

- unlikely it is that such measures are systematically planned and conducted. Sexual or emotional stimulation through subliminal messages seems to be impossible, and serious research has not found any significant use of these stimuli for marketing purposes (Sid C. Dudley, "Subliminal Advertising: What is the Controversy About?" *Akron Business and Economic Review* 18, no. 2 [1987]: 6–18). As a result this practice is widely denied by most people in the media and advertising realm (Martha Rogers and Christine A. Seiler, "The Answer Is No: A National Survey of Advertising Practitioners and Their Clients about Whether They Use Subliminal Advertising," *Journal of Advertising Research* 34, no. 2 [1994]: 36–45). Consequently, it appears that subliminal messages with sexual content aren't systematically used as a part of Disney's corporate strategy.
95. Robert B. Zajonc, "Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, monograph supplement 9, no. 2, part 2 (1968): 1.
 96. John G. Seamon and others, "The Mere Exposure Effect Is Based on Implicit Memory: Effects of Stimulus Type, Encoding Conditions, and Number of Exposures on Recognition and Affect Judgements," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 21, no. 3 (1995): 711–721.
 97. Robert B. Zajonc and William Raft Kunst-Wilson, "Affective Discrimination of Stimuli That Cannot Be Recognized," *Science* 207 (February 1980): 557–558.
 98. Timothy E. Moore, "Subliminal Advertising," *Journal of Marketing* 46 (1982): 43.
 99. Kathryn T. Theus, "Subliminal Advertising and the Psychology of Processing Unconscious Stimuli: A Review of Research," *Psychology & Marketing* 11, no. 3 (May/June 1994): 282.
 100. The webpage, www.abcnews.com/sections/living/DailyNews/nightline_newurban_980731.html, was kept in ABC.com's "health & living" section for more than two years (including the user comment).



Disneyfication, the Stadium, and the Politics of Ambiance

Greg Siegel

Introduction

In his essay "Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space," Neil Smith distinguishes between the fact of urban gentrification and the particular form it assumes in a given historical and geographical context.¹ If the term "gentrification" is understood to designate not only the residential rehabilitation and consequent colonization of low-income neighborhoods by well-heeled investors but also the broader social, spatial, and economic restructuring of the city in the interest and as an expression of capital, then the *fact* of urban gentrification has been readily apparent and relatively constant in the United States since the end of World War II. As regards the *form* taken by urban gentrification in the last half century, however, nothing so sweeping can be rightly asserted. The specific character and composition, as well as the scope and scale, of gentrification varies from city to city—and within the same city, from district to district—depending on the complex interplay of innumerable local and global contingencies. Yet to say that the process of gentrification is always asymmetrical and locally inflected is not to deny the possibility of structural commonalities and pattern similarities—in a word,

trends—existing within and across urban formations at a particular historical moment.

According to a number of sociologists, geographers, urbanologists, and architecture critics, the last quarter century has witnessed the emergence and proliferation of a new mode of urban development, in which fantastic scenography effaces architectural authenticity, rampant consumerism vitiates genuine community, commercial iconography obscures social history, and private police forces—trained in paramilitary tactics, armed with high-powered weaponry, and equipped with sophisticated surveillance apparatus—ensure socioeconomic homogeneity. In such “urbanoid environments”—Paul Goldberger’s term for “places that purport to offer some degree of urban experience in an entertaining, sealed-off, private environment”—services, recreation, and consumption have been exponentially expanded, even as crime, poverty, and homelessness have been apparently (but by no means actually) eradicated.² Within these cocoon-like confines, visitors behold what David Harvey calls “an architecture of play and pleasure, of spectacle and commodification, emphasizing fiction and fantasy.”³ Welcome to the Disneyfication of downtown.

This last statement requires clarification. The term “Disneyfication,” as Alan Bryman points out, has been invoked to describe, explain, and critique a range of disparate phenomena, including the peculiar method, initiated by Walt Disney and perpetuated by his successors, by which an original text, once acquired by a Disney-owned film studio, is simplified, bowdlerized, and homogenized, thereby rendering it immediately identifiable as a Disney production.⁴ As employed in this essay, however, the term is used to refer to the aforementioned mode of urban development, in which a circumscribed space is strategically sanitized and spectacularized for maximal and manifold consumption. More specifically, “Disneyfication” denotes the aggregate of transformative logics and procedures by which a particular site or landscape is materially refashioned and symbolically reinscribed in such a way that the resulting site or landscape is conceptually, perceptually, and functionally redolent of the Disney theme parks. Thus, for present purposes, the term does not refer to the actual intentions, operations, or enterprises of the multinational entertainment corporation The Walt Disney Company, even if, as Saskia Sassen and Frank Roost have shown, that corporation has been the prime mover in the redevelopment of particular urban districts, most famously (and controversially) the area around Times Square and Forty-second Street in New York City.⁵ “Disneyfication,” rather, specifies the conception, construction, coordination, cross-promotion, and control of all the economic and experiential elements—architecture and landscape, goods and services, sights and sounds,

players and performances—in an enclosed, entertainment- and consumption-oriented environment.

Another point that needs to be stressed is that Disneyfication is always a selectively applied, unevenly distributed process. It is important, therefore, to take notice of the geographical boundaries, as well as the social consequences, that typically attend this peculiar mode of urban “revitalization.” Strictly speaking, cities do not undergo Disneyfication; only certain sectors of cities do. Now, this qualification is hardly surprising, for, as mentioned previously, the nature and extent of urban gentrification within a given city varies from district to district. Disneyfied districts, however, are noteworthy not simply because they are distinct and distinctive urban territories (the same could be said for any number of city sectors) but because they are so evidently *incongruous* urban territories, so culturally, aesthetically, and economically out of place. As Goldberger’s definition of urbanoid environments suggests, the process of Disneyfication, at least within urban settings, tends to result in the formation of solipsistic and fortified enclaves devoted to high-concept, high-roller consumption. Susan S. Fainstein and David Gladstone, following *City of Quartz* author Mike Davis, talk about this phenomenon in terms of the “militarization and privatization of urban space”:

Tourism promoters have reacted to the geographic proximity of tourist districts and impoverished, high-crime areas by constructing defensible spaces. Rather than being woven into the existing urban fabric, hotel and convention facilities, sports stadiums, restaurant districts, and downtown shopping malls are cordoned off and designed to cosset the affluent visitor while simultaneously warding off the threatening native. Private police, video surveillance, and architectural design all work to keep undesirables out of touristic “compounds” and “reserves.”⁶

Like Disneyland and Disney World, these “compounds” constitute demarcated dreamscapes of carefree consumption for members of the leisure class, protected playgrounds of spectacle and splurge operating as though they were light-years away from the dangerous and “dirty boulevards” that besiege them.

