

Thermal migration and climatic de-territorialisation of North American professional sports leagues, 1950-2025

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DATA AND CODE AVAILABILITY

The franchise database, processed climatic indicators, city-coordinate table, relocation vectors, derived analysis datasets, and Python scripts will be made openly available through Zenodo upon publication. ERA5-Land data are publicly available from the Copernicus Climate Data Store.

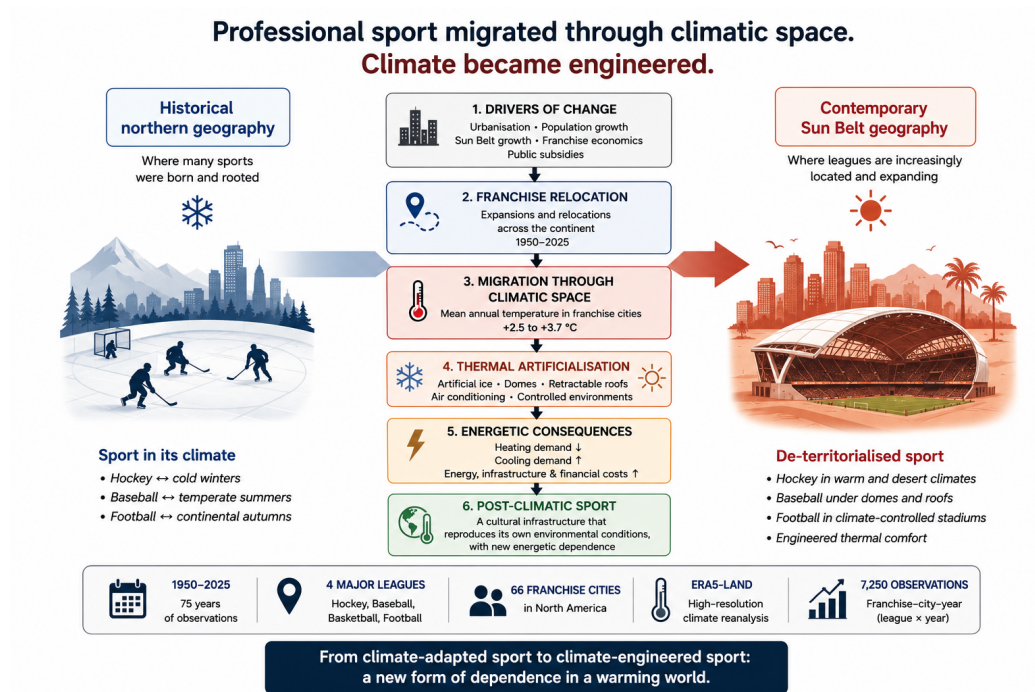
LICENCE

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1 Graphical Abstract

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5 Highlights

6 **Thermal migration and climatic de-territorialisation of North Amer-** 7 **ican professional sports leagues, 1950–2025**

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- 9 • Major North American sports leagues migrated towards warmer cities
10 since 1950.
- 11 • Changing league geography explains 63–73% of total thermal drift.
- 12 • Sixty-three percent of franchise relocations moved towards warmer cities.
- 13 • NHL relocations show climatic de-territorialisation can be non-monotonic.
- 14 • Professional sport transforms climatic dependence rather than elimi-
15 nating it.

16 Thermal migration and climatic de-territorialisation of
17 North American professional sports leagues, 1950–2025

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20 **Abstract**

Over the past seven decades, the four major North American professional sports leagues (NHL, MLB, NBA, NFL) have expanded and relocated across the continent, shifting their collective geography towards the Sun Belt. We quantify the climatic consequences of this movement by combining the complete franchise location history of the four leagues from 1950 to 2025 with ERA5-Land reanalysis data and the Köppen–Geiger classification. We construct a franchise–city–year panel, derive thermal and degree-day indicators, and introduce a normalised Climate Departure Index (CDI). Mean annual temperature across franchise cities increased by 2.5–3.7 °C between 1951–1970 and 2006–2025. A formal decomposition attributes 63–73% of this thermal drift to the changing geographical composition of the leagues, with the remainder arising from in situ warming of their initial franchise geography. Treating each of 59 franchise relocations as a vector in climatic space shows that 63% moved towards warmer cities, generally reducing heating-degree demand while increasing cooling-degree demand. The National Hockey League follows a distinctive trajectory: its weak mean relocation vector masks extreme movements towards both warmer and colder cities, demonstrating that climatic de-territorialisation can be non-monotonic. The NHL also exhibits the largest departure from its league-specific historical thermal reference. We interpret these results as evidence of climatic de-territorialisation: a measurable weakening of the historical association between professional sport and the climatic environments in which it developed.

