, 2003, 2005).

Methodology

As described in the introduction, Grossberg stated that cultural studies is not limited in its choice of methodology, but needed to utilize the most appropriate methodological tools and to be careful and rigorous in their use. From this injunction, I have found Lefebvre's (2003g) regressive-progressive approach to offer a powerful method for analyzing broad societal structures within conditions of local specificity as it operates synchronically and diachronically. In particular, this approach attempts to describe, date, and explain a social phenomenon by identifying and then contextualizing it within contemporary and historical contexts (Lefebvre, 2003g). Consistent with Lefebvre's (1991b, 2002) commitment towards understanding totalities and his opposition to reductionism, the three moments of analysis are not separated from one another (see also Elden, 2004).

In many ways, Lefebvre's method is firmly grounded with the critical paradigm and within modernism as Lefebvre (2003g) suggested that his method could "exactly" (p. 117) describe the reality of a social phenomenon. In addition, Lefebvre conducted his research before the emergence of debates regarding researcher power, subjectivity, and self-reflexivity. Despite these shortcomings, Lefebvre's approach tends towards meeting the validity criteria described by Saukko (2003), especially in terms of deconstructive validity as Lefebvre recognized multiple realities, the necessity of historical contextualization, and challenged binaries within social thought. Moreover, Lefebvre's approach tends towards creating deep contextualization, not only within historical and social trends, but also in the local realities that impact any social formation. As such, Lefebvre's method answers Andrews' (2006) challenge that "as much as we have to be

diachronous, so we must be equally synchronous in our thinking” (p. 37). In conducting a Lefebvrian analysis of space, I have incorporated diachronic and synchronic analyses into each empirical chapter.

Although this dissertation may focus its critique on the present and past, it is intended to “[*encompass*] *an agenda for transformation*” (Lefebvre, 2002, p. 98, italics original). For Lefebvre, praxis as the project of a different future starts and finishes with dialectical materialism, whose “aim is nothing less than the rational expression of the praxis, of the actual content of life -- and, correlatively, the transformation of the present praxis into a social practice that is conscious, coherent and free” (Lefebvre, 2003j, p. 20). As such, Lefebvre’s dialectic is not the simple application of abstract logic, but a concrete method for identifying, analyzing and transforming the material contradictions engendered by exploitative social relations (Elden, 2004; Shields, 1999). Through dialectical analysis, Lefebvre (2002, 2003i, 2003j) seeks to reconstruct the totalities of the social world without losing its complexity or differences and by avoiding the traps of reductionism and determinism.

Identifying the conflict “between homogenizing and differentiating forces” as the most salient challenge in the context of 1970s France, Lefebvre (2003h) stated that “dialectical analysis is more than ever indispensable for a clear approach to the tangle of contradictions” (p. 186). Unlike others’ uses of dialectical analysis, Lefebvre’s addition of a third term is neither a synthesis nor a negation, but, instead is a way in which to capture the complexity and movement of social forces within the production of space. However, Lefebvre (1991b) also warned that his distinction between spaces of representation and representations of space had to “be handled with considerable caution”

as he recognized “there is a danger of introducing divisions and so defeating the object of the exercise, which is to rediscover the unity of the productive process” (p. 42). Given Lefebvre’s distrust of systemization and models, this warning applies to any use of the spatial triad, as, although it has been called the core insight of *The Production of Space* (see Merrifield, 2006), its value is as an analytical tool through which to understand social space as part of praxis rather than as a formalized scheme to classify space and generate abstract knowledge.

Choosing Methods

As both Lefebvre (1996a) and Grossberg (1997) emphasized the need to utilize a variety of methodological tools to the study of social phenomena, I have used a variety of qualitative methods toward developing an understanding of the events, discourses, lived experiences, and intentions surrounding the stadium decision and the production of space within Southeast Washington. These methods were chosen for their ability to provide data from many different sources, which would help me to describe Washington and the stadium in a non-reductionist manner. I rejected using quantitative data analysis for this reason, and focused instead on qualitative methods, such as textual analysis, interviews, and ethnographic approaches, for their ability to allow me to “study things in their natural settings, [and to attempt] to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 3). The research protocol can be found in Appendix F.

Through these methods, I attempted to access different people’s perceptions of their social worlds through observation, interaction and participation in those worlds. Additionally, I have focused on the differing discourses – economic, aesthetic, political,

gender, ethnographic, historical – surrounding the production of space in Washington. In all, I am attempting to provide an understanding of these discourses “as an intricate textual construct and understand [sport] as a form of popular culture directly interrelated with other cultural forms and with an economy of representation and practices that make up a ‘way of life’” (Frow & Morris, 2003, p. 507).

Contextual Analysis.

As there is much emphasis on forms of representation within this dissertation, this investigation began at the level of the text, which is more than just mediated documents. Within cultural studies, the concept of text is more expansive as any cultural form can be “read” through the different meanings and representations associated with it (Johnson, 1986). Text, therefore, “involves practices, institutional structures and the complex forms of agency they entail, legal, political, and financial conditions of existence, and particular flows of power and knowledge, as well as a particular multi-layered semantic organization” (Frow & Morris, 2003, p. 509). Yet, as Frow and Morris (2003) continue, “this ‘text’ exists only within a network of *intertextual* relations; it is an ontologically mixed entity, and one for which there can be no privileged or ‘correct’ form of reading” (p. 509-510, emphasis original). Seen broadly, then, text “is a raw material from which certain forms (e.g. of narrative, ideological problematic, mode of address, subject position, etc.) may be abstracted” (Johnson, 1986, p. 62).

Within this broad definition, text becomes an entry point into “*the social life of subjective forms* at each moment of their circulation” (Johnson, 1986, p. 62). Analysis of a text includes more than its form, but also the manner of its production and consumption. Given their existence within and ability to constitute discourse of the

broader social world, “meanings may, to a great extent, be read from the text – if we know the context in which the text was constructed” (Plymire, 2005, p. 148). Moreover, the interpretation of text through consumption is also important, especially as the reader uses the text in ways different from the intentions of producers (Johnson, 1986; Plymire, 2005).

Within this dissertation, I have analyzed a variety of texts, in order to better understand the production of space in and around Southeast Washington, the broader city, and, more generally, post-industrial capitalism. From the media, I have examined newspaper reports printed in Washington’s two major newspapers (*Washington Post*, *Washington Times*), national newspapers as available on Lexis-Nexis, and in the alternative press (including the *Washington Blade*, *Washington City Paper*, *Metro Weekly*). In addition, I have examined materials, such as websites, blogs and listserv postings, available on the Internet. As the issue has been debated within the public sphere, I have also examined public records (i.e. meeting minutes, planning documents, architectural plans) from the District of Columbia Council and other public and quasi-public governance entities (i.e. District of Columbia Sports and Entertainment Commission, Anacostia Waterfront Corporation; National Capital Planning Commission), as well as materials, in support of and opposition to the stadium that were produced by advocacy groups. Going beyond the written word, I have analyzed photographs of the area, as well as existing architecture and proposed designs.

Interviewing.

While the analysis of various documents and texts allows me to identify the different public discourses, in an interpretivist framework, there is little way to assess

underlying intent or understanding without direct interaction with producers and consumers. If, as a constructivist ontology suggests, “realities are multiple and exist in people’s minds,” Amis (2005) states that “the most logical way to access these realities is to talk to people” (p. 105). However, interviewing is more than just talking to people, but is “a conversation with a purpose” in which the “researcher defines a purpose for such conversations to occur, and selects certain social actors to advance the conversational purpose” (Lindlof, 1995, p. 166). This purpose, which Patton (1990) describes as being able “to enter in to the other person’s perspective” (p. 278) and access things that are not directly observable (thoughts, feelings, intentions, meanings, other behaviors), assumes that participants have perspectives that are relevant to the research and are able to verbally express those perspectives. Given these conditions are met,

Interviews offer a depth of information that permits the detailed exploration of particular issues in a way not possible with other forms of data collection. For this reason, interviews have been described as critical to understanding what has happened, how it has happened, and why (Amis, 2005, p. 105).

