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The social benefits in sport city planning: a conceptual framework

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‘Sport cities’ are one of the latest manifestations of global sport. A broad and widely used term, it has typically been applied to rationalize the costs of new sporting infrastructure, to extend the economic benefit from major sport event legacies, or as a city branding venture. There is currently little research that critically interprets the social aspects of sport cities, or the social benefits in sport city planning. In this paper we propose a conceptual framework that integrates concepts from the fields of urban planning and sport. The social benefits of sport cities framework provides a research structure through which to explore whether, and to what extent, social benefits have been considered in sport city planning. By highlighting this little researched area and by introducing a conceptual framework that combines two inter-related fields, this paper may help academics and practitioners better understand the social contribution of sport cities.

Introduction

In this paper we seek to better understand how and to what extent social benefits have been considered in the planning of ‘sport cities’. The label ‘sport city’ has predominantly been applied to Western cities such as Indianapolis, Melbourne and Sheffield, but it has also included cities in other regions of the world, such as Singapore, Doha and Dubai. Sport cities represent one of the latest manifestations of a growing global sports economy, and the label has typically been applied in three ways: to rationalize the costs of building new sporting infrastructure, to extend the economic benefit from major sport event (MSE) legacies or as a city branding venture (Smith 2010). Sport has increasingly been viewed by governments in economic terms (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2006), yet there is evidence of a growing social awareness of sports’ potential (Coalter 2007b, 2010). This research is therefore timely. It comes at a point when there has been little research into the social benefits of sport cities (SBSCs), and less still from the perspective of their ‘social benefit’ planning. This planning, or lack thereof, has implications for practitioners. If an outcome is not strategically planned for, the likelihood of it occurring is reduced (Beesley and Chalip 2011; Ritchie 2000).

We begin by exploring the sport city literature, and critically interpreting the potential contribution that two fields of research may have on sport city development. The first field we draw on is research that explores the social contribution of sport. The second is the field of urban planning and city livability. The relationship between these fields was recognized by Coaffee and Shaw (2005) who suggested that

The strategic re-orientation of sporting provision and its embedding within wider policy circles have an important role to play in livability and place-making agendas. (Coaffee and Shaw 2005, 4)

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This paper acknowledges that sport has the potential to provide positive social benefits, as well as the potential for negative outcomes. The research confines itself to the field of sport city planning and provides examples of ‘planned for’ social benefits. It uses examples where that planning has included either the provision of positive social benefits, or the reduction of negative social outcomes. Managerial definitions of planning refer to planning as an activity of processes and outcomes (Merriam-Webster Dictionary 2014; Online Business Directory 2014). The outcomes sought are generally positive, and therefore rather than providing a critical analysis of the positive and negative social aspects of sport, this research confines itself to the positive planned outcomes in sport city planning.

Using our analysis of relevant literature, we introduce a new conceptual framework. The framework makes three significant contributions. First, it provides a means through which we can critically interpret the social aspects of sport city planning, whether social benefits were considered in the planning process, and what form that planning took. Second, the conceptual framework provides a way to better explore if and how the social benefits of sport are interpreted and used in public policy and in public–private partnerships. Third, it provides a foundation for future analysis that can be developed through further research. The paper continues with a discussion of five research propositions that emerged from the literature, and concludes with an acknowledgement of the research limitations.

The concept of sport cities

The labelling of cities is not unique to sport. Other forms of city identification include concepts such as ‘cultural cities’, ‘cities of music’, ‘green cities’ and ‘cities of fashion’. While it could be argued that sport cities are just another in a growing line of award categories, popular culture and globalization make sport a particularly attractive tool in the city re-imaging process (Chalip 2006; Smith 2005). Sport may further offer cities a global connection that other forms of city identification may struggle to match.

The modern concept of ‘sport cities’ has historical precedent. Examples of the theming of areas of cities, or ‘sport zones’, can be traced back to Olympia where the first recorded Games were held in 776BC (Smith 2010), and to Delphi and its smaller Pan-Hellenic festival almost 200 years earlier in 586BC (Valavanis 2004). The modern growth of sport cities owes much to the global expansion of professional sport, and MSEs such as the modern Olympic Games with their legacy of stadiums and facilities in host cities (MacAloon 2008; Searle 2002). While MSEs are not a pre-requisite for the establishment of sport cities, they can play a part, both positively and negatively. Munich, Montreal, Athens, Delhi and Berlin are amongst the cities that have experienced negative image legacies from hosting MSEs. Sport event bidding can also create controversy, illustrated by recent bid corruption cases in Qatar and Salt Lake City. Reputational risks aside, many sport cities have either held, or competed for the hosting of MSEs believing that MSEs will increase the city’s image. Application of the sport city label is therefore frequently complemented by a ‘sporting event development strategy’ (Laura Misener and Mason 2008), using sport to assert an image of city growth, or to provide branding for a city within the competitive global environment. This raises the notion of eventfulness, and the idea that events can give a city a sense of excitement and stimulation. This and the notion of ‘festivalization’ were concepts explored by Richards and Palmer (2010). They described planning for eventfulness as a process of developing a creative, fresh and spontaneous event programme, particularly with regard to a city’s cultural events

(Richards and Palmer 2010). Festivalization, a term used to describe the ‘feel good factor’, the generation of civic pride and the sense of excitement created by a MSE, provides a means with which a city might integrate its sporting function with its cultural festivals. Sport may, therefore, provide indirect social benefits by creating a conducive social climate which encourages collaboration and inclusion.

Despite the increasing use of the term ‘sport city’, there is no agreed definition, and often sport cities are self-labelled. Examples of this self-labelling include the cities of Manchester, Tunis and Dubai. Several hybrid terms have also emerged to describe the sport city concept: ‘International Sport Villages’ such as Cardiff; ‘Sport Zones’ such as Doha; ‘Sports hubs’ such as Singapore; and ‘National Cities of Sport’ such as Birmingham, Glasgow and Sheffield.

Essentially the term ‘sport city’ has been applied in three distinct forms: as a temporary attraction, to designate one part of a city as a sports zone or hub or to brand a whole city (Smith 2010). The objectives of sport cities also vary. For example, Manchester used a sports hub approach to deliver East Manchester from post-industrialization, Melbourne used sport to aggressively pursue an events agenda and the Singapore sports hub aimed to actively encourage public engagement in sport and organized physical activity. The sport city literature also documents a significant rise in sport cities in the oil-rich Gulf States (Bromber, Krawietz, and Maguire 2013), with many cities using sport not only for its socio-political benefits, but also to cater to local property demand. For example, the Dubai Sports City emerged as a strategy to promote Dubai’s international profile while also reducing the United Arab Emirates economic dependence on oil production (Dubai Sports City Official Website 2014; Smith 2010). Dubai successfully combined real estate development with the attraction of multi-national companies (Smith 2010). Another example of an Arabic sport city is Doha, a city that developed the Aspire Zone as a means to become a major Arabic entertainment centre, raise the country’s standard of living and as part of the modernization of Qatar (Gratton and Preuss 2008). Abu Dhabi has the Zayed Sport City that forms part of a real estate and infrastructure portfolio that is helping to develop a rapidly evolving Abu Dhabi society (Zayed Sports City Official Website 2014). Finally the Basra sport city provides another example. Despite its location in southern Iraq, it has the potential to become one of the largest sport cities in the Middle East, covering an area of 585 acres and including four stadiums.