21 *Keywords:* Sports geography, Climatic de-territorialisation, Franchise
22 relocation, Sun Belt, Thermal artificialisation, Climate–energy nexus,
23 ERA5-Land

1. Introduction

1.1. Sport as a territorial and climatic production

Sport is, before it is anything else, a spatial phenomenon. The places where sports are played identify the teams that play them, structure the loyalties of those who watch, and inscribe athletic practice within particular landscapes and climates (Bale, 2003). Over more than half a century, sports geography has established that sport is not indifferent to its physical environment. Sporting practices emerge, diffuse, and consolidate within particular environmental settings, while their spatial organisation both shapes and is shaped by the territories that host them (Andrews, 2016; Higham and Vada, 2025). Ice hockey developed within the frozen winters of Canada and northern North America; baseball took form in the temperate summers of the industrial Northeast; gridiron football became associated, in its collective imagination, with the continental autumn. Each of the major North American leagues therefore carries an implicit climatic signature, understood here as a set of environmental conditions historically associated with the development and identity of its sport.

Yet the contemporary geography of these leagues stands in growing tension with that historical signature. Professional ice hockey is now played in the Mojave Desert; baseball and football are increasingly staged beneath climate-controlled domes and retractable roofs; and artificial ice is manufactured and maintained in cities where outdoor freezing rarely or never occurs (Kidd, 2013; Romanowich, 2012; Sutherland, 2015). Sports that were once closely associated with particular climatic settings can now be staged far beyond them. This tension between the historical climatic geography of a sport and the contemporary geography of its professional organisation is the point of departure for this paper.

1.2. League expansion and the urbanisation of the Sun Belt

The spatial reconfiguration of North American professional sport did not occur in a vacuum. From the 1950s onward, the demographic and economic centre of gravity of the United States shifted southward and westward, towards the rapidly growing metropolitan areas that came to be known collectively as the Sun Belt. Professional franchises, as instruments of urban prestige and economic-development policy, followed this shift and at times anticipated it (Baade, 1996; Coates and Humphreys, 2003b,a). The post-war

decades therefore saw successive waves of league expansion and franchise re-location into cities with limited prior traditions in the sport concerned, from suburban stadium developments on the metropolitan fringe (Ingrassia, 2024) to the cultivation of fan bases in non-traditional markets (Mastromartino et al., 2020). In some cases, climatic contrast itself entered the rhetoric of metropolitan competition. The choice between, in the words of one account, “a big-league Minneapolis or a cold Omaha” framed professional sport as a marker of urban arrival (Tochterman, 2024).

This movement has been examined primarily through economic, managerial, and political lenses, including the contested economic returns of hosting a franchise (Coates and Humphreys, 2003b; Bradbury et al., 2023), the public subsidisation of stadiums and arenas (Kellison and Mondello, 2014; Kellison et al., 2017), the resilience of franchises to major shocks (Baade and Matheson, 2007), and the territorialisation and de-territorialisation of sporting markets (Fujak and Joachim, 2022; Fujak et al., 2022; Mason and Moncrieff, 1993). A parallel strand in sports geography has interpreted franchise location as a producer of place identity and civic meaning (DeChano and Shelley, 2004; Wise and Kirby, 2020; Lee and Choi, 2024). Taken together, this literature explains why and how franchises move. They respond to markets, population growth, infrastructure, and public policy. What it has not examined is the climatic consequence of that movement.