Nonetheless, interviews have three major weaknesses. First, according to Lefebvre (2002), “the investigator and the group he [sic] is investigating will *never* use exactly the same words in exactly the same way” (p. 101, italics original). The researcher and participants bring different experiences and frames of reference into the interview setting, which means that, no matter the researcher’s intentions, he or she cannot fully understand the participants’ perspectives (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Second, Lindlof (1995) reminds us of the partiality of knowledge, as “no interview response, even one from an expert or seemingly unimpeachable witness, can result in a complete meaning of

the matter at hand” (p. 166), and, thus, the interview needs to be understood within the context of the research. Third, the interview setting necessarily has a power disparity between the researcher, who has a certain social status but seeks information, and the participant, who has a different status and possesses that information (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Lefebvre, 2002). As I address later in this section, before entering the research setting, I considered issues of reciprocity, and, throughout the process, I have attempted to be reflexive about the ways in which my own background, experiences and position affected my interactions with participants and interpretations of the interviews.

Within this dissertation, I conducted 10 individual interviews with 9 participants to allow for the “opportunity to explore an individual’s opinion in depth” (Stroh, 2000, p. 199). Participants were selected through elite sampling, as I examined the various texts identified earlier to identify which individuals were most likely to possess relevant information on the decisions made by civic leaders, planners and architects (see Patton, 1990). To arrange interviews, participants were contacted at their workplaces and, when they agreed to participate, chose the places and times of interviews. Given their elite status, participants were explicitly told that their identities would not be confidential, as their unique and specialized knowledge would likely identify their comments to others familiar with the issues surrounding the stadium. As such, participants were recommended to approach the interview as they would with any member of the media, had the opportunity to review and edit transcripts of their interviews, and retained the right to withdraw their consent for use of any part, if not all, of the interview. Interviews were audio-taped and conducted through the interview guide approach, which helped the interviews to be more natural conversations rather than formalistic and allowed me

flexibility to address those topics about which participants were most likely to possess information. Specific protocols regarding the selection of interview participants and topics on the interview guide are detailed in the attached IRB approval.

The following individuals were interviewed:

- Jim Chibnall – Senior Designer, HOK Sport
- Jacqueline Dupree – Blogger, jdland.com
- Stephen Green – former special assistant for economic development to Mayor Williams (2 interviews)
- Ed Lazere – Executive Director, D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute
- Glen O’Gilvie – former Executive Director, Earth Conservation Corps
- Nell Schaffer – Program Associate, DC Vote
- Michael Stevens – Executive Director, Capital Riverfront Business Improvement District
- Pat Tangen – Project Manager, HOK Sport
- Eli Zigas – Program Associate, DC Vote

While I originally planned to conduct focus group interviews, I did not do any. Instead, I worked with the Rainbow History Project’s (RHP) Mark Meinke to arrange a public forum on February 28, 2008 that was attended by 50 people. I decided to follow this approach when I realized that the transcripts that collected in the focus group could not be shared with the broader community, except through my research. I believed that such a focus group approach would not meet the standards of reciprocity, in so far as I would be collecting data from the LGBT community for my own use (Harrison, MacGibbon, & Morton, 2001). Instead, I contacted the RHP, which catalogues LGBT

history in Washington as it conducts research, collects oral histories and periodically holds community forums. In speaking to Meinke, I suggested the possibility of organizing a community forum at which people could share their memories and experiences of the O Street and Near Southeast clubs. Meinke, along with other community partners, organized the event with two speakers (Carl Rizzi and Marty Crowetz), rented the room, and promoted it through the media. Meinke, who conducted the previous forums, moderated the event, titled, “Before the Ballpark”. After presentations from Rizzi, who has been a drag performer since the 1970s, and Crowetz, an owner and manager of some of the businesses for almost 30 years, Meinke asked them a series of questions, asked for questions and then comments from the audience. The entire event spanned 90 minutes.

Beforehand, I participated in the organization and promotion of the event. I discussed questions and topics with Meinke, most of which were incorporated into the evening. During the event, I participated by recording proceedings with a digital audio recorder and video camera. After the event, I provided the RHP with copies of my recordings, as well as the edited transcript of the evening.

Ethnographic Observation.

Ethnographic observation throughout the research process allowed me to collect valuable information about the contexts affected by the stadium decision. Although my primary research methods engaged texts and occurred within interviews, by being involved and embedded within the research context, ethnographic observations complemented my other methods as they gave me a different insight into the lived experiences of those impacted by the stadium. According to Tedlock’s (2000),

a key assumption has been that by entering into firsthand interaction with people in their everyday lives, ethnographers can reach a better understanding of the beliefs, motivations, and behaviors of their subjects than they can by using any other method (p. 470),

Ethnographic observation occurred on several occasions during the spring of 2006 within Southeast Washington around the stadium site and through attendance at various public events and meetings throughout the period in which this research has occurred. During the site visits to the Near Southeast, I attempted to document the businesses and people who lived, worked, and enjoyed leisure in the area as those businesses and people were displaced by the stadium's construction. Included in these observations were attendance on April 2, 2006 at the closing celebration of the Zeigfeld and Secrets Nightclubs, and the May 8, 2006 stadium groundbreaking ceremony, which I recorded with a video camera. In the spring and summer of 2008, I attended several games at Nationals Park, at which I recorded my observations of the stadium and neighborhood, and collected photographs of the area.

The Instrument of Analysis

Given the paradigmatic stances outlined earlier, I acknowledge that this research and analysis is not unbiased, but has been influenced by my various opinions and experiences. While in chapter 1, I briefly engaged in self-reflection, in this section, I examine, in much more depth, the influences of my various subject positions on this project.

Within the present research moment (see Lincoln & Denzin, 2005), engaging in self-reflection is an important part of the research process as researchers identify their

personal biases and experiences in order to position themselves in relation to the project and the people involved within it (Saukko, 2003; Sparkes, 1995). By doing so, Humphries, Mertens and Truman (2000) suggested that researchers become more empathetic with the participants and avoids objectifying them through the researcher's gaze. Moreover, reflexivity is a form of disclosure that informs readers of the researcher's particular positions, such that the reader can better interpret the research (R. Johnson et al., 2004). Toward these ends, I "engage in a self-reflective analysis of the social categories to which [I] belong (e.g. race; ethnicity; social class; gender; age; ableness; and sexual orientation) since these enter into and shape what constitutes knowledge in any project" (Sparkes, 1995, p. 165).

I would characterize myself as an upper class, white, heterosexual, male, American Jew, with each of these subject positions influencing the project to a certain extent. As such, I have a relatively privileged position within American society, which has its advantages and disadvantages within this project. In terms of advantages, my privileged position has distanced me from a broad range of discrimination and given me several advantages, including distance from necessity, the ability to travel extensively, and the resources to pursue a Ph.D. and live comfortably. My capacity as a researcher has been enhanced with the economic and social capital I can utilize within my projects, as lack of financial resources has not prevented me from pursuing those projects of the greatest interest to me, and I have had easier access to (and greater comfort with) public and corporate leaders through my social networks.³⁷

³⁷Although the Nationals as an organization are not a topic in this dissertation, in the interest of full disclosure, my family has a pre-existing and continuing business relationship with Nationals' Managing Principal Owner Ted Lerner (though not with the team). According to Lerner, my grandfather, Isadore Gudelsky (who died in 1963), was "almost like a father" (MacGillis & Hedgpeth, 2006, p. A1) as he gave

In terms of disadvantages, the advantages of a privileged position may provide a lesser ability to access and understand the lived experiences of the subaltern groups investigated within this project. However, as Duncan (1996a) suggests, “one *need* not be a member of a subaltern group to create a subversive science from the perspective of that group” (p. 4, italics original), but that researchers need to be aware of and critique their social positioning as an integral part of the research process. Second, as much of this research involves groups whose experiences I have not shared and historically have been subjugated, these differences are likely to have effected my perceptions of participants’ experiences. By being mindful of these differences and tendencies within research, I have attempted to challenge, rather than perpetuate, the discourses and practices that have been part of that oppression.

