

The Report committee for Roy William Varney certifies that this is the approved version of the following report:

Texas High School Stadiums Shaped by Public Funding and Opinion

**APPROVED BY:
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:**

Supervisor: _____

Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez

Kevin Robbins

**Texas High School Stadiums Shaped by Public Funding and
Opinion**

by

Roy William Varney, B.A.

Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

May, 2014

Abstract

Texas High School Stadiums Shaped by Public Funding and Opinion

Roy William Varney, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez

Eighty-three Texas high school football stadiums have opened since 2008. Both pro stadiums and amateur stadiums have found their way into the ire of economists, who decry such expensive projects as lavish and foolhardy. Sociologists meanwhile point to ambition and pride as contributing to the growth of professional and amateur stadiums.

Table of Contents

Text.....	1
Illustrations.....	v
Works Cited.....	ix

East Texas opened its newest high school football stadium last fall. Like many of its artistically constructed brethren, Pirate Stadium not only resembles, but also is representative of, a coliseum, a place of battle and of worship. Twenty miles south of Pirate Stadium lay the stronghold of Division 2A powerhouse Tatum, Texas, and 130 miles west, home of the back-to-back Division 5A champion, Allen, Texas, Eagles.

Unlike the aforementioned teams of glory, the Pirates of Longview, Texas, have been longtime high school football doormats, a struggling team in a football-crazed countryside. The doors opened last season to a newly constructed 6,500-seat stadium. To fans of the team, the stadium offered a sense of hope, but to pundits, the stadium seeped the sorrows of a desperate investment.

The state-of-the-art facility cost \$16 million financed through a government bond. In 2010, the stadium was originally proposed as a part of a \$20 million bond. The subject of whether to pass the bond was hotly debated. Public awareness of the debate was primarily fueled by two opposing groups, a local business owner, Greg Hulett, and the high school's alumni group. Each side formed a political action committee; all told, they raised more than \$11,000.

Hulett and his group argued the stadium had an unnecessarily expensive price tag, and that the school board wasn't receiving enough public input on the bond proposal. Proponents of the bond argued a new stadium would improve the team, encourage school and community pride and boost tourism.

Although Hulett's group successfully defeated the bond in 2010, one year later the school board came back with a near-identical bond proposal that passed 1,436 to 1,339 – a margin of fewer than 100 votes. The stadium opened two years later.

Pirate stadium is not alone in its conquest to revitalize fan spirit and stand as a monument of pride for its local community. Stadiums of all shapes and sizes, pro and amateur, are being built through the use of government bonds. In most cases, these bonds are paid back through increased property taxes. According to Heather Rosas, a spokeswoman for the Texas Bond Review Board, Texas high schools have issued a combined 38 bonds and maintenance tax notes during the last 10 years with the intent to construct stadiums. Stadium tracker TexasBob.com states that 83 high school stadiums have opened since 2008.

Unlike the bigger and more expensive professional stadiums that dot major metropolitan centers, high school stadiums bond referendums are often shaped by public opinion and community clamor. However, both pro stadiums and amateur stadiums have found their way into the ire of economists, who decry such expensive projects as lavish and foolhardy. Sociologists meanwhile point to ambition and pride as contributing to the growth of professional and amateur stadiums.

Many factors influence the way a community decides to vote on a bond issue to finance a high school stadium. Some of the foremost factors include: the projected cost and potential benefits of an athletic facility, local opinion of the school's academic standing, the level of voters' fandom and knowledge of Texas educational spending

incentives.

High school facilities are smaller in size and they draw fewer fans compared to pro stadiums. School stadiums are also usually limited in amenities (luxury boxes, quality turf, retractable roof, etc.) because school boards are the primary decision makers in a proposing a bond. Less constrained, owners of a professional team often have the first and final say in what their team's stadium receives.

Moreover, a high school stadium's size and cost can be linked to public demand. Many people outside of the community were surprised when Allen passed its bond for a \$60 million, 18,000-seat stadium in 2009. The story drew national attention because of the amount of money the town was apparently willing to pour into an amateur sports facility.

A closer examination of Allen's community reveals its affluent roots. According to Forbes.com, Allen's median household income is close to \$95,000. The median household income for Texas in 2012 was less than \$52,000. Allen's objective in building a state-of-the-art athletic facility was to attract wealthy families from nearby Dallas. Additionally, Allen comprises an exceedingly enthusiastic fan base. When Eagle Stadium was completed, Allen's athletic director predicted the team would draw 8,000 season ticket holders.

