

What's best for the municipality; the decision making process on the relocation of football stadiums.

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Abstract

This research aims to investigate the reasons and the reasoning behind the behaviour of municipalities in relation to the development of football stadiums. The considerations of municipalities can be economical, environmental, spatial or social in nature.

Changing venues can have an impact on the municipality and its inhabitants. A lot of municipalities claim that such a project will drive the whole area to higher levels of prosperity. Others claim that changing venues gives the municipality a home-advantage in terms of marketing possibilities due to increased performances by the local team. These are the positive sides of such a change in venues. However, there are also several reasons not to agree to this. Especially since the municipalities are a major financial stakeholder.

In this research, semi-structured interviews were held with local authorities to investigate the four major considerations when it comes to the relocation of a stadium. The research left room for the interviewees to give their own input, but none did put in additional criteria.

The results of the interviews were pretty clear. The economic consideration, when deciding on relocation prevailed. This is surprising, because the debate among economists and econometrists is still going on about the economic impact of big scale projects. The biggest surprise was the absence of environmental considerations, especially since the literature shows that sport and sport facilities show great promise to be a motor behind change. Some of the interviewees mention the relation between the inner city and the periphery of the city, where modern stadiums are being built, as an important consideration. These inner workings have an effect on the available parking space. Another motivation when considering relocation is the possibility to solve current, unwanted problems with regards to traffic nuisance and the availability of parking space. Not only is it not beneficial to the city, it is also not beneficial to having a good match day experience, which is key for the clubs.

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1. Introduction

Within professional football it is widely agreed that the available budget is one of the key drivers for success; the bigger the budget, the higher the ranking on the table. Increasing this budget can be achieved through attracting fans, sponsors etc. In order for the clubs to comply with modern standards and updated facilities for fans and sponsors alike, sports teams, municipalities and other stakeholders are asked the question whether to relocate or renovate stadiums that do not fit the bill anymore.

In the past there have been several cases of football clubs building new stadiums, creating an upward spiral through increased income. This approach is supported by the theory of Brown et al. (2004) that maximizing revenues and wealth is the primary goal of any firm.

One of the best Dutch examples of such an upward spiral is FC Groningen, where a new stadium propelled them from relegation candidate to one of the contenders for European football. This is just one of the many examples of clubs that have relocated to a new stadium or who have updated their current stadium. Table 1 shows a list of stadiums, used in the 2015-2016 season by professional football clubs, along with information on whether the stadium has been relocated.

However, not every club that has chosen to rebuild, renovate or relocated has experienced such a transition of increased income and increased performance on the pitch as a result. For instance Fortuna Sittard is a case where the performances of the club have fallen since the club opened the new stadium.

But the football clubs aren't the ones who have the final say in the decision to relocate the stadium. Usually that is where the municipality or another form of local government comes in. This research will focus on the question marks that surround the decision making process and how these decisions influence the future stadium sites but also the former stadium sites.

Chapin (2002) identifies several economic and non-economic impacts on the development of sports facilities. Chapin finds that there are 2 economic impacts as a result of development: the attraction of 'new money' and spin-off development. The non-economic impact can be categorized into 3 types: increased community visibility, enhanced community image and psychic income. These impacts are social in nature, creating a sense of community. These are all possible positive outcomes of developing a new stadium.

The municipality has to decide on these matters, not only looking towards the positive, but also the downside of such an investment. Hooliganism might be one of those negatives. Hooliganism is described by Armstrong and Giulianotti (2002).

Smith (2005) suggests that sport (as display, not as play) could be used, and currently already is, to further the reputation of a city, parading the city in order to attract tourism and business. Recent events show how using professional sports as a marketing tool can be effective. Several examples of such "Hallmark" events could be given; the start of the Tour de France in Rotterdam in 2010 and in Utrecht in 2015, the start of the Giro d'Italia in 2016 in Apeldoorn. These events generate a lot of international press.