Aside from my upper class position, my other subject positions have influenced this project in different ways. In terms of race, although I am a native to the Washington, DC area and have lived here for more than 20 years, I have rarely visited areas in the city outside of the Northwest quadrant and had never visited the Near Southeast before conducting this research. Given that Northwest Washington is mostly “white public space” (T. Y. Price, 1998) in a largely African-American city, for me, traveling outside of it also meant leaving an area of relative comfort to go into an unknown space.

In terms of sexuality, the project also required that I leave my comfort zone and enter a highly-sexualized, gay space. This was problematic for me in two ways. First, as, like many other heterosexual researchers examining sexuality (see Binnie, 1997), I distanced myself from the research context by delaying visits to the area and maintaining

Lerner his start in land development, through which he amassed the fortune with which he purchased the team.

a certain amount of detachment as I visited O Street. Second, I was also aware that I was contributing to the heterosexist domination of queer space through my presence in and consumption of it (see Johnston, 2005; Rushbrook, 2002; Skeggs, 1999). Yet, at the same time, the project also has required me to consider questions of sexual identity, practice and desire within the context of my own life and identity.

In terms of gender, the Near Southeast was, and will be again, a space highly associated with male activities. In the previous paragraph, I conscientiously termed the Near Southeast as a “gay” rather than “queer” space, as males have historically been privileged on O Street, as the businesses primarily targeted gay consumers over other members of the LGBT community. By being male (even if others would not consider me to be gay), I held a privileged position within the space (Hubbard, 2004).

In terms of nationality, being an American means being indoctrinated from an early age about the ideals and symbols of democracy that I am critiquing in this project. Like many others raised in the area, I made frequent school trips to the various monuments, museums and institutions in official Washington. Once I moved away from the area, I returned to official Washington with my 8th grade class for a week, again visiting the monuments, museums and institutions that express American democracy. Although this is a critical project and I am better at recognizing mystifications using democratic ideals, it is all too easy to fall back into previous modes of thought.

The issue of nationality has a further complication when paired with my cultural and religious (and some would say racial) identity as a Jew. Within the Jewish community, the question whether a person is a “Jewish American” or “American Jew” is much more than semantics as the choice of noun and adjective present different views of

a person's primary affiliation and loyalties. If a person defines oneself as an American, who just happens to be Jewish (i.e. Jewish American), one's Jewishness is primarily a cultural affiliation. In contrast, in defining oneself as an American Jew (i.e. a Jew who just happens to be American), a person primarily affiliates with other members of the Jewish people around the world.

As I stated in chapter 1, I define myself as an American Jew with my world view and identity being shaped by 2,000 years of diasporic existence. Historically, Jews have been a political, social and cultural other and convenient targets for oppression due to outsider status and lack of political power (Bauman, 2000; Lyotard, 1990; Stratton, 2000). This outsider status was often maintained through laws, that for instance, limited Jews to living in certain areas or identifying permissible forms of employment, and political oppression through expulsion orders, the Inquisition, pogroms (race riots), and the Holocaust (Bauman, 2000; Lyotard, 1990; Stratton, 2000). Although I am privileged within American society, I realize that this position offers no guarantee of safety as perceptions of Jewish privilege has been used to incite and justify anti-Semitism. Given this history, I consider incidents of oppression and injustice, whether they are directed at any vulnerable groups, not just Jews, are particularly personally resonant and worrying. Given that my focus in this dissertation is upon vulnerable groups, I hope that, through my Jewish identity, I have been more sensitive to the struggles and travails of those impacted by the stadium project and Near Southeast redevelopment.

Based in the lessons of Jewish history and moral teachings of the religion, I feel a two-fold ethical obligation for *tikkun olam* and to serve as a "prophetic witness." The concept of *tikkun olam* has its roots in the classical rabbinical texts and the Kabbalah and

translates as “repairing the world” through social action and pursuing social justice (Fine, 2005). Closely related to *tikkun olam*, Cornel West (2004) describes prophetic witness as a commitment to improve the world through “acts of justice and kindness that attend to the unjust sources of human hurt and misery” and to identify injustice by “[calling] attention to the causes of unjustified suffering and unnecessary social misery” (p. 17).

Within this context of my life experience and ethical commitments, I align myself with the analytical and political stances of cultural studies in order to explore the manner in which knowledge and power combine to shape the world. As Grossberg (1997a) describes, culture is not being studied for its own sake or as an autonomous area, but as “an entrance into the context of the unequal relations of force and power” and as “the site of the production and struggle over power” (p. 248). Yet, cultural studies demand more from researchers than just the generation of knowledge and theory, as it “involves using theory as a resource to think and act, learning how to situate texts within historical and institutional contexts, and creating the conditions for collective struggles over resources and power” (Giroux, 2001, p. 11). Towards these ends, academics are expected to advocate a progressive politics and act to increase social justice, empowerment and freedom (Denzin, 2004; Giroux, 2001; Grossberg, 1997a).

For me, the case of Washington represents an opportunity for *tikkun olam* and prophetic witness. I am pursuing social justice through calling attention to the inequitable conditions propagated through proposed plan, which are leading to the transformation of Southeast Washington at the expense of those living within that space and the public more generally, and to the benefit of elite interests. By chronicling the experiences of impacted groups, I seek to challenge the dominant conceptions of the

stadium's development and historical perceptions of sport's role in the city. By engaging in critique of the stadium decision and redevelopment, I am attempting to expose and demystify the processes that allow dominant groups to maintain and reproduce their power, and perhaps, encourage progressive political action that will eventually end the practice of governments inordinately subsidizing professional sports. As such, by identifying the contexts of oppression and focusing on the various political, economic and social contexts in which the stadium plan is embroiled, I hope this project I can develop a better contextual understanding of contemporary conditions towards creating a better future (see Grossberg, 1997).

Yet, I also recognize Ian McDonald's critique cited by S. King (2005) that "to identify and critically analyze dominant relations can help create the possibility for transformation, but it is not the same as 'securing practical changes'" (p. 33). While necessary, critique alone is an insufficient the effect change and must be coupled with actions in the public sphere. As such, this research project and dissertation also serve as one of the bases upon which I will take actions through teaching and public advocacy to impact public policy, change inequitable contexts and create conditions that will allow for a more egalitarian distribution of resources in a more just and less exploitative society (Denzin, 2004).

Appendix D – History of Sport in D.C.

There are many threads in Washington's sports tapestry: the formation of the Washington Potomacs as the city's first baseball team in 1859; the Washington Senators becoming a charter member of the American League in 1901, opening Griffith Stadium in 1910 and Clark Griffith taking over the team in 1911; George Preston Marshall moving the Boston Redskins to the city in 1937; Red Auerbach starring for the George Washington University basketball and, as coach, leading the professional Washington Capitals to two division championships in the 1940s; DC Stadium, later renamed for assassinated Senator Robert F. Kennedy, opening in 1962; Morgan Wootten scouring the basketball courts of Washington as he built an elite high school basketball program at DaMatha High School between 1956-2002; Abe Pollin purchasing the NBA Baltimore Bullets in 1963, receiving an NHL expansion franchise, the Capitals, in 1973, and building the Capital Centre in suburban Landover, MD; John Thompson developing an elite college basketball program at Georgetown University during the 1980s and winning the NCAA title in 1984; Jack Kent Cooke and Joe Gibbs working together to lead the Washington Redskins to three Super Bowl titles between 1983 and 1991; Pollin opening the MCI Center in 1997.

Digging deeper beyond the sports headlines and headliners, over the past 200 years in Washington, sport has been an integral part of everyday life and existence. Millions of people have engaged in physical activity on the street, in parks, community centers, gymnasiums and on playgrounds. They have participated alone and in groups, and their participation has been structured or unstructured by institutions. They have consumed, whether in person or through the media, millions of sporting events of all

types, whether they be playground basketball, Little League Baseball, high school and college sport, or the highest levels of professional sport. In some way, sporting Washington has directly intersected the lives of many, if not most, of those who have come into contact with the various Washingtons I identified in chapter 1.

In this appendix, I discuss baseball within the broader historical and geographic contexts of sports within Washington. I examine the history of baseball within the city, focusing in particular on the Senators and Grays. Following that, I identify the other important sports teams within the area and focus on Griffith Stadium and RFK Stadium as they relate to the broader community.