A growing trend in the Middle East is the use of international expertise in the development of sport cities, an example of one of the manifestations of the globalization of sport. Each of these Middle Eastern examples has used international planners, such as the US-based ‘360 Architecture’ which has completed work in Iraq and Saudi Arabia (<http://360architects.com/contact>) and the Bukhatir Group (<http://www.bukhatir.com/>) which developed Dubai and was the originator of a failed Tunis project.

Further examples in the USA take different approaches to the sport city concept. Indianapolis has used sport to re-brand the city, and grow its tourism sector (Rosentraub et al. 1994; Schimmel 1995, 2006). Other US cities, such as Baltimore and Cleveland, have applied the sport city label to reflect congruence between sport and city planning strategy, or as a way to leverage their major league franchises (Austrian and Rosentraub 2002; Chapin 2004). In the UK, it has been argued that the term sport city has been applied more in recognition of heavy investment in the sports industry (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2005).

External bodies have also labelled cities as sport cities. The Italian-based ‘European Capital of Sport Association’ uses 10 criteria to award the titles of ‘European City of Sport’ and ‘European Town of Sport’ on an annual basis (ACES 2013). The criteria assess

areas such as events, initiatives, facilities, public engagement and public policy integration. A media perspective is provided by Sport Business International (2014), a publication that annually awards the title of ‘the world’s best sport city’, based on events, public engagement and infrastructure. Similarly, Sportcal (2014) produces a Global Sports Impact ranking, focusing primarily on the hosting of international sports events. Although it is not a pre-requisite, event hosting, especially MSE hosting, is an increasingly common activity of sport cities. Aside from the common importance placed on events, none of these organizations provides a clear definition of sport cities, beyond the arguably subjective assessment criteria used for their respective awards.

Because the sport city concept remains open to interpretation, cities face few, if any, restrictions in applying the term ‘sport city’ to themselves. The result has been an increase in the number of sport cities, and an increase in the use of sport in city branding. When all the forms of sport city are considered, what sport cities have in common is not just a strong affiliation with sport, but also an intent to leverage this connection for some form of economic, social or reputational advantage. It follows that the planning of a sport city should balance the social, economic and environmental needs of the community while maximizing the economic potential of the expanding global sports industry. The conceptual framework that we develop in this paper provides a structure through which to investigate if social planning occurs in each of the distinct forms of sport cities. The first field of literature we draw upon to explore this contemporary issue is urban planning, and the concept of the livable city.

The livable city

The sports industry has been criticized as incompatible with the society that nurtures it, and its own sustainability (Chappelet 2009), because of its increasing focus on the economic contribution of sport. In contrast, the emergence of urban social planning moved urban planning from a singular consideration of structure and form to a deeper consideration of city space and the social contribution it offered (Zukin 2011). Urban social planning provides a field that includes social well-being as a key function of a successful city. This perspective in urban planning had its origins in a number of earlier works, in particular ‘The Death and Life of Great American Cities’ by Jacobs (1961). Jacobs’ (1961) wrote of the potential virtues of urban living, and she advocated that a city should be evaluated in terms of the social benefits provided to its inhabitants. Jacobs wrote of the dangers of allowing the planning process to be dominated by urban transport needs, arguing that this was producing cities with poor urban environments. Her consideration of urban planning in terms of people rather than skylines introduced a paradigm shift in urban planning, where housing, hygiene, transportation and the accessibility of water and clean air became urgent areas of discussion between city planners. While sport did not feature prominently in Jacobs’ vision of the city, she discussed the possibility, consistent with now discredited catharsis theory (Sokol-Katz et al. 2006), that swimming pools and sports fields function as a vent for anti-social or violent behaviour (Jacobs 1961).

Jacobs’ (1961) research highlighted the effect that physical infrastructure had on the decline of social engagement. It is this aspect of her work that has been widely applied and reinterpreted by others (Fainstein 2000; Girardet 2004; Zukin 2011). Florida (2002) used Jacobs’ ideas to examine cities in relation to their neoliberal transformation, introducing a political context to urban planning discourse. Florida (2002) defined the successful city as one with strong governance and a creative culture, arguing that in order to fulfil their economic potential, former Western industrial cities needed to understand and adapt to the

needs of the creative class. Harvey (1989b) also adapted Jacobs' work when he argued the case for equity and consultation in city planning. Harvey (1989b) highlighted the dangers of implementing a neoliberal planning agenda and argued that it could potentially marginalize sections of the community. Almost foretelling the sport city concept, Harvey (1989a, 1989b) proposed that the fostering of cultural and sports activities were key tools for cities that planned to become more entrepreneurial.

Jacobs' work served as a precursor to the concept of 'livability' or the 'livable city', something referred to by Girardet (2004, 154) as 'the pulsing heart' of the city. The livable city concept essentially grew from two sources. First, from an economic debate around the need to create balance between the cost of ecological sustainability and the livelihoods of city residents (Evans 2002). Second, in response to the degradation of cities as livable spaces (Douglass 2002) and as a reaction to the negative effects of the global capitalist economy on the concept of a 'Western quality of life' (Fainstein 2000). The broad concept of livability owes its origins to the urban study discourses of the early 1960s, but the term and its derivatives have since been criticized as value-laden and ill-defined (Evans 2002). Despite these criticisms, the use of the term 'livable city' has spread to public policy, and, as Girardet (2004) argued, this is partly due to its close relationship with the concept of sustainability. With the increasing emphasis on social planning outcomes and durability in urban planning, sustainability and livability have become widely used in the transformation and regeneration of modern cities (Girardet 2004).

As the term livability has increasingly been used in public policy debate, definitions of the term have widened. In 2006, the International Centre for Sustainable Cities referred to livability simply as 'quality of life from the perspective of city residents' (The World Urban Forum 2006, iv). The media has applied their own interpretation of the term livable cities through several city livability surveys, similar to the sport city awards. Examples of this include the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit's 'Global Livability Report' (EIU 2013), and the US/Canadian-based Mercer Consulting 'Quality of Living Survey' (Mercer 2013). Both have contributed to a widening of the usage and acceptance of the term 'livability'.