As far as externalities go, Chase and Healey (1995) stated that one of the biggest issues with stadiums is the traffic nuisance, more than the hooliganism and other violence related nuisance such as vandalism.

The main question surrounding this theme so far is:

What is or what are the consideration(s) for municipalities to allow a relocation of football stadiums?

The secondary questions

How do environmental considerations influence the decision to relocate the stadium?

How do economic considerations influence the decision to relocate the stadium?

How do social considerations influence the decision to relocate the stadium?

How do spatial considerations influence the decision to relocate the stadium?

Are there any other considerations that influence the decision to relocate the stadium?

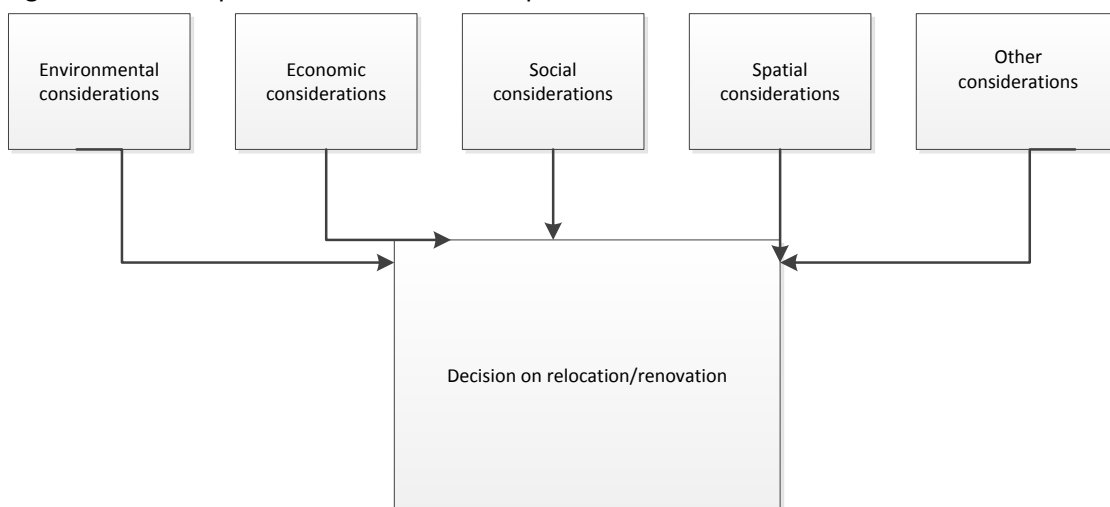
The goal in this bachelor thesis is to examine what influences the decision of municipalities.

The structure of the thesis is the following: Chapter 2 will provide a theoretical framework, covering the relevant theories on the subject. Chapter 3 describes the methodology with an explanation on the method of data collection. In chapter 4 I will discuss the results of the analysis of the data. Chapter 5 will provide the conclusions.

2. Theoretical Framework

Based on the information in this chapter I developed a conceptual model, see Figure 1, that shows how the decision, made by municipalities, is influenced by several factors. At that time, I did not yet know whether the answers to my questions could be categorized into one of the four categories. Therefore I also made a fifth category called 'other'.

Figure 1: Visual representation of the conceptual model



Source: own creation.

2.1 Economic considerations

Okner (1974) states that professional sports can boost an area's economy. This statement is supported by the research done by Ahlfeldt et al (2010). That research showed a positive impact on the land value within a 3000m radius of newly developed stadiums in Berlin. Whenever people are in favor of some action, there will always be people opposing such actions.

Most of the criticism focuses on the financial aspect of stadium development, as is shown in the newspaper article by Boer & Logger (2016). The financial demands of having a professional football club in the municipality don't stop once the stadium is built. According to RTL (2016), the estimated cost of professional football is around 30 million euro per year for safety measures and policing during match days. Since 2012 there has been a debate whether football clubs should pay for their own safety measures, but in September 2013 the Minister of Justice said that the professional football clubs will be responsible for the safety within the stadium, but the public order and safety is still an issue that lies within the responsibilities of the municipalities.