Baseball

The history of baseball within Washington D.C. began in 1859 as government clerks formed the city's first two clubs – the Potomacs and the Nationals (Povich, 1940). While the Nationals had some success during baseball's amateur era, Washington's 19th century professional clubs achieved only one finish above 6th place (Bealle, 1947). Washington's American League Senators³⁸ had little more success, as in 71 seasons, Washington won three league championships and one World Series (in 1924). Despite this record of futility, the Senators retained a core of fans, described by Bealle (1947) as unique as “no other fandom in the world can even attempt to approach them for loyalty, patience and the ability to take incredible mental punishment” (p. 3).

Within the first half-century of Senators' baseball, Clark Griffith was a singular figure. A star pitcher in the National League during the 1890s, Griffith helped establish

³⁸ The American League franchise was interchangeably known as the Senators or Nationals (or shortened to Nats) through most of its history until 1957 when they were officially named the Senators (Svrluga, 2004). As the team was later known mostly as the Senators during its later years, to minimize confusion, I refer to the American League club exclusively as the Senators.

the American League in 1901 as he persuaded 39 top National League players to join the new league (Snyder, 2003). In 1911, Griffith came to Washington as manager and purchased 10% of the team. He became majority owner in 1920 and operated it until his death in 1955.

Under Griffith, the Senators were somewhat competitive through 1934. Behind the pitching of Walter Johnson, considered by some as the greatest pitcher of the first half of the 20th century, the team finished in the top half of the American League all but six times in 22 seasons, including three World Series appearances (1924, 1925, 1933) and one title (1924) (Bealle, 1947). Yet, as Griffith had been in baseball all his life, the team was virtually his sole asset, and had few resources to create a farm system for player development. In 1934, the precariousness of Griffith's financial situation forced him to sell his manager and team star Joe Cronin, who was also his son-in-law, to the Red Sox for \$250,000 (Frommer, 2006; Snyder, 2003). Despite being in the forefront in recruiting players from Cuba, the Senators finished above 5th place only four times in 23 seasons until Griffith's death in 1955.

It is within the context of Griffith's financial difficulties that the Homestead Grays of the Negro Leagues played in Washington during the 1940s. Originally based in Pittsburgh from the team's founding in 1910, the Grays were one of the Negro League's elite teams, as they won eight of nine Negro National League titles between 1937 and 1945 behind Hall of Fame members Josh Gibson, Buck Leonard, and Ray Brown. However, financial struggles during the Great Depression forced them to move many of their home games from Pittsburgh to Washington, which had a much larger and affluent

African-American population for whom Griffith Stadium was conveniently located (Snyder, 2003).

Many Negro League clubs had failed in Washington in the 1920s and 1930s, as, despite the African-American community's deep and loyal support for the Senators, they did not attend Negro League games (Snyder, 2003). However, with few outlets for entertainment during World War II, the Grays' high quality of play, and the futility of the Senators, Washington's African-American community embraced the Grays, whose average attendance exceeded 10,000 per game. With Griffith receiving 20% of gate receipts as rent, the \$50,000-\$100,000 per year the Senators made from the Grays often made the difference between a loss and profitability for the club during the 1940s (Snyder, 2003). As a result of his financial stake in the Grays, Griffith was one of the leading voices in the 1940s opposing the integration of baseball.

Things changed rapidly for the Senators and Grays after integration, as Negro National League collapsed in 1948 and the Grays disbanded in 1950. In 1955, Griffith died and left the team to his nephew, Calvin, who despite public pronouncements claiming loyalty to Washington, quickly asked for permission to move the team because "the trend in Washington is getting to be all colored" (Snyder, 2003, p. 288). Calvin Griffith received his wish before the 1961 season as he was allowed to relocate the team to Minneapolis. Explaining his reasoning in 1978, Griffith stated,

it was when I found out you only had 15,000 black people here. Black people don't go to ball games, but they'll fill up a rassling ring and put up such a chant it'll scare you to death. It's unbelievable. We came here because you've got good, hardworking white people here (as qtd. in Snyder, 2003, p. 289).

Although the Calvin Griffith moved the Senators from the city, the American League immediately granted Washington an expansion franchise in 1961, also named the Senators. After one season in Griffith Stadium, the expansion Senators moved to the newly-built D.C. Stadium, where they had little more success than their predecessors. While losing an average of 90 games per season, Frank Howard was the team's most popular player as he won two home run titles, and the team had its sole winning season in 1969 as Ted Williams managed. Financially, amid mounting financial losses in 1968, the Senators were sold to Minnesota trucking executive Bob Short for \$9.4 million (Frommer, 2006). Despite some of the highest attendances in Washington baseball history in 1969 and 1970, Short announced, that unless he could sell the franchise for \$12 million, he would move the team.

After local groups did not meet his price, Short received permission to move the team to Arlington, Texas for the 1972 season in late September, 1971 (Frommer, 2006). As described at the start of this chapter, more than 14,000 people attended the Senators' last game on September 30, 1971 to express their anger at Short and bid farewell to their team. As 71 years of membership in the American League came to an end, all Washington could celebrate was one World Series title and a record of losing that, in the imagination of one Senators' fan whose story became the Broadway musical *Damn Yankees*, could induce a fan to make a Faustian bargain to sell his soul to the devil in return for a championship (Frommer, 2006). According to Eleanor Holmes Norton, who grew up in the city and now serves in Congress as the city's non-voting delegate, "for the first time, I had the feeling that Washington was not a first-class, major American city" (as qtd. in Ruane & Cohn, 2005, p. A1)

When the team moved, most Washingtonians believed that Major League Baseball would quickly return (J. C. Roberts, 2005). However, efforts in the 1970s by Washingtonians to purchase the San Diego Padres and San Francisco Giants came to naught. During the 1980s, a Washington-ownership group received commitments from 15,000 potential season ticket holders, but MLB was unimpressed and granted franchises to six other cities in three rounds of expansion (Shropshire, 1995). Efforts by businessmen in Northern Virginia to buy the Houston Astros in 1996 failed at the last minute when Houston officials agreed to build a new stadium. This pattern repeated as other teams made thinly veiled threats of relocating to Washington in order to secure public funding for new facilities. Only when Montreal refused to build a new facility for the Expos and MLB could not eliminate the team, did Washington again have a realistic chance of receiving a third baseball team (J. C. Roberts, 2005).

NFL Football

The Washington sportscape extends well beyond baseball, which to a large extent trails football and basketball in popularity, in part because of MLB's long absence from the city. Perhaps the most popular sports team in the area is the NFL Redskins, who arrived in the city in 1937. According to Jaffe and Sherwood (1994), "the city is united only by its hometown football team" (p. 15), but one with a racist name and past. Owned by George Preston Marshall and renting Griffith Stadium from the Senators, the team enjoyed significant success through the mid-1940s with two NFL championships and six division titles. However, as the NFL integrated in the late-1940s and star quarterback Sammy Baugh retired, Washington's football fortunes declined as Marshall staunchly maintained an all-white franchise, such that *Washington Post* sports editor Shirley Povich

described the team's colors as "burgundy, gold and Caucasian" (as qtd. in Snyder, 2003, p. 198). The team only integrated in 1962 as a result of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's threat to prevent the team from playing in D.C. Stadium (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). Given ownership's long-refusal to integrate, many African-Americans boycotted the team until after Marshall died in 1969 (Snyder, 2003).

By the 1970s, the football team was the only professional franchise playing its games within the District of Columbia and gained broad regional support as it rose to NFL success under coaches Vince Lombardi, George Allen and Joe Gibbs. Between 1972-1991, the team played in the Super Bowl five times, winning in 1982, 1987, and 1991. Playing their games in the renamed RFK Stadium, the football team has sold out every single regular-season game (312 total) since 1967 (Gosselin, 2007). With only a 55,000-seat stadium and a lengthy season-ticket waiting list, team owner Jack Kent Cooke started seeking a new facility in the early 1990s, but was denied public financing by the D.C. government and the State of Virginia. After Maryland offered Cooke infrastructure subsidies, he opened the privately-financed 91,000-seat FedEx Field in Landover in 1997 – just three months before the Wizards, Capitals and Georgetown Hoyas left Landover to move downtown to the Verizon Center.