A more contemporary application of Jacobs' work is found in the work of Gehl (2006, 2010, 2011), who acknowledged the contribution of Harvey (1989a, 1989b) and Florida (2002; Jacobs 1961). Gehl's influence emerged in the late 1980s, with the first English translation of his 1971 work 'Life between Buildings' (2011), and in which he argued that 'livability', or the 'lively city' is determined by the quality of its public spaces, rather than its functionalist architecture (2006). Gehl's 2010 work 'Cities for People' introduced components of the livable or 'lively' city, based on four key criteria: city safety, liveliness, sustainability and city health (2006, 2010, 2011). The similarities between Gehl's criteria of liveliness and the concept of festivalization (Valavanis 2004) provide a potential link, and the atmosphere generated by sports events may further support the case for the integration of sport and livability. In proposing these four criteria, Gehl argued that the action within public spaces was either 'necessary, optional or social', and the level of activity within these spaces was made possible by the urban planning philosophies used by planners (2010). Gehl suggested that where sports facilities abound, the potential levels of optional activities for the community widen and the potential number of social activities rises (2010). Counter to Florida's (2002) position, Gehl argued that neoliberal approaches to urban planning work primarily to ensure a continuation of mutual interests between state and private interests. However, he acknowledged a disconnection between neoliberal planning policies and issues such as egalitarianism and social justice in city planning (Gehl 2010).

While there is value in his reinterpretation of prior seminal work, and his contemporary perspective, it is his social planning perspective that is most relevant to this research. Gehl's components of livable cities form one pillar of our conceptual framework. Sport provides the second pillar of the conceptual framework, in particular research that explores the potential of sport to deliver social benefits.

The social benefits of sport

Sport has the capacity to make both positive and negative contributions to society (Bailey 2005; Chappelet 2009; Misener and Mason 2010; Spaaij 2009). At one end of the continuum, anti-sport rhetoric is well represented with the argument that sport promotes sexism, racism, homophobia, militarism and the fuelling of religious differences, amongst other ills (Bale 2007; Dyreson 2001; Kaufman and Wolff 2010; Toohey and Taylor 2009). Others support the premise that sport retains the potential to produce positive social benefits (Bailey 2005; Crompton 2004; Csikszentmihalyi 1982; Kaufman and Wolff 2010; Perks 2007; Wankel and Berger 1990) and there have been several attempts to explain those benefits in a range of different contexts. Csikszentmihalyi (1982) examined the psychological benefits of sport, and other studies have explored the contribution of sport to social inclusion and social capital (Bailey 2005; Seippel 2006). Seven key benefits of sport were identified by Leopkey (2009) in her research into the social legacies inherent in Olympic bid documents. These legacies included social progress, health, impact on youth, impact on an ageing population, benefits to the disadvantaged and persons with disabilities, the uncovering of new opportunities and civic engagement (Leopkey 2009). A further example by Brookes and Wiggan (2009) into Sport England's delivery of sport services concluded that sport contributed significantly to social and economic well-being.

There have also been criticisms of the research conducted into the social benefits of sport, and two criticisms are particularly relevant to sport city planning research. The first concerns the lack of empiricism in research into the social benefits of sport (Bailey 2005; Chappelet 2009; Jarvie 2003; Spaaij 2009); the second deals with the use of sport in public policy, and questions the social outcomes of sport policy application (Cornelissen 2007; Donnelly 2010; Frey and Eitzen 1991; Nicholson, Brown, and Hoye 2014). Chalip (2006) neatly addressed the latter criticism when he argued that sport has a set of legitimate social outcomes that sport policy is delivering inconsistently.

An important contribution to the body of work into the social benefits of sport has been led by Coalter (2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010). Coalter's work contributes to both the academic literature and public policy, and his report in 2005 formed part of Sport England's 'Value of Sport Monitor' (Sport England/Australian Sports Commission 2011). Coalter's (2007a, 2010) research has also been used to critically examine a range of related areas, from social capital to sport development in third world countries. In 2005, Coalter argued that because empirical evidence of the social benefits of sport is weak and there is a lack of understanding of cause and effect in sport, theory building in this area is very difficult.

Theoretically, Coalter's work has much in common with that of Csikszentmihalyi who characterized his own 'social benefits of sport model' as 'not in itself theoretical, but is based on theory' (1982, 123). Acknowledging the social role of sport, Coalter (2007b) argued that public investment in sport should serve a dual purpose; the extension of social rights to citizens and the use of sport to address a wide range of public policy issues. Like others (Bailey 2005; Chappelet 2009; Jarvie 2003), Coalter (2007b) advocated that research into the social benefits of sport needed to be more robust, better informed and

more relevant, and his work has made an important evidence-based contribution to the research agenda. Coalter (2007b) also argued that because sport includes such a diverse range of activities, its true value can be hidden or misinterpreted. He postulated that sport has become a convenient tool for politicians to make broad claims about social progress, often citing sport as a direct contributor, rather than its more likely role as a conduit for social experiences (Coalter 2005, 2007b).

The area of Coalter's work most relevant to this article is his identification and definition of the potential benefits of sport categories. Coalter's categories of the social benefits of sport placed sport within a community planning framework, and they form the second pillar of our proposed conceptual framework. In Coalter's (2005) view, the areas where sport has the greatest potential for the delivery of social benefits are health, education, social capital, crime reduction and economic development.

There are three reasons for the incorporation of Coalter's (2005, 2007a, 2007b) work into our proposed conceptual framework. First, Coalter (2007b) suggested that sport as a concept could relate well to other areas, and he saw value in cross-fertilizing sports research with other disciplines. He identified urban planning as one such discipline. Second, Coalter argued that sport theory benefits from an amalgam of the work that preceded it, and it was important to acknowledge the social context in which theories are developed. He argued that there was a need to understand, build on and pay due recognition to previous research (Coalter 2007b). Therefore, including Coalter enables our proposed framework to present a perspective that acknowledges and recognizes the contribution of previous research in this field. Third, Coalter's work has been applied internationally in public policy, and it therefore effectively combines a practitioner as well as an academic perspective. This provides our conceptual framework with an acknowledgement of the role sport can play in public policy application, and it supports the argument by Chalip (2006) that there is value in interdisciplinary research that integrates theory and sport application. Therefore, the adaptation of Coalter's social benefit categories into our proposed conceptual framework contributes in a number of ways: it acknowledges the role of sport in public policy practice, conforms to the need for a unified cross-disciplinary approach, provides a measure of application for better understanding the benefits of different types of sport cities and applies social benefit components that recognize previous work in this field. The variety and influence of Gehl and Coalter's previous work in sport-related research differ. However, to date their work has not been combined to inform sport cities, or cities that are considering widening their use of sport in public policy.

Use of Gehl and Coalter in sport-related research

Much of Gehl's work has remained entrenched in the field of urban social planning, architecture and city design. However, his adaptations of Jacobs (1961), and his strong belief in the need for a city to plan pedestrian walkways, social space and bicycle access provide a link to the concept of social participation, a concept central to many sports activities. While Gehl has had a strong impact on urban planning, there has been no direct application of his concept of livable cities to sport city planning.

