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Urban Dynamics in the Las Vegas Valley: Neighborhood Casinos and Sprawl

Pascale Nédélec

Las Vegas is well known for its urban sprawl. While the casino industry has played an obvious role in the development of Las Vegas, no systematic study has evaluated the exact nature of urban growth and the rise of neighborhood casinos. This paper argues that neighborhood casinos, contrary to tourist-oriented casinos, are not urban forces that drive the growth of an urban area but reinforce the *status quo* of residential developments. Neighborhood casinos have nevertheless become a major asset in the economic and social building of residential developments and community life.

Keywords: locals/neighborhood casinos, urban dynamics, Las Vegas

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In less than a century, Las Vegas went from being a Mormon fort in the Mojave Desert to a world-renowned tourist resort and a metropolitan area of almost two million people. Las Vegas has experienced tremendous growth throughout the second part of the twentieth century; one of its many nicknames is "the fastest growing metropolis in the United States." Las Vegas had indeed the largest and fastest demographic growth in the US since World War II.

The gambling industry played an obviously key role in the urbanization of the Las Vegas Valley, especially in Clark County. The local economy is largely oriented towards recreation and services to the point that tourism seems to be a mono-industry.

Las Vegas is famous for some of the biggest hotels in the world, all lined up along the Strip. Since tourism began in the 1930s, the industry has grown exponentially.

While the casino industry has played a major role in the development of Las Vegas, no systematic study has evaluated the exact nature of urban growth and the rise of neighborhood casinos. This paper defines what is to be understood by neighborhood casino and focuses on the relation between locals casinos and the urban expansion of the Las Vegas metropolitan area.

Many scholars have argued that tourism produced urban space, the Strip being the best illustration of that. Along the same line, could the neighborhood casinos be seen as

the driving force of suburban development? If one can assume tourism created Las Vegas and not the opposite, one can also wonder if the neighborhood casinos created the suburbs and not the opposite.

Therefore, this work examines the plausibility of a casino-led suburbanization, seeing whether neighborhood casinos are a driving force for urban sprawl, or if they are a local outgrowth of residential developments and master-planned communities.

The concept of neighborhood casino or locals casino (there is no relevant difference between locals and neighborhood casinos, terms hence used interchangeably) needs to be defined and examined in details for its specificity within the gaming industry of Las Vegas. A basic definition serves as a starting point, highlighting the lack of scholarly definition: a locals casino is a gambling facility designed primarily to attract residents of the area in which it was built rather than tourists or vacationers. In Las Vegas's case, that kind of casino is also characterized by its geographical location. Locals casinos are found throughout the greater Las Vegas area, except from the main tourist areas, that is the Strip corridor and Downtown (around Fremont Street).

With the above in mind, a database was built in order to approach neighborhood casinos as systematically as possible (cf. table 1). Without an authoritative listing, different sources were combined, ranging from references on the Las Vegas gaming market, real estate registers or even academic databases.¹ To be included, properties had to have a non-restricted gaming license (more than fifteen slot machines and table games permitted) and at least one hundred hotel rooms. Thirty-three locals casinos were thus identified. By way of comparison, there are an estimate of a little more than thirty hotel-casinos along the Strip and about ten in downtown Las Vegas. To gather more precise information, especially opening dates and addresses, the casinos' websites were referred to.

By examining how neighborhood casinos cater to the local population we can better

understand the urban dynamics of Las Vegas and the social impact of neighborhood casinos in the area.

Tourist vs. locals casinos

Location is essential in the definition of the neighborhood casinos. These casinos are situated outside the Strip and downtown. Following the local assumption, the block between the Las Vegas Boulevard (the Strip *per se*) and Paradise Road is considered to be a subdivision of the Strip, whose hotels cater mainly to a tourist clientele. According to that assumption, the casinos located in what is called the "Strip Corridor" are not taken into consideration.

While tourist-oriented and local casinos share common characteristics, neighborhood casinos differentiate themselves to better cater to the locals population. Locals casinos offer a different mix of games or games not usually found in tourist-oriented casinos, such as bingo. New games and machines (slots or video poker) are usually tested first in neighborhood casinos.² Since local gamblers may visit the casino many times a week, it is essential to diversify the gaming experience as much as possible and variety on the floor is a major concern for casino managers. Moreover, in order to attract residents to gamble, locals casinos developed ways to better benefit gamblers. They offer table games with lower minimum bets, as well as lower denomination slot machines and video poker, quarter and nickel most of the time.

Neighborhood casinos, like casinos on the Strip, are not only about gaming. While hotel rooms rarely attract locals, these properties' rooms are often convenient places for visiting family and friends of local patrons. Because they are off the Strip, they are less influenced by the peaks of tourist season and less likely to be affected by conventions that come to town. As a result, neighborhood hotel-casinos generally charge less than those on the Strip. Similarly, local as well as tourist casinos in the Las Vegas Valley feature a large range of entertainment and amenities, the most important of them being dining. The

gourmet restaurants of the Strip generally draw tourists who have a dedicated budget for those kinds of extras or locals who want to celebrate a special event. By contrast, locals will choose neighborhood casinos for more low key nights out, or more frequent family gatherings. Reasonable prices help secure the loyalty of clients that can potentially come every week.

The popularity of gambling among locals

Given the density of casinos in a medium-size metropolitan area and the consistent growth of gaming and casinos in the Las Vegas Valley, it seems likely that the locals gaming industry is economically sustainable. Some statistics published by the Las Vegas Convention and Visitors Authority (LVCVA), the official destination marketing organization of Las Vegas, confirm that locals casinos make economic sense in Las Vegas. According to the latest *Clark County Resident Study* (2008), gambling ranked second among all activities in which residents said they participated, close behind going to the movies (respectively 18% and 20%). Two-thirds of the Clark County population is gambling at least occasionally and, on those who gamble, 44% do so at least once a week.³ Those numbers are stable compared to those of the previous *Resident Study*, published in 2006.⁴ The *Resident Study* also asked gambling residents where they gamble most often: 75% answered in a neighborhood casino. Only 16% gamble most often in casinos on the Strip, and an even smaller 5% gamble Downtown, which demonstrates that locals prefer neighborhood casinos over the tourist-oriented casinos of the Strip and Downtown Las Vegas. The LVCVA survey asked gamblers why they avoided certain casinos: nearly one-half avoid the Strip casinos because of crowds, tourists, traffic, or difficulty finding parking; an explanation advanced by only 16% of the gamblers avoiding Downtown. The other main objection to gambling on the Strip or Downtown was that other places were closer or more convenient – one-fifth in the Strip's case, one-third in Downtown's case.

Those statistics highlight the wish of local residents to distance themselves from the tourist crowds and their preference towards properties closer to home. The tourist-oriented casinos may offer more attractions and activities, but this is not enough to compensate for perceived overcrowding by tourists and higher prices. Neighborhood casinos are therefore a sustainable business, catering to the local clientele. The evolution of this sector is interesting to study: What started as a niche market became a very profitable business.

From a niche to a profitable business

The recent death of Franck Fertitta, Jr. on August 21, 2009, has brought some light on the history of neighborhood casinos. Fertitta Jr., a bellman who became a gaming mogul, is credited with pioneering the concept of neighborhood casinos in Las Vegas. Founder of Station Casinos Inc., Fertitta opened his first neighborhood casino – simply named the Casino – in 1976. The 5,000-square-foot property, a few minutes away from the Las Vegas Boulevard, within the City of Las Vegas's limits, gave the workers of the Strip their own place to gamble. The Casino was renamed Bingo Palace and now is known as Palace Station. Despite the common assumption that Fertitta coined the concept of neighborhood casinos in the 1970s, this research shows that locals casino can be traced back as early as the 1930s.

In the early days of Las Vegas, the locals casinos were modest dollar-a-beer joints with loose slots that catered to budget-minded tourists and the folks who lived here, typically employees at the hotels and casinos on the Strip. Possibly the oldest neighborhood casino is the Railroad Pass Hotel and Casino in Henderson, which holds the oldest active gaming license in Southern Nevada.⁵ Opened in 1931, the year that Nevadans legalized commercial gambling, along the main thoroughfare between the Hoover Dam construction site and Las Vegas, this casino was likely to cater to the construction workers and the tourists who came to see the dam.

The 1940s saw the birth of the Strip, along the Highway 91 (renamed Las Vegas Boulevard in 1959), with the construction of the El Rancho Vegas, the Last Frontier and the Flamingo, followed by many other casino resorts. It took nevertheless a decade for businessmen to witness the rise of gaming in Las Vegas and envision the potential of neighborhood casinos. It took two decades to notice the construction of other locals casinos: during the the 1950s opened the Castaways (formerly known as the Showboat), and the Moulin Rouge, both closed today. Jerry's Nugget and Silver Nugget Casino followed in the 1960s.

A time-lag characterizes the rise of the Strip casinos and that of locals casinos. The "locals market" exploded only in the 1970s, as the Strip began to boom and hired workers by the tens of thousands, with fast-spreading subdivisions in the Las Vegas Valley as a result. Those employees and other workers arriving in the metropolitan area, wanted a place to gamble away from the Strip and closer to home. That is when Fertitta Jr. played a decisive role.

When the senior Fertitta decided to open his first casino, his son Lorenzo told the *Las Vegas Sun* in an interview "it was pretty much desert", and he added that "People thought [his father] was crazy".⁶ Fertitta Jr., with his company Station Casinos, ultimately came to run ten casinos throughout the valley and became one of the biggest local casino operators in Las Vegas. *Fortune's* Magazine ranked it No. 18 on its "100 Best Companies to Work For" in 2007.⁷ Neighborhood casinos met with economic success, essentially due to local populations: Station Casinos' earnings more than doubled from 2002 to 2006 and an estimate of 80% to 85% of the company's customers are Las Vegas locals.⁸ But even as the locals casinos evolved from a niche market to a very profitable business, they have nevertheless not been sheltered from the economic downturn. In July 2009, Station Casinos filed for Chapter 11 protection: its filing listed \$5.7 billion in assets against \$6.5 billion in debt.⁹

Statistics and locations

Mapping the location of neighborhood casinos (cf. figure 1) indicates their concentration along the main thoroughfares of the metropolitan area: chiefly along the Las Vegas Boulevard, north and south of the Strip corridor, Boulder Highway, or nearby the Beltway (CC215). In order to attract as many customers as possible, locals casinos have to be easily accessible. In a Western city like Las Vegas where urbanization has been shaped by the automobile, casinos have to be car-friendly. Not only should casinos be located next to a major highway's or beltway's exits, but they also need to have enough space to accommodate their clients' cars, and thus have lots of parking. Here, locals casinos follow exactly the same location pattern found on the Strip, even more so when considering the tendency to create clusters of adjacent casinos.

This phenomenon gave birth to what is now known as the "Boulder Strip", along Boulder Highway. A 4-mile stretch is home to six different casinos: Boulder Station, Arizona Charlie's Boulder, Sam's Town, Nevada Palace, Eastside Cannery and Longhorn Hotel Casino. As with the Strip corridor, concentration is good for business. It gives a critical mass, enriching and diversifying the economic offer. This marketing and geographical strategy is paying since 19% of the gambling residents of Clark County gamble in the Boulder Strip/Green Valley area (which is the highest number).¹⁰

From a statistical point of view, there is a relatively even distribution of locals casinos in the metropolitan area: seven neighborhood casinos are located within the City of Las Vegas and of North Las Vegas. Henderson counts five locals casinos within its limits. Fourteen casinos are located in urban unincorporated Clark County; which makes a total of thirty-three throughout the metropolitan area. Interestingly, if there is no neighborhood casino in Boulder City, it is because it is one of the only two cities in Nevada that prohibits gambling.

Casinos and growth

Looking now at the opening dates of the neighborhood casinos will allow analyzing the relation between locals casinos and urban growth. Neighborhood casinos appear indeed as a result of residential developments and urban sprawl.

The information available shows a stable even if tenuous growth of the neighborhood casinos from the 1930s to the 1980s, that contrasts with the stark increase of openings in the 1990s and 2000s (cf. graphic 2).¹¹ During the fifty years between the 1930s and the 1980s, eleven locals casinos were opened on a steady rhythm. The 1990s and the 2000s outstrip that trend with the opening of twenty-one casinos in twenty years. Those numbers indicate that the locals casinos follow the urban pattern of growth. The last twenty years of the twentieth century have indeed been characterized by major urban growth in the Las Vegas Valley, leading to an urban sprawl unknown so far. Indeed, during the 1990s, the average growth rate was 7%.¹² Between 1980 and 2007, the population of the metropolitan area quadrupled, with peaks of more than 6,000 new inhabitants per month during the early 2000s. As a consequence, a tremendous boom in construction took place to accommodate the new inhabitants. The city expanded like never before. According to a report published by the Sierra Club in 1998, the suburbanized area of Las Vegas increased by 238% between 1990 and 1998, while the population “only” grew by 190%.¹³ More local residents mean more potential clients for the neighborhood casinos. And an increase of the clientele base means more investments to be more attractive and to be better suited for competition among the locals casinos.

The general trend of locals casinos’ diffusion throughout the metropolitan area raises the question: Are the locals casino companies attracted to the newest and best rated neighborhoods, possibly anticipating their success? Or, on the opposite, do they play it safe and stick with the more traditional neighborhoods, where they already have a good knowledge of the market base?

Mapping helps to better understand the underground dynamics of casinos and sprawl (cf. figure 1). Until the 1980s, the proximity with the urban core was a requisite for any new neighborhood casinos. Simply because it was where people lived, the locals casinos were located in the City of Las Vegas or in North Las Vegas, roughly along a wide axis following the Las Vegas Boulevard (cf. graphic 3). Conversely, locals casinos in the 1990s and the 2000s were primarily built in unincorporated Clark County, or close to the newest suburban master-planned communities.

Establishing in unincorporated territory gives casinos several benefits, including exemption from municipal taxes, and the zoning laws of Clark County are more flexible than those of municipalities. Moreover, since 42% of the total population in the valley lives in Clark County according to the US Census Bureau, building there brings the neighborhood casinos closer to their potential clients. When the locals casinos weren’t built in Clark County, entrepreneurs chose the most dynamic parts of the metropolitan area that is the outer suburbs, and more specifically the master-planned communities. An equal development is observed on both side of the metropolitan area: the northwest around Summerlin and the southeast around Henderson and Green Valley.

Very interestingly, almost every single casino built during the 1990s and the 2000s is located within or in the proximity of a master-planned community. The best examples are Rampart Casino, Suncoast Casino and Red Rock Station, built in Summerlin, the largest master-planned community in the metropolitan area. The same is true of Aliante Station, built in the Aliante master-planned community or Green Valley Ranch Station in Green Valley. One can deduce from this situation that locals casinos are viewed as added value to the master-planned community. They became one of the amenities potential buyers look for, almost on the same level as sports infrastructure, parks or business plaza. Property developers

include locals casinos project early on: the original master-plan of Summerlin planned no less than six different “resort hotels with gaming”¹⁴.

Thus, it emerges that locals casinos aren’t urban forces that drive the growth of an urban area. They follow the existing residential pattern. They reinforce the *status quo* of residential developments. Contrarily to the real estate developers or casinos developers on the Strip, the neighborhood casinos of the 1990s and the 2000s didn’t take much risk as far as location is concerned. Even if a spot was often set aside for a casino in the original master-plan, it usually took some time between the ground breaking of the residential developments and the opening of a casino. For example, Summerlin’s first development, called Sun City, opened in 1989 and had to wait for ten years to have its first neighborhood casino, Rampart. Likewise, Green Valley had to wait for almost twenty years to see the opening of the Green Valley Ranch Casino. From this observation, it can be concluded that neighborhood casinos are no pioneer in exploring new areas of the valley. They don’t initiate urban growth, let-alone urban sprawl. This may be related to the economic risk taken in the opening of a new casino. Following residential developments like master-planned communities where it is possible to estimate the social status and the purchasing power of the future inhabitants brings security. It makes it easier to elaborate business plans and gives a better understanding of the local market. Thus, the term of casino-led suburbanization does not seem relevant.

Locals casinos established themselves as valuable assets for new residential developments such as master-planned communities. Neighborhood casinos have become one of the amenities expected in any quality residential development. That statement reinforces the normalization of casino gambling in the Las Vegas Valley. It highlights a fascinating duality between the specificity of the gaming specialization in Las Vegas and the normalization of finding a

neighborhood casino near anybody’s home with all its social implications.

Entertainment and community services

Locals casinos focus on making their environment casual, familiar and comfortable. In a sense, they are neighborhood “hangouts”, where locals go after a long day at work. Original forms of loyalty program have also been developed in neighborhood casinos such as a higher rate of comps, free play bonus or payroll check cashing. But most of all, locals casinos have diversified their non-gaming offerings.

Locals casinos include typical everyday activities like bowling alleys, movie theaters, ice skating ring or even day care centers. Because the neighborhood casinos are mostly located in the suburbs and cater to local, repeat customers, they answer to everyday needs for family and low-key recreation. Here again, neighborhood casinos emphasize the specificity of Las Vegas: where many suburbanites throughout the country would rely on malls or shopping centers to go to the movies or practice bowling, Las Vegans rely on casinos. Of course, that is not to say that locals casinos are the only place where you can find restaurants and concert venues, but they are part of the daily life of individuals and families that don’t necessarily gamble. Liz Benston, journalist at the *Las Vegas Sun* sums up this idea: “For area residents, the neighborhood casino is more than a business concept. For better or worse, it’s the cultural and social lifeblood of the valley.”¹⁵ In some respects, the locals casinos have become Las Vegas’ community centers. This explains why high-school commencement and minor league sport competition are held in neighborhood casinos’ venues.

Casinos as community centers

Some scholars, the historian Hal Rothman in the lead, haven taken this analysis even farther and consider that locals casinos have taken on a civic dimension by going past entertainment and becoming community centers.¹⁶ This is perspective, neighborhood casinos would fulfill a civic role

in the community by offering venues and activities for the entire range of the local population, and especially for the elderly. A quote from David Littlejohn develops that idea: “many residents admit that neighborhood casinos have become the senior centers of choice for thousands of local elderly people. [...] It provides them with friendly company, free transportation, cheap food, and a degree of entertainment and excitement that to them seem worth every quarter they lose, infinitely preferable to the county’s senior centers or staying at home watching TV.”¹⁷ Rothman explained this situation by the speed of urban development in the Las Vegas Valley: in his opinion, the metropolitan area grew too fast to establish enough public or semipublic facilities to answer the Las Vegas’ needs and the neighborhood casinos have stepped in as a way to lure a bigger clientele.¹⁸

Of course, the locals casinos are not the only places where locals can find public recreation, various classes and activities. Nevertheless, the originality of gamblers and family alike relying on neighborhood casinos for entertainment is unquestionable.

Conclusion

If the hotel-casinos on the Strip have led the urbanization of Clark County and the expansion of the greater Las Vegas, it is not the case with neighborhood casinos. They don’t seem to form the same urbanizing force than the “tourist” casinos are. They

essentially follow the suburban developments. This difference demonstrates the intrinsic duality of Las Vegas. The tourist city and the locals city are differentiated by their economic activities, their urban morphology but also by the economic and political processes that led to their creation.

Nevertheless, neighborhood casinos are part of the suburbanization of Las Vegas metropolis. They are equally spread amongst the metropolitan area. They reinforced the rise of the suburbs and became a major asset in the building of residential developments and community life.

Finally, neighborhood casinos highlight a dichotomy between the normalization of finding neighborhood casino gambling and the national place of Las Vegas with its gaming-and-tourism-focused economy. The normalization of casinos plays a major role in the local economy. At the same time, there is a contrast between the normalization of relying on neighborhood casinos as community and civic centers and the fact that, in many areas of the United States, casino gambling remains illegal or highly controlled.

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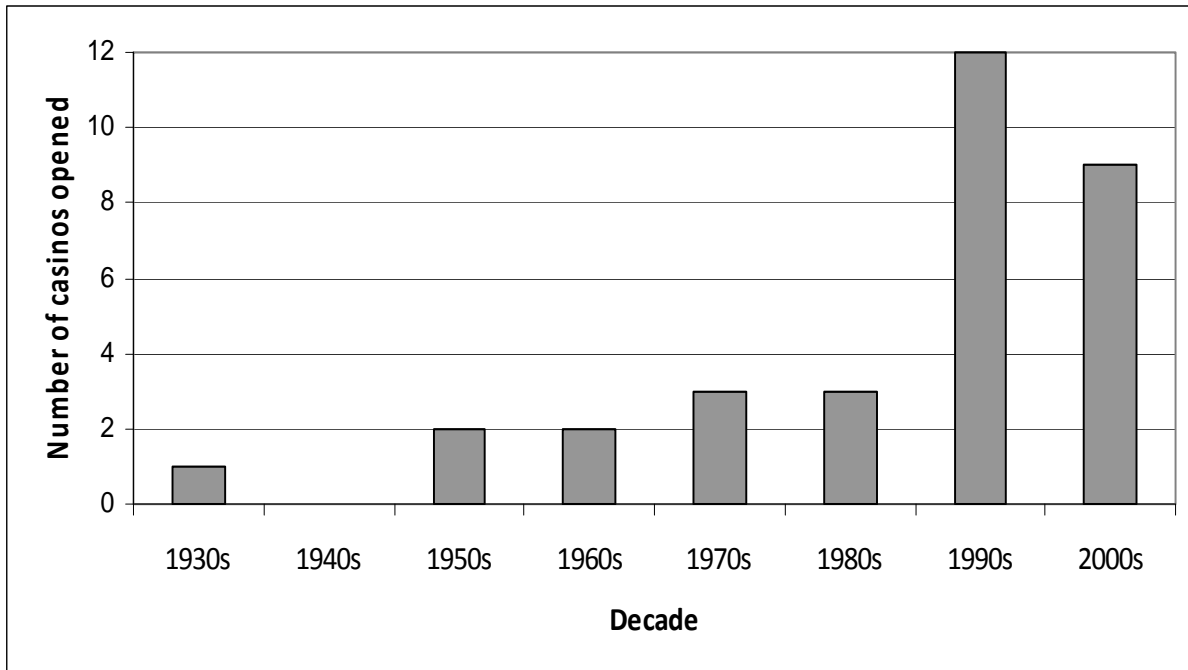
For more information about the series, visit the website or contact series editor David G. Schwartz.

Table 1: List of Neighborhood Casinos

Casino name	Location	Opening
1. Aliante Station	7300 Aliante Parkway, North Las Vegas	2008
2. Arizona Charlie's Decatur	740 South Decatur Boulevard, Las Vegas	1988
3. Arizona Charlie's Boulder	4575 Boulder Highway, Clark County	2000
4. Siegels Slots and Suites <i>(formerly Barcelona Hotel and Casino)</i>	5011 East Craig Road, Clark County	∅
5. Bighorn Casino	3016 East Lake Mead Blvd, North Las Vegas	1998
6. Boulder Station	4111 Boulder Highway, Clark County	1994
7. Casino MonteLago	8 Strada Di Villaggio, Lake Las Vegas (Henderson)	2002 (closed 2010)
8. Castaways (the) <i>(formerly Showboat Hotel and Casino)</i>	2800 Fremont Street, Las Vegas	1954 (closed 2004)
9. East Side Cannery Hotel and Casino	5255 Boulder Highway, Clark County	2008
10. Fiesta Henderson <i>(formerly named Reserve)</i>	777 West Lake Mead Parkway, Henderson	1996
11. Fiesta Rancho Hotel and Casino	2400 North Rancho Drive, North Las Vegas	1994
12. Gold Coast Hotel and Casino	4000 West Flamingo Road, Clark County	1986
13. Green Valley Ranch Station Casino	2300 Paseo Verde Parkway, Henderson	2001
14. Hacienda Hotel and Casino	Highway 93, Clark County	1999
15. Jerry's Nugget	1821 N. Las Vegas Blvd, North Las Vegas	1964
16. Longhorn Hotel Casino	5288 Boulder Highway, Clark County	1989
17. Lucky Club Casino and Hotel <i>(formerly named Speedway Casino)</i>	3227 Civic Center Drive, North Las Vegas	∅
18. M Resort	12300 S. Las Vegas Boulevard, Henderson	2009
19. Moulin Rouge	920 West Bonanza Road, Las Vegas	1955 (closed 1955)
20. Nevada Palace Hotel Casino	5255 Boulder Hwy, Clark County	1979 (closed 2008)
21. Orleans	4500 West Tropicana Avenue, Clark County	1996
22. Palace Station	2411 Sahara Avenue, Las Vegas	1976
23. Railroad Pass Hotel and Casino	2800 South Boulder Highway, Henderson	1931
24. Rampart Casino	221 North Rampart Boulevard, Summerlin (Las Vegas)	1999
25. Red Rock Hotel and Casino	11011 Charleston Boulevard, Clark County	2006
26. Sam's Town Hotel and Casino	5111 Boulder Highway, Clark County	1979
27. Santa Fe Station Casino	4949 Rancho Drive, Las Vegas	1991
28. Silver Nugget Casino	2140 N. Las Vegas Blvd., North Las Vegas	1964
29. Silverton Casino Lodge <i>(formerly called Boomtown)</i>	3333 Blue Diamond Road, Clark County	1994
30. South Point Hotel, Casino and Spa	9777 S. Las Vegas Boulevard, Clark County	2005
31. Suncoast Hotel and Casino	9090 West Alta Drive, Summerlin (Las Vegas)	2000
32. Sunset Station Casino	1301 Sunset Road, Clark County	1997
33. Texas Station Hotel and Casino	2101 Texas Star Lane, North Las Vegas	1995

∅ information not found

Graphic 2: Chronology: Openings of Neighborhood Casinos



Graphic 3: Locations and Opening Decades of Neighborhood Casinos

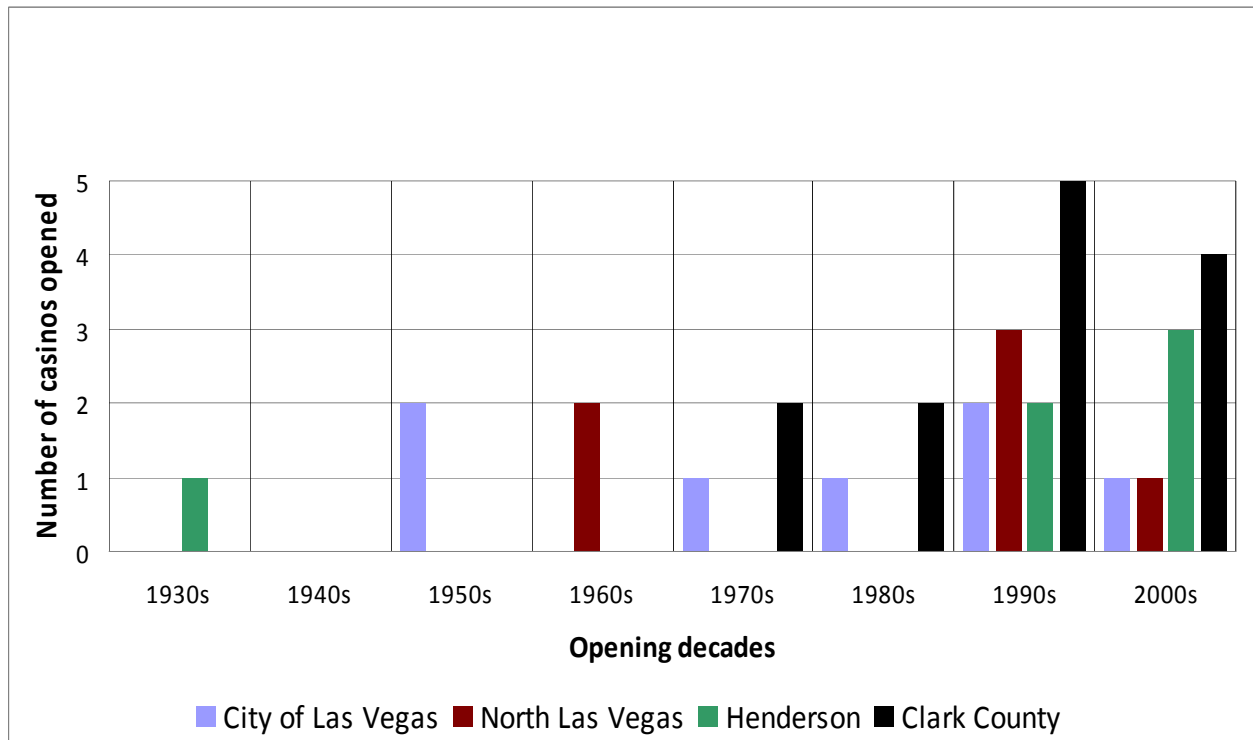
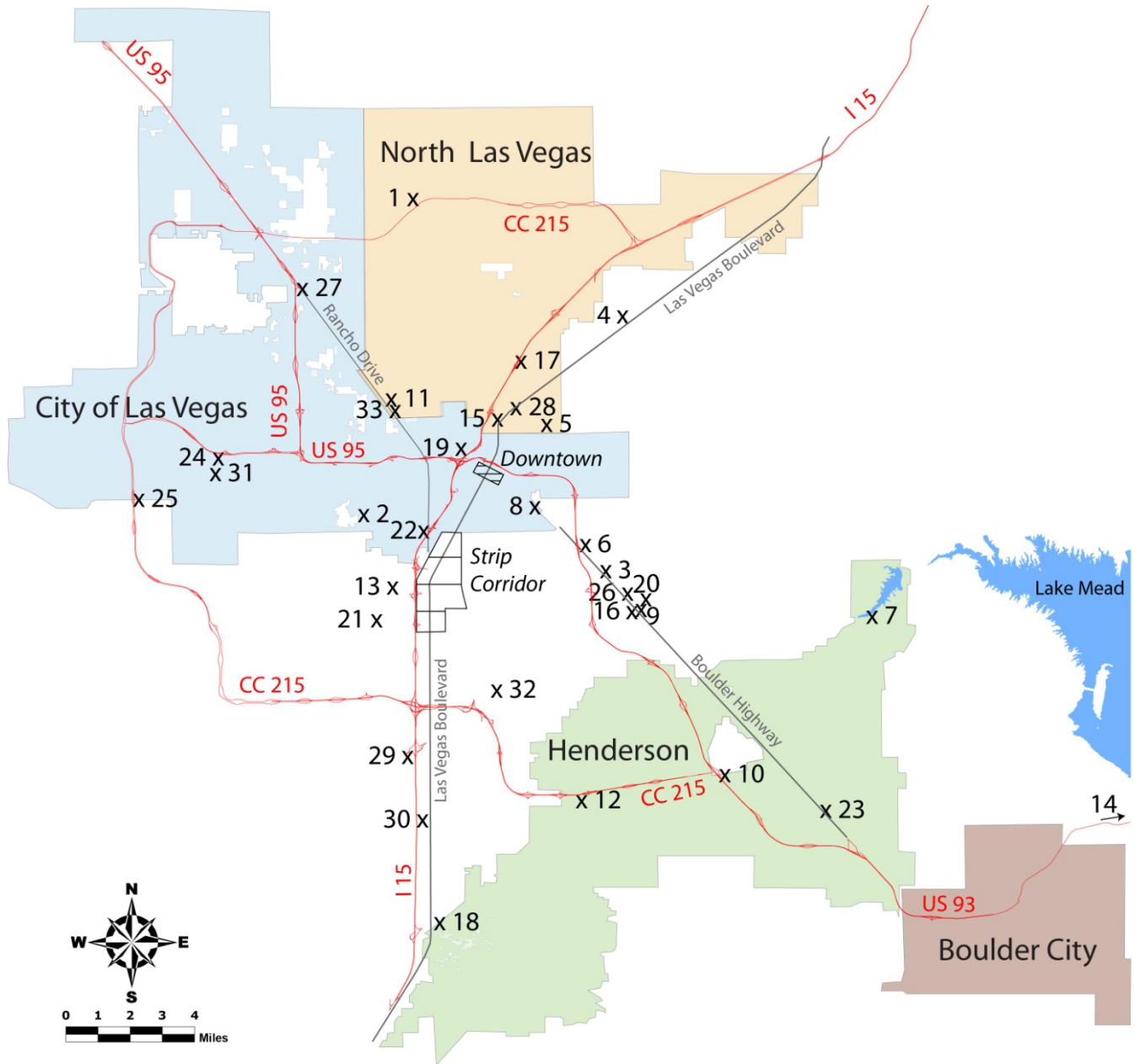