The possibilities for economic development are underwritten by Rosca (2010). This research states that the city and the football club are economically intertwined. Sports can be a sustainable way to develop the city, or parts of it. The benefit of investing in a football club is, as Rosca (2010) claims, due to job creation, local marketing and tourism possibilities. Their model states that an investment in a football club, or its facilities, will come back to the city in the form of more and higher taxes, due to an increased amount of revenue as a result of increased performances by the team that uses the facilities.

Claims as made by Rosca (2010), suggesting that stadium development can lead to development of an area, are contradicted by Crompton (2006). Crompton (2006) questions the correctness of such remarks for a number of reasons, which is described as a flawed multiplier approach. One of the first problems with calculating the economic impact is that there is no defined area of interest. Choosing the area too narrow causes suburban visitors to be calculated as tourists, bringing money from 'outside' the area. Another reason for doubting the outcome of such impact analysis is that in economic impact analyses usually opportunity costs are ignored. A third reason for putting question marks in the margin is that these researches don't take the substitution effects into account. (Rosentraub & Swindell, 2009)

This chapter leads me to believe that economic considerations should play a part in the decision making process, whether it is controlling policing expenses or investing in an area. Hopefully, the interviews will provide a little more insight in the economic considerations of municipalities.

2.2 Social considerations

Another important aspect of relocating a stadium is what the consequences will be for the neighbourhood where the stadium previously was located as well as the future location. This begs the question whether topophilia or topoporno is applicable even within neighbourhoods, because according to Van Houten and Van Dam (2002) the scale of place is not relevant. Topophilia, people's love of a place, is always around. Topoporno is the commercial exploitation of the topophilia, a pride and collective identification by showing the colours of the team collectively. Van Houten and Van Dam (2002) state that territorial identification due to topophilia is applicable from the local to the national scale. Changing venues or relocating these venues might, according to this theory, also

change the territorial identification that people have with their team. It is exactly this collective identity that is a key component in hooliganism according to Spaaij (2008). Hooliganism is thought to be the one of the worst public nuisances around a football stadium, which makes it interesting to discuss when relocation is an option.

A lot of the literature on the subject of stadium development and the influence it has on the surrounding area concerns professional sports in the US. This is vastly different from the European model where a professional sports club is more or less geographically anchored. Coates and Humphreys (2008) describe a situation of team owners playing local governments and business communities against each other in order to get 'the best deal', whether that involves moving a stadium or not.

The European model relies more on topophilia. Filis and Mackay (2014) explain this, stating that the club is an extension of the identity. This club represents the local area and causes a sense of integration and belonging, helping those involved to make sense of the world. The difference between US sports and European sports, especially the local community aspect, has been underwritten by Heads and Schools (2010), giving the example of AFC Wimbledon and MK Dons. MK Dons was the first attempt to create an American-style football franchise. In a reaction to the relocation, - the stadium was moved 160km to the north - fans formed their own team, tightly hanging on to their original geographical location. This contrasts quite sharply with the Rams' movement from California to Missouri (Rosentraub, 2009).

According to Kamberidou and Patsadaras (2007) sports can also be seen as a form of social capital. This kind of social capital translates into for example social cohesion, trust and social ties. The downside to such an influence might be the dark side of such social capital, brought about by for instance commercialization or doping. These are factors that could lead to exclusion instead of inclusion. There are several striking examples of people who felt excluded due to commercialization, such as United of Manchester. This club is created by fans as a reaction to the takeover of Manchester United by the Glazer family. Foster (2015) explains that the fans had become frustrated and disillusioned by inflated ticket prices and the fact that the club put commercial interests above genuine respect for fans. In Austria, the same thing happened, fans of the club SV Austria Salzburg also became frustrated and felt excluded due to commercialization after Red Bull, the producer of energy drinks, took over their club and renamed it Red Bull Salzburg. In a reaction, these disgruntled fans formed SV Austria Salzburg in 2005, using the original name of 'their' football club. In all, there seems to be a fine line between collective identification, hooliganism, commercialization and topoporno.