Significantly, the rise of what John Hannigan calls the “contemporary theme park city” represents a strategic response to decades of urban deindustrialization, disinvestment, and deterioration.⁷ Beginning in the 1970s, urban economies—and the laborers that motored them—reeled from a double-barreled assault: the exportation of industrial production to the Far East and Latin America, on the one hand, and the implementation of “corporate downsizing,” on the other. To this already bleak equation were added the lingering

effects of the post-World War II “white-flight” syndrome, as well as the abject failures, fiscal and social, of the federally funded urban-renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s. Inevitably, by the end of the 1970s, cities across America were engaged in a desperate bid for survival. In this “postindustrial” milieu, the establishment of an urban infrastructure and marketing machine geared toward entertainment and excursion seemed to offer a viable solution, since, as Feinstein and Dennis R. Judd observe, “tourism is an industry with few barriers to entry and the potential for large returns to investment.”⁸ In order to attract new infusions of cash and capital—the former from tourists, business travelers, and suburban day-trippers, the latter from private investors and multinational corporations—city governments across North America, in conjunction with commercial real-estate developers and high-profile entertainment companies, have been repurposing their infrastructures and repackaging their identities as safe, clean, and “fun for the whole family.”

The Stadium Boom

Not incidentally, newly constructed or renovated sports stadiums have been integrally involved in this metropolitan makeover.⁹ For many urban politicians, planners, and “growth strategists,” a state-of-the-art stadium constitutes an indispensable ingredient in the elixir of downtown recovery and revitalization, one that justifies the expenditure of tens of millions or, in some cases, hundreds of millions of taxpayer dollars.¹⁰ Hannigan explains: “In formulating strategies designed to return downtown areas to prominence, urban planners, civic leaders and real estate developers [call for] . . . heavy investment in flagship destination projects: such as convention centers, aquariums, professional sports complexes, casinos, museums, redeveloped waterfronts and entertainment districts.”¹¹ Once these “special activity generators” are in place, Hannigan adds, they “can be aggressively marketed as part of a city’s re-imagining efforts.”¹² According to this line of reasoning, a newly constructed or renovated stadium, while not necessarily paying for itself in the strict sense, redounds to the city’s long-term benefit inasmuch as it serves as an “image enhancer,” a sign of social vibrancy and economic vitality so prominent and persuasive it is capable of luring private capital, trade conventions, affluent tourists, suburban shoppers, and new residents to the downtown area.¹³

There are sound reasons for challenging the premises on which this claim rests, including the notion that whatever benefits private capital benefits the wider community, as well as the semiotic sleight of hand that blurs the distinction between stadium-as-symbol-of-urban-prosperity (the order of mythology)

and stadium-as-index-of-urban-prosperity (the order of causality). Nevertheless, since the mid-1980s, there has been an unprecedented boom in stadium construction and renovation in the United States and Canada.¹⁴ In the years spanning 1988 to 1998, a total of thirty-two new stadiums were erected, while another twelve were substantially refurbished.¹⁵ In 1999, eleven new stadiums (worth \$2.5 billion) opened for business, the most ever to debut in a single year.¹⁶ And according to economist Raymond J. Keating, the trend is showing no signs of abating any time soon:

Looking to the [second half] of 1999 and the next several years, considering what is already agreed to and what various teams and cities are seeking or proposing, [a] conservative estimate indicates that at least \$13.5 billion will be spent on new ballparks, stadiums, and arenas for major league teams. Taxpayers are expected to pay more than \$9 billion of that amount (in nominal terms).¹⁷

Keating’s policy analysis represents a recent installment in more than a decade’s worth of sober inquiry into the pros and cons of publicly subsidized stadiums. Journals of economics, sports business, and urban studies have been crowded with articles on the stadium-financing controversy in recent years, as have metropolitan newspapers and mass-circulation magazines. Entire books have even been written on the subject, most notably Michael N. Danielson’s *Home Team: Professional Sports and the American Metropolis*, Mark S. Rosentraub’s *Major League Losers: The Real Cost of Sports and Who’s Paying for Them*, and Joanna Cagan and Neil deMause’s *Field of Schemes: How the Great Stadium Swindle Turns Public Money into Private Profit*, the titles of which leave little doubt as to the authors’ take on the matter.¹⁸

Newly constructed or renovated stadiums have attracted the attention of critics and commentators for other reasons as well. According to stadium architect Rod Sheard, we are presently in the midst of a

revolution in sport, the “entertainment” revolution, when sports are having to accept that they are now big business, competing for our leisure time along with the many other forms of entertainment. This is producing [a] generation of stadia . . . designed for as wide a range of events and audience as possible. Entertainment is the aim and “service” is the method.¹⁹

William Johnson, vice president of Ellerbe Becket, one of the leading sports-architecture firms in the United States, concurs, observing that today’s stadiums are engineered to be “complete entertainment environments.”²⁰ In his article “Baseball’s Big Hit—Intimate, Luxury Parks Designed for the Sybarite

in You,” journalist David Conrads notes that “video kiosks, gourmet food, luxury suites, learning centers, meeting rooms [and] retractable roofs . . . are becoming standard equipment in new baseball stadiums.”²¹ And architecture theorist Michael K. Hays insists that the current crop of high-tech sports venues “signals architecture’s entry into the contemporary culture of entertainment and communication.”²² Taken together, these comments suggest that the sporting event in itself is thought to be insufficiently entertaining in an era of richly diversified, highly mediated leisure consumption. They also imply that newly constructed or renovated stadiums, reconceived and reconfigured as Disneyfied pleasure domes, are well equipped to respond to this “crisis.”

Amusement Alternatives

Until the late 1980s, the stadium promised and provided the sports spectator entertainment in the form of a monolithic attraction: the game. The Disneyfied stadium, by contrast, offers a wide variety of amusement alternatives, including (depending on the venue) shopping malls, full-service restaurants, sports-history museums, batting and pitching cages, fitness clubs, sports-memorabilia exhibits, food courts, video-game arcades, merry-go-rounds and Ferris wheels, picnic spots, multiplex movie theaters, children’s play areas, virtual-reality displays, swimming pools and hot tubs, pedestrian plazas, learning centers, miniature golf, and “interactive touch-screen kiosks with team histories, player interviews, archival videos, and season schedules.”²³

The existence and nature of these “adjacent attractions” underscore the link between the Disneyfied stadium and Hannigan’s contemporary theme-park city.²⁴ Like that of Disneyfied urban territories, the “affective ambiance” of the Disneyfied stadium is at once reassuring and spectacular, engendering a sense of security while delivering “wholesome” recreation in the form of multisensory stimulation and polymorphous consumption.²⁵ On the one hand, the Disneyfied stadium registers and reiterates what Hannigan calls “a long-standing cultural contradiction in American society between the middle-class desire for experience and their [*sic*] parallel reluctance to take risks, especially those which involve contact with the ‘lower orders’ in cities.”²⁶ On the other hand, it seeks to satiate that desire for experience by eliminating “negative” cues in the immediate environment, by engaging the senses as much and as often as possible, and by staging escapist events and encounters.²⁷ For B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, authors of *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage*, such “theatrical” tricks of the trade, particularly when deployed in concert (as they are in the Disneyfied stadium), can

help turn a “plain space” into a “distinctive place,” thus encouraging “guests to spend more time engaged in the offering.”²⁸ No longer a one-dimensional venue doomed to remain vacant for the better part of the day, week, and year, the stadium has been recast as a functionally heterogeneous entertainment *destination*—a term, Michael Sorkin reminds us, frequently invoked by travel agents to emphasize the definitive “thereness” of the Disney theme parks.²⁹