1.3. *A scientific gap: the climatic dimension of franchise movement*

What remains almost entirely unexamined is the *climatic* dimension of this movement. If professional leagues have expanded and relocated across the continent over seven decades, then the aggregate climate of their host cities must have changed in step. Yet neither the direction nor the magnitude of this change has been systematically quantified. We do not know whether the major leagues have, on average, shifted towards warmer cities; whether the thermal context of their host locations has moved from heating-dominated towards cooling-dominated conditions; or whether the climatic classes historically associated with each sport have become less representative of its contemporary geography. Nor has the effect of changing franchise geography been separated from the concurrent warming of incumbent host cities.

This gap lies between two converging bodies of research. Sport-ecology and environmental-sustainability studies have documented the growing environmental footprint of professional sport, including its increasing reliance

on engineered thermal environments such as refrigerated ice sheets, air-conditioned arenas, and domed or retractable-roof stadiums (McCullough et al., 2016, 2020). A parallel literature on sport and climate change has conceptualised the climate vulnerability of sport organisations, examining the exposure of athletes, spectators, venues, and operations to climatic hazards and the adaptations these exposures require (Orr and Inoue, 2019; Higham and Hinch, 2018). At global scale, multi-hazard projections indicate that heat, humidity, heavy rainfall, and heatwaves are jointly contracting the climatic windows available for outdoor sport (Defrance and Lescure, 2026). Climate vulnerability has also been linked to early stadium replacement (Kellison and Orr, 2021), while stadiums have been reconceived as quasi-public thermal refuges within climate-changed cities (Kellison et al., 2023).

These two literatures respectively describe the environmental cost of engineering sporting conditions and the vulnerability produced by changing climatic conditions. What is missing is the geographical link between them, in the form of a systematic account of whether professional sport has itself moved across the climatic field, how large that movement has been, and how it interacts with the warming occurring beneath established franchise cities. This paper provides that quantification.

1.4. Objectives and hypotheses

We construct a purpose-built dataset pairing the complete expansion and relocation history of the four major North American professional leagues (NHL, MLB, NBA, and NFL) from 1950 to 2025 with ERA5-Land reanalysis data and the Köppen–Geiger climate classification (Beck et al., 2023). This franchise–city–year panel is used to quantify the geographical and climatic drift of professional sport over seven decades. We derive mean annual temperature, heating and cooling degree days, hot and frost days, and introduce a normalised *Climate Departure Index* (CDI), which measures the standardised thermal distance between each franchise-city and the historical thermal reference of its league.

We test three hypotheses:

- H1** (*thermal migration*) Since 1950, league expansion and franchise relocation have shifted the geography of North American professional sport towards warmer cities, producing a measurable upward drift in the mean annual temperature of franchise locations.

131 **H2** (*thermal-energy transition*) This geographical shift has altered the degree-
132 day profile of franchise cities, reducing heating-related demand while
133 increasing cooling-related demand.

134 **H3** (*climatic departure*) The National Hockey League, whose historical ge-
135 ography was the most climatically specific, exhibits the greatest stan-
136 dardised departure from its league-specific thermal reference.

137 Beyond these empirical tests, the paper develops the concept of *climatic*
138 *de-territorialisation* to describe the progressive weakening of the historical
139 association between a sport and the climatic environments in which it de-
140 veloped. Whereas de-territorialisation has previously been framed primarily
141 in economic, cultural, or identity terms (Wise and Kirby, 2020; Poli, 2007;
142 Fujak and Joachim, 2022), we give it a measurable physical dimension by con-
143 sidering the distance travelled by a sporting system through climatic space.

144 **2. Theoretical framework**

145 *2.1. The geography of sport*

146 The premise that sport is a territorial production is foundational to sports
147 geography (Bale, 2003). Teams are named for places, leagues form spatial
148 networks, and athletic identity is often expressed through territory. This spa-
149 tiality is not merely symbolic. It structures fan attachment, the meaning of
150 the home venue, and the civic narratives that cities build around their teams
151 (DeChano and Shelley, 2004; Robinson, 2010). Recent syntheses have under-
152 lined both the continuing vitality and the persistent under-development of
153 sports geography as a field, while calling for greater attention to the material
154 and environmental dimensions of sporting space (Andrews, 2016; Higham and
155 Vada, 2025). Our contribution responds directly to this call by treating the
156 climate of the host city not as a background condition, but as a measurable
157 attribute of the sporting territory itself.