The above shows an interesting side of football stadiums and also one extra aspect to consider. Is the decision about topophilia or the commercialization of the love for a place, which carries a lot of positive and negative social capital or is there something else that shows the social consideration of municipalities?

The above shows that from the point of view of a football fan, there are definitely social considerations.

2.3 Environmental considerations

Another consideration for municipalities might be the environment. According to Ding (2008), sustainable development is an important issue in project decisions, because it affects the living conditions for current and future generations. In construction, this translates to the reuse of building materials, constructing buildings that have low energy consumption etcetera. All these methods are focussed on minimizing the use of natural resources.

According to Kellison et al. (2015) professional sports can set an example in sustainability. Not only by promoting the use of public transport to the stadium, but also by using, for example, solar panels. Several builders' initiatives, such as Architecture 2030 challenge, aim to make new and renovated constructions carbon neutral by 2030. They found that the early adopters of sustainable development might pave the way for future green designs. They also found that the social change and awareness has already led to 'green stadium development'. In their research, Kellison et al. (2015) claim that decision-makers can be influenced in the decision on stadium development by fans, activists and citizens.

This subchapter provided an interpretation of sustainable development and how this could be applied in stadium development. Its role as a catalyst for social change due to the social impact stadiums have on visitors might be one of the reasons for a municipality to grant the relocation.

2.4 Spatial considerations

The relocation of a stadium provides a lot of opportunities to improve on a current, maybe unwanted, situation. The importance of traffic nuisance was already pointed out by Chase and Healey (1995) in the introduction. Wakefield and Sloan (1995) researched factors that are of importance to having a good stadium experience, preferably an experience the fan wants to have time and time again. They found a relationship between fans who enjoyed themselves and those who were inclined to visit again. Limited parking space(s) is one of the elements that causes the fan to have a less enjoyable experience. They make two suggestions for policymakers and club officials that might help creating an enjoyable experience, making it a repeatable experience. The first experience enhancement could be the application of mass transportation from and to the stadium. The second recommendation is the use of traffic personnel to give directions.

3. Methodology

The data collection method consists of conducting interviews and analyzing those interviews. For this research I will use the definition that states that an interview is: "A method of data collection that involves researchers asking respondents basically open-ended questions." O'Leary (2010, p.162)

These interviews will be semi-structured to give the interviewee enough room to choose his or her own words without being restricted to my terminology. Its biggest advantage however is the possibility to ask follow-up questions, without being restricted and forced to adhere to the interview guide. (Clifford et al., 2010). Choosing this type of interview requires a structure around which the themes (or considerations) will be discussed. According to O'Leary (2010), the researcher has to make several choices, not just regarding the structure of the interview, but also has to decide on the setting, in groups or one-on-one, and the level of formality, choosing formal or informal. These choices are more or less predefined in the sense that a structured interview will more or less have

the character of a formal interview, where the informal setting is more likely to have an unstructured interview.

The information gathered from these interviews will hopefully support or be supported by the theoretical framework in chapter two. These interviews will hopefully answer my secondary research questions which in turn will allow me to answer the main research question.

Given that there is a limited amount of stadiums that (recently) have been relocated in the past, some more recently than others, the research will be conducted based on a few, handpicked, cases. These cases have been picked based on the fact that they either have finished the relocation in the past 20 years, like the municipality of Zwolle, Kerkrade, Alkmaar, Den Haag and Groningen or are planning to do so in the (near) future, like Rotterdam and Leeuwarden.