The stadium as a site of touristic fascination? How else to explain the fact that many newly constructed or renovated stadiums offer—and charge a fee for—guided tours of the premises? Or that “more than one third of [Sky-Dome] patrons come from outside Metropolitan Toronto”?³⁰ Or that a number of stadium restaurants are open for business during the off-season? Or that the concourses at the MCI Center in Washington, D.C., are open daily to the general public and provide information, accessible via computer kiosks, about the district’s history, geography, and visitor attractions?³¹ Video-game arcades, shopping malls, multiplex movie theaters, children’s play areas, sports-history museums—these attractions, while auxiliary, are not accidental in any sense of the word. Rather, they are concrete manifestations of sophisticated marketing techniques aimed at conventional middle-class families. They are also markers of a radical rearticulation of traditional meanings and practices of “nonproductive” family togetherness: not the socializing and sharing of event and experience in bounded space and time, but rather their privatizing and sundering into myriad, concurrent, mutually exclusive moments. Glorifying a future of intrafamilial atomism and alienation that is already upon us, Sheard prophesizes that “tomorrow’s stadia will be places of entertainment for the family, where sport is the focus but not the complete picture. It will be possible for five members of a family to arrive and leave together but in the intervening period experience five different activities.”³² Insofar as it functions as a destination of diversified diversions for customers of all ages (but not of all classes), the Disneyfied stadium is both a metonym for and a microcosm of the Disneyfied district that contains and conditions it.

The introduction of amusement alternatives into the space of the stadium is by no means a value-neutral affair; its effects are not simply additive but fundamentally transformative. Ringing the stadium interior like so many stationary satellites, adjacent attractions remap the material geometries and symbolic economies of the spectator-sports landscape. To be precise, they effectively attenuate the centripetal orientation, or centralizing tendencies, of the sporting event, siphoning off and redirecting to the perimeter—that is, to the newly expanded concourses—a substantial portion of its sensorial stimuli, affective appeals, and libidinal intensities. Stadium architect Frank Scicchitano explains: “Outside of the seating bowl, the concourse—traditionally more

about operations, circulation and 'check the box' design than experience creation—is evolving into . . . a variety of environments intended for gathering or supporting sub-venue events.”³³ This radial redistribution, this peripheralization of the stadium’s spatial dynamics, works to reorder the attentional priorities and revise the participatory routines—the traditional rhythms and rituals—of sports spectatorship, inviting the stadiumgoer, like the mallgoer, to adopt, in Anne Friedberg’s words, “the perceptual mode of *flânerie* while instrumentalizing it for consumer objectives.”³⁴ Just as the utilitarian stadium has been repackaged as a tourist destination, so has the sedentary spectator been reconstituted as a corridor cruiser, a peripatetic sightseer and shopper, a circulating subject—or “guest,” as Pine and Gilmore, following Disney, would have it—for whom the provision of an array of amusement alternatives affirms the bounty of contemporary capitalism even as it facilitates the dream of self-actualization through “consumer choice.”³⁵ Scicchitano declares:

Sports facilities are evolving into places that offer varied experiences for small, diversified “micro-classes” with multiple levels of engagement and exclusivity. . . . In order to give a maximum amount of choice to spectators who have more ways than ever to spend their entertainment dollars, it is imperative that the design of sports facilities . . . focus on the diversity of spectator experience at all levels.³⁶

Although the sporting event still occupies center stage in a topographical sense, the universality of its magnetism, the irresistibility of its allure, can no longer be taken for granted. In the Disneyfied stadium, the game continues to serve as an architectural and experiential anchor, to be sure, but it is now one attraction among many, as much a controlling *theme* as it is the main event.

From Multitheming to Monotheming

Of course, the Disneyfied stadium is not themed to the same degree or in the same fashion as the Disney parks. Perhaps the most obvious difference, in this respect, is that the Disneyfied stadium is singly, not multiply, themed. Whereas Disneyland and Disney World use several different themes (drawn from nature, geography, folklore, history, and children’s literature, by way of Disney movies and television shows) to physically delimit and conceptually/perceptually define their semiautonomous subregions, the Disneyfied stadium uses a single, locally inflected theme—spectator sports in general, the home team in particular—to integrate its attractions, organize its address,

and regulate its ambiance. In the Disney parks, multitheming accomplishes two critical objectives—objectives that at first blush seem to be mutually canceling but on closer inspection prove to be mutually reinforcing: it encourages visitors to keep moving and to stay longer. The multithemed environment keeps visitors on the move—and from exiting the park—by offering them the opportunity to continually reexperience, through and as serialized simulation, the touristic frisson of entering an exotic locale and the consumerist satisfaction of expending one. In this way, multitheming delivers a preemptive strike against atmospheric homogeneity, experiential monotony, and, ultimately, economic inefficiency.

That the Disneyfied stadium uses monotheming, rather than multitheming, to much the same end speaks volumes about the differing spatial dimensions, social customs, and institutional histories of the amusement park and the sports stadium. Compared with the size and scale of Disneyland or Disney World, the stadium is a Lilliputian land. More pronounced still does this disparity become when considered in terms of the area allocated for visitor activities: modern sports spectators are seldom, if ever, allowed to access or occupy the playing field, which takes up a substantial share of the stadium’s usable space.³⁷ Such spatial constraints make multitheming a less practicable option for stadium architects and design consultants. It is also a less culturally warranted one. Theming enabled Disney to differentiate his product from “grimy,” garden-variety amusement parks (this point will be elaborated shortly). In the Disneyfied stadium, however, theming is not so much a means of external differentiation as it is a means of internal unification. Disneyland’s multithemed environment responded to the problem of how to distinguish its collection of rides and attractions from its competitors’ collections of rides and attractions. The Disneyfied stadium’s monothemed environment, by contrast, responds to the problem of how to assimilate its attractions to the cultural conventions of sports spectatorship, to the structural codes of stadium architecture, and to the place-based (if corporately mediated) identifications and aspirations of regional residents. In the Disneyfied stadium, the theme of spectator sports is abstracted from the sporting event, emblazoned with the icons and insignia—the trademarked totems—of the home team, and projected, in turn, onto the stadium’s attractions, imparting to them, and to the stadium surroundings in general, a measure of semiotic coherence.

It is useful to recall, in this connection, that a theme, as deployed in Disneyland and Disney World, is more than a principle of semiotic coherence; it is an instrument of social control and a catalyst for consumer desire. More than a few Disney biographers, historians, and critics have noted that Disney and his cadre of “imagineers” took pains to distinguish Disneyland, a

bourgeois theme park “designed to provide edifying adventures for baby-boom families,” from “sleazy,” turn-of-the-century amusement parks designed to dispense cheap thrills to the urban masses.³⁸ According to Christopher Anderson,

Disney assured the public that any amusement experienced in his park would be tempered by middle-class educational values. Disneyland wouldn't be another park trading in the temporal gratifications of the flesh; instead, it would be a popular monument to human knowledge, a “permanent world's fair” built around familiar Disney characters and a number of unifying social goals, including educating the public about history and science.³⁹