In contrast, Coalter's work has been predominantly sport related, and his work has had no noticeable overlap with urban planning. His work has been used to explore social sustainability in sports events (Smith 2009), and to research community building and individualism (Jarvie 2003). Coalter's work also has implications for city-driven sport policies (Henry and Paramio-Salcines 1999), sport volunteering (Harvey, Levesque, and

Donnelly 2007) and the field of ‘sport for development’, a field that questions the longevity of socially progressive change brought about by sport (Harvey, Horne, and Safai 2009).

One of the most significant interpretations of Coalter’s research is found in Donnelly’s separation of ‘sport for all’ and ‘sport for good’. ‘Sport for all’ is a useful foundation for theoretical developments that explore sport and its social contribution (Donnelly 2010). Donnelly argued that ‘sport for all’, the process of overcoming barriers to participation, is a pre-condition for ‘sport for good’, the use of sport to achieve wider social benefits. Yet, Donnelly (2010; Nicholson, Brown, and Hoye 2014) contended that the links between ‘sport for all’ and ‘sport for good’ were under-developed, causing a lack of clarity with regard to the contribution of sport to crime prevention, health, community and the economy. Our proposed conceptual framework provides a structure with which to further explore these links. The framework also provides a means of exploring social benefit planning beyond just the hosting of MSEs, thereby acknowledging the prioritization of economic over social benefits when events are over-emphasized in a sport city strategy. The question is raised what is left when the competition for major events results in less events being hosted by a particular sport city? By drawing on Gehl’s categories of livable cities, our framework includes key components of urban planning. In doing so, future research will be better positioned to explore the lack of delivery of sports’ potentially legitimate social outcomes (Chalip 2006; Donnelly 2010) and to better understand how and to what extent social benefits form part of sport city planning.

A further reason for combining the Gehl and Coalter perspectives is that sport has evolved from a socially driven pursuit to a global economy (Cornelissen 2007; Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2006). Sport has moved away from its social roots in favour of globalization, creating an industry which is now one of the fastest growing components of the world economy. Urban planning is different. It has moved in the opposite direction, moving its focus from infrastructure and form to a greater appreciation of the social contribution of cities (Evans 2002; Fainstein 2000; Gehl 2006, 2010, 2011; Jacobs 1961). Therefore, when sport city planning is influenced only by the direction in which the sport industry is moving, there is a risk of over-emphasizing the economic outcomes, creating a policy planning imbalance, and a failure to provide social benefits. By combining urban social planning research and sport, the proposed framework has the potential to create a new area of research endeavour. Thus the framework presents a combined perspective from sport and urban planning that becomes more than the sum of its parts.

A proposed conceptual framework

Our proposed ‘SBSC’ conceptual framework presents a means to better understand, describe and predict the social benefit planning of sport cities. The creation of a conceptual framework was described by Miles and Huberman (1994) as the first step in theory building (Corley and Gioia 2011; Doherty 2013), and it has also been suggested that adapting and extending existing frameworks is in itself an investment in theory (Chalip 2006; Fink 2013). Jabareen (2009) argued similarly that a conceptual framework is a network of linked concepts that help deliver a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon, and in so doing provides an interpretative approach to social reality rather than a causal link. He calls this ‘a procedure of theorisation’ (Jabareen 2009, 49). Therefore, the proposal of the SBSC framework is intended as a step towards the development of theory to explain the process of social benefit planning in sport cities.

As noted above, our proposed conceptual framework has emerged from two fields of research: urban social theory, which views social well-being as a key component of the livable city, and research into the social role of sport. Consistent with the views of Coaffee and Shaw (2005), understanding sport city planning requires a recognition of the nuances of sport policy and urban planning. For example, Coalter's categories of the social benefits of sport are socially based and sport driven. Coalter's (2007b) view is that sport holds the potential for both community benefits and individual outcomes. In contrast, urban planning is location based and geographically driven with a tendency to see outputs in terms of community outcomes (Gehl 2011). Gehl (2011) suggests that good urban planning facilitates and encourages social benefits, and Coalter (2005) believes that sport has the potential to deliver them.

Commonalities are therefore evident between Gehl's notion of livable cities and Coalter's framework for better understanding the social benefits of sport. Three of Gehl's (2010) four components, health, community and safety, also relate directly to Coalter's (2007b) potential benefits of sport. The implications for our proposed conceptual framework are not only that sport may have the potential to deliver social benefits (Coaffee and Shaw 2005), but it may also have a role to play in the creation of livable cities. Whether the development of a sport city delivers social benefits with equal or greater effect than other policy interventions is uncertain. The social benefit categories in the SBSC framework seek to explore this issue. In short, the SBSC framework combines the two perspectives of Gehl and Coalter while acknowledging both their nuanced similarities and differences.

The categories of the SBSC framework provide a cross-disciplinary planning perspective. The SBSC also provides a structure through which we might begin to better understand, predict and explain the social impact planning inherent in sport cities. The proposed SBSC framework, therefore, uses the common ground between the Coalter (2007b) and Gehl (2010) perspectives to present five categories of social benefits. The SBSC categories are summarized below (Figure 1).

The SBSC framework is consistent with the suggestion that it is better to have an idea of what you are looking for even if that appreciation changes over time (Miles and Huberman 1994). Therefore, the categories from Figure 1 set out a framework that might be used to make sense of the emergent sport city planning data. In doing so, it moves sport city planning research beyond descriptive research, to an explanation of 'why and how'. The full SBSC framework, using the categories from Figure 1, is shown below (Figure 2).

The SBSC framework includes scope for a level of contextual research around the politics, objectives and strategies that might be employed during the planning of a sport city. The SBSC framework also acknowledges that the partnerships that emerge in sport city planning provide a political context which needs to be understood in researching sport cities, because the nature of these partnerships can dictate the levels of control and power-sharing inherent in planning decisions (Dulac and Henry 2001). There are also levels of political subjectivity inherent in the field of social benefit planning (Dulac and Henry 2001); what is valued by one stakeholder may not be valued as highly by another.

Once the contexts of sport city planning have been considered, the framework then focuses on the economic and social benefits. It is important to make a distinction between economic and social benefit planning, because differing foci can directly impact sport city outcomes. For example, where urban governance models focus more on the economic rather than the social growth of cities, there is an increased potential for community alienation (Florida 2002; Gehl 2010; Harvey 1989b).