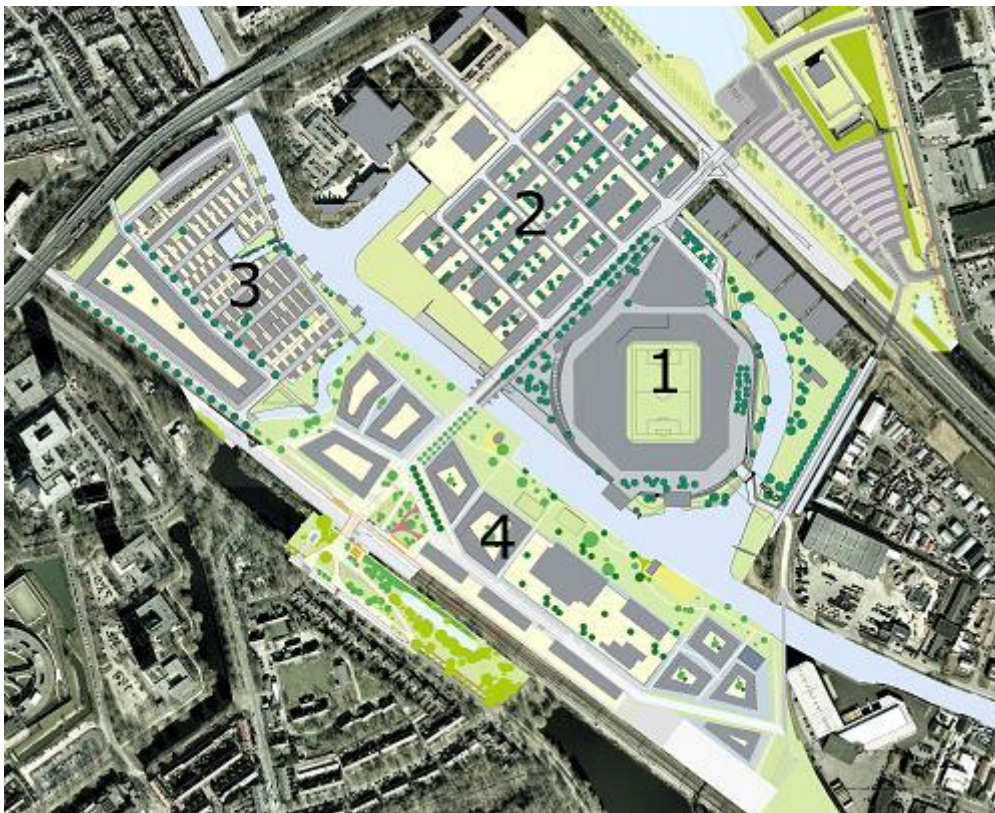
4. Results

This section will contain the results of the interviews with the three interviewees. All these interviewees were asked a series of questions regarding the development of football stadiums, relocation of the stadiums and what they believed to be the main drivers behind the municipalities' decision.

4.1 Economic considerations

That economic considerations are an important aspect is, hopefully already stood out in chapter 2. The possibilities of economic development through a stadium are also pointed out by several interviewees, indicating that the stadium is part of a much bigger area in development. Without including the whole area, it would mean that there is no possibility of including different functions, such as a supermarket, a cinema, a residential function, a school and office space. Figure 2 shows that the four different quadrants in the Europapark area, which were built separately, all include different functions. Under number 1, there is the stadium quadrant; number 2 is a space for offices and residential use. Number 3 is the residential area called De Linie and number 4 is the train station area.

Figure 2. The four quadrants of the Europapark



Source: Groningen Municipality (2011), *Bestemmingsplan SOZAWE*, visited on 12-06-2016

In the interview, the interviewee did not mention the creation of jobs or increased wealth through higher income as a specific goal or consideration. However, land value increase was used as a mechanism to invest in the stadium. Land sites, which hadn't been built on previously, were brought in by the municipality in the Joint Stock Company (Euroborg N.V.) that was set up by the municipality, a combination of construction companies and some investors. After construction, the land below the

area had become more valuable because there had been an increase in rent obtained from the commercial and residential parts of the development. This increase in rent caused an increase in the valuation of these sites. Within one year, every aspect of the multi-use stadium was sold to the user except for the stadium. Eventually, the Euroborg N.V. only consisted of the stadium, having sold the supermarket, the cinema, the school etcetera. After the development and sale of these functions, the municipality became the only shareholder in the Euroborg N.V. and with that, the owner of the stadium. The Football Club Groningen in turn rents this space on a yearly basis for the next 20 years. The municipality acknowledges that the downside of this kind of development is that there is a financial risk, but there is also supervision on the clubs' finances. If the Football Club goes into bankruptcy, there is no other possible occupant.