Besides offering Disney a socially sanctioned means of disciplining “the unruly pleasures of the amusement park,” theming proved an enormously profitable means of organizing, interrelating, and administering milieu and merchandise.⁴⁰ Disneyland might not have been the first commercial venture to feature themed attractions (several of Coney Island's rides and exhibits bore exotic or erotic motifs), but it was the first to feature a wholly themed environment.⁴¹ For Susan G. Davis, “the concept of the ‘themed environment,’ the fully designed, highly coordinated ‘land’ with all services, performances and concessions designed and provided in house, was arguably the most important Disney contribution to the industry.”⁴² Disney's entrepreneurial genius, in other words, lay in the realization that his park could be exploited as a site for the minutely managed sale and “synergy” of goods, services, and experiences, all themed to his company's proprietary images and texts. “Total merchandising,” Disney's term for this style of cross-promotional dynamism, this “strategy of seamless market expansion,”⁴³ ensured that “products aimed at baby boom families and stamped with the Disney imprint—movies, amusement park rides, books, comic books, clothing, toys, TV programs, and more—would weave a vast commercial web, a tangle of advertising and entertainment in which each Disney product, from the movie *Snow White & the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) to a ride on Disneyland's Mattherhorn, promoted all Disney products.”⁴⁴

Because commercial advertising has long adorned the visible surfaces and rippled the acoustical spaces of professional sports venues, it would be easy to dismiss the Disneyfied stadium's consumerist landscape as merely a latter-day extension and embodiment of time-tested promotional practices in the world of sports business.⁴⁵ To do so, however, would be to overlook, not only the qualitative differences between the atmospheric operations of the Disneyfied stadium and those of its formal precursors, but also their disparate political-economic underpinnings. While the stadium, in its modern capitalist incar-

nation, has always been a locus of commercial penetration, the Disneyfied stadium, like the Disney theme parks, is a locus of “hyper-commercial interpenetration,” a source of synergistic opportunities whose emergence as a distinct technocultural form in the late 1980s is inextricably tied to the contemporaneous convergence of the sports, media, and entertainment industries.⁴⁶

From the perspective of political economy, the story of these industries—beginning in the 1980s, accelerating in the 1990s, and continuing apace in the first decade of the twenty-first century—is the story of multinational corporate mergers, buyouts, and takeovers, of vertical and horizontal integration through ownership concentration and market consolidation. Mark Crispin Miller maintains that the rise of the modern media cartel “represents the grand convergence of the previously disparate U.S. culture industries—many of them vertically monopolized already—into one global superindustry providing most of our imaginary ‘content.’”⁴⁷ In an era of cross-industrial, cross-national conglomeration, when major media firms such as the Walt Disney Company, News Corporation, AOL Time Warner, Cablevision Systems Corporation, Tribune Company, and Comcast Corporation all wholly or partly own professional sports franchises, spectator sports—the venues, the games, the teams, the athletes—are indeed conceptualized and operationalized as entertainment “content.”⁴⁸ Just as Disneyland boosted the brand recognition and enhanced the exchange value of Disney commodities (emblems, characters, narratives) by providing a context, at once “magical” and material, in which they could be advertised, merchandised, and experienced, so the Disneyfied stadium, with its monothemed amusement alternatives, multiple points of sale for licensed merchandise, and myriad promotional surfaces and spaces—from players' jerseys to playing field to public-address system, from conventional signage to cutting-edge interfaces—feeds the cultural capital and fuels the commercial synergies of global media conglomerates.⁴⁹

The State-of-the-Art Scoreboard

There is another attraction that participates in the Disneyfication of the stadium: the large-screen video display.⁵⁰ Whether suspended as an octagonal gondola above the playing field (as in basketball and hockey) or rearing up as an optoelectronic billboard alongside it (as in baseball and football), the large-screen video display is a diversion of a different order. Unlike the Disneyfied stadium's other amusement alternatives, the large-screen video display is most often accessed—that is, visually apprehended—from the comfort of one's seat. Because its “rewards”—to borrow Yi-Fu Tuan's term for “the distinctive

sensory-aesthetic experiences that visitors to Disneyland can expect”—are available from every seat in the house, this real-time moving-image technology does not beckon the stadiumgoer to stroll the commodious concourses as do the attractions on the perimeter.⁵¹

Yet it furnishes a certain mobility nonetheless. Through the use of zooming close-ups, multiple angles, instant replays, and slow-motion effects, the large-screen video display confers on the sports spectator a visually/virtually mediated mobility. Tuan argues that, for visitors who use them, Disneyland's rides, in addition to producing kinesthetic sensations, transform the visual landscape into an impressionistic panorama:

A landscape may . . . function as a spectacle if riders, rushing along, see it for only a few seconds and it is gone. That flash of color and form, unavailable for prolonged viewing, is what makes it a spectacle, as sword fights and fireworks, too quick in their individual movements to be considered a stable composition, are spectacles.⁵²

Disneyland's rides generate spectacle through machinic mobilization; the Disneyfied stadium's large-screen video display generates (virtual) mobilization—a flash of color and form, a feeling of rushing along—through machinic spectacle. In so doing, the large-screen video display, like the Disneyfied stadium's peripherally positioned attractions, works to restructure the stadiumgoer's attentional practices and affective investments—in this case, by inducing and sustaining a novel mode of sports spectatorship, in which immediate, relatively stationary views of the game alternate with mediated, virtually mobilized ones.⁵³

Sheard and fellow stadium architect Geraint John have this to say about the large-screen video display:

In addition to attracting and pleasing audiences, thus increasing gate revenue, pre-programmed entertainment sequences on big video screens can also usefully slow down the rate at which people enter and leave the stadium. Keeping a proportion of the audience in their seats after the final whistle, instead of rushing for the exits, makes for a safer stadium. It can also make for a more profitable one if people are persuaded by entertaining video programs to arrive earlier than they otherwise would do, and to stay longer, using stadium restaurants and other facilities before and after the game.⁵⁴

This quotation brings together, in striking fashion, the large-screen video display's role in the establishment of the stadium as a media-saturated, recrea-

tionally varied destination and its possibilities as an apparatus of behavioral manipulation and management, conditioning the comportment, orchestrating the movement, and charting the itineraries of bodies within the space of the stadium in such a way that “going with the flow” appears to be a matter of individual volition.

In many Disneyfied stadiums, the large-screen video display is incorporated into a larger, more elaborate, and increasingly ornate scoreboard ensemble. Once conceived and received as a simple and straightforward alphanumeric display, possessing an equally simple and straightforward informational function, the scoreboard has become an attraction unto itself. Journalist Jeff Houck describes the situation at Comerica Park in Detroit:

In what seems like a Cold War-style escalation among professional teams, the Tigers have their own larger-than-life scoreboard in left-center field. There are three components to the 202-foot wide structure: a full motion color video screen, a black-and-white board for the linescore and statistics and a color matrix board for messages and graphics. The scoreboard, the largest in baseball, is hooked up to a \$1.2 million control room. The Tigers can show replays, create their own graphics, show fans in the stands and synchronize the boards with the sound speakers, lighting and a computer-controlled water fountain that sends choreographed jets of colored water 120 feet into the air.⁵⁵

“Designed as both a visually dynamic form and a piece of ‘performance sculpture,’” the scoreboard at Miami's AmericanAirlines Arena has been touted as “a new icon for the city”:⁵⁶

A central feature of the bowl is the scoreboard; as much artwork as information provider, this Medusa-like anemone—appropriately named “Turn Up the Heat,” flashes, changes colors and appears to explode, emitting smoke and firing off pyrotechnics. The tentacles support scoreboards, LED screens and strobelights and are the creation of artist Christopher Janney. . . . The Medusa is also interactive—fans will be able to affect the pulse and brightness of the lighting by increasing the volume of their cheers.⁵⁷

At the MCI Center, the scoreboard converts spectatorial subjectivity into its own specular object, commemorating it and commodifying it at the same time:

Mounted on the scoreboard is a digital photo image system. . . . With this system a photo of every spectator in the arena will be taken and sent to a processing

system which combines them with replicas of the event ticket and either a limited edition photo of a famed athlete or a panoramic shot of the event itself. Though each photo is of a block of seats rather than an individual, the blocks are small enough so that each spectator can be seen clearly. Because they are taken digitally, they can be sold during the event itself through vendors visiting each section of seats.⁵⁸

Whether owing to its mediatization (video screens, matrix boards, digital cameras), its aestheticization (“choreographed,” “sculpture,” “artwork”), its spectacularization (hydraulics, pyrotechnics, stroboscopes), or some combination thereof, the state-of-the-art scoreboard contributes to the Disneyfication of the stadium by providing the sports spectator another source of perceptual pleasure as well as another incentive to programmed participation.