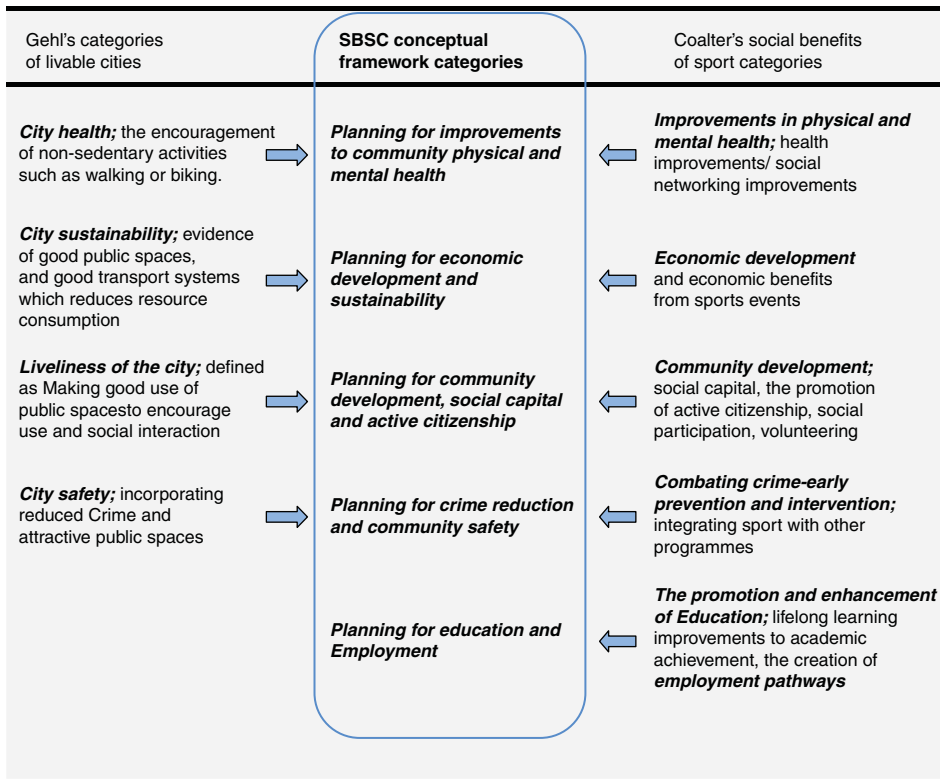


Figure 1. Research categories of the SBSC conceptual framework. Adapted from Coalter (2005, 2007a, 2007b) and Gehl (2006, 2010, 2011).

The framework then integrates the five social benefit planning categories that emerged from the Gehl and Coalter perspectives (see Figure 1). While considering the social benefit categories, the SBSC framework distinguishes between the different planning contexts of each of the three distinct forms of sport city identified by Smith (2010): a temporary sports attraction, a sports zone or hub, or a 'city-wide' fully branded city.

To ensure that the SBSC conceptual framework remains relevant for different sport city models, a category of the 'variability of expected social benefits by sport city type' has been included in the SBSC framework. This enables future research to consider the nuances of different types of sport cities, even though their economic investment, longevity and impacts might be markedly different. Finally, the SBSC framework explores social benefit outcomes, both expected and unexpected.

Research propositions

The similarities between Gehl's (2010, 2011) components of a livable city and Coalter's (2005, 2007b) social benefits of sport suggest not only that sport may have the potential to deliver social benefits (Coaffee and Shaw 2005), but it may also have a role, directly or indirectly, to play in the planning of a modern global city. Yet, for social benefits to occur, the development of sport cities, whatever their form (Smith 2010), needs to be planned for and managed, particularly if longer term or lasting social impacts are sought. Strategically, this includes effective urban planning (Gehl 2010; Jacobs 1961), the integration of social

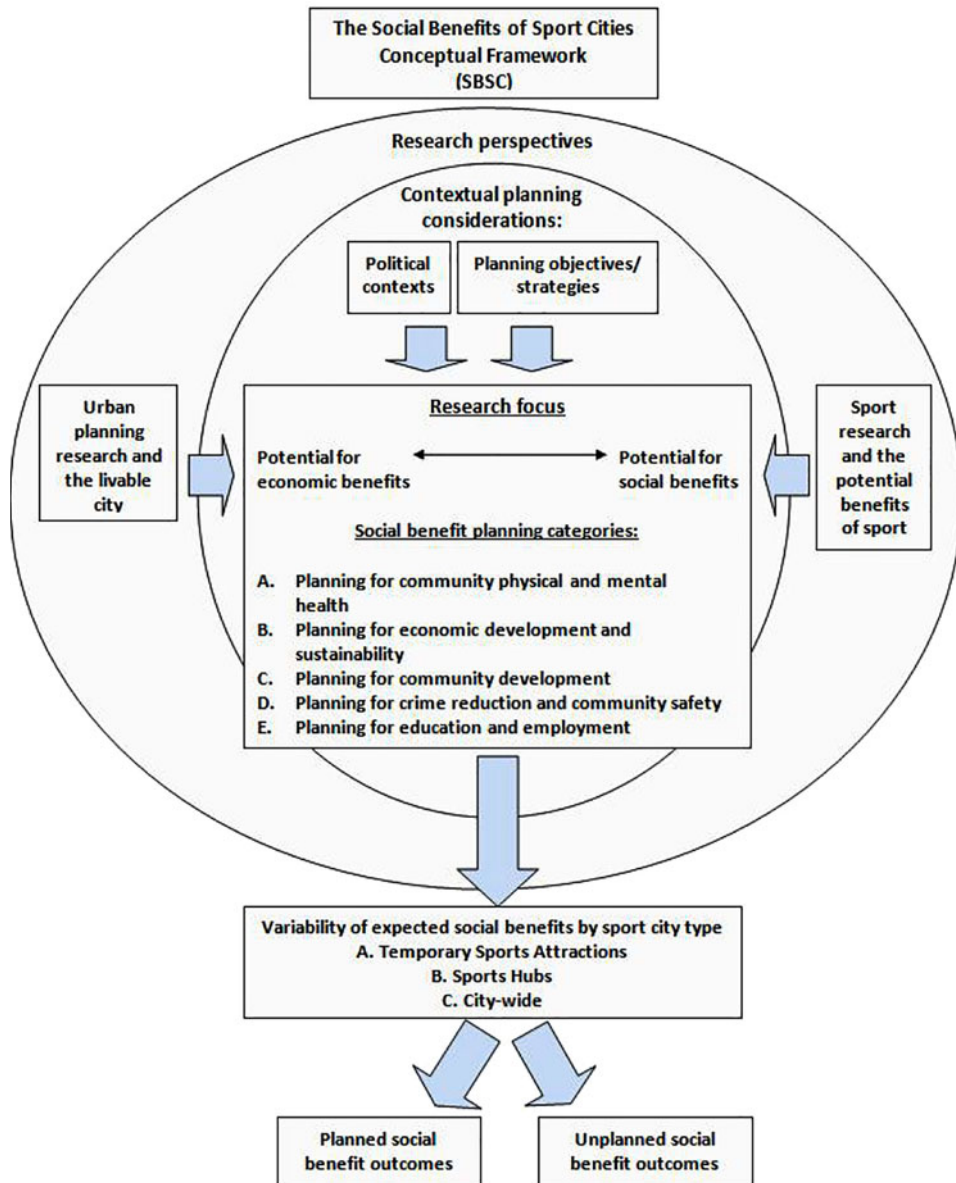


Figure 2. The SBSC: a conceptual framework. Adapted from Coalter (2005, 2007a, 2007b), Gehl (2006, 2010, 2011) and Dulac and Henry (2001).

programmes (Cotalter 2005) and the formation of effective partnerships (Cotalter 2005; Misener and Mason 2010).