158 *2.2. Sport, urbanisation, and the franchise as urban instrument*

159 If sport is territorial, the professional franchise is also an urban instru-
160 ment. The economic-geography literature has long debated whether fran-
161 chises generate net local economic benefits. Several decades of research sug-
162 gest that their direct economic returns are often small or negligible, even as
163 cities continue to compete for teams and subsidise their venues (Baade, 1996;

164 Coates and Humphreys, 2003b,a; Bradbury et al., 2023). This apparent para-
165 dox, in which public investment persists despite limited measurable returns,
166 has been explained through the symbolic and political value of major-league
167 status. A franchise signals that a city has arrived (Tochterman, 2024; Kelli-
168 son and Mondello, 2014).

169 This logic encourages franchises to move towards large and growing metropoli-
170 tan markets. It is therefore market growth, demographic change, infrastruc-
171 ture, and public policy, rather than climatic preference, that carried the
172 leagues into the Sun Belt. Franchise expansion and relocation are primarily
173 movements towards people and capital. Their climatic consequences are un-
174 intended, but they are measurable and, as this paper argues, consequential.

175 *2.3. Sport, environment, and thermal artificialisation*

176 As professional sport has moved into climates increasingly distant from
177 its historical environmental settings, it has become more dependent on the
178 engineered production of suitable playing and spectator conditions. The
179 manufacture and maintenance of ice in warm climates, the air-conditioning
180 of arenas, and the roofing and cooling of stadiums constitute the material
181 infrastructure of this dependence. A substantial engineering literature docu-
182 ments the thermal challenges associated with these environments, including
183 the indoor climate of domed stadiums (Nishioka et al., 2000), spectator com-
184 fort in air-conditioned open stadiums in hot climates (Ghani et al., 2021;
185 Losi et al., 2021), condensation in indoor ice arenas (Marquardt and Mainka,
186 2008), and retractable-roof solutions developed for extreme climatic condi-
187 tions (Goeppert and Paech, 2020; Romanowich, 2012).

188 The associated energy requirements can be substantial. A single ice rink
189 may consume around 1.5 GWh per year (Sutherland, 2015), while stadium
190 operations may generate a significant greenhouse-gas footprint (Hedayati
191 et al., 2014). These pressures have contributed to growing interest in “zero-
192 energy” venue concepts (Manni et al., 2018). Outdoor air-conditioning at
193 the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar provides an extreme example of thermal
194 artificialisation, within a broader regional context in which thermal comfort
195 is engineered rather than inherited (Sofotasiou et al., 2015; Winter, 2016).
196 This literature documents the energetic implications of sustaining sport out-
197 side its historical climatic setting. Our contribution is complementary: we
198 quantify the climatic displacement associated with the growing need for such
199 engineered environments.

200 2.4. Climatic de-territorialisation: a concept

201 We bring these strands together through the concept of *climatic de-*
202 *territorialisation*. De-territorialisation has a substantial lineage in cultural
203 and human geography, from Augé’s non-places (Merriman, 2004) to analyses
204 of sporting identity and spectatorship (Hills and Kennedy, 2006; Poli, 2007;
205 Penny and Redhead, 2009). In sport, the term has been used to describe
206 the weakening of the relationship between a team and its place of origin, in-
207 cluding the “home away from home” of a franchise playing abroad (Wise and
208 Kirby, 2020), and the abstraction of sporting markets from their territorial
209 base (Fujak and Joachim, 2022).

210 We give the concept a distinct physical dimension. Climatic de-territorialisation
211 denotes the progressive weakening of the historical relationship between a
212 sport and the climatic environments in which it developed. It does not nec-
213 essarily imply the abandonment of place. Rather, it describes the increasing
214 capacity of a sporting system to operate in climatic settings that differ from
215 those associated with its historical geography.