As with other artifacts and applications of electronic exhibitionism (home-made videos, reality-TV shows, personal webcams), the MCI Center’s scoreboard entices audiences to enjoy the production and products of self-exposure and spontaneous celebrity, to delight in the actions and projections of their own likenesses, to objectify the virtual performativity and, finally, the very facticity of their own iconicity. Of course, it also dramatizes, and in effect domesticates, the panoptic dimensions of the Disneyfied stadium, as such self-exposure forms the smiling face of surveillance. Although in the Disneyfied stadium, as in nearly all places of mass public and semipublic assembly in technologized societies, cameras are trained on bodies and physiognomies more for crowd control (closed-circuit surveillance) and, increasingly, for biometric identification (cybernetic surveillance) than for audience amusement, these strategies of power are complementary, not contradictory.⁵⁹ The slippery reversibility and constitutive reciprocity of self-exposure and surveillance, the automatic photographic capture of “every spectator in the arena” for fun, for sale, *and* for identification, is neither ironical nor paradoxical. Rather, it embodies the dual nature of what Tony Bennett calls “the exhibitionary complex.” For Bennett, the peculiarity of the exhibitionary complex as a political rationality and disciplinary apparatus—that is, as an ensemble of power/knowledge relations and techniques—consists in the way it imbricates the principles of the panopticon with those of the panorama, forming a machinery of vision that regulates spectator-subjects by rendering them visible to themselves, “by making the crowd itself the ultimate spectacle.”⁶⁰ Gridded with countless, crisscrossing lines of observation, inspection, and detection, shot through with intersecting and overlapping planes of performance, with kaleidoscopic, constantly shifting sights and screenings, the Disneyfied stadium plays to both the panoptic and the panoramic impulses of contemporary

stadiumgoers by playing up and playing out the vertiginous possibilities of seeing, being seen, seeing oneself seeing, and seeing oneself being seen.

Amenities and Appearances

Unlike its architectural antecedents, which, by and large, were no-frills affairs, the Disneyfied stadium offers amenities galore. Consider the recent regeneration of the stadium concession stand. Prior to the late 1980s, concession stands traditionally served fast-food fixes: hot dogs and hamburgers, roasted peanuts and soft pretzels, domestic beer and soda pop. Since then, however, the quantity and “quality” of menu items, like the prices affixed to them, have increased sharply, as have the quantity and “quality” of concession stands themselves. To be sure, concession stands now offer a veritable cornucopia of foods and beverages, including (depending on the venue) deli sandwiches, Caesar salads, fajitas, turkey bratwursts, imported ales, burritos, frozen yogurt, pasta primavera, chardonnay, fruit smoothies, chicken wings, sushi, veggie dogs, jalapeno sausages, cheese-cake, fish tacos, egg rolls, cappuccino, baked potatoes, crab cakes, microbrews, bison burgers, clam chowder, pierogies, meatball subs, and shrimp cocktail.

According to journalist Janice Matsumoto,

Even though hot dogs, nachos, popcorn and beer are perennial ballpark favorites, guests want choices, and are willing to pay for that privilege. “Customer expectations have been raised so high for the entire industry that when they go to a stadium, their idea is, if we’re going to pay that much to see a game, the food had better match up,” says Carmen Torzon, vice president of operations for Spartanburg, S.C.-based Volume Services America. “Customers want variety and the ability to buy high-end food.”⁶¹

On the one hand, the Disneyfied stadium’s eclectic (and comparatively exotic) eatables, like its adjacent attractions, demonstrate a dual commitment: to a particular marketing methodology, in which the diversification of goods and services is valorized in the name of consumer choice, and to a no less particular affective ambiance, in which, to quote Liza Cartmell, an executive of a company that oversees dining and retail operations in thirteen major-league baseball stadiums, “off-the-field fun—including new and innovative food—is part of the overall experience.”⁶² On the other hand, if, as Sharon Zukin contends, “Gourmet food—specifically, the kind of reflexive consumption beyond the level of need that used to be called gastronomy—suggests an organization of consumption structurally similar to the deep palate of gentrification,” then

the appreciable “upscaling” of stadium cuisine marks a historic shift in the cultural politics and socioeconomic relations of spectator sports, much as the Disneyfication of downtown marks a historic shift in the cultural politics and socioeconomic relations of the city.⁶³

In addition to dishing up all manner of fashionable fare, the Disneyfied stadium’s concession stands (and concourses) come equipped with prominently placed television monitors tuned to the “live” sporting event, so that queuing (or ambling) customers need not worry about missing a moment of the action. Here we glimpse yet another means by which the Disneyfied stadium renders seductive the prospect of circumambulatory consumption: the pervasion of real-time representations of the game throughout the concessions and concourses (“Blink your eyes and you might think you’re at Circuit City,” quips journalist Kevin Paul Dupont) means that the usual disincentive to leaving one’s seat is virtually nullified—nullified, in fact, through virtualization.⁶⁴ In many Disneyfied stadiums, moreover, an auditory version of this amenity can be found in the restrooms, where ceiling speakers transmit the local radio broadcast of the game.

The restrooms are noteworthy for other reasons as well. Pre-Disneyfied stadiums, like other public and semipublic facilities built before the 1980s, contained an equal number of men’s and women’s restrooms (and often not enough of either). The Disneyfied stadium, by contrast, contains between twice and thrice as many women’s restrooms as men’s (and more of each), exemplifying an eagerness to accommodate the practical needs of women, much as the presence of diaper-changing tables, in men’s and women’s restrooms, exemplifies an eagerness to do the same for families with young children. Dennis Robinson, executive vice president and chief operating officer for business operations of the New Jersey Sports and Exposition Authority, comments on the received relationship between hygienic norms, culinary niceties, and what baseball historian Brian J. Neilson refers to as “the feminization—or at least gender neutralization—of previously ‘male’ spaces” such as the sports stadium:⁶⁵

Bathrooms are an issue we deal with every day. We have a commitment from the president on down about the bathrooms in our places [sports venues]. We installed changing tables in the bathrooms, we’ve put more stalls in there, we have conveniences, we have attendants in our bathrooms throughout every event; they are constantly cleaned during every event. . . . We have a commitment to the needs of women. We have also increased the variety of items that are in the concession stands. Now you have grilled chicken sandwiches, you don’t have just the pizza and the beer and the popcorn. We have salads that you can take to your seats. These types of things appeal particularly to women.