Sporting Venues

The Washington sportscape has had five facilities of particular note: Griffith Stadium, RFK Stadium, Capital Centre, Verizon Center, and FedEx Field. These facilities were built over the span of the 20th century with different purposes and locations. Griffith Stadium was the oldest and was built by the Senators' owners in the midst of an urban neighborhood. RFK Stadium was built with public money, and while it

was still in D.C., its location was selected in order to serve suburban fans entering the city on highways. Capital Centre and FedEx Field were both built with private money in Landover, Maryland in order to be close to Capital Beltway and the teams' suburban fan bases. As discussed in chapter 3, Verizon Center was built in downtown Washington in order to serve as an anchor for redeveloping its neighborhood.

Griffith Stadium

Griffith Stadium opened in 1911 as one of the first concrete and steel ballparks, but, according to Snyder (2003), lacked the architectural charm of its contemporaries, such as the Polo Grounds, Fenway Park, Tiger Stadium and Ebbets Field. The stadium replaced a wood ballpark that had been on the same site, which had been built in 1891 at the end of a trolley line when the area was a white neighborhood. However, by the 1920s, the neighborhood had a substantial African-American presence as it was close to the cultural, social and educational center of black Washington. Just west of the ballpark, Seventh Street was the "playground of the black masses" (Snyder, 2003, p. 5) with its pool halls, nightspots, movie theater, and Howard Theater, which influenced the music of Duke Ellington and Marvin Gaye. A couple of blocks further to the west was the U Street corridor, known as the "Black Broadway," which contained the best entertainment and shopping the segregated city had to offer to African-Americans (Snyder, 2003). Griffith Stadium was also two blocks away from the Howard University campus.

Although Griffith Stadium was mostly segregated with African-Americans primarily sitting in the right-field bleachers and virtually never with the grandstands or box seats, Griffith Stadium was one of the few places within Washington, D.C. where whites and blacks shared entertainment through the 1940s (Snyder, 2003). However, in

seeking to protect the financial benefits that the Senators enjoyed from renting the stadium to the Grays, Clark Griffith was an outspoken opponent of integrating baseball before 1946 and resisted calls to integrate the Senators until 1954. As a result, African-American support for the team dwindled (Snyder, 2003). Griffith Stadium hosted its last games in 1961 and was torn down in 1965. The site today is occupied by Howard University Hospital.

RFK Stadium

With 16,000 more seats than its predecessor, the “ultra-modern” D.C. Stadium replaced Griffith Stadium in 1962 (Chinni, 2005). While Griffith Stadium was tightly-bound by a residential community, the 55,000-seat RFK Stadium was situated to better accommodate the needs of fans traveling by car to games. Located on East Capitol Street almost two miles from the Capitol, RFK Stadium has easy access to two highways and parking for more than 10,000 cars, and since the 1970s, has been served by the city’s subway system. RFK was considered a technical and physical marvel when it opened because it was the first sports facility specifically designed to accommodate both football and baseball, as it had moveable stands and placed the pitching mound on a hydraulic lift. RFK was also the first “cookie cutter” stadium as facilities in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Philadelphia (among others) copied its round, enclosed shape, cantilevered decks, and its uses of ramps for crowd movement (Levin, 2005).

Over its lifetime, RFK had hosted a variety of events (sports and otherwise) and teams. While it was mostly known for its hosting of football, RFK also accommodated teams in two different soccer leagues (Diplomats, 1970s, North American Soccer League; D.C. United, 1990s-present, Major League Soccer) and was the favored site for

Washington's bids to attract baseball back to the city. However, by the 1990s, RFK's useful life was nearing its end as the football team relocated to FedEx Field and Baltimore's Camden Yards shifted the paradigm of baseball stadium design. As a result, RFK was considered a stopgap option for baseball to be used as the city or Northern Virginia built a single-use stadium with the revenue-generating amenities and architectural distinction of the most recent generation of ballparks.

Capital Centre

The Capital Centre was opened in 1973 in suburban Landover, Maryland and located on the Capital Beltway. The 18,000 seat, \$18 million arena was built by Abe Pollin, who owned the Bullets (NBA – now known as the Wizards) and Capitals (NHL) that were the building's main tenants (Castaneda, 1997). Starting in 1981, the Georgetown Hoyas men's basketball team also played in Capital Centre when their on-campus arena was too small at 2,500 seats to meet popular demand to watch John Thompson's successful NCAA team. An innovator in arena design, Capital Centre was the first to feature a video replay screen on its scoreboard, luxury boxes, and computerized turnstiles (Castaneda, 1997; Wilbon, 1997). Capital Centre, which had been renamed U.S. Airways Arena in the early 1990s, was closed in 1997 when the Verizon Center (originally named MCI Center) opened.

Verizon Center

As discussed in chapter 3, Verizon Center opened in downtown Washington in 1997 and has been credited with being one of the keys to redevelopment in the Penn Quarter/Chinatown area, and the city more generally (Gutheim & Lee, 2006). The \$200 million arena was built by Pollin, who received the land at a discount from the city as

well as tax abatements on the property (Pearlstein, 2007). According to Washington Sports and Entertainment [WSE] (2008), in its first 10 years, Verizon Center has held 2,153 events that were attended by more than 25.3 million patrons, and has been a catalyst for \$6.2 billion in redevelopment. The arena is now home to the Wizards, Capitals, and Hoyas, as well as the Washington Mystics of the WNBA, and hosts more than 220 events and concerts each year (WSE, 2008).

FedEx Field

FedEx Field was opened in Landover, Maryland in 1997 and replaced RFK Stadium as the home of Washington's NFL team. The \$250 million stadium was built with private money by Jack Kent Cooke after he was denied subsidies by Washington mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and the State of Virginia, although the State of Maryland provided millions in infrastructure improvements (DeMause & Cagan, 2008; Shropshire, 1995). Although FedEx Field is the largest stadium in the NFL, has sold out every game in its 12 seasons of play, and has a long waiting list for tickets, it has been ranked as providing one of the poorest game experiences in the NFL by *Sports Illustrated* ("NFL Fan Value Experience", 2007). Given the FedEx Field's reputation, team owner Daniel Snyder has been negotiating with Washington for a possible new stadium (Fisher, 2007; Nakamura, 2008).

Appendix E – Governance in D.C.

Washington’s indeterminate political status is an anachronism that is rooted in the debates surrounding the ratification of the Constitution in 1789 and the racial ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. This status continues today as a matter of political strategy as Republicans refuse to extend voting rights and representation to a city whose representatives almost certainly would be members of the Democratic Party.³⁹ The result of these racial prejudices, political expediencies and machinations has left District of Columbia residents with a unique status: among the world’s democracies, they are the only class of people who are disenfranchised solely on the basis of where they live.

While Washington’s citizens are denied a voice in their government, they are expected to fulfill all the obligations of citizenship. The federal government receives more than \$1.6 billion from D.C. residents in tax payment. Throughout the nation’s history, D.C. has had more residents killed in battle than 20 states. In this way, the city has the many of the same grievances described as tyranny by the framers of the Declaration of Independence and which animated the American Revolution. To quote the most applicable parts of that document (Jefferson, 1776), but with updates to reflect the relationship between the city and federal Government, it could be said:

- 1) “[Congress] has refused [its] assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good” as Congress maintains a veto over any action by the D.C. Council and Mayor.
- 2) “[Congress] has forbidden [our] Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till [its] Assent

³⁹ No Republican presidential candidate has received more than 15% of votes in the District of Columbia since the 1976 election when Gerald Ford received 17% (McGovern, 1998).

should be obtained; and when so suspended, [Congress] has utterly neglected to attend to them.” No D.C. law can go into effect until it is approved by Congress, which often attaches riders and conditions that often render acts of the D.C. government impotent.