Allen's communications director, Tim Carroll, says the community stands out for both its fan base, which has reached 20,000-plus attendees in each of the team's last two

season openers, and its school size. Allen High School's enrollment, 4,419 students in 2013, is the second largest in the state.

“It's a whole different dynamic in other towns with multiple high schools,” Carroll said.

One such community with multiple high schools is Katy, Texas, which features six high schools, each with at least 2,500 students. The Katy Independent School District proposed a \$99 million bond last fall that included a 14,000-seat stadium. Its school board planned the stadium and accompanying facilities to accommodate the rapid growth the city was experiencing. The proposed bond would not have raised the city's taxes, but opponents were concerned with the necessity of the stadium.

A member of an opposition group, Greg Scott, said simply that the proposed stadium was “far in excess.”

The stadium would have been built right next to the [well reviewed](#) 10,000-seat Rhodes Stadium, but the bond proposal was defeated by an 8 percent margin.

Professional stadiums are likely to garner more support. If a city and professional team can not come to an agreement on a new sports facility, the owner may threaten to move the team to another city. For instance, NBA owner, Clay Bennett, decided to move his basketball team to Oklahoma City in 2008 after the team failed to get a new stadium deal in Seattle.

Bruce K. Johnson, an economics professor at Centre College in Danville, Ky., has written 14 studies since 2000 examining the value teams provide to cities. He has seen

pro owners use this pay-up or lose tactic with a high rate of success.

"This is what teams do. They extort their cities and states and say, 'If you don't build us a new stadium, we're going to leave,'" Johnson said.

Johnson says his studies have shown when there is no threat of a team leaving, taxpayers are much less inclined to vote for a new athletic facility.

Businessman Greg Hulett aggressively spearheaded an opposition group against Pine Tree ISD's bond proposal for Pirate Stadium. He anticipated in 2010 he could derail the project's momentum by exposing flaws in the facility. Finding a viable location at an economical price was a point of contention between Hulett's group and stadium planners. The threat of increased taxes, however, was Hulett's overriding concern.

"I'm a business owner in that community, and I took a lot of flak for going out there and beating that bond, because I was pretty ruthless," Hulett said. "The way that you beat those things is you get all the negatives out first, and whoever gets the negatives out first, they win."

This strategy proved to be effective; Hulett's group defeated the bond, but in 2011, the school board assigned Hulett to the citizen's group charged with presenting a new bond proposal that included constructing a stadium.

Vickie Echols, a spokesperson for PTISD, said creating a new stadium would increase community pride. The city of Longview, home to roughly 80,000 taxpayers, comprises two other school districts, Spring Hill ISD and Longview ISD. Both school

districts have impressive stadiums. Longview ISD's 10,000-seat stadium has undergone three renovations since 2009, including increased lighting, a new track and a video replay scoreboard. Spring Hill's stadium is described by TexasBob.com as having “the best grass field in East Texas... [and a] wide open stadium with excellent seating and viewing areas.”

Nonetheless, Echols said sharing one of the other district's stadiums was not an option.

"The community perspective was, 'We are our own district, we need our own [stadium],'" Echols said.

Hulett said the citizen's group created a proposal that did not increase property taxes as much as the original bond. But after the group submitted its proposal, the school board reverted to the original, pricier stadium design.

Echols said the second bond proposal “wasn't a whole lot different” except that it allotted \$1.8 million for increased wireless Internet capabilities.

Hulett was “disappointed” the board had not followed the committee's proposal; however, he didn't feel he could oppose the bond a second time.

"They got more buy-in by having the committee, so I didn't oppose it at that time. I thought they were going to do the right thing,” Hulett said. “As soon as the bond passed, the school board did what they wanted, and built the stadium they originally wanted.”

The bond resulted in a 13.45 cent property tax rate increase, which Hulett says was a factor in an oil field servicing company, Slumberger, moving \$30 million in

equipment from Longview to Shreveport, La. An appraisal of the district in August 2013 showed decreased property values, attributable in large part to loss of the equipment business. In response, PTISD again raised property tax rate – this time by 4.5 cents. Slumberger spokesman Stephen Harris refused to comment on whether the move was prompted by increasing property taxes, but did say “the move was associated with a long-term plan to consolidate equipment and personnel at our base in Sheveport, La.”