Figure 1: Neighborhood Casinos in the Metropolitan Area of Las Vegas



LEGEND	
	Municipalities
	Clark County
	Main thoroughfares
	Main expressways
	Location of tourist-oriented casinos
	Location of neighborhood casinos (numbers refer to Table 1)

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Notes

- ¹ *Nevada Gaming Almanac*, Casino City Press, Newton (MA), 2007; Landiscor Aerial Information (2009) *Las Vegas Atlas*, Las Vegas: Landiscor Aerial Information; Friedman Bill (2000) *Designing Casinos to Dominate the Competition*, Reno: Institute for the Study of Gambling and Commercial Gaming; Architecture Studies Library, UNLV, Las Vegas Hotels/Casinos database.
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- ⁵ Railroad Pass Hotel and Casino's website: <http://www.railroadpass.com> (retrieved 03/22/10).
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- ⁹ Knightly Arnold M. "Company emphasizes need to restructure debt; casino operations unaffected," *Las Vegas Review-Journal*(July 28, 2009).
- ¹⁰ LVCVA (2008), 32.
- ¹¹ The opening dates were found for 31 out of the 33 neighborhood casinos identified. Despite this bias in the analysis, enough material has been gathered to draw some conclusion.
- ¹² Las Vegas Visitors and Convention Authority's website :
<http://www.lvcva.com/getfile/Population%202007.pdf?fileID=241> (retrieved 03/ 20/10)
- ¹³ Sierra Club, *1998 Urban Sprawl Report*: http://www.sierraclub.org/sprawl/report98/las_vegas.asp (retrieved 03/22/10)
- ¹⁴ Jo Allen Gause. *Great Planned Communities*, Washington: Urban Land Institute (2002), 192
- ¹⁵ Liz Benston. "Neighborhood Draw," *Las Vegas Sun*(December 12, 2005).
- ¹⁶ Woutat (2006).
- ¹⁷ David Littlejohn. *The Real Las Vegas: Life Beyond the Strip*, New York: Oxford University Press, (1999) 23-24.
- ¹⁸ Rothman quoted in Woutat (2006).