The same more or less applies for the municipality of The Hague. In their statement, they make it clear that their economic considerations consisted of providing the club with better possibilities to utilize their stadium. Another economic aspect that is pointed out by one interviewee is that the development of a stadium provides the municipality with options to develop not just the stadium, but the whole surrounding area.

A major point was the reduction in policing costs. In the former location, the Oosterparkwijk, the situation regarding hooliganism wasn't always clear. The chaos in the neighbourhood on match days meant that a lot more police was a necessity to keep order.

Another argument in favour of the development is that the new stadium has brought FC Groningen a lot more financial stability. Before the development of the stadium, the club turned to the municipality in times of financial trouble. Nowadays, the club is able to carry its own weight.

One municipality mentions that the development of such a project, the Parkstad Limburg Stadion in this case, also can affect the inner cities, traditionally used for commercial and residential purposes. Changing venues and creating a whole new area might influence this. As a recommendation, the interviewee said that it is important to have a clear vision on the future development; having a clear image of the kind of retail the municipality allows in the inner cities, which kind of retail might be a good addition on the fringes near the stadium, as part of the multi-functionality of the stadium. Another consideration according to the same interviewee is the so-called "magnet function" of such a development, the ability to attract new business to the area. This idea seems to line up with the idea of Chapin (2002) who stated that sport facilities attract 'new money'.

One of the bigger risks of the development is the question whether the developer stays within the given budget. He adds that this is not just applicable to the Parkstad Limburg Stadion, but also applies for other stadiums.

4.2 Social considerations

The main social consideration did not seem to be about marketing, topophilia or topoporno; at least, not with the municipality. Their main concern seemed to be with the negative side of topophilia, the hooliganism. Both The Hague and Groningen used to have a lot of problems with their fan base, causing riots around match days. The new stadiums might have been the reason that these events are much quieter nowadays.

Table 1: Policing man-hours needed per year.

Club	0506	0607	0708	0809
ADO	33.344	24.449	20.337*	18.800
FCG	10.520*	7.290	9.365	5.619

Source: CIV Jaarverslag (annual report) on the football season '08-'09. * Marks the year of opening of the new stadium.

As table 1 shows, FC Groningen have shown a steady decline in their policing man-hours, reducing the amount of hours with approximately 46%. The same goes for ADO The Hague, they cut almost 10% of their policing man-hours. To conclude, the consideration is on a social level to a certain extent, but eventually it turns out to be an economical one.

Other considerations named by one interviewee were the image and reputation of the club and the area as a whole. This might relate to the topoporno that was discussed earlier in this thesis.

4.3 Environmental considerations

None of the three interviewees recalls environmental issues being part of the consideration. One of the interviewees however, says that the municipality tries to make an informed decision in which environmental issues must have been addressed.

4.4 Infrastructural/Spatial considerations

One municipality mentions the importance of location and the accessibility when considering the move of Roda JC to the Parkstad Limburg Stadion (PLS). Having a clear vision on the development of the area helps when considering building new or extra facilities. This was also mentioned as part as the economic consideration, but it took thirteen years before the supermarket eventually opened as part of the stadium. Better planning and with more regard to inner cities could have shortened this time.

The main problem that was solved with the new stadium is the availability of parking spaces and traffic nuisance. The previous stadium was located in Kerkrade-West, a part of the city with a lot of residential buildings. Because 9 out of 10 times new stadiums are built on the outskirts of the city, there is more parking space available and the stadium area is better accessible. This improved accessibility also makes the area an interesting place to intensify usage. Having just the stadium there, which is just used once every two weeks, isn't very beneficial.