An editorial in the *Longview News-Journal* last September reveals an expectation that the stadium would increase tourism and improve the team's athletic performance. The Pirates ended up going 3-7 on the year with a 1-4 home record. Attendance at Pirate Stadium last year showed an increase of nearly 20 percent over 2012. The stadium's effect on tourism in Gregg County (where the Pirates play) may be too early to determine. However, the county's sales taxes in the accommodation and food services industries marked a 10-year low in 2013, slumping year-over-year by 24 percent. In February 2014 the PTISD's athletic program, nonetheless, was able to attract a top-tier football coach, Dave Collins, from powerhouse Division 5A football school, Lake Travis. Collins said in an e-mail his decision to come to PTISD “was much more than a stadium.”

Economists are unanimous in their vilification of stadium construction. Nearly every proponent's argument for stadium construction has been weighed, measured and dismissed by economists. The most common stadium construction arguments include:

stadiums increase tourism and spending, new stadiums improve attendance, and sports teams add community pride among citizens.

Baylor University is in the midst of constructing the 45,000-seat McLane stadium, in Waco, Texas. The [stadium's website](#) states the new stadium will “lead to incremental spending by additional visitors and those who presently attend games.” Art Briles, Baylor's football coach, took over the oft losing program in 2007, and managed in 2010 to coach the team to its first winning record in 15 years. Briles' success garnered enough interest among the community for the Waco city council to propose and gain approval for a \$35 million bond referendum.

Noted economists, Andrew Zimbalist and Roger G. Noll, combined to write one of the de-facto stadium analysis books in 2000, *Sports, Jobs & Taxes*. The authors found that sports facilities have an extremely small and sometimes even negative impact on economic activity and employment. Zimbalist and Noll argue jobs created by stadiums are often low-paying and part-time, and tourists don't increase their total spending, they just redirect it to the stadium.

“Regardless of whether the unit of analysis is a local neighborhood, a city, or an entire metropolitan area, the economic benefits of sports facilities are de minimus,” Zimbalist and Noll write. “Sports facilities attract neither tourists nor new industry.”

Zimbalist [urged Colorado voters last October](#) to carefully consider a \$300 million proposition for a new stadium at Colorado State University. The CSU Rams have consistently struggled to win in the Mountain West Conference. A new stadium promised

to reinvigorate the football team and bring in new money for the university's other athletic programs. During the speech, Zimbalist said stadiums produce a “honeymoon effect” where attendance will temporarily increase, but after the novelty wears off, stadium attendance is directly linked to team performance.

Judith Grant Long, an associate professor of Urban Planning at Harvard University, released a comprehensive book, *Public-Private Partnerships for Major League Sports Facilities*, last year studying the long term costs of stadiums. Long found that stadiums, on average, cost the public 25 percent more than original estimates. Long says estimates fall short because they do not accurately factor in ongoing operations costs, stadium upgrades, and municipal services.

In the case of Longview's Pirate Stadium, those overlooked costs might manifest themselves in the form of a parking construction project. Pirate Stadium does not meet Longview's minimum required parking size, and visitors have complained that the parking is “horrible.”

Peter Groothuis is an economics professor at Appalachian State University in North Carolina. He has partnered with Bruce K. Johnson in multiple studies examining the value of teams to communities. Groothuis said, while each case is unique, some theorems applied to professional stadium construction analysis can be applied to Texas high school stadiums.

"In a small Texas town, [stadiums] might provide an economic impact, particularly if people come long distances to see the game," Groothuis said. "But if it's

just the local people coming to see the game, you can't really say it has an economic impact. They're just going to the game as opposed to doing something else."

Groothuis said fans can provide a base of political support for stadium construction. In their surveys, Groothuis and Johnson questioned each respondent about their fandom. They found a correlation between die hard fans and people willing to spend the most money to build new stadiums. Groothuis said, conversely, people who aren't fans of the team aren't willing to pay as much, but often don't put up as much as of a fight during a bond election.

"Generally, the people who find it most important are the ones who are the most vocal in the community," Groothuis said. "If you're just a local person who doesn't care about the team, and your taxes are going to go up by \$15 or \$20 [a year], you don't really notice that."