216 In this study, climatic de-territorialisation is operationalised through mea-
217 surable indicators of thermal displacement. These indicators describe the
218 distance, in temperature, degree-day conditions, and Köppen classes, be-
219 tween a league’s historical climatic reference and the environments occupied
220 by its contemporary franchises. The remainder of the paper develops this
221 framework and evaluates it empirically.

222 3. Data and methods

223 3.1. Franchise database

224 We assembled the geographic history of the four major North American
225 professional sports leagues, namely the National Hockey League (NHL), Ma-
226 jor League Baseball (MLB), the National Basketball Association (NBA), and
227 the National Football League (NFL), from 1950 to 2025. Franchise histo-
228 ries, including founding dates, relocations, and host cities, were compiled
229 from the Sports Reference databases (<https://www.hockey-reference.com>,
230 <https://www.baseball-reference.com>, <https://www.basketball-reference.com>,
231 and <https://www.pro-football-reference.com>; accessed 2026).

232 Each franchise was represented as a sequence of *stints*, defined as continu-
233 ous periods during which it operated in a given host city. A relocation opened
234 a new stint. A franchise that moved several times, such as the Oakland–
235 Los Angeles–Oakland–Las Vegas trajectory of the NFL Raiders, therefore

236 contributed multiple stint records. Expansion franchises entered the database
237 in their first season in the league. Franchises that dissolved without continu-
238 ation were excluded, as were pre-1950 entries and teams from minor or rival
239 leagues. Teams absorbed into one of the four contemporary leagues through
240 a formal merger entered the panel in the year of their integration.

241 Each stint was characterised by its league, franchise, host city, first and
242 last active year, and representative city-centre coordinates. A single reference
243 point located at the approximate geographical centre of each city was used
244 throughout the analysis. Venue changes within the same city were therefore
245 not treated as franchise relocations. No materially ambiguous cases of fran-
246 chise continuity affected the construction of the database. The final database
247 contains 66 unique franchise cities.

248 The franchise-stint table, city-coordinate table, annual franchise panel,
249 and analysis code will be made publicly available in the associated research
250 repository.

251 3.2. *Climate data*

252 For each of the 66 franchise cities, we extracted hourly 2-m air temper-
253 ature from the ERA5-Land reanalysis for 1950–2025 (Muñoz Sabater et al.,
254 2021). ERA5-Land provides land-surface climate variables at a horizontal
255 resolution of 0.1° , corresponding to approximately 9 km at the equator.
256 Temperature was sampled from the grid cell nearest to the representative
257 city-centre coordinate.

258 A common grid point was used for all franchises and venues located within
259 the same city. This is consistent with the purpose of the study, which is
260 to characterise the climatic geography of franchise cities rather than the
261 microclimate of individual stadiums or arenas.

262 Hourly temperatures were aggregated into daily minimum, maximum,
263 and mean temperature, from which annual climatic indicators were calcu-
264 lated. The analysis begins in 1950 to correspond with the franchise database
265 and to capture the post-war spatial expansion of the four leagues. The ERA5-
266 Land record before 1979 is based on the ERA5 back extension and is less
267 strongly constrained by observations than the satellite-era record. This lim-
268 itation is considered in the interpretation of early-period absolute values,
269 while the principal analyses rely on multi-decadal means and persistent cli-
270 matic contrasts among cities.

271 3.3. Thermal and degree-day indicators

272 For each city c and year t , we calculated mean annual temperature (TAVG),
 273 the annual number of hot days, defined as days with maximum temperature
 274 above 30 °C, and the annual number of frost days, defined as days with min-
 275 imum temperature below 0 °C.

276 Heating degree days (HDD) and cooling degree days (CDD) were cal-
 277 culated from daily mean temperature using a common base temperature of
 278 18 °C, following established practice for temperate mid-latitude applications
 279 (Lee et al., 2014). For daily mean temperature $T_{c,d}$, the annual indicators
 280 were defined as

$$\text{HDD}_{c,t} = \sum_{d \in t} \max(0, 18 - T_{c,d}), \quad (1)$$

281 and

$$\text{CDD}_{c,t} = \sum_{d \in t} \max(0, T_{c,d} - 18). \quad (2)$$

282 This formulation follows the standard climate-energy literature (Atalla
 283 et al., 2018; Petri and Caldeira, 2015). HDD and CDD are interpreted
 284 as standardised climatic proxies for the direction and relative magnitude of
 285 heating- and cooling-related demand. They do not represent observed venue
 286 energy consumption, which also depends on building design, occupancy, op-
 287 erating schedules, roof configuration, refrigeration technology, and energy
 288 management.