Traditionally, I guess, these spaces have been coded as male, but as more and more women become more and more interested in sports, people like us are going to move more and more to appeal to them.⁶⁶

In contrast to earlier generations of stadiums, which functioned primarily as “men’s cultural centers,” and in conformity with the Disney theme parks, where the nuclear family is ritualistically reaffirmed (in the form of the family vacation) and ideologically enshrined (in the service of turning a profit), the Disneyfied stadium, as Robinson’s remarks illustrate, calculatedly caters to the cultural priorities and preferences of conventional middle-class families.⁶⁷

The middle-class family, however, is not the only demographic group the Disneyfied stadium targets. Although it first appeared in the 1960s, the skybox—an amenity-intensive, spatially partitioned, and socially segregated luxury suite for corporate executives and wealthy season-ticket holders—did not become an obligatory aspect of stadium architecture until the 1980s. Since then, the skybox has replicated with virulent efficiency. Besides incorporating multiple tiers of luxury suites, the Disneyfied stadium allocates several sections of lavishly appointed “premium seats” for privileged patrons, who, like the skybox set, can afford to pay handsomely for creature comforts and conveniences.⁶⁸ Interestingly, it is not so much their nearness to the playing field that makes luxury suites and premium seats desirable (they are, in fact, relatively removed from the action), but rather the sorts of services they tender, most of which involve the use of new media technologies. At the Xcel Energy Center in St. Paul, Minnesota, “interactive flat-panel computer screens [and] high-speed data hookups” enable skybox occupants to access “game-day previews, stats, player profiles and league highlights . . . with the click of a mouse.”⁶⁹ Meanwhile, at New York City’s recently refurbished Madison Square Garden,

fans in one of 557 ChoiceSeats installed [in 1999] can tap a computer screen in front of their seats and order food for delivery . . . call up photos, scouting reports and statistics for any player, see a graphical representation of the position, type and speed of every play, view replays from different camera angles, follow scores of other games and even watch the regular live TV broadcast of the game in front of them—just like at home. If they choose, fans in the smart seats can shop for official team merchandise, vote for All-Star selections and play a trivia game or bingo.⁷⁰

And each luxury suite at General Motors Place in Vancouver furnishes two television monitors capable of receiving seventy-seven channels, some of which

carry “dry feeds” (unedited signals) from the stadium’s own dedicated cameras, allowing suite holders to view the sporting event from various vantage points.⁷¹

Once again the Disneyfied stadium confronts us with the appearance of heterogeneous plenitude: more and different things to do, more and different things to engage, more and different things (and ways) to watch. In the latter case, significantly, the appearance of heterogeneous plenitude is synonymous with the plenitude of heterogeneous appearances. Insofar as they are involved in the endless reproduction of apparent abundance—in the inexorable flow of visual representations, in the split-second stream of statistical data—luxury suites and premium seats are functionally akin to the large-scale video display. But whereas the large-screen video display offers sports spectators an ever-renewing choice between immediate and mediated views of the game, the aptly named ChoiceSeats (and other brands of “smart seats”) offer the fortunate few a seemingly infinite range of iconographic and informational options—including, paradoxically, the “option” to work.

Indeed, for many skybox occupants, the game is but a backdrop for business, a curious state of affairs that instantiates Sorkin’s compelling claim: “One of the main effects of Disneyfication is the substitution of recreation for work, the production of leisure according to the routines of industry. Now, one of the products of postindustrialism is not simply the liberation of vast amounts of problematic leisure time, it’s the reinvention of labor as spectacle”—and, it might be added, of spectacle as labor.⁷² Replete with the latest information and communication technologies—laptop computers, broadband Internet connections, fax machines, laser printers, multimedia jacks, flatbed scanners, even videoconferencing equipment—the Disneyfied stadium’s luxury suites serve as an “office away from the office” for the movers and shakers of corporate capital, a Janus-faced place where elite executives and middle managers can, or must, labor amid the trappings of leisure, and vice versa.⁷³ If, as Neilson suggests, structural alterations and technical innovations such as floodlights, artificial turf, domed roofs, and, most recently, retractable roofs signify the technorationalist desire to condition and control the natural surroundings in spectator sports, then the skybox signifies and reifies the technocapitalist desire to do the same for the social surroundings.⁷⁴ But today the skybox signifies—and stages—something else as well: the corporate class’s celebration and fetishization of its own technologization, and of the global reach—anywhere, anytime, in an instant—such technologization affords. In the cultural economy of the Disneyfied stadium, social status and monetary muscle are measured and expressed less in terms of physical proximity and presence (the ability to obtain front-row seats) and more in terms of visual mastery and virtual mobility (the authority to access luxury-suite technologies).

Conclusion

According to Max Frankel, Disney World

demonstrates that it’s not Mickey’s message that brings the crowds. It is the wondrous technology by which the Disney inventors charm and frighten, delight and transport. The kids who are flown to Orlando’s plantation of fantasy may still heed the story lines of the rides and exhibits. But the adults who spend a year’s savings on the journey worship the technology itself, the magical animations and animatronics that bring robots to life and turn life into a multimedia performance.⁷⁵

The Disney theme parks, like the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world’s fairs and international expositions on which they were principally modeled, pinned the promise of an American utopia on the machines of modern industry, those quintessential emblems and supposed agents of technical and scientific advancement, of economic efficiency and abundance, of social progress and civilization. The Disneyfied stadium, like the socially, spatially, and economically restructured city in which it is situated and on which it depends, renews and revises that promise, tethering the dream of the good life to the consumption of high-tech amusements and amenities, and to the command and control of information capital—one a middle-class compulsion, one a corporate-class megalomania, both putative testaments to the greater glory of the postindustrial economy.

Acknowledgment

I am grateful to Mike Budd for his helpful comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

Notes

1. Neil Smith, “Gentrification, the Frontier, and the Restructuring of Urban Space,” in *Gentrification of the City*, ed. Neil Smith and Peter Williams (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 22.
2. Paul Goldberger, “The Rise of the Private City,” in *Breaking Away: The Future of Cities*, ed. Julia Vitullo-Martin (New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1996), 140.