- 3) “[Congress] has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness of [its] invasions on the rights of the people.” In 1874, Congress revoked Washington, D.C.’s territorial status and eliminated its legislature. In 1995, Congress instituted an appointed Financial Control Board that superseded the D.C. government. In addition, the Home Rule Act of 1974 allows Congress the right to repeal any and all aspects of Home Rule.
- 4) “[Congress] has made Judges dependent on [its] Will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.” Unlike any other municipality in the United States, local judges are appointed by the President and approved by Congress, rather than being beholden to either D.C. voters or D.C. government.
- 5) “[Congress] has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.” The federal Government seems to be constantly growing, while D.C. residents are inconvenienced (losing time and productivity) as motorcades rumble through the city’s streets and roads are closed for security reasons, and are subjected to increased surveillance as the federal Government seeks to protect itself in the post-September 11, 2001 security environment.

- 6) “[Congress] has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving its Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation”:
 - a) “For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent,” or, as stated on District of Columbia license plates, “Taxation without Representation”.
 - b) “For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments.” See earlier in regard to the District’s territorial status and the tenuous status of Home Rule.
 - c) “For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.”
See the Financial Control Board.

Congress and the federal Government can be said to essentially rule the District of Columbia in much the same way that King George III ruled America, such that many D.C. voting rights advocates describe the city as “the last colony” (T. Y. Price, 1998; S. Smith, 1974). Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution created this status as it enumerated among Congress’ powers:

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislatures of the States in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts,

magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings (The United States Constitution, 1788).

According to Federalist Paper #43, Congress' jurisdiction was created to prevent the central government from becoming dependent upon one state for protection or sustenance, and to buffer the central government from the passions of the local citizenry (A. Hamilton, Madison, & Jay, 1788; see also Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; S. Smith, 1974). Yet, Hamilton, Madison and Jay also realized that the Federal District would necessarily be taken from the territory of an existing state or states with existing populations, and stated,

the inhabitants will find sufficient inducements of interest to become willing parties to the cession; as they will have had their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them; *as a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them* (A. Hamilton et al., 1788, italics added).

However, as the citizens of Georgetown, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia, as well as the future residents of Washington, would later discover, Congress has interpreted its own rights expansively while ignoring the stated (though somewhat ambiguous) intentions and interpretations of the Constitution's authors. Although opponents of D.C. voting rights seem to disagree with this interpretation, I doubt that less than a decade following the end of the Revolutionary War, those who fought against tyranny and taxation without representation would hypocritically choose to impose them upon the residents of the new nation's capital city.

Antebellum Washington.

The site of the capital city was selected as a political expediency as much as anything else, as, in return for the Southern states agreeing that the central government assume the individual state debts from the Revolutionary War, the Northern states agreed that the capital would be located in the south (Melder, 1989; S. Smith, 1974). The city encompassed 100 square miles and incorporated the existing towns of Georgetown and Alexandria, which were ceded to the federal government by the states of Maryland and Virginia. Alexandria and Georgetown continued to operate under their preexisting charters and the town of Washington was incorporated with its own charter in 1802, and, in this era, maintained its own bicameral legislature and elected mayor (Gillette Jr., 2006).

However, strains between the federal and local governments were developing as the Congress refused to appropriate money to meet the needs of a growing city that was supposed to be the nation's showcase (Gillette Jr., 2006). Despite the elaborate plans of L'Enfant, Washington D.C. was a "low budget Constantinople" with local taxpayers bearing the burdens for maintaining grand roads and bridges, street lights being lit only when Congress was in session, and little timely investment by Congress (as compared to the efforts of other states towards their own cities) in developing the city's economy (Gillette Jr., 2006; S. Smith, 1974). This neglect, along with lack of representation and growing tensions over slavery, resulted in Alexandria and the other areas in the District south of the Potomac River, being retroceded back to Virginia in 1846 (Gillette Jr., 2006; Melder, 1989; T. Y. Price, 1998; S. Smith, 1974).

Territorial Washington.

In 1870, Congress granted Washington territorial status and the city consolidated all municipalities under a single bicameral government with the Governor and upper house appointed by the President and the lower house elected by voters. According to Gillette (2006), this structure was designed to dilute the voting strength of emancipated African-Americans promoted by Radical Republicans under the banner of Reconstruction (see also Battle, 1989). At the same time, Congress created a Board of Public Works, under the direction of Alexander Sheppard, who sought to quickly reverse decades of neglect of the city's infrastructure (S. Smith, 1974). Within three years, Sheppard expanded parks, planted trees, paved streets, installed sidewalks and gas lamps, built public buildings, and laid sewers, water mains, and gas lines. However, to do so, Sheppard tripled initial budgets as the city amassed an \$18 million deficit (Battle, 1989; McGovern, 1998; S. Smith, 1974). In reaction to this perceived fiscal mismanagement, the continued power of local African-Americans and with the support of the city's white elite, Congress revoked D.C.'s territorial status in 1874 and instituted a three-man appointed commission to run the city (Gillette Jr., 2006). As Alabama Senator John Tyler Morgan said in 1890, Congress had to "burn down the barn to get rid of the rats... the rats being the negro population and the barn being the government of the District of Columbia" (as qtd. in Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994, p. 24).

Commission through Home Rule.

Between 1874 and 1967, Washington was ruled by a Board of Commissioners, consisting of two Presidential appointees and one Corps of Engineering appointee, who were supposed to have been city residents for at least three years. In practice, these

appointees had varying expertise and interest in urban governance and no accountability to city residents (T. Y. Price, 1998). Instead, commissioners were accountable to Congress as the House of Representatives and the Senate each had committees overseeing D.C. affairs. Moreover, commissioners and Congress often consulted with the city's white business leaders through the Board of Trade (Diner, 1989; T. Y. Price, 1998). This unrepresentative structure allowed commissioners and members of the Congressional committees to view D.C. government jobs as patronage to be distributed to their friends and campaign workers, such that "the local government was filled with corruption and graft" (T. Y. Price, 1998, p. 327; see also F. Siegel, 1997).

Through the 1960s, the Board of Trade stood as one source of opposition to voting rights and home rule, as "wealthy business interests... feared it would lead to a government 'dominated by Negro and propertyless voters'" (Green as qtd in Auerbach, 1978, p. A4). However, the obstacle to greater democracy in the city was South Carolina Congressman John McMillan⁴⁰ (Gillette Jr., 2006; S. Smith, 1974). As described in Chapter 2, McMillan was the chairman of the House District Committee between 1948 and 1972, who was the city's *de facto* mayor, but paid little concern to the needs or demands of D.C. residents (S. Smith, 1974). McMillan used his position to block almost all bills that offered city residents meaningful home rule (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994). Despite McMillan's opposition, some progress was made in the city's status as the 23rd Amendment passed in 1961 to give D.C. three presidential electors,⁴¹ President Johnson changed the Commission system to a council system featuring one appointed

⁴⁰ The McMillan Commission described in Chapter 4 was led by Senator James McMillan.

⁴¹ The Amendment originally had granted full home rule and voting rights to D.C. residents as well, but those portions were removed from the Amendment in order to generate the necessary support in Congress and among the states.

commissioner and nine appointed councilors, and in 1964, legislation passed to give D.C. an elected school board. McMillan's defeat for reelection in 1972 opened the path for a comprehensive home rule bill.

Home Rule.

With McMillan's defeat, Congressman Charles Diggs became the first African-American to lead the House District Committee and worked quickly to write and pass the Home Rule Act in 1974 (T. Y. Price, 1998). In many respects, the Home Rule Act is a vast improvement from the Commission system and Johnson's appointed city council, as Washingtonians now elect their own mayor and council representatives and have a voice in Congress through a non-voting delegate. As such, D.C. residents now participate to a much greater extent in their governance as the council and mayor are held accountable to voters in regular elections. Yet, the Home Rule Act did not fully end the city's colonial status as Congress created an untenable governance structure in which the city was burdened with additional costs and responsibilities, but was limited in its ability to raise revenues and pass its own laws without Congressional oversight and consent. As stated in chapter 2, the city of Washington did not have control over its courts and had to seek Congressional approval for its budgets and laws (S. Smith, 1974).