Groothuis and Johnson's method for measuring the value of sports facilities has also been used by John Harter, an economics professor at Eastern Kentucky University. Harter released a study last year that measured how much value Wigwam, an Indiana community, derived from its prominent high school basketball gymnasium. The gymnasium required nearly \$350,000 in annual upkeep to stay open, and there were alternative locations for the men's basketball team to play. Harter's analysis focused on members of the town who did not attend the games - people who derived community pride just from having the iconic gymnasium in the town.

Much like Groothuis and Johnson's studies before him, Harter distributed surveys,

and found the value of the community's pride for the gymnasium did not match the required upkeep. The surveys revealed the annual value of the community's pride fell \$34,000 short of the necessary costs, but Harter wrote that the actual disparity could be much greater, because a number people did not respond to the survey.

Johnson says he doesn't understand why communities keep passing public subsidies for stadiums in the face of overwhelming economic evidence that prove they are poor investments.

"Everybody seems pretty impervious to economic research," Johnson. "They want to believe that, especially local government and state government officials, these things are going to be economic magic bullets that are really going to boost the local economy."

Rick Eckstein is a professor of sociology at Villanova. He co-authored a book titled, *"Public Dollars, Private Stadiums."* The book points to research by Eckstein and Kevin Delaney, a sociology professor at Temple University, on nine cities that constructed professional stadiums. Eckstein and Delaney found what they described as "growth coalitions" in each of the cities that encouraged the passage of stadium bonds.

Eckstein said, in its simplest definition, a growth coalition constitutes an alliance between local business owners, government and media. These alliances act in concert to support certain policy initiatives that serve narrow interests, like stadium construction, while being purported to serve community interests.

Eckstein said, although smaller in scale, growth coalitions also exist in towns and

offer answers as to why so many stadiums are being constructed.

“The desire to become a tourist destination often informs the ideology of local growth coalitions as they press for new stadiums,” Eckstein and Delaney wrote.

Eckstein and Delaney also note that growth coalitions seek to build new stadiums to improve a community's image. By building stadiums, the politicians, business owners and media of a coalition are creating a tangential monument of an town's identity becoming “major league,” according to Eckstein and Delany. Additionally, some members of growth coalitions see stadiums as a way to attract new talent or industry into the town.

Robert Trumbour, a sociologist at Penn State, agrees with Eckstein and Delany's assessment that a community's pride and ambition often spur stadium construction.

"They want people to look at their home town as world class and a place that other people should look at with some degree of respect," Trumbour said.

Trumbour has written two books on the sociology of stadium construction, and has found many high schools and colleges are attempting to emulate the stadiums professional teams have built.

"I think it's a natural human tendency to want to emulate the best of the best, and since the pros are the best of the best, I think that's what's going on," Trumbour said.

"What we've done is we've built world class stadiums, and you really have to work hard to find a world class library."

Trumbour, like Delaney and Eckstein, has also analyzed how an area's culture

can impact how many stadiums are built. Trumpbour is particularly struck by the U.S. culture of aligning education and sports together, and is concerned about the worth of a city being judged by how good its football program is rather than its educational and public services infrastructure.

"If you think about a football, it's just a leather encased bag of air. People will invest so much into [the proposition], 'If our team beats your team, somehow we're better than your city.' There's a bizarreness to it," Trumpbour said. "If you had someone who was like Dr. Spock on Star Trek, the Vulcan who just thinks rationally, you wouldn't be making these moves. You wouldn't be putting \$60 million into a stadium."

Perception of stadium activity is among the bizarreness Trumpbour has observed. He said most people only see stadiums during game days, when they are packed, thus the stadiums create an illusion of economic vitality. Texas high school football teams play a total of 10 regular-season games.

"People see it when it's busy and bustling. They don't go back when it's quiet and, quite frankly, less noisy than the library," Trumpbour said.

Nonetheless, neither Trumpbour nor Eckstein envision stadium construction slowing down any time soon. Since Eckstein released "*Public Dollars, Private Stadiums*" in 2003, he has seen little change in the vigor with which communities fight against stadium referendums.

"We really predicted that people would wise up to it, and it would be so hard to get these stadiums built, because people would see what was going on. They would see

the promises not being fulfilled, but they keep being built. And the people who support them are very powerful and clever," Eckstein said.

John Nelson doesn't concern himself with the local football score. He is concerned about graduating workforce-ready students, a state-wide objective. When the Taylor Independent School District proposed to add a \$7 million stadium last November, he became upset with the school board's focus. Nelson is a retired economic development director in Taylor. In Texas, homeowners 65 and over qualify for a freeze on school property taxes. Nelson is over 65 years old, so the impending 7-cent property tax increase would not effect his taxes, but he was worried the school board was paying too much attention to adding a new football stadium.

Indeed, some 65 percent of Taylor ISD's student body is considered economically disadvantaged, according to *The Texas Tribune*, and less than 50 percent of its students are deemed college ready upon graduation. At the same time, the school district is facing a serious issue with its current athletic facilities. The football stands are not compliant with the Americans with Disabilities Act, and the field is owned by the city of Taylor.

Nelson wrote a letter to the editor of the *Taylor Press* expressing his views, which generated both admiration and admonishment among fellow citizens.

"I didn't make a lot of friends when I wrote that letter. There are a lot of influential people here who believe we do need new athletic facilities," Nelson said. "My counter to that was, 'Well, let's find out what it costs to get in compliance in the facilities we already

have versus building brand new facilities."

Jerry Vaughn, the superintendent of TISD, is worried about a potential lawsuit against the school for violating the ADA. He has already received complaints about the seating from a visiting fan and a band director, and if the issues aren't fixed soon, his premonitions could become a reality.

Vaughn greeted the bond's failure with chagrin and surprise. He said despite Nelson's opposition, he had expected the bond proposal to pass. Any renovations will now have to come out of the school's budget, because the property is owned by the city. Lacking a bond, money that would otherwise go toward such school expenses as books and teacher salaries will go to fix the stadium's ADA issues. According to Vaughn, the education of the students will suffer.

Nelson admits the superintendent has improved the school district's education rates in recent years, but he wants to see more before they invest time and energy into constructing a new stadium.

"I think that fixing [the ADA issues] can be done for a lot less money than building new facilities," Nelson said. "I don't know what the answers are. That's for the school board to decide."

Some school districts within Texas issue bonds to avoid the wealth equalization program. The wealth equalization program, also known as the Robin Hood provision, takes tax money from school districts that have high property values, and gives the

money to poorer communities. However, money that is allocated for bond repayment is exempt from this provision.

One way for school districts to avoid losing tax dollars is by issuing bonds for stadiums and facility upgrades. Tatum has issued many bonds to avoid wealth equalization. Tatum ISD serves 1,505 students. It has a 4,600-seat stadium with an artificial grass field and video scoreboard. According to *The Texas Tribune*, nearly [58 percent of Tatum's students](#) are considered economically disadvantaged. Tatum is considered to have a high property value because of a \$1 billion power plant, which constitutes 70 percent of the town's tax base.

Many of the Texas high school stadium construction bonds have little to no risk of defaulting. Seventeen of the 38 bonds with stadium purposes provided by the Texas Bond Review Board have received the highest possible rating. Sixteen of the bonds did not receive a rating because they were sold through private placement, a sale that is not available to the public.

All but two of the bonds are general obligation. A general obligation bond is backed by the credit of the government entity issuing the bond. Twelve of the bonds are guaranteed by the Permanent School Fund, a pool of money invested by Texas to improve education within the state.

Many of the schools on the Texas Bond Review Board list have received high marks in [financial integrity assessments](#) from the Texas Education Agency. Pine Tree ISD, for instance, received recognition for “superior achievement” in its financial

management practices.

Also, despite the recent property tax increases, PTISD has an overall rate of \$1.55 per \$100 property valuation, which is similar to surrounding school districts. Longview ISD has a rate of \$1.51, and Spring Hill ISD has a rate of \$1.67.

High school stadium construction will continue to be a prevalent force within the state of Texas. Allen ISD announced on February 27 that Eagle stadium will be closed at least until June for repairs. The school district has found “extensive cracking” in the concrete of the stadium concourse. The school does not know how much the repairs will cost. An engineering firm has completed about 10 percent of its evaluation of the stadium. The stadium is 19 months old.

Meanwhile, Pflugerville Independent School District's latest bond proposal calls for a \$26 million stadium. The bond also includes nearly \$189 million for a new high school, middle school and other school renovations. The proposed stadium would include seating for 10,000 fans. The bond would not raise the district's property taxes. Instead, funds are generated from the school district's sale of the bond to a purchaser offering the lowest available interest rate.

PISD currently manages two high school stadiums, Kuempel and Hawk. Kuempel, a 7,000-seat stadium, was the filming location of NBC's famous TV series *Friday Night Lights*. The proposed stadium would likely be built directly across from Kuempel.