3. David Harvey, "The Urban Face of Capital," in *Our Changing Cities*, ed. John Fraser Hart (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 60.
4. Alan Bryman, "The Disneyization of Society," *Sociological Review* 47, no. 1 (1999): 26–27.
5. Saskia Sassen and Frank Roost, "The City: Strategic Site for the Global Entertainment Industry," in *The Tourist City*, ed. Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 150–153.
6. Susan S. Fainstein and David Gladstone, "Evaluating Urban Tourism," in *The Tourist City*, 26–27.
7. John Hannigan, *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 1998), 81.
8. Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd, "Global Forces, Local Strategies, and Urban Tourism," in *The Tourist City*, 2.
9. In this essay, the term "stadium" is used generically; no distinctions are drawn between the terms "stadium," "arena," "ballpark," and the like.
10. Architecture critic and stadium design consultant John Pastier ("The Sporting Life," *Architectural Record*, August 1999, 113) asserts that "sometimes, rather than sparking revitalization, a stadium or arena will supply what [architecture firm] HOK Sport's Earl Santee calls 'a missing piece' of the downtown matrix. Houston's Enron Field [now named Minute Maid Park] . . . is one example; he says, 'it's not so much a catalyst as a precedent-setter showing that the neighborhood is a good area to develop in.'"
11. Hannigan, *Fantasy City*, 51.
12. Ibid., 56. Karl B. Raitz, "The Theater of Sport: A Landscape Perspective," in *The Theater of Sport*, ed. Karl B. Raitz (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 4–5, writes: "Even in a large city, the distinctive size and shape of a stadium makes it a landmark. It is not only the site of periodic athletic competitions but often a source of civic pride and a symbol of victory and accomplishment. Therefore, it represents success. In the off-season it serves as a navigational marker and . . . may also symbolize the city itself. This is the kind of symbol that can be successfully exploited in advertising photography."
13. Kimberley S. Schimmel, "Growth Politics, Urban Development, and Sports Stadium Construction in the United States: A Case Study," in *The Stadium and the City*, ed. John Bale and Olof Moen (Keele, UK: Keele University Press, 1995), 131. Research conducted by independent economists has demonstrated, time and again, that publicly subsidized stadiums are, at best, break-even propositions and, at worst, backbreaking boondoggles. Contrary to the rosy rhetoric of civic officials and sports-industry boosters, not only is a newly constructed or renovated stadium unlikely to be an "economic engine"; it has the very real potential of being an economic drain. See Raymond J. Keating, "Sports Pork: The Costly Relationship between Major League Sports and Government," *Policy Analysis* 339 (April 5, 1999): 17–18, <http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa339.pdf>.
14. Robert A. Baade, "What Explains the Stadium Construction Boom," *Real Estate Issues* 21, no. 3 (1996): 5–11.
15. Keating, "Sports Pork," 14–15.
16. Eric Mitchell, "Stadium Construction Boom Could End in U.S.," *Washington Business Journal*, July 2, 1999, 15.
17. Keating, "Sports Pork," 1.
18. Although the ongoing expansions of Major League Baseball, the National Football League, the National Hockey League, and the National Basketball Association have contributed to the recent spike in stadium construction, most of the structures built in the last few decades were designed to replace existing facilities, many of which had been servicing one or more professional teams for decades. (Before it was demolished in 1991, Chicago's Comiskey Park had been home to the White Sox baseball team for eighty-one years.) Nevertheless, during the 1980s, in city after city, it was decided and declared, first by team owners, then by municipal politicians and other civic officials, that the older stadiums were hopelessly "obsolete." Even a sizable contingent of sports journalists, many of whom, as self-identified traditionalists, initially supported the preservation and continued use of the existing buildings, eventually attested to their obsolescence. These claims of obsolescence, however, did not—and do not today—hinge primarily on concerns over a stadium's structural soundness or the creeping cost of its maintenance and repair. Instead, they refer to the comparative economic inefficiency of the older venue. For team owners, an obsolete stadium is a stadium drowning in sluggish streams of revenue. One means of opening the financial floodgates, of course, is to build a stadium with an increased seating capacity in the hope of selling more tickets. Yet the majority of the stadiums erected in the last few decades possess a seating capacity no greater, and in some cases actually less, than those they were designed to replace. The way to turn a trickle into a torrent, it seems, has nothing to do with the sheer quantity of paying customers and everything to do with their social "quality." It became apparent to sports industrialists, beginning in the 1980s, that the key to boosting stadium revenue and maximizing profit margins lay in the provision of diversified attractions and upgraded accommodations.
19. Rod Sheard, "Stadia and Arena through the Ages," in *Stadia, Arenas and Grandstands: Design, Construction and Operation*, ed. P. D. Thompson, J. J. A. Tolloczko, and J. N. Clarke (London: E & FN Spon-Routledge, 1998), xviii.
20. Quoted in David Conrads, "Baseball's Big Hit—Intimate, Luxury Parks Designed for the Sybarite in You," *Christian Science Monitor*, May 9, 1997, 10.
21. Conrads, "Baseball's Big Hit," 10.
22. Michael K. Hays, "All-Stars: Top-Seeded Designers Invade the Turf of Pro Stadium Specialists," *Architecture* 87, no. 11 (1998): 116.
23. Ellen Lampert-Greaux, "CoreStates Center," *TCI: Theatre Crafts International*, May 1997, 43.
24. The term "adjacent attractions" comes from Margaret Crawford, "The World in a Shopping Mall," in *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, ed. Michael Sorkin (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 14–17.
25. The term "affective ambiance" comes from Hannigan, *Fantasy City*, 74.
26. Ibid., 7.

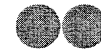
27. B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1999), 46–61.
28. *Ibid.*, 42.
29. Michael Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland," in *Variations on a Theme Park*, 215.
30. Bruce Kidd, "Toronto's SkyDome: The World's Greatest Entertainment Centre," in *The Stadium and the City*, 184.
31. *Amusement Business*, "MCI Center: Showcasing the Link Between Technology and Entertainment," December 22, 1997, MasterFILE Premier (online database).
32. Sheard, "Stadia and Arena through the Ages," xix.
33. Frank Scicchitano, "Features Galore," *Panstadia International Quarterly Report* 6, no. 2 (1999), <http://www.panstadia.com/vol6/62-054.htm>.
34. Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 112.
35. Accentuating the positive, Mark Gottdiener (*The Theming of America: Dreams, Visions, and Commercial Spaces* [Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1997], 7) claims that "when [shoppers] enter the commercial realms of consumption, as in a visit to a mall, the themed retailing environment actualizes their *consumer selves*. . . . [Consumers] *self-actualize* within the commercial milieu by seeking through the market ways of satisfying desires and pursuing personal fulfillment that express deeply-held images of the self."
36. Scicchitano, "Features Galore." For Brian J. Neilson ("Baseball," in *The Theater of Sport*, 65), "such a design imperative, far from meriting praise, epitomizes and confirms the rise of the imperial and universalizing entertainment culture, which posits no hierarchy of cultural values but offers an unlimited horizontal choice of 'leisure options.' The corollary of such flattening is that all choices—a movie, a video game, a baseball game—are equal and neutral, attached to no history or values external to themselves, subject only to the criterion of diversion, of 'fun.'"
37. John Bale, *Sport, Space and the City* (London: Routledge, 1993), 9–19, reminds us that in premodern Europe, a sport such as football (soccer) was only a folk game, "much more a form of play and carnival than of seriousness" (p. 11). Its enabling terrain was equally informal and ad hoc. "No specialized sites existed for football; it was played, not simply *in* places usually used for other activities, but also *while* other activities were going on" (p. 13). The playing field was unmarked, uneven, and unbounded, allowing for fluid and frequent interactions between players and spectators. In contrast to these Dionysian circumstances, the sports landscape of late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including and especially the modern stadium, adhered to an Apollonian agenda of codification, confinement, and control. The playing field had become specialized, standardized, and rationalized, its territorial parameters and internal zones clearly demarcated and officially monitored. By the same token, the spatial segregation of players and spectators was now strictly enforced, as was the class segregation—the bourgeoisie here, the proletariat there—of the crowd itself. For patrons with deep pockets, the modern stadium's terraces, grandstands, and pavilions offered superior sight lines, protection from the elements, and, not least, a measure of social insulation.
38. Christopher Anderson, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 149.
39. *Ibid.*, 149–150.
40. *Ibid.*, 150.
41. Bryman, "The Disneyization of Society," 32.
42. Susan G. Davis, "The Theme Park: Global Industry and Cultural Form," *Media, Culture & Society* 18 (1996): 403.
43. Janet Wasko, "The Magical-Market World of Disney," *Monthly Review*, April 2001, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1132/is_11_52/ai_74410355.
44. Anderson, *Hollywood TV*, 134.
45. "The first [advertising] signs appeared in ballparks (and on the walls of adjacent buildings) by the turn of the [twentieth] century" (Neilson, "Baseball," 51).
46. The term "hyper-commercial interpenetration" comes from Davis, "The Theme Park," 408.
47. Mark Crispin Miller, "What's Wrong with This Picture?" *The Nation*, January 7, 2002, <http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20020107&cs=millier>.
48. For an instructive discussion of the synergistic opportunities available to sports-team-owning media conglomerates, see Jeremy Howell, "Luring Teams, Building Ballparks," in *Baseball and the American Dream: Race, Class, Gender, and the National Pastime*, ed. Robert Elias (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), 207–213.
49. The selling of "naming rights" is arguably the most conspicuous means by which the Disneyfied stadium attempts to amplify the brand recognition and augment the cultural capital of corporations—in this case, by articulating together the nominal signifiers of private capital, the architecture of municipal pride and power, the historical associations and geographical orientations of local inhabitants, and the topophilia intensities and home-team allegiances of sports spectators. In May of 2000, journalist Lynn Graebner ("Companies Spend Big Bucks on Naming Rights," *Business Journal*, May 26, 2000, http://www.findarticles.com/cf_o/m5024/5_18/62873874) reported that "companies vying to get professional sports stadiums named after them are investing hundreds of millions of dollars for the exposure. . . . In 1998, there were three such naming-rights deals worth \$25 million. Today, there are fifty-five, with a total contract value of \$2.5 billion."
50. Sony's JumboTron, Mitsubishi's Diamond Vision, Panasonic's Astrovision, SACO's SmartVision, and Daktronics's ProStar are well known makes/models.
51. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Disneyland: It's Place in World Culture," in *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance*, ed. Karal Ann Marling (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1997), 196.
52. *Ibid.*, 196.
53. Greg Siegel, "Double Vision: Large-Screen Video Display and Live Sports Spectacle," *Television & New Media* 3, no. 1 (2002).
54. Geraint John and Rod Sheard, *Stadia: A Design and Development Guide*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Architectural Press, 1997), 203.
55. Jeff Houck, "Technical Foul: Technology Invades the Ballpark," FoxSportsBiz.com, July 20, 2000, http://www.foxsports.com/business/bites/2000720stadium_tech1.sml.