Washington's financial situation has been difficult as the federal government constrains the city's revenues while imposing substantial costs. In terms of generating revenues, the city may lose as much as \$2 billion per year as it operates under two significant constraints – the amount of tax exempt land in the city and a unique prohibition on D.C. from imposing a commuter tax (GAO, 2003; Richards, 2008). More than half of the city's land is exempt from property taxes, with the federal government

holding exempt land with a value of more than \$20 billion (LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat; NCPC, 2006.). In addition, Congressional restrictions on building heights may also reduce the value of taxable buildings throughout the city (GAO, 2003; Schwartzman, 2007). In terms of a commuter tax, Congress explicitly prevented the D.C. government from taxing incomes of people working in the city but residing in other states, a right exercised by other major cities with large numbers out-of-state commuters such as Philadelphia and Detroit (GAO, 2003). Although more than \$30 billion in income is earned in D.C., the city cannot tax the two-thirds of it that is earned by non-residents, who extensively use, but do not pay for city services and its infrastructure (Richards, 2008). As a result, D.C. residents have one of the highest local tax burdens of any municipality in the United States (GAO, 2003; T. Y. Price, 1998).

In terms of expenses, the federal government imposes a series of financial responsibilities upon the city. The GAO (2003) estimated that the District's costs for public safety are "far above average" (p. 63) as the city provides protection for federal officials, foreign dignitaries, special events, and political demonstrations. Moreover, the D.C. government incurs greater expenses relating to terrorism prevention and preparation as the city and its events are considered attractive targets. While the GAO assigns some blame to D.C.'s management problems that prevent it from accurately identifying costs to request full reimbursement by the federal government, the GAO also recognizes that D.C. residents receive public safety services below the national average (GAO, 2003). Other expenses come from Washington, D.C.'s status as neither a city nor a state, but having the responsibilities of both as the District administers several programs typically managed by states, such as welfare, prisons, courts and motor vehicle registration

(NCPC, 1997). In addition, upon accepting Home Rule, the city also agreed to accept a \$2 billion pension liability for the city employees, many of whom had received patronage positions, as well as a \$200 million debt (Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; S. Smith, 1974).

Between the higher than average expenses and the Congressionally-imposed limitations on revenue, the GAO estimates that Washington's structural deficit – defined as its ability to provide average public services at average tax rates – is between \$470 million to \$1.1 billion.⁴² This deficit exists despite one of the high tax burdens of any city in the country, which prevents D.C. from increasing tax rates since higher taxes could encourage businesses and residents to leave the city, and below-average public services, which prevents D.C. from significantly reducing expenses without further sacrificing quality (GAO, 2003). The deficit also has led to chronic under-investment in the city's physical infrastructure, as a recent estimate placed deferred capital needs in the city at more than \$5 billion through 2011 (T. A. Gibson, 2005; Lazere & Garrison, 2005).

The city's untenable financial model is joined to unwieldy governance structure in which Congress has to approve Washington's budget, revoke actions by the mayor, can veto the city's laws, and invalidate interpretations of D.C. law made by D.C. judges (LCCR Education Fund & DC Vote, n. dat; Schrag, 1990). Congress also has retained its right to impose laws and programs upon the city. Moreover, the federal government has maintained its power to determine land use in the city as it appoints members to the city's zoning board and as the NCPC, Commission of Fine Arts, National Park Service and other federal agencies all have roles in approving building plans (NCPC, 2006).

⁴² Reviewing the GAO's methodology, the D.C. Fiscal Policy Institute suggested "the most reasonable assumptions place the budget gap at \$900 million to \$1.1 billion, making it the largest structural imbalance in the nation" (Lazere & Garrison, 2005, p. 4).

Although Congress has rarely directly rejected local legislation, it has frequently used its budgetary oversight to assert its control over the D.C. government. Schrag (1990) identified more than 75 restrictions on D.C. spending imposed by Congress between 1975 and 1990, including prohibiting the use of the Woodrow Wilson High School swimming pool after 9 p.m. and preventing the District from initiating a program to install meters in taxis. Other riders have attempted to prevent the closure of an unnecessary and unviable fire station near Capitol Hill, required the D.C. fire department to purchase scuba equipment, and have prevented the D.C. government from using local funds to lobby Congress for voting rights (K. Jenkins, 1993; Weaver & Harris, 1989).

While these may be relatively minor instances of micromanagement, Congress has been much more assertive in interfering in moral issues through “social riders” (Kovaleski, 2001; T. Y. Price, 1998; Schrag, 1990). Over the past three decades, Congress has refused to allow the D.C. government to use local funds for needle exchange programs, to allow domestic partners to register, and to fund abortions except in extremely limited circumstances. In other cases, Congress has overturned city laws preventing insurance companies from requiring AIDS screenings as a condition of insurance, and requiring insurance companies to fund contraception (Dillin, 1990; Schrag, 1990; Weaver & Harris, 1989). Social riders are also used by Congress to force the city to take unwanted actions, such as offering a school voucher program and holding a referendum to approve the use of the death penalty (Gillette Jr., 2006; Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994; E. Zigas, personal communication, January 23, 2008).

Perhaps the most egregious imposition of federal control occurred during the mid-1990s when Congress installed a Financial Control Board (FCB) over the city

government (GAO, 2003; Harden & Vise, 1995; Raskin, 1997). While the D.C. government certainly had significant problems with corruption and mismanagement under Mayors Marion Barry and Sharon Pratt Kelly (see Jaffe & Sherwood, 1994), it was on the brink of bankruptcy, in large part, due to the fiscal constraints imposed on the city by Congress (T. Y. Price, 1998). In response, Congress granted the unelected FCB authority over that of the elected mayor and council and installed a Chief Financial Officer, Anthony Williams, to develop long-term plans and enforce budgetary discipline upon the city's agencies (GAO, 2003). By 2001, after Williams moved D.C. budgets from deficit to surplus and had been elected Mayor, Congress suspended the FCB, but retains the ability to reimpose it should one of seven conditions ever be met (GAO, 2003).

This micromanagement of D.C. affairs has been justified by Congressmen, such as Texas Republican Louie Gohmert, who in 2007, opposed a D.C. voting rights bill on the basis that Washington is “the only city that every senator and every member of Congress has a vested interest in seeing that it works properly, that water works, sewer works” (Sheridan, 2007b, p. B1). Yet, this was the same logic employed by John McMillan and other opponents to deny D.C. residents representation in local affairs during the 1960s. While Congress has a genuine need to ensure that legitimate federal interests are respected in the District of Columbia, far too often parochial interests and moral judgments have resulted in Congress substituting its will for the that of D.C. residents (see Weaver & Harris, 1989).

Addressing D.C. Voting Rights

Although many activists accepted the Home Rule Act in 1974 as a significant improvement over the city's previous status (see S. Smith, 1974), attempts to fully enfranchise D.C. residents have not ceased. In 1978, Congress passed a Constitutional Amendment to give the city a full congressional contingent of two Senators and one Congressman, but the Amendment was rejected by the states in the mid-1980s. Following that rejection, a Statehood movement received significant support from residents to make "New Columbia" the 51st state, but the House of Representatives defeated a statehood bill in 1993 by a 277-153 vote. In 1998, city residents filed lawsuits in federal court, claiming to be entitled to Congressional representation under the Constitution and various Supreme Court decisions, but the lawsuits were dismissed in 2000 (Janofsky, 1998). Since then, D.C.'s efforts have focused on securing a single permanent member in the House of Representatives, with significant progress (but no law passed) in 2007 (Gaouette & Neuman, 2007). Beyond these efforts, some people have suggested that the non-federal areas of the District be retroceded back to Maryland, in which current D.C./future Maryland residents would be apportioned (as appropriate) their own Congressional district and be represented by Maryland's two Senators (Henderson, 1993; Mirel, 1996; Schrag, 1990; Thomas, 1990; Williams, 1992).

While not to discuss the histories and merits of these various approaches, I want to focus on the most recent efforts as being the most relevant to this discussion. Despite opposition by the Republican leadership in Congress and a "cavalier dismissal" of D.C. voting rights by President Bush ("Mr. Bush's Cavalier Dismissal", 2001), Republican Congressman Thomas Davis, who represents D.C.'s Northern Virginia suburbs,

attempted to fashion a compromise that would grant D.C. a member of the House of Representatives and maintain the existing partisan balance by granting an additional member to strongly-Republican Utah (Timberg, 2003). Despite administration rhetoric that justified American troops in Iraq for the cause of democracy, Bush actively opposed the bill and Republican leaders refused to schedule a vote on it (Dao, 2005; “Shameful, sad and worse”, 2006). Even after the 2006 elections when Congress shifted from Republican to Democratic control, Bush continued opposing the bill, suggesting that it was unconstitutional, while Senate Republicans used the filibuster to prevent action on it (Gaouette & Neuman, 2007; Sheridan, 2007a).

Recent polling found that 82% of Americans support congressional representation for D.C. residents, but that 78% also do not realize that Washingtonians are not represented (Hsu, 2005b). In the face of this overwhelming support, opponents to the Washington’s various initiatives have relied upon a shifting combination of factors to prevent D.C. voting rights: thinly veiled racism; partisan politics; a misinterpretation of the intentions of the framers of the Constitution; and/or reliance upon judicial and congressional precedents (Ayres, 1993; Henderson, 1993; Levey, 1985; Malveaux, 2000; Sheridan, 2007a; Thomas, 1990). However, suggesting that “Washington [is] too black, too unsophisticated or too Democratic to merit congressional representation” (Levey, 1985, p. E10) or that the District of Columbia is too corrupt, too crime-ridden and unable to govern itself (see Ayres, 1993; Thomas, 1990) are not valid reasons to deny democratic participation, in terms of Congressional representation or in having a legislative body primarily responsive to their needs, to the 581,000 American citizens who are residents of the District of Columbia. Instead, this is a fundamental issue of the

human rights espoused by the founders of this country and promoted internationally by the United States as a matter of policy. It is especially important at this moment, as to quote Republican Jack Kemp, former Secretary Housing and Urban Development in President George H.W. Bush's cabinet, "we can't send residents of D.C. to Iraq to fight for the right [of Iraqis] to vote without allowing the residents of this city to elect a member of Congress" (Gaouette & Neuman, 2007, p. A12).

Appendix F -- IRB Approvals



UNIVERSITY OF
MARYLAND

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

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July 2, 2008

MEMORANDUM

Application Approval Notification

To: Dr. David Andrews
Michael Friedman
Department of Kinesiology

From: Roslyn Edson, M.S., CIP *RE*
IRB Manager
University of Maryland, College Park

Re: **IRB Application Number: # 05-0352**
Project Title: "Capital spaces: The social production of Washington's new baseball stadium"

Approval Date: July 2, 2008

Expiration Date: July 2, 2009

Type of Application: Renewal

Type of Research: Non-Exempt

Type of Review
For Application: Expedited

The University of Maryland, College Park Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved your IRB application. The research was approved in accordance with 45 CFR 46, the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, and the University's IRB policies and procedures. The IRB approves waiver of signed informed consent as per criteria in 45 CFR 46.116(d). Please reference the above-cited IRB application number in any future communications with our office regarding this research.

Recruitment/Consent: For research requiring written informed consent, the IRB-approved and stamped informed consent document is enclosed. The IRB approval expiration date has been stamped on the informed consent document. Please keep copies of the consent forms used for this research for three years after the completion of the research.

Continuing Review: If you intend to continue to collect data from human subjects or to analyze private, identifiable data collected from human subjects, after the expiration date for this approval (indicated above), you must submit a renewal application to the IRB Office at least 30 days before the approval expiration date.

Modifications: Any changes to the approved protocol must be approved by the IRB before the change is implemented, except when a change is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. If you would like to modify the approved protocol, please submit an addendum request to the IRB Office. The instructions for submitting a request are posted on the IRB web site at:
http://www.umresearch.umd.edu/IRB/irb_Addendum%20Protocol.htm.

Unanticipated Problems Involving Risks: You must promptly report any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others to the IRB Manager at 301-405-0678 or redson@umresearch.umd.edu.

Student Researchers: Unless otherwise requested, this IRB approval document was sent to the Principal Investigator (PI). The PI should pass on the approval document or a copy to the student researchers. This IRB approval document may be a requirement for student researchers applying for graduation. The IRB may not be able to provide copies of the approval documents if several years have passed since the date of the original approval.

Additional Information: Please contact the IRB Office at 301-405-4212 if you have any IRB-related questions or concerns.

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project title *Capital spaces: The social production of Washington's new baseball stadium*

Why is this research being done? *This is a research project being conducted by David Andrews at the University of Maryland, College Park. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because you have information that will help the researchers understand more about the development of the baseball stadium in Washington, DC and/or the area in which it will be built.*

What will I be asked to do? *The procedure involves one interview of 30-60 minutes. You will be asked to respond to several questions, regarding your knowledge and opinions of the approval of the baseball stadium, the relocation of the Montreal Expos to Washington, DC, the history, present circumstances, and future plans of the stadium site and surrounding neighborhood.*

What about confidentiality? *The researchers will use your name in association with the information collected within this interview and no promise of confidentiality has been made. As such, the researchers promise to provide you control over the information associated with your name. You will be provided with a copy of the interview transcript, at which time you have the right to make changes to (including deletion and revision of any and all material, to clarify your comments, and to reject the use of some, if not all, information contained in the transcript.*

This research involves making an audiotape to insure an accurate record of your comments. To maintain the security of the interview data, tapes will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the student researcher's home and will be destroyed following my approval of the interview transcript. Additionally, your name will not be included on the interview transcript. Instead, a code will be placed on the transcript. Transcripts will be kept in hard copy in a locked file cabinet in the student researcher's home, with only the researchers having access to transcripts and identification key. Transcripts will be destroyed following the completion of the project, which may include related academic presentations and publications. If the researchers write a report or article or give a presentation about this research project, you may be identified by name. As such, please answer questions as you would for any media. Your information may be shared with representatives of the University of Maryland, College Park or governmental authorities if we are required to do so by law.

_____ *I agree to be audiotaped during my participation in this study.*

_____ *I do not agree to be audiotaped during my participation in this study.*

Project Title	<i>Capital spaces: The social production of Washington's new baseball stadium</i>
What are the risks of this project?	<i>There may be some risks from your participation in this study. As the statements that you make will be attributed to you, there may be some professional risks if those statements include information that you or your employers do not want released into the public domain or associated with your name. As such, you will receive a copy of the transcript, and, at any time, you may make changes to the transcript or withdraw your consent to the use of the interview.</i>
What are the benefits of this research?	<i>The research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the researchers to learn more about the approval of the baseball stadium, the relocation of the Montreal Expos to Washington, DC, and the history, present circumstances, and future plans of the stadium site and surrounding neighborhood the construction. We hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study through an improved understanding of these phenomena.</i>
Do I have to be in this research? May I stop participating at any time?	<i>Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. Additionally, at any time, you may withdraw consent from the use of your interview, in whole or in part. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be treated any differently than you would be otherwise within any publication or presentation related to this research.</i>
What if I have questions?	<p><i>You are free to ask questions at any time. This research is being conducted by David Andrews of the Department of Kinesiology at the University of Maryland, College Park. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact David Andrews at: University of Maryland, Department of Kinesiology, College Park, MD 20742. Phone: 301-405-2474, e-mail: dla@umd.edu; or student researcher, Michael Friedman at: University of Maryland, Department of Kinesiology, College Park, MD 20742. Phone: (301) 299-3304, e-mail: mtfried@wam.umd.edu</i></p> <p><i>If you have any question about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, MD, 20742; (e-mail) irb@deans.umd.edu; telephone (301) 405-4212. This research has been reviewed according to the University of Maryland, College Park IRB procedures for research involving human subjects.</i></p>

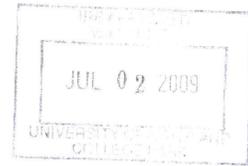
Project title *Capital spaces: The social production of Washington's new baseball stadium*

Statement of Age of Subject and Consent *Your signature indicates that:
You are at least 18 years of age;
The research has been explained to you;
Your questions have been fully answered; and
You freely and voluntarily choose to participate in this research project*

Signature and Date Name of Subject _____

Signature of Subject _____

Date _____



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