289 The indicators have different relevance across leagues. HDD and CDD are
 290 particularly informative for the indoor NHL and NBA, for which the host-
 291 city climate influences heating, cooling, and refrigeration requirements. Hot
 292 and frost days are more directly relevant to the outdoor or partly outdoor
 293 NFL and MLB, where they characterise the thermal environment surround-
 294 ing athletes, spectators, and venues. TAVG provides a common climatic
 295 measure across all four leagues.

296 For each city, we also calculated annual temperature anomalies relative
 297 to its own 1951–1970 mean. These city-specific anomalies describe temporal
 298 warming independently of persistent thermal differences among cities.

299 3.4. Köppen–Geiger classification

300 To characterise changes in climatic class beneath the franchise geography,
 301 we extracted the Köppen–Geiger class of each city from the high-resolution

classification developed by Beck et al. (2018) and Beck et al. (2023). Classes were obtained for the 1961–1990 and 1991–2020 climate-normal periods.

The set of cities was held fixed in this comparison. Specifically, cities hosting an active franchise in 2025 were classified under both climate-normal periods. Differences between the two periods therefore represent changes in the climate classification of the cities themselves rather than changes in league composition. Particular attention was given to transitions across the cold-to-temperate D/C boundary, whose northward displacement across central and eastern North America has been independently documented (Suckling and Mitchell, 2000; Rohli et al., 2015; Hanberry and Fraser, 2019).

3.5. Climate Departure Index

To quantify league-specific thermal departure, we defined a historical thermal reference for each league ℓ . The reference temperature $T_{\text{ref},\ell}$ was calculated as the mean annual temperature of all active franchise-city-year observations belonging to the league during the 1951–1970 period. The corresponding standard deviation σ_ℓ was calculated across the same baseline observations.

For a franchise located in city c during year t , the Climate Departure Index was defined as

$$\text{CDI}_{c,t} = \frac{T_{c,t} - T_{\text{ref},\ell}}{\sigma_\ell}, \quad (3)$$

where $T_{c,t}$ is the mean annual temperature of the host city and ℓ denotes the league. Each active franchise contributes one observation to the baseline distribution. A city hosting more than one franchise within the same league would consequently contribute once for each active franchise.

The CDI expresses thermal departure in units of the league’s own historical variability. A value close to zero identifies a franchise-city with a climate typical of the league’s 1951–1970 geography, while a large positive value identifies a substantially warmer location. The CDI measures departure from a historical league-specific thermal distribution. It is not an indicator of operational suitability, climatic safety, athlete exposure, or venue performance.

3.6. Geographical analysis

Joining the franchise stints to the annual climatic indicators produced a panel at the franchise $\times$ city $\times$ year level containing 7250 observations

334 in total, comprising 2 034 NFL, 1 934 MLB, 1 720 NBA, and 1 562 NHL ob-
 335 servations. Each active franchise contributes one observation per year and
 336 receives equal weight within its league.

337 For each league and year, we calculated the geographical centroid as the
 338 unweighted arithmetic mean of the latitude and longitude of all active fran-
 339 chises. The centroid therefore describes the centre of gravity of the franchise
 340 distribution without weighting franchises by market population, attendance,
 341 venue capacity, or economic value.

342 The median latitude and longitude of active franchise cities were also
 343 calculated for each league-year. These robust measures were used to deter-
 344 mine whether centroid displacement reflected a systematic geographical shift
 345 in the franchise distribution rather than the influence of a small number of
 346 distant locations.

347 The total displacement of each league centroid between 1950 and 2025 was
 348 calculated using the haversine formula. Initial bearings were calculated from
 349 the 1950 centroid to the 2025 centroid and expressed as compass directions.
 350 To examine the climatic significance of the latitudinal shift, we additionally
 351 estimated the relationship between league-year median latitude and league-
 352 year mean TAVG using linear regression.