Taking the club and its facility out of the inner city was not just a consideration by Groningen and Kerkade, but also for The Hague. Nuisance for the inhabitants was their main infrastructural objection to the current place.

5. Conclusion

This research tries to provide more insight in the decision making process that surrounds the relocation of football stadiums. To gain this insight, semi-structured interviews were held with policy makers from different municipalities who allowed stadium planning. The cities of The Hague, Groningen and Kerkrade have allowed stadium relocation in the past 20 years.

According to the literature, the considerations on which these decisions are based can be categorized into four categories; Economic, Environmental, Social and Spatial. Just in case I encountered a consideration that might not fall into one of these categories, I added the category 'Other'.

Environmental considerations do not seem to be important in the decision process of municipalities. Only one municipality stated that they tried to make a comprehensive decision, in which they also included an environmental consideration. Other municipalities didn't include this in their decision, or they didn't know they have. Either way, the possibilities as described in the literature to use professional sports as a driver for social and environmental change had not yet been underwritten by the municipalities in the past 10-20 years.

One of the driving factors behind the decision is the economic consideration. Not just on relocation, but also on the redevelopment of the area as a whole. The economic considerations consist of two parts; one part saves money, due to a lower amount of man-hours that the police spend every year. The other part is investing in the area, promising economic development. The case of FC Groningen shows a sharp decline in football-related man-hours since opening the new stadium. The debate between economists is still going whether investment in an area really causes development or that other investment possibilities are better for the economic development of a region. Some municipalities seemed aware of the marketing potential a professional football club offers, others were keen to help a club build a new, modern stadium or tried to solve financial problems of the football clubs by developing a stadium that would increase the clubs' financial position.

The economic considerations when it comes to saving money on policing man-hours, seem to be linked to the social considerations. Hooliganism is one of the main social issues that were a thorn in the side of municipalities. Especially Groningen and The Hague experienced this in the old situation. The new stadiums at least solved the fan related problems in the inner cities, because these new stadiums are built on the outskirts of the city. To state that relocating a stadium diminishes hooliganism doesn't seem like the right conclusion. It seems to affect the location of hooliganism in the sense that if it happens, at least it is not in the inner cities. Kerkrade did not experience a lot of problems with hooliganism in the old stadium, neither did it in the new stadium. Kerkrade was one of the municipalities to acknowledge the importance of the club in the neighbourhood, being involved with amateur football clubs in the area and employing corporate social responsibility.

The previously mentioned relationship between the inner cities, the commercial possibilities on the outskirts and hooliganism all seem connected rose to the surface in some of the interviews. The spatial considerations were interpreted by the municipalities quite broadly. The municipality of Kerkrade recognized that parking spaces and good accessibility are part of the equation. The Hague also indicates that the (traffic) nuisance should not be in the inner city, where the previous stadium was located. None of the interviewees stated the importance of public transportation with regards to the new stadium.

Interestingly, every answer could be put into one of the existing categories, making my 'other' category redundant.

Municipalities mainly consider public safety as an issue that must be addressed, along with the need for economic development. Between the two of these, economic development seems to have an upper hand in determining priorities. Solving spatial and environmental issues along the way seems more like a bonus from the information I gathered. Given the fact that scientists have not yet reached a conclusion on whether stadium and other sports facilities are the best investment if you're looking at long-term returns.

Another question worth asking is whether a municipality should be this concerned about having and retaining a professional sports team. City branding can be done in a variety of different ways and I suggest that future research could be done on the different forms of city branding, the costs and benefits of having a successful sports team. Every municipality claims that the football club is important to the city and the community, but do these companies deserve more backing from the government than other industries?