56. PhenomenArts, Inc., "Turn Up the Heat," publicity sheet, 1998.
57. Peter Murray, *The American Airlines Arena Miami Florida*, publicity booklet (London: Wordsearch, n.d.), 11.
58. *Amusement Business*, "MCI Center."
59. With respect to cybersurveillance, consider the controversial—and, according to many legal experts, unconstitutional—use of face-recognition software and digital-image databases at the 2001 Super Bowl in Tampa, Florida.
60. Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 68.
61. Janice Matsumoto, "Home Plate Advantages," *Restaurants & Institutions*, June 1, 2001, http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m3191/14_111/75407369.
62. Quoted in *Business Wire*, "Quick! Take Us to the Ballpark! Fan Food Choices Abound at Baseball Stadiums," March 26, 2002, http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_moEIN/is_2002_March_26/ai_8418160.
63. Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 206.
64. Kevin Paul Dupont, "Providing the Inside Information: From Seats to Eats, This Will Tell You What's Afoot at Fleet," *Boston Globe*, October 5, 1995, 92.
65. Neilson, "Baseball," 65.
66. Quoted in *Making and Selling Culture*, ed. Richard Ohmann (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 155.
67. The term "men's cultural centers" comes from John Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), 174. The relationship between "the family vacation" and the Disney theme parks is explored in Susan Willis, "The Family Vacation," in *Inside the Mouse: Work and Play at Disney World*, ed. The Project on Disney (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 49–53.
68. Scicchitano ("Features Galore") estimates that "about eighteen percent of seats in arenas and stadiums are considered 'premium seats' and are the primary source of facility revenue. The trend is [for] this ratio to increase in the future."
69. Susan E. Peterson, "Technology Scores Big at Xcel Energy Center," *Star Tribune*, Metro Edition, September 17, 2000, 1D.
70. Houck, "Technical Foul."
71. Gary Coffey, "No Shortage of Technology Among GM Place Offerings," *Amusement Business*, September 11, 1995, 23. It is worth noting that affluent patrons and corporate executives are not the only ones reaping the benefits of the Disneyfied stadium's technologically advanced amenities: athletes, managers, and journalists, too, enjoy their share of privileges and perquisites. Imparting fresh sense to the idiom "home-field advantage," San Francisco's Pacific Bell Park boasts a state-of-the-art video-coaching system, with a five-terabyte database outputted to a 750-DVD jukebox, allowing players and coaches to call up video segments of previous games and burn customized DVDs for analytical and archival purposes (Stephanie Sanborn, "Technology Hits a Home Run at Giants' Pac Bell Park," *InfoWorld*, May 15, 2000, 67). And at the Xcel Energy Center, "radio and TV reporters [are] able to broadcast on-the-spot interviews

- from almost every location in the arena, thanks to a network of phone terminals that can be converted quickly to high-speed connections. In the press box, there are multiple phone lines and data lines at each seat, and the [home team] plans to set up an intranet system to provide electronic game notes and stats to reporters" (Peterson, "Technology Scores Big").
72. Sorkin, "See You in Disneyland," 228.
73. The labor of luxury-suite holders is one thing; that of the Disneyfied stadium's employees is quite another. Bryman ("The Disneyization of Society," 40) notes that "the ever-smiling Disney theme park employee has become a stereotype of modern culture. Their demeanor coupled with the distinctive Disney language is designed among other things to convey the impression that the employees are having fun too and therefore not engaging in real work." Baltimore's Ravens Stadium renders explicit the link between Disneyfied labor (in Bryman's sense) and the Disneyfied stadium. Journalist Scott Wilson ("Baltimore's New Stadium Is 'Beautiful, Just Beautiful,'" *Washington Post*, Final Edition, August 9, 1998, D07) reports that Ravens Stadium "represents the latest evolution of the customer-service era in professional sports. The ushers wear pressed khaki pants and purple ties. Elevator operators use 'sir' and 'ma'am' liberally, trained to do so during daylong etiquette class and two days of rehearsal before the debut game. Ravens owner Art Modell even spent \$160,000 to send staff to Disney World for training in the finer points of crowd pleasing."
74. Neilson, "Baseball," 63. Not incidentally, in "convertible" stadiums such as SkyDome, Phoenix's Bank One Ballpark, Seattle's SAFECO Field, and Houston's Minute Maid Park (nee Enron Field), the retractable roof—the literalization of the stadium-as-machine metaphor—is promoted (and presumably experienced) as a spectacular attraction, a technological wonder without equal.
75. Max Frankel, "Machinations: Billions for the Medium, Nothing for the Message," *New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 1997, 24.

RETHINKING
Disney

PRIVATE CONTROL, PUBLIC DIMENSIONS



EDITED BY Mike Budd and Max H. Kirsch

Wesleyan University Press MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT