IF YOU BUILD IT, PERHAPS TOO MANY PEOPLE WILL COME: HOW NIGHT GAMES DISRUPTED WRIGLEYVILLE, WITH LACKING COVERAGE FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

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It was the first Cub playoff game at home, at night, in the team’s 114-year history. NBC opened the telecast with dramatic music, colors of the American flag strung across the bottom of the screen, framing the names and logos of the teams playing. And perhaps as dramatic, and as American, was the shot of a large stadium with six towers of bright lights rising over its surroundings, the lights in stark contrast to the dark, almost seemingly empty nearby blocks. The positivity of the drama and Americanism, combined with the attention to the light, resulted in a reverence for the lights as a form of innovation. Like America, the lights represented growth, with Wrigley Field the last Major League ballpark to add them. Yet there was a problem with this aerial shot, which was played throughout the telecast precisely 12 more times. It overlooked the feelings of nearby residents, who lived in an area named “Wrigleyville,” and in fact did not unequivocally support night games like many fans.

In just 14 months, lights at Wrigley Field contributed to four social changes to the neighborhood and two political consequences, with each of the six negatively impacting the area. Yet in a three-day period during the Cubs run in the 1989 semifinals, known as the NLCS (National League Championship Series), the Chicago Sun-Times newspaper highlighted the consequences of night games for residents thoroughly, while the Chicago Tribune did not match its attention to the fan with coverage of the resident, thereby feeding into the NBC myth of night games as free of side effects. The paper is broken down into two sections, with the first detailing the changes to Wrigleyville and the second discussing the differing depictions of these changes within the periodicals.

Section I: Consequences of Night Games for Wrigleyville Residents
The section begins with an overview of Wrigleyville and the installation of lights, followed by an analysis of six changes to the neighborhood. It points out that while the electricity demanded from night games was not so significant, night games undercut residents’ social capital in four ways—detrimental philosophical and detrimental physiological consequences of the lights’ brightness, more residents affected by increased crowd noise, and an escalation of parking problems near the stadium. From a political perspective, night games lessened residents’ say over their neighborhood, thanks to a Cubs’ push for a parking lot that threatened residential park plans, and a political environment in which politicians could and did disenfranchise residents regarding neighborhood alcohol policy. This paper tracks the changes to the community by using every Chicago Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times article that mentioned the phrase “Wrigley Field” between August 9, 1988 and October 31, 1989 as guideposts. It looks at both periodicals because the owners of the Cubs also owned the Tribune, and it focuses on these dates because the former date followed the first night game at Wrigley Field, while the latter one signaled the end of the first full season with lights.

Background

Wrigley Field was built in 1914, though it was then known as Weeghman Park, and two years later, the Cubs ended their 23-year stay at West Side Grounds by moving to Wrigley Field. Even when the Cubs began playing at what would later, ironically, be known as the “Friendly Confines,” the area around the stadium was a residential, lower class neighborhood. Gentrification then kicked in during the years leading up to the installation of lights at Wrigley Field; between 1980 and 1990, the first years there are block-by-block census data available, the number of families living in Wrigleyville decreased, while the number of white residents, per
capita income, and even average family income rose steadily. The *Sun-Times* summarized the trend in 1989, saying, “Not long ago, the neighborhood was almost a gritty slum. Now, it is becoming trendy, with a heavy influx of yuppies renovating aging homes and, to the delight of real-estate developers, even a new name: Wrigleyville.” It was not just the residents who were changing, though. Wrigleyville, part of the largest gay district in Chicago, home to landmarked Victorian houses, and where a studio went from $325 to $500 a month, was an entertainment district by 1988, in addition to hosting baseball. In weekly write-ups on hot spots to eat, the *Tribune* and *Sun-Times* wrote about one club, three bars, five venues for live music, and eight other restaurants over the year and a quarter span of data analyzed, impressive figures given Wrigleyville consisted of only a few blocks surrounding the stadium. Moreover, Cubs fans were rowdy even before there were lights, according to one *Tribune* article:

> In the past, she said, Cubs fans have set off firecrackers, screamed obscenities, driven the wrong way down one-way streets, smashed beer bottles and windows, fought outside the bars and clogged up traffic so badly fire engines could not get through.

Thus, it is worth noting that even before there were lights at Wrigley Field, the community was rapidly changing, and lights or no lights, there were likely to have been a continuation of economic development and people drinking in the area during the day and night.

In 1941, Cubs owner Philip K. Wrigley nearly installed lights at Wrigley Field. He was prepared to do so when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, prompting Wrigley to dedicate the steel towers that would have been used for lighting to the war effort, possibly to the Manhattan Project’s endeavors at the University of Chicago. Exactly 40 years later, the Tribune Co. bought the Cubs from the Wrigley family, and lights were back on the discussion table. The Tribune Co., owners of the *Chicago Tribune*, hypothesized it would make more money off of
installing lights, which would allow the team to play at night and fans to attend week games without missing work.\textsuperscript{14} By the same logic, local neighborhood group Citizens United for Baseball in Sunshine (C.U.B.S.) feared lights would bring in more fans while more residents, also back from work, were in the neighborhood. In February 1988, Chicago aldermen granted the Cubs seven night games that year—with the first on August 8—and 18 for the following 14 years.\textsuperscript{15}

From April through June 1988, helicopters flew in and rooted into the stadium’s roof six 33-foot metal towers, each so wide that they were still horizontally rectangular. The helicopters then returned, adding three rows of lights across the top of each tower. In total, 540 metal halide floodlights were installed, in addition to the more than 1,000 new auxiliary lights either on the scoreboard, in Cubs-owned parking lots, or around the concourse areas, grandstands, and stadium’s exterior. The operation also demanded Chicago energy monopoly Commonwealth Edison to supply 33 miles of cable and conduit and two 1,000-kilovolt transformers to power night games.\textsuperscript{16} Yet surprisingly, the stadium’s electricity demands were not that great, which as the lights operated for just six hours 18 times a year, or just 4.5 24-hour cycles of lighting for each of the 540 metal halide bulbs.\textsuperscript{17} Data on the 1,000 auxiliary lights are not available, and transformers and generators must have added to the energy consumption total, but still, the 540 floodlights used “just” 298.5 million British thermal units per year, which according to a 1990 Energy Information Administration survey, was equivalent to the amount of electricity 9.24 average American families used in 1989.\textsuperscript{18,19} Furthermore, the power the stadium did use did not increase the potential of blackouts for local residents, as the stadium used an industrial power system, which meant it did not take power from local residents.\textsuperscript{20} In addition, the fossil-fuel impacts for this relatively small quantity of output were low, in that Commonwealth Edison
generated 83 percent of its energy through nuclear power. Therefore, it would be challenging to argue that the energy required for the operation of night games further centralized residents’ power supply or led to sizable increases in fossil fuel.

*Social Consequences*

The lights still had repercussions, though, thanks to their brightness, which led to environmental and physiological problems for residents. The lights, which were stationed around both the infield and outfield, casted 250 foot-candles of light from the infield and 150 foot-candles from the outfield—or levels that, respectively, were 500 and 300 times brighter than the moon. Given that Chicago was one of the largest cities in the developed Unites States in 1989, whatever chance of residents’ having a clear, or even partial, night sky must have been decimated by the lights, which in fact likely affected all residents in Chicago. Environmentally, there were indirect effects, as a lack of night sky is connected with a lack of environmental awareness, and it also prevents residents, young and old, from experiencing the philosophical meaning in a night sky. It is impossible to fully measure the impacts of a lack of night sky, but clearly there was something lost for residents, be it environmental awareness or perhaps something greater.

The lights, of course, did not just shine upwards—they spread horizontally, around Wrigleyville, as well. The Tribune noted that the purpose of the lights was to “meet the needs of the players, spectators, and television,” with an obvious group, residents nearby, being left out. That lack of focus on residents came into play when, in an interview with the Sun-Times, Cubs executive vice president Donald G. Genesko admitted that despite computer modeling, “there [would] be a halo effect of light frothing out over the lip of the ‘friendly confines.’” There is an
argument to be made that greater lighting around the community must have decreased crime, though there is no evidence to support that, and even those claims in general have been refuted. There is perhaps a more serious argument to be made that the lighting increased artificial light exposure for residents, as well as fans, and affected circadian rhythms—the body’s way of maintaining sleep homeostasis. Although the research is not conclusive yet, a National Academy of Sciences study found that prolonged daily light exposure can lead to increased weight gain, and in 2010 the World Health Organization concluded that night light is “probably carcinogenic to humans.” Thus, the lights negatively impacted the nearby community not only with regard to a disconnection with nature, but also with regard to sleep cycles, circadian rhythms, and overall physical health.

The third and fourth social ramifications of night games were an increase in people and cars in the neighborhood. Even if the level of noise was exactly the same during day games as night games, night games would have adversely affected the community just by the following equation. More neighbors were in Wrigleyville at night, which meant this increase would have required a corresponding decrease in fans to act as a counterweight. Instead, average fan attendance also increased during night games by 2,671 people, with some neighbors not feeling a difference in crowd behavior, and others indeed feeling a difference. 150 members of C.U.B.S. discussed night drunkenness issues in August 1989, a year after the first night game at Wrigley, and before the playoffs, one resident said, “I hope they lose…. I really do. And I used to be a die-hard Cubs fan. That's the sad thing about it.” Thus, not only were more residents in Wrigleyville during night games, but there were also more fans, and according to neighbors, reason to think more noise. The result was more residents impacted more negatively by night games.
The increased number of people also affected parking problems in three direct ways. Residents who returned from work, around the same time as night games, had to compete with fans for parking spots, and this changed the complexion of the neighborhood. Local businesses felt the impact, with a *Tribune* article written three night games into 1988 saying, “Local retailers and restaurant owners say the night games have reduced their business from 20 to 75 percent, largely because of parking problems.”³¹ Wrigley Field neighbors felt it too, with one saying that emergency services often had to park on the street because there were no parking spots; more fans trying to park, combined with more residents home at night than during the day, exacerbated a problem that likely was already pertinent before there were night games.³² Thirdly, visitors to the area for reasons other than baseball bore the burden. On September 20, 1988, two local synagogues held Yom Kippur services at the same time as a night game, wreaking logistical havoc on anyone who hoped to drive to temple.³³ The city did attempt to remedy the situation, before even the first night game, by marking Wrigleyville a resident-only parking zone.³⁴ Nevertheless, the parking issues continued, as police towed an average of 100 cars per night game through the 1989 season.³⁵

*Political consequences*

In addition to the social consequences, though, the parking problems also undercut residents’ political power, even in just the 14 months following the first night game. A few blocks from Wrigley Field lay an unused, “untamed eyesore and favorite site of illegal dumpers,” one that for several years residents had hoped to turn into a local park.³⁶ The residents did press, but the city never had the money to approve the project. Lively debate emerged, though, when the Cubs installed lights, because within a year of the first night game, due to the parking
problems that festered throughout Wrigleyville, the team realized it could appease more fans and
generate more revenue by building another parking lot on that same empty plot. In fact, given
that the Cubs were willing to finance the plan themselves, Alderwoman Helen Shiller stated that
the Cubs had an advantage for such reason. One has to wonder whether funds would have eventually turned up if the community continued to push for a new park. If so, the parking proposal certainly threatened the community’s jurisdiction over its neighborhood. Yet even if there was to be no park, it is unclear that residents would have preferred a new parking lot rather than unused land; a new parking lot could have taken cars off the street but might also have meant more traffic in the neighborhood. Lights, then, not only highlighted the conflicts of a large company and a community sharing limited space, but they also funneled more desires for the Cubs, which likely were to come at the cost of residents.

The second political consequence of night games was that it allowed aldermen to permanently declare Wrigelyville dry without residents’ input. Wrigleyville had been a wet area, meaning alcohol could be served in it, but residents had also always had the power to vote it dry. Politicians soon changed that after the onset of night games. In accordance with Cubs’ desires, they voted to overturn the bill that gave residents their say in alcohol policy, and the result was Wrigelyville as a permanently dry area. Socially, this meant a continuation of policies that perhaps did not please all residents. But politically, residents could no longer pull a trick they had in the past. They had long threatened the Cubs with voting the area dry if the Cubs attempted to significantly change the neighborhood. After the team installed lights though, politicians stripped residents of that power before they could respond, essentially disenfranchising them and rendering them more vulnerable to future Cubs’ proposals. The political consequences of parking plans and alcohol proposals, then, fell in line with themes touched upon by Timothy
Mitchell and Fred Cottrell, Leslie White, Howard Odum, and Richard Newbold Adams. A large energy holder does not only impact socially, but also politically—centralizing power in a minority.\textsuperscript{39}

Section II: The \textit{Sun-Times’} and \textit{Tribune’s} Coverage of Changes to Wrigleyville

The second half of this paper examines the way the only two Chicago-based newspapers with full archives from 1988 and 1989—the \textit{Chicago Tribune} and \textit{Chicago Sun-Times}—depicted the effects of 1989 playoff night games on Wrigleyville. This section begins with a background of the two newspapers and details of the methods employed in analyzing their coverage. Next, it identifies the \textit{Sun Times’} and \textit{Tribune’s} audience for Cubs coverage as fans and argues that, with this audience in mind, both periodicals wrote frequently about fans through heterogeneous descriptions and, perhaps less consciously, light-free, power-provoking epitaphs. The third part of this section evaluates how the \textit{Tribune} and \textit{Sun-Times} wrote about the other side of the coin—residents in Wrigleyville—comparing in depth the article by each periodical after each home playoff game with the most references to the effects of night games on the community. Finally, it reviews other articles that did not largely focus on residents, but, in the process of covering the NLCS, made passing judgments about night games as an institution. Both direct and indirect coverage of Wrigleyville reinforced a larger theme, that while the \textit{Sun-Times} matched its focus on fans with its coverage of residents, the \textit{Tribune} painted a one-sided myth, highlighting fans’ appreciation for night games while minimizing residents’ complaints about them.
Background

The Chicago Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times were the largest daily newspapers in the Chicago area in 1989. The former had an average daily circulation of 720,155, and the latter of 535,864, and following in suit, the Tribune published more content daily.\textsuperscript{40} In terms of who wrote what within each periodical, the newspapers were similar with regard to gender disparity and the allocation of articles per author.\textsuperscript{41} 42 43 Perhaps the most significant difference between the two newspapers was who owned them. Rupert Murdoch’s News Corporation sold the Sun-Times to an investment and publishing group in 1986, while the Tribune’s parent, the Tribune Co., purchased the Chicago Cubs from the Wrigley family in 1981.\textsuperscript{44} The Tribune was a well-respected newspaper, and in articles neither hid that its owners also owned the Cubs, nor refrained from criticizing the Tribune Co.’s management of the team.\textsuperscript{45} Still, there are naturally still questions about whether economic ties between the Tribune and Cubs affected the newspaper’s coverage of residential resistance to night games.

To explore these questions, this section looks at the semiotics of a small window of the 1,970 articles that the first section uses in evaluating the social and political consequences of night games.\textsuperscript{46} Specifically, it focuses on the dates of October 5 to October 7, 1989, the two days that followed each of the Cubs’ only home playoff games and an additional day—October 7—when writers still focused on those two games before the series headed for San Francisco. These dates were also unique because during them, there were five times as many articles with the term “Wrigley Field” as during the rest of the year, the dates fell after the games, permitting authors to write about the consequences, and they occurred long enough after the installation of lights that the honeymoon effect of lights’ being new did not significantly impact newspapers’ coverage.\textsuperscript{47}
In line with the *Tribune* writing more articles than the *Sun-Times*, during this three-day period the *Tribune* wrote 38 articles with the term “Wrigley Field” and the *Sun-Times* 28 articles.\(^{48,49}\)

*Fan heterogeneity and power*

The writing styles of the two periodicals illustrated their target audiences as sports fans. A *Tribune* piece from October 7, 1989, began, “Just when you think you're watching the Goodwill Games, there is disturbing evidence to the contrary,” a call to the fan in the second person through comparison of two sporting events, the Goodwill Games and the Cubs game, which implied that the audience had watched the Cubs game and knew what the Goodwill Games were.\(^{50}\) A *Sun-Times* article entitled “Whale stranded, but he’ll be back” alluded in the first two sentences to “whale watching,” with it being understood that the reader knew pitcher Rick Reuschel was nicknamed “whale.”\(^{51}\) In another sports reference, both the *Tribune* and *Sun-Times* referred to Wrigley Field by its address “Clark and Addison,” which gets at the reasonable point that someone reading about the Cubs liked baseball.\(^{52}\) The issue with this type of writing, however, was that it assumed the knowledge and preferences of the audience; if each newspaper thought its audience was sports fans, then perhaps it also assumed the audience was more interested in hearing about the game itself than the consequences of the game on the neighborhood. This idea is alarming since most pieces about Wrigleyville and baseball were tied into baseball stories, rather than falling under the purview of a different section of the newspapers.

Writing to this audience, both newspapers published content depicting everyone as Cubs fans, be it authors, residents, or the entire city. Each newspaper published a column in which the author was a sports fan, and they also wrote columns and features about sports fans, such as
those who threw home run balls back onto the field and those who liked luxury suites.53 The
Tribune in particular focused on the imagery of Wrigleyville’s excitement for the Cubs, saying:

Wrigleyville, in fact, seemed utterly primed for the occasion Wednesday night. The Cubs had lost in broad daylight for so long, playoff baseball after dark seemed a decent alternative. The streets swelled with anticipation, the rooftops were jammed.54

By depicting Wrigleyville as “primed,” anticipating, and “jammed” for the game, the excerpt fused fans and residents into one, with its almost rural references to “broad” daylight and baseball “after dark” calling to mind Iowa-based “Field of Dreams,” a 1989 film about the beauty in building lights for night baseball.55 The Tribune and Sun-Times also depicted all Chicagoans as avid Cubs fans, writing about Chicagoans watching baseball at a fundraiser, highlighting local artists singing about the Cubs making the playoffs, and flirting with the political fantasies that baseball players Will Clark and Mike Lacoss were important enough to be the namesakes of local Wrigleyville Clark Street and Lacoss, Wisconsin.56 There were specific instances where authors could have included neighbors in the conversation, such as during discussion of delays to both games. Yet the authors only wrote about how the delays might affect fans, rather than acknowledging that a later game time would also result in noise and parking affecting neighbors later into the night.57 The depictions, taken together, represented a picture of an entire community supporting the Cubs, with the reader left in the dark about the residents who perhaps felt otherwise.

Interestingly for both newspapers, the emphasis on fans, combined with the onset of night games, led not just to increased attention on the fan, but also to word choices that instilled power in the fan. A Sun-Times article referred to the fans as unleashing “primal screams,” while another piece entitled “Cubs fans want revenge – and enjoy getting it” opened with a vampire reference,
that “Cub fans took to Wrigley Field Thursday with blood in their eyes from Wednesday night’s crying - and with bloodlust in their hearts.”\textsuperscript{58} Night has become associated with danger and power in the American society, and baseball writers—trying to come across as relevant—incorporated this reality into night games. However, the result was that they infused notions of power into the depictions of the Cubs and their fans, thereby indirectly elevating fan influence, and possibly expressing the authority writers subconsciously saw fans holding in comparison to others situated in Wrigleyville.

\textit{Direct Coverage of Residents}

Newspaper coverage of Cubs games indicated that the two periodicals each summarized the consequences of Cubs night games on residents through one dedicated article the day following each game.\textsuperscript{59} This subsection looks at these four articles and finds that the two \textit{Sun-Times} articles countered both the two \textit{Tribune} pieces and previous \textit{Sun-Times} and \textit{Tribune} articles with detailed reports concerning the resident. The first of the two \textit{Tribune} articles did mention fans coming and leaving bars in Wrigleyville before the game, but other than that, the \textit{Sun-Times} articles, with regard to set up, tone, and factual information, illustrated night games’ impact on residents much more thoroughly than \textit{Tribune} accounts.\textsuperscript{60}

The set up differed significantly between the two \textit{Tribune} and \textit{Sun-Times} articles. The first \textit{Tribune} article did mention the impact of the game on fans, but it did so only after writing about the environment for fans, and having spent a few paragraphs detailing the effects on the neighborhood, the author returned his focus back to the ballgame environment.\textsuperscript{61} Similarly, the second \textit{Tribune} piece ended with descriptions of how police handled the crowds, but again, the main focus of the article was the well-behaved fan.\textsuperscript{62} On the other hand, both \textit{Sun-Times} articles
began by discussing the fan atmosphere—like the *Tribune* articles—but then used at least the second half of column room to discuss the consequences for the neighborhood. For example, the second *Sun-Times* article quoted two fans as saying, “He’s happy,” “Everybody’s happy,” which fed into the idyllic, pro-Cubs neighborhood depiction.63 Nevertheless, the next line read, “The police agreed fans were fewer and quieter. However, city tow trucks were still hustling,” followed by specific details on parking and fan behavior.64 Thus, the set up of the articles in both papers differed, and in a significant way. The *Sun-Times* focus was the fan for the beginning of each article, followed by details about the resident, implying cause and effect, while the *Tribune*’s articles only briefly mentioned residents, thus depicting them as passing-by considerations.

The tone and diction further differentiated the four articles along periodical lines. Regarding tone, both *Tribune* articles were written more casually, which is surprising since the *Sun-Times* was the more informal of the two both between October 5 and October 7, 1989, and throughout the entire 14 months looked at.65 With regard to the former dates, the *Sun-Times* opened an article entitled, “Much like that old adage about sex, sometimes the same holds true for developing a watchable sportscast: practice, practice, practice,” and another one with a title that referred to a columnist as “whining,” which was more petty than what the *Tribune* engaged in.66 Likewise, through the 14 months, the *Sun-Times* wrote time and again with a tabloid feel about new Wrigley Field skyboxes being toys for the wealthiest Chicago fans; 5.2 percent of articles in the *Sun-Times* contained the term “skybox” or “skyboxes” compared to 3.1 percent in the *Tribune*. Nevertheless, on October 5 the *Tribune* waived part of its serious tone when it described the scene outside of Wrigley Field:
Some [fans] had to step over a man who was taking a, um, nap on the ground in front of the main ticket windows. He lay there from about 4:30 to 5:15 p.m., making good use of the oversized cardboard scorecards handed out before the game. Two scorecards equal one mattress.67

The use of the word “um,” satire of fans having to ghastly be exposed to such an inconsiderate person, and satire of “two scorecards equal one mattress” set an informal tone.68 Yet only a few sentences later, the author did mention residents and night games, which meant that the author did not cue the reader to take seriously the community repercussions, and by extension, underemphasized those repercussions.69

On the other hand, the word choice in the Sun-Times articles, if anything, was overly supportive of residents, portraying them as victims of the fans. For example, the opening line of the first article read, “The Lake View community, a.k.a. Wrigleyville, was inundated by a sea of humanity,” which supported the neighbor in several ways.70 First, the word “inundating” implied not just large, but in fact overwhelming numbers of people, thus depicting fans as similar to a swarm and therefore putting neighbors on the defensive.71 Second, the beginning, “the Lake View community, a.k.a. Wrigleyville,” highlighted the neighborhood as its own community, not just a group of fans living near the stadium.72 In fact, both Sun-Times articles referenced Wrigleyville first as “Lake View” or “Lakeview,” while both Tribune articles only use the term “Wrigleyville.”73 In addition, the reference to a “sea of humanity” was a recurring theme in the two Sun-Times articles, furthering the portrayal of Lake View, not Wrigleyville, as a group of humans, not just fans.74 Basic laws of humanity include respecting basic rights, while the standards for fans are different, with noise level and civil behavior more loosely tolerated. Thus, by infusing ideas of humanity into the writing, the coauthors of the two Sun-Times articles, especially the first one, highlighted the differences between the baseball world and the “real”
world, with the former’s rules unjustly spilling onto the latter’s. The first coauthors, Neil Steinberg and Gilbert Jimenez, epitomized the tensions between these two worlds by writing that police were used to “keep the peace,” which suggested that the neighborhood was peaceful to begin with but that fans, without obstruction, would tamper with that.

Finally, the Sun-Times and Tribune’s coverage from the two articles each differed significantly with regard to the facts they included about crowd disturbance to the neighborhood. Neither Tribune article mentioned any specific facts about the consequences of fans’ actions on the community. The closest attempt was by the first article, which acknowledged there were a few arrests according to an early police report, yet neither article followed up on those arrest numbers, nor did they even address parking issues. Conversely, both Sun-Times articles mentioned the specific number of car parking violations and number of arrests after each game, which the authors noted even in contrast to the overall moderate amount of noise and misbehavior during the game. The second Sun-Times article even went a step further, referencing complaints regarding trash and exhaust fumes from running charter buses. Thus, the Sun-Times avoided a rosy picture of night games by acknowledging the repercussions, statistically, that arose from night games on residents. The more complete factual picture, combined with tone and article set up more acknowledging of the effects of night games on residents, therefore rendered the Sun-Times’ direct coverage of fans from October 5 to October 7 more thorough than that of the Tribune.

Direct Coverage of residents

These differences were also evident in several of the other articles between October 5 and October 7, albeit more scattered. On the one hand, the Sun-Times criticized night games both
explicitly and implicitly. Explicitly, it published in an article a quote not picked up by the *Tribune*, one in which an alderman cautioned fans to be tolerant of the feelings of neighbors. Implicitly, another author asked a ballplayer how he liked Wrigley Field at night, which, given the fact that lights had been installed for a year and were the status quo, could have led to only one headline-worthy answer, that the ballplayer did not like the lights. The *Sun-Times* did positively reference lights twice during the three days of coverage, but both of the references were comments made by others on lights rather than the authors’ instilling certain images on their own.

On the other hand, the *Tribune* coverage was much more protective of the Cubs with regard to lights in three ways. Compared to zero times in *Sun-Times* articles, the *Tribune* on three occasions shifted blame for the very existence of night games onto either NBC or Major League Baseball, as if to take the Cubs off the hook for any problems. Moreover, again compared to no instances of such depictions in the *Sun-Times*, the *Tribune* highlighted the beauty of night games in a Charles M. Madigan article, in which he described light as “drawing sparkles from the wet grass on the playing field,” as if it were a divine power that turned everything it touched into splendor. Thirdly, and perhaps most explicitly, Bob Verdi protected the Cubs through his aggressive put downs of resident complaints. Verdi, a regular sports writer for the *Tribune* and author of four articles between October 5 and October 7, wrote that “contrary to convention but ill-conceived fears, the neighborhood’s still standing,” as if residents were actually afraid of such a circumstance. Again, he hyperbolized their objections when he wrote:

Wrigley Field was so ripe for the occasion. Neighborhood residents fretted so over noise pollution that would result from these October orgies, but that problem will have to be solved some other evening. It hasn't been this quiet at Wrigley Field since the Cubs’ last road game.
There are several problems with these lines, including dramatizing residents’ complaints as “fretting” “noise pollution” and “orgies,” which each have their own unglamorous connotations outside of this context. By hyperbolizing their complaints, then, he depicted residents as unreasonable. He also represented the game as quiet, without mentioning the streams of rowdy fans entering the game or the fact that the score was close for an hour. Taken together, Sun-Times and Tribune pieces that did not directly talk about night games’ impacts on citizens still painted two different pictures, with the former periodical acknowledging residents’ fears and the latter leaving some notable silences.

Conclusion

Cub night games, in just 14 months, led philosophical, physiological, behavioral, and parking challenges for residents, and they also took away residents’ jurisdiction over a parking plan and the entire neighborhood alcohol policy. Interestingly, the Tribune’s coverage of the 1989 Cubs home playoff games largely ignored these problems and painted Wrigleyville as experiencing general excitement for Cubs fans. In comparison, the Sun-Times wrote about fans in ways that might have hinted at a one-sided depiction of Wrigleyville night game evaluations, but it evened its coverage with thorough depictions of residents’ complaints of night games. Of course, given the small sample size of three days, one cannot know certainly whether these results were representative of yearly coverage, and whether any differences were due to the Tribune’s economic ties to the Cubs. However, the results at the least raise questions about why the Tribune created a one-sided myth, questions that extend to journalism in general. For example, given both newspapers wrote specifically about NBC coverage numerous times
between October 5 and October 7, are certain forms of media necessarily more sensationalistic or thorough than other forms, and if so, how is this established? A concerning part of the equation at Wrigley Field was that the Tribune likely overstepped in myth depicting, highlighting its values as being centered on writing to the fan and making a profit. At the very least, it goes against the general depiction of the media as being too pessimistic; news branches can easily sacrifice journalistic integrity for organizational goals, a sad reality that requires more investigation.

*Future Research*

Future research could analyze newspaper articles for the consequences of night games and periodical agendas, looking at a different three-day window between 1988 and 1989, extending this study longitudinally past 1989, or comparing this paper’s findings with the addition of lights to other professional sports facilities in the United States. Alternatively, one could examine these same questions from 1988 and 1989 at Wrigley Field using other measurements, like minutes from local meetings or interviews with residents to look further at the consequences of night games and other forms of media to analyze depictions of night games. Specifically, between August 9, 1988, and October 31, 1989, there was apparently only one movie—“Uncle Buck”—filmed around Wrigley Field, there were two televised night games available on YouTube, three Cubs-produced posters with lights, and countless newspaper article photographs, although photos came out too dark to evaluate in the Proquest and America’s News databases. Finally, one could again look at the period of time and location examined in this paper, but instead of looking at whether the Tribune wrote differently about night games, one could interview former Tribune sports writers and examine the periodical’s organizational
structure and compare intention with results.

Endnotes

1 Includes when franchise was known as the “Chicago White Stockings,” “Chicago Colts,” and “Chicago Orphans”; Snyder, John, Cubs Journal: Year by Year and Day by Day with Chicago Cubs since 1876, Cincinnati, OH: Emis Books, 2005, Print.


4 America’s News; Proquest Central.


Each of the 540 lights were 1500-watt metal halide lights, meaning they consumed 1500 watts of electricity every hour, or 1.5 kilowatts (kW). The team played 18 night games each year, and according to the *Tribune*, the stadium used 6 hours of lighting for each night game, and none during day games. “Wrigley Field Lights,” 1988.

(1.5kW per light) x (6 hours/game) x (18 games) x (540 lights) yields 87,480 kilowatt hours (kWh), or 299 million British thermal units (BTU); *Wolfram Alpha*, Wolfram Research, Inc., Web, 10 Dec. 2015 &lt;http://www.wolframalpha.com/input/?i=87480+kWh+to+British+Thermal+Units#&gt;.


29 Day attendance average was 30,204, and night attendance was 32,875.


37 Ibid.


41 4 of 23 authors who wrote a *Tribune* article from October 5 to October 7 with key word “Wrigley Field” were women, or just 17 percent. 2 of 14 *Sun-Times* authors were women, or just 14 percent. The *Tribune* women were Sallie Gaines, Hanke Gratteau, Barbara Mahany, and Kathy O’Malley, and the *Sun-Times* women were Toni Ginnetti and Fran Spielman.

42 The following *Tribune* authors, by last name, wrote the following total number of articles between October 5 and October 7: Bagnato, 4; Buursma, 1; Clark, 1; Conklin, 2; Gaines, 1; Gratteau, 1; Hersh, 1; Holtzman, 3; Kiley, 1; Lincicome, 2; Madigan, 1; Mahany, 1; Margolis, 1; McKenna, 1; Myslenski, 3; Nidetz, 2; O’Malley, 1; Rich, 1; Royko, 1; Smith, 1; Sullivan, 4; Verdi, 4; Zorn, 1. This amounted to a total of 40 co-authorships in 38 articles, as two articles were each written by two authors; 40 divided by 23 authors yields 1.74 articles per author.

43 The following *Sun-Times* authors, by last name, wrote the following total number of articles: Burgos, 2; Cronin, 2; Ginnetti, 2; Hanania, 2; Jimenez, 1; Kupnicet, 1; Manthey, 2; Roeper, 1; Ruth, 3; Siewers, 1; Sons, 1; Spielman, 1; Steinberg, 3; van Dyck, 5 This amounted to a total of 26 co-authorships in 25 articles, as one article contained two authors and three articles were staff reports and therefore were not counted; 26 divided by 14 authors yields 1.85 articles per author, slightly more than the 1.74 rate at the *Tribune*.


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46 1,149 from the Tribune, 821 from the Sun-Times; America’s News, Web, 10 Dec. 2015

47 America’s News; Proquest Central.

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Sons, “Whale stranded, but he'll be back,” 1989.


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60 Hersh, “Sadly, Cubs live up to their old image,” 1989.

61 Ibid.


64 Ibid.


67 Hersh, “Sadly, Cubs live up to their old image,” 1989.

68 Ibid.

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71 Ibid.

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