The bond will go to a vote May 10.

Illustrations:

[Caption: Pine Tree ISD's Pirate Stadium has the capacity to expand by 1,000 spectator seats.]



[Caption: "I am still disappointed with what we ended up with. It is a lot more stadium than the district needs." Greg Hulett.]



[Caption: Taxpayers are often told ticket sales and tourism will recoup the cost of a new stadium.]



[Caption: Pride flies high at Tatum's Eagle Stadium home of the 2005 and 2006 state champion high school football team.]



Works Cited:

- Cook, Bob. "Why Allen, Texas, Built a \$60 Million High School Football Stadium." *Forbes*. Forbes Magazine, 13 Aug. 2012. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/bobcook/2012/08/13/why-allen-texas-built-a-60-million-high-school-football-stadium/>>.
- "Cracks Force Closure of \$60 Million Allen ISD Football Stadium." *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*. N.p., 28 Feb. 2014. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.star-telegram.com/2014/02/27/5608055/cracks-force-closure-of-60-million.html?rh=1>>.
- Delaney, Kevin J., and Rick Eckstein. *Public Dollars, Private Stadiums*. New Jersey: Rutgers UP, 2003. Print.
- "Editorial: Great New Pirate Stadium about More than Football." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 5 Sept. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/opinion/editorials/editorial-great-new-pirate-stadium-about-more-than-football/article_c265dde4-3416-55b3-acd2-bdd555c541e1.html>.
- Endress, Alex. "Opponents Say Stadium Was Key Issue in Katy ISD Bond Election." *Your Houston News*. N.p., 8 Nov. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.yourhoustonnews.com/ranch/news/opponents-say-stadium-was-key-issue-in-katy-isd-bond/article_352f65d9-3f6d-500c-8423-a3d8edc19461.html>.
- Gordon, Aaron. "America Has a Stadium Problem." *Pacific Standard*. N.p., 17 July 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.psmag.com/navigation/business-economics/america-has-a-stadium-problem-62665/>>.
- Greene, Melissa. "Pine Tree ISD Trustees OK Tax Rate Increase." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 10 Sept. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/news/local/pine-tree-isd-trustees-ok-tax-rate-increase/article_9cd71a25-4a89-5958-88d1-9c5c04325a39.html>.
- Lane, Christina. "Pine Tree, Kilgore, Union Grove ISD Bonds Pass; Daingerfield-Lone Star ISD Proposal Fails." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 15 May 2011. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/news/local/pine-tree-kilgore-union-grove-isd-bonds-pass-daingerfield-lone/article_da787406-5cdc-5aee-9367-23aa51835d56.html>.
- "Reports: Traffic a Mess at Friday's Pine Tree Home Game." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 16 Sept. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/blogs/talk_of_east_texas/reports-traffic-a-mess-at-friday-s-pine-tree-home/article_40d92b6a-1eed-11e3-b012-0019bb2963f4.html>.
- Ross, Catherine. "Allen Unveils \$60 Million Eagle Stadium." *NBC 5 Dallas-Fort Worth*. N.p., 17 Aug. 2012. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/local/Allen-Unveils-New-Eagle->

[Stadium-164932936.html](#)>.

Ross, Randy. "Pine Tree ISD Political Action Committees Raise \$11K." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 14 Apr. 2010. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/archive/local/pine-tree-isd-political-action-committees-raise-k/article_9c1d917a-1fe3-5369-b664-6ebb420abeb9.html>.

Thomas, Sarah. "Pine Tree Officials Redo Pirate Stadium Parking Plan." *Longview News-Journal*. N.p., 10 Oct. 2013. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <http://www.news-journal.com/news/local/pine-tree-officials-redo-pirate-stadium-parking-plan/article_00314568-6380-5022-b3aa-09f54e299b94.html>.

Warbelow, Kathy. "High School Stadiums, Packed With Loopholes." *Bloomberg Business Week*. Bloomberg, 27 Sept. 2012. Web. 07 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.businessweek.com/articles/2012-09-27/high-school-stadiums-packed-with-loopholes>>.

Zimbalist, Andrew, and Roger G. Noll. "Sports, Jobs, & Taxes: Are New Stadiums Worth the Cost?" *The Brookings Institution*. N.p., Summer 1997. Web. 06 Mar. 2014. <<http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/1997/06/summer-taxes-noll>>.