In order to investigate sport city planning processes, and as an overlay to the SBSC conceptual framework, five research propositions were developed. They were derived from sport and urban planning literature, and they support the combined perspectives of Gehl and Coalter. Each proposition deals specifically with planning, supporting the purpose of the proposed conceptual framework; to seek examples where social benefits were planned for in sport city planning. This paper continues the argument that the absence

of strategic planning in this regard reduces the chances of positive outcomes (Beesley and Chalip 2011; Ritchie 2000; Smith and Fox 2007). Each proposition is now presented.

Community physical and mental health

Proposition 1: Sport city planning should deliver improvements in community physical and mental health, through increased opportunities for physical activity.

The extent that sport city planning can affect physical and mental health is determined in part by its capacity to replace negative sedentary behaviours with positive lifestyle behaviours, something planned for in the Singapore example. Both Gehl (2010) and Coalter (2005) recognized the importance of infrastructure in the potential delivery of positive behavioural change, and both saw potential health benefits when infrastructure is constructed with a sense of community awareness. In addition, Gehl (2010) saw infrastructure as important to physical activity, and Coalter (2005) saw health benefits from physical activity rather than just sport. Gehl (2010, 2011) advocated the provision of pedestrian walkways and cycle-ways as a city's contribution to health, arguing that a successful city is typified by its provision and encouragement of active lifestyle habits. Coalter (2005) was more specific with regard to the role of sport as a conduit to an active lifestyle, and he identified good health as a potential outcome of sport. The 'city health' that Gehl (2010) identified as an important component in the livable city is therefore comparable to Coalter's (2005) category 'improvements in physical and mental health'. This is represented in the SBSC framework as the category 'planning for improvements in community physical and mental health'.

The wider research is well advanced into the effects of a healthy lifestyle on obesity, cardiovascular disease, Type-II diabetes, the cost effectiveness of physical activity and the potential contribution of sport to self-esteem and self-efficacy (Cotalter 2010; Eime et al. 2013; Roullet et al. 2014). The literature also includes a variety of findings with regard to the direct health costs of inactivity (Annemans et al. 2007; Katzmarzyk, Gledhill, and Shephard 2001; Sport England 2013), and indirect costs such as workforce production and economic loss due to work absenteeism (Cadilhac et al. 2011). As an example, a recent 2013 Sport England report estimated the total economic value of sport in terms of annual health care savings to be £11.2 billion. While the extent of the public health savings from sport is widely debated, sport and physical activity do offer the potential for significant potential savings in health care costs associated with the impacts of sedentary behaviour.

What is not clear to date is whether sport cities deliver additional physical and mental health benefits to the community, particularly those benefits that are not accessible through other policy means. Smith (2009, 2010) argued that despite questions of sustainability, sports events, often part of the establishment of sport cities, can provide health benefits and increased levels of social well-being. Misener and Mason (2009) argued that sport is a significant catalyst for tackling health issues and an important health policy conduit. However, sport cities have also been called economic catalysts, and the potential for inward investment provides a way to accelerate existing city plans and policies (OECD 2010). This is particularly true with regard to major event hosting, with immovable deadlines, infrastructure investments and the potential for improvements to city image. This potential to accelerate the implementation of city plans gives sport cities an opportunity to also accelerate health policy-related efficiencies. This can occur through sport-driven environmental design, open-space planning, enhanced public transport access to sport facilities, and direct and measurable benefits to individual and community health from increased sport participation. As a result of the potential causal links between sport and improved health, sport cities may

also present cities, states and national authorities with an opportunity to create more effective preventative health policies, and other positive lifestyle programmes.

Therefore, the first proposition represented in the SBSC framework considers health planning at both the individual and community levels. Sport city planning research should also seek to uncover examples where sport cities address sedentary behaviour, where sport cities show evidence of reduced health sector costs, and where city planning programmes use sport to create improvements in health care provision.

Economic development and sustainability

Proposition 2: Economic outcomes are more sustainable when sport cities combine economic planning with social benefit planning.

Sport cities have a potential contribution to make to economic development, city regeneration and inward investment. Manchester and Indianapolis are examples where successes were achieved in this area. Yet, to achieve longer term outcomes, cities are reliant on effective sustainability planning (Smith 2009). In recognizing the importance of triple bottom line impact assessments (Robert, Parris, and Leiserowitz 2005), Gehl (2010) argued that economic growth should provide an enhanced quality of life, social diversity and equal access to all. However, he warned that rapid economic growth can produce the opposite, a reduction in life quality for marginalized populations (Gehl 2011). He made a clear connection between economic opportunity, the creation of public space, and the provision of better public transport and mobility to the least privileged inhabitants. He also suggested that city sustainability is a key part of the livable city, or what he termed, the 'lively city'. Gehl (2010) also argued that environmental sustainability was a key ingredient of the successful city, and called for a longer term approach and clear sustainable policies in city governance.

Coalter's view of the role of sustainability was similar to Gehl's although he offered a sport-based perspective. Coalter advocated the importance of sustainability, and highlighted the potential role of sport in sustainable development. He contended that when sport contributed to wider community issues, in areas such as economic development and employment, there was a greater likelihood of achieving outcomes that were inclusive and sustainable (Coalter 2007b). Coalter used the example of MSEs as a possible catalyst for economic growth, inward investment and city positioning. However, Coalter (2007b) also argued that sport may produce an uneven spread of short-term economic benefits, which can result in social alienation within and between communities.

There is some support in the wider literature for the argument that economic benefits from sport can trickle down to the community. Crompton (2004) suggested that the psychic income that a local community receives from sport investment may be significant enough to be used to justify public sports expenditure. Misener and Mason (2009) argued that there was a growing recognition of the importance of community development in sporting event strategies. Consistent with Crompton's proposition, Richards and Palmer (2010) suggest that the evenfulness of a city provides excitement, and stimulation, reinforcing the notion that sports events (often driven by branding, image or economic growth) have a significant social contribution to make to cities. Furthermore, Sport England widened its definition of the economic benefits of sport to include monetary values for areas such as volunteering, health, education and participation. Furthermore, Sport England (2013) widened its definition of the economic benefits of sport to include monetary values for areas such as volunteering, health, education and participation.

Our proposed SBSC framework draws from the combined economic perspectives of Gehl and Coalter in terms of economic development and sustainability. The framework provides future sport city planning research with a perspective from which to better understand the economic growth that a sport city may generate, alongside the potential for an improved quality of life of its citizens that is both long term and sustainable. Use of the SBSC framework will enable research to consider the possibility that if sport cities strategically encourage economic development, they may in fact be widening the opportunities for social benefits rather than reducing them. If this occurs, an economic/social approach to sport city planning may provide a measure of sustainability that would otherwise be missing.