5.1 Reflection

The results of this thesis are based on a few interviews; future research is needed to investigate whether the conclusions drawn from these interviews are the same in other countries. Also, increasing the amount of interviews might give a more accurate result in describing the decision process. It also might be useful to check whether these findings are the same for other (sports) facilities. One other aspect I would have done differently is that in some of the questions I did not define certain words which leads to a different interpretation of the words. For instance, spatial considerations was one of the concepts that was interpreted differently by the interviewees.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 List of Stadiums

Stadium	Capacity	City	Home Team	Opened	Relocated
Amsterdam ArenA	53.346	Amsterdam	Ajax	1996	Yes
De Kuip	51.137	Rotterdam	Feyenoord	1936	No
Philips Stadion	36.500	Eindhoven	PSV	1916	No
De Grolsch Veste	30.205	Enschede	FC Twente	1998	Yes
Abe Lenstra Stadion	26.800	Heerenveen	SC Heerenveen	1994	Yes
GelreDome	25.278	Arnhem	Vitesse Arnhem	1998	Yes
Stadion Galgenwaard	24.426	Utrecht	FC Utrecht	1982	Yes
Euroborg	22.579	Groningen	FC Groningen	2006	Yes
Parkstad Limburg Stadion	19.979	Kerkrade	Roda JC	2000	Yes
Rat Verlegh Stadion	19.000	Breda	NAC Breda	1996	Yes
AFAS Stadion	17.100	Alkmaar	AZ	2006	Yes
Kyocera Stadion	15.000	The Hague	ADO Den Haag	2007	Yes
Koning Willem II Stadion	14,637	Tilburg	Willem II	1920	No
Polman Stadion	13.500	Almelo	Heracles Almelo	1999	No
Stadion de Goffert	12.500	Nijmegen	N.E.C.	1939	No
IJsseldelta Stadion	12.500	Zwolle	PEC Zwolle	2009	Yes
Offermans Joosten Stadion	12.500	Sittard	Fortuna Sittard	1999	Yes
Het Kasteel	11.026	Rotterdam	Sparta Rotterdam	1916	No
De Geusselt	10.000	Maastricht	MVV	1961	Yes
Cambuur Stadion	10.000	Leeuwarden	SC Cambuur	1936	No
De Vliert	9.000	's-Hertogenbosch	FC Den Bosch	1951	No
JenS Vesting	8.600	Emmen	FC Emmen	1977	No
De Koel	8.000	Venlo	VVV-Venlo	1972	Yes

De Adelaarshorst	7,938	Deventer	Go Ahead Eagles	1920	No
Mandemakers Stadion	7,508	Waalwijk	RKC Waalwijk	1996	No
Kras Stadion	7,164	Volendam	FC Volendam	1975	No
Heesen Yachts Stadion	4,662	Oss	FC Oss	2000	No
Sportpark De Heikant	4.500	Groesbeek	Achilles '29	1929	No
Jan Louwers Stadion	4,373	Eindhoven	FC Eindhoven	1934	No
Stadion De Braak	4,142	Helmond	Helmond Sport	1967	No
GN Bouw Stadion	4,088	Dordrecht	FC Dordrecht	1948	No
TATA Steel Stadion	3,625	Velsen-Zuid	Telstar	1948	No
Stadion Woudestein	3,541	Rotterdam	Excelsior	1902	No
Mitsubishi Forklift Stadion	3.000	Almere	Almere City FC	2005	No

Table 1: Professional football stadiums in use in the season 2015-2016 (not included: second teams of PSV and Ajax)

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Wat was uw rol?

Wie waren de andere betrokkenen?

Wat waren de doelstellingen vooraf? Iedereen dezelfde doelstelling?

Waarin verschilt stadionontwikkeling van ander vastgoed?

Waaruit bestonden de economische overwegingen?

Waaruit bestonden de sociale overwegingen?

Waaruit bestonden de milieu-overwegingen?

Waaruit bestonden de infrastructurele/ruimtelijke overwegingen?

Waren er nog andere overwegingen en zo ja, welke?

(Welke prioriteit is er aan elk van deze overwegingen gegeven 1-4/5)

Wat was het plan met het oude stadion? Lag er al een plan?

Wat waren de risico's? Wie draagt/droeg het grootste risico tijdens/na de bouw?

Wat zou u meegeven aan andere gemeenten? Welke ervaringen? Wat zou u anders doen?