Community development

Proposition 3: Sport city planning should include the provision of community benefits by delivering usable public spaces, increasing social capital and promoting active citizenship.

To make a positive contribution to community development, sport city planning should provide for meaningful social interaction at the individual as well as the communal level. Gehl (2006, 2010, 2011) interpreted the broad concept of ‘liveliness’, or ‘living cities’ in terms of the communal activities and the meaningful social interactions that they provide. Where Coalter (2005, 2007a) wrote of the potential of sport to develop social capital, Gehl (2006, 2010) suggested that the city needed to create areas for social interaction, and well-designed spaces to encourage a critical mass of people around events. By combining the perspectives of Coalter and Gehl, the SBSC framework draws from research into the community benefits of sport (Bailey 2005; Kaufman and Wolff 2010), as well as urban planning perspectives which recognize the role of events and infrastructure in the encouragement of community engagement (Gehl 2006, 2010, 2011).

Smith (2010) saw value in the community engagement that sport provides, and argued that there is an economic need for sport cities to provide opportunities for generating social capital. He suggested that cities that already have high levels of community cohesion are more likely to gain and benefit from major events (Smith 2009). In support of this position, Bailey (2005) argued that the creation of social benefits from sport relies on the existence of the necessary social conditions (Kaufman and Wolff 2010).

Therefore, this category of the SBSC framework provides future research with a structure with which to seek examples where planning shows a clear intent to target marginalized communities and create long-term social opportunity (Hassan and Telford 2014; Jones and Stokes 2003). Areas where planning for community development might be explored include investigations into sport city layouts, examples of community engagement with the infrastructure, the inclusion of volunteering models and instances where there might be sport-led social programming. The sport city infrastructure design may also provide insights into the extent to which social benefits are considered in the planning process.

Crime reduction and community safety

Proposition 4: Sport city planning should incorporate opportunities for improved community safety and crime reduction.

Coalter (2007b) posited that there are strong theoretical arguments for the potentially positive effects of sport on crime reduction and prevention, but conceded that sport can

struggle to address the complex causes of criminality. Coalter (2005, 2007b) argued that for sport to realize its potential in the area of crime reduction or prevention, sporting interventions must be needs-based, rather than product-led, implemented well and delivered through programmes that encourage personal and social development. The SBSC conceptual framework provides a means of exploring the parts of sport city planning that specifically address crime and community safety issues.

Gehl's category of city safety attributed increases in vandalism and petty crime to the disintegration of public living spaces. Gehl (2010) maintained that poor public spaces cause a reduction in communal time, and the result was a drop in meaningful community interaction. Gehl (2010, 2011) and Jacobs (1961) both recognized that increased community street activity can lead to higher degrees of community safety, and both argued that providing meeting places and playgrounds can provide opportunities for meaningful interactions. This view is consistent with the philosophy of the 'playground movement', which was at the forefront of the social development of play and recreation in the early twentieth century, particularly in the USA (Anderson 2006; Spaaij 2009).

The literature is varied in terms of the effects of sport participation on reducing levels of crime and anti-social behaviour. Caruso (2011) found reductions in juvenile and property crime in Italy when sport participation increases, yet he also noted that reductions in violent behaviour were inconclusive. Gardner, Roth, and Brooks-Gunn (2009) found that sport does not necessarily protect against delinquency, and Jenkins and Ellis (2011) and Moesch, Birrer, and Seiler (2010) concluded that sports varied greatly in their contribution to crime reduction, violence and anti-social behaviour. These researchers also found that 'combat' sports and 'high-contact' sports attracted high-risk participants, with Jenkins and Ellis (2011) concluding that combat sports offered a significant potential for reductions in violent behaviours. Overall, it was argued that sport provided five benefits in this area: a positive connection to the community, an outlet for aggression, a means of improving and further developing cognitive competencies and a healthy socially acceptable form of excitement (Jenkins and Ellis 2011). However, practical examples vary, and the wide differences in crime reduction planning are illustrated by the sport cities of Manchester and Melbourne. The former used sport to regenerate an area of high crime, which featured strongly on all UK indices of multiple deprivation. The latter showed no specific public planning for crime reduction in their sport city initiative.

The SBSC conceptual category 'planning for crime reduction and community safety' combines the positions of Coalter (2005, 2007b) and Gehl (2010, 2011), while acknowledging other literature (Florida 2002; Girardet 2004; Harvey 1989a, 1989b; Jacobs 1961). Due to the inconclusive results of studies into the role of sport in crime reduction, the SBSC framework provides a means through which research might explore the extent that sport city planning incorporates crime reduction in city policy, including the social integration of sporting space, and the broad use of sport as a conduit to crime prevention and longer term community safety. While sport city planning provides a city with opportunities for the delivery of needs-based interventions into crime prevention, crime reduction and community safety, like other programmes, success relies heavily on the quality and design (and continuity) of those interventions.

Education and employment

Proposition 5: Sport city planning should promote and enhance education, lifelong learning and employment opportunities.

The elevation from a community-led pursuit to one that engages with economic development, urban planning and city design provides sport with a place in city planning. Effectively leveraging this position can potentially deliver community benefits in the form of sport-driven educational improvements, and long-term employment (Cornelissen 2007).

While Coalter (2005, 2007b) recognized the educational potential of sport, he also acknowledged the difficulties of proving and measuring causality between sport participation and educational outcomes. Coalter (2007a, 2007b) argued that sport provided favourable conditions for the improvement of physical and emotional cognitive functioning, and drew links between sport participation, educational attainment and employment opportunities.

While Gehl does not specify an educational and an employment base to the livable city, his writings referred to the need for inner-city employment. He wrote of the dangers of derelict city centres caused by people leaving to seek work in outlying areas (Gehl 2010). The inclusion of employment as a 'planning category' for sport cities is in keeping with Gehl's research, although not specifically a part of his definition of the livable city. Placing education and employment together in the SBSC framework acknowledges their close association. The relationship between education and employment has long been recognized in government, and is typified by departments such as the UK Department for Education and Employment. The SBSC framework therefore focuses on not only the immediate job creation typified by sports infrastructure development, but also the extent to which sport city planning includes opportunities for lifelong learning, and the creation of secure long-term employment.

Research has found conflicting evidence with regard to the educational value of sport. Physiological studies support the premise that regular exercise has a small but marked affect on cognitive functioning, memory and reasoning (Bailey 2005). While Rees and Sabia (2010) explored high school sport participation and showed only limited evidence of the linkage between sport participation and academic performance, other studies have found a more direct correlation. Examples include research in Korea that found a correlation between academic performance and attendance at physical education classes (Kim and So 2012). A 6-year longitudinal Australian-based study found a positive correlation between participation in extramural and team-sports and academic outcomes (Marsh and Kleitman 2003). According to Coalter (2005), the social capital that sport can generate, something frequently included in policy statements around the role of sport, is in itself an aid to cognitive development. While the research is mixed with regard to the educational value of sport, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that sport has the potential, directly or indirectly, to create favourable conditions for positive cognitive development (Bailey 2005). It follows that effective sport city planning should take full advantage of the potential educational opportunities that sport presents.

In response to the call by Gehl for inner-city employment opportunities, the use of sport in public policy is often driven by the need for new employment opportunities caused by post-industrialization of the loss of conventional markets (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2005). While sport can contribute by providing direct employment in areas such as facility management and construction, it has the potential to deliver far greater benefits. For example, because of the need for innovation in the presentation of sport, and the need for originality in the event bidding process, sport provides opportunities for other industries such as green technologies, waste management, business networking and retail (Agha, Fairley, and Gibson 2012). Sport also holds the potential to facilitate greater employment

variety through increased tourism, urban revival, improved international reputation and the encouragement of inward investment (Gratton, Shibli, and Coleman 2005).

Therefore, sport city planning has the potential to provide favourable conditions for educational and cognitive development, and this has a relationship to the production of long-term employment pathways. The benefits flow beyond immediate job creation, and consequently the SBSC framework provides the means for an in-depth investigation of sport city planning in this regard.

Three, earlier introduced sport city examples, in different continents, show the SBSC conceptual framework's global relevance and applicability. The first is the East Manchester Sportcity, where city planning included the social regeneration of an area that featured prominently on the UK's index of multiple deprivation (UK Department of Communities and Local Government 2012), with high crime rates, unemployment, educational neglect and community dysfunction. Melbourne is a city that was voted by the popular press as the world's best sport city in 2010 (Sport Business 2010). With an event focus, and centrally located infrastructure, Melbourne used sport to brand a city, and while doing so provided examples of multi-cultural assimilation, and civic pride. A third example is the small island state of Singapore (Singapore Sports Hub 2010; Yuen 2008), a city that recently opened a six-venue sports hub with a vision to 'promote a more sustainable, healthy and active society at all levels of participation, nationwide'. Singapore demonstrated a clear social intent, combined with the integration of sport with leisure, lifestyle and commerce. These examples demonstrate that cities have different planning priorities, and these will produce different weightings across the categories of the SBSC conceptual framework.

The five propositions that emerged from the work of Gehl and Coalter demonstrate not only the potential for the delivery of social benefits, but also that sport can play a role in the planning of a modern global city, a significant issue beyond the immediate scope of this paper. However, there are acknowledged limitations to the proposed SBSC framework.

Limitations of the conceptual framework

By using a framework which originates from Gehl's theories of urban social planning and Coalter's components of the potential social benefits of sport, this paper could be criticized for taking a 'developed Western nation' perspective of sport city planning. We acknowledge theories that are Western in nature, but this does not preclude their global applicability. The growth of sport cities is a global and arguably a homogenous or dedifferentiated phenomenon (Smith 2010) and while the SBSC conceptual framework does indeed come from the Gehl and Coalter perspectives, it also provides a global geographic relevance which is consistent with the potential transferability of findings beyond the narrow Western perspective to non-Westernized regions of the world.

Despite making an important contribution to urban planning, the term 'livable city' and its derivatives 'livability', 'lively cities' and 'living cities' have been described as value-laden, ill-defined and unnecessarily broad (Evans 2002). What is considered livable in one city or culture may be impractical or unacceptable in another. While this is a limitation, many scholars and practitioners continue to use the term, and the possibilities it offers (Douglass 2002; Evans 2002; Girardet 2004; The World Urban Forum 2006). Instead of conceding the lack of a clear definition of livable cities as limiting, Evans (2002) argued that a broad definition of livability is more likely to facilitate transformational change and a new perspective in urban planning, something he calls a sense of 'possibilism' (28). While livability may arguably offer transformational opportunities, the

extent of that transformational change still relies on external factors such as electoral succession, market orientation, local power and co-determination (Evans 2002; Girardet 2004).

While there are areas in common between urban social planning and sport, the development of a conceptual model for sport city planning from these disciplines can be recognized as an imperfect union. We acknowledge the risk that the SBSC framework could encourage the contextualization of other externally derived concepts or theory to fit the sport discipline. The risk is that by combining other concepts with sport, it may result in alterations to the original meaning of sport (Doherty 2013), or of sport cities. Therefore, the SBSC conceptual framework is presented as a useful starting point for research into sport city planning, and subsequent refinement and development of the model is encouraged.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to propose a conceptual framework through which to critically assess social benefit planning intent in the development of sport cities. The paper argues that the absence of social benefit planning in this regard may not only reduce the chances of positive social outcomes, but may contribute to a longer term social disconnection between the sporting infrastructure and the community.

The proposed SBSC framework relates sport cities not only to urban regeneration and city livability, but also to the potential role of sport in the delivery of social benefits. The framework provides a platform to critically interpret if the social components were considered in sport city planning. In doing so, it provides a means to explore how the social benefits are interpreted and used in public policy and planning decisions.

Rather than emphasizing an economic perspective in sport city planning, we suggest that a greater awareness of the potential SBSC provides for a more balanced practitioner and research approach. This approach to sport city planning may not only increase the chances of long-term and sustainable outcomes, but it may also improve the potential for the generation of a wider range of direct and indirect economic benefits. It may also serve to provide a better understanding of the relationship between the economic and social contributions of sport. The SBSC framework has the potential to raise new conceptual, methodical and policy-related questions and stimulate academic and policy debates on social impact considerations in sport city planning.

To improve understanding of the potential social benefits of sport, future research should compare the potential benefits of sport cities across a range of cultural and national contexts. Sport cities and their three variable forms offer such a context. Although still a largely Western phenomenon, the last decade has seen a geographical growth of sport cities in a number of non-Western regions and cities. As a result, the range of political and social environments now exposed to the concept of sport cities has widened significantly. Research opportunities have grown accordingly.

In order to maximize the utility of the SBSC conceptual framework, and to guide future scholars in its use, several areas of future research are suggested, and each builds on the research propositions. The first is to investigate different sport city contexts and whether they demonstrate different social planning priorities. This research direction would provide a better understanding of the global concept of sport cities, and in particular the rise of the concept in non-Western nations. Such research might also expand into the importance of global connectivity as a social benefit in sport city planning. The second suggested area where the SBSC conceptual framework is appropriate is research into the

social integration of national sport policy and sport city planning. This has the potential to reveal the national–local divide in sport city social planning decisions. Finally, a third suggestion for future research is to apply the SBSC conceptual framework in part, drilling down into the specifics of selected categories. For example, future research could apply each of the five social benefits categories to explore areas such as the integration of culture as a social benefit in sport city planning, and the direct contribution of sport cities to city livability.

The use of sport in public policy now offers nuances and variety that just a decade or so ago did not exist. The SBSC conceptual framework is a starting point, bringing together two hitherto disconnected literatures on the social benefits of sport and urban planning/livability. It, therefore, provides a new perspective in sport city planning research, and to this end we encourage its wider application, development and modification.

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Notes

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