353 3.7. Temporal trends and thermal-drift decomposition

354 For each league and year, we calculated the arithmetic mean of each cli-
 355 matic indicator across all active franchises. Temporal trends over 1950–2025
 356 were estimated using ordinary least squares. Their statistical significance
 357 was evaluated using the non-parametric Mann–Kendall test, and trend mag-
 358 nitudes were estimated using Sen’s slope. Values approaching numerical zero
 359 are reported as $p < 0.001$ rather than $p = 0$.

360 Long-term changes were evaluated by comparing two 20-year periods,
 361 1951–1970 (P1) and 2006–2025 (P2). The observed thermal drift of each
 362 league was decomposed into an in situ warming component and a geographical-
 363 composition component:

$$\Delta T_{\text{total},\ell} = \Delta T_{\text{in situ},\ell} + \Delta T_{\text{composition},\ell}. \quad (4)$$

364 The decomposition uses a single and consistent weighting scheme based
 365 on the franchise geography of P1. For each league, city c was assigned a
 366 baseline weight $w_{c,\ell}$ equal to the number of franchise-city-year observations
 367 accumulated by that city during 1951–1970. A city that hosted a franchise

368 throughout the entire period therefore received more weight than a city that
 369 hosted a franchise for only part of it. If a city hosted more than one active
 370 franchise within a league, each franchise-year contributed separately to its
 371 weight.

372 The baseline league temperature was calculated as

$$T_{P1,\ell} = \frac{\sum_c w_{c,\ell} \bar{T}_{c,P1}}{\sum_c w_{c,\ell}}, \quad (5)$$

373 where $\bar{T}_{c,P1}$ is the mean TAVG of city c during 1951–1970. A fixed-
 374 geography counterfactual for P2 was then calculated using the same city
 375 weights:

$$T_{P2,cf,\ell} = \frac{\sum_c w_{c,\ell} \bar{T}_{c,P2}}{\sum_c w_{c,\ell}}, \quad (6)$$

376 where $\bar{T}_{c,P2}$ is the 2006–2025 mean temperature of the same city. Tem-
 377 peratures for P1 cities were obtained from the complete city climatology
 378 rather than from the recent franchise panel. Consequently, a city that no
 379 longer hosted an active franchise during P2 remained in the counterfactual
 380 calculation.

381 The observed P2 temperature was calculated as the mean TAVG of all
 382 active franchise-city-year observations during 2006–2025:

$$T_{P2,obs,\ell} = \frac{1}{N_{P2,\ell}} \sum_{i=1}^{N_{P2,\ell}} T_i. \quad (7)$$

383 The in situ warming component was defined as

$$\Delta T_{in\ situ,\ell} = T_{P2,cf,\ell} - T_{P1,\ell}, \quad (8)$$

384 while the composition component was defined as

$$\Delta T_{composition,\ell} = T_{P2,obs,\ell} - T_{P2,cf,\ell}. \quad (9)$$

385 The total observed drift was therefore

$$\Delta T_{total,\ell} = T_{P2,obs,\ell} - T_{P1,\ell}. \quad (10)$$

386 The contribution of changing league geography was expressed as a per-
 387 centage of the total drift:

$$S_{\text{composition},\ell} = 100 \times \frac{\Delta T_{\text{composition},\ell}}{\Delta T_{\text{total},\ell}}. \quad (11)$$

388 This decomposition asks how much warming each league would have expe-
 389 rienced if its 1951–1970 franchise geography had remained unchanged, and
 390 how much additional thermal change arose from expansion and relocation
 391 into a different set of cities.

392 As a complementary analysis, franchises were classified as *founding* if they
 393 were active during the 1951–1970 baseline and as *expansion* if they entered
 394 the league after 1970. Their host-city temperatures were compared within the
 395 same recent period, 2006–2025, so that both cohorts were evaluated under the
 396 same background climate. This comparison identifies the thermal difference
 397 associated with the geographical placement of later franchises rather than
 398 temporal warming alone.

399 3.8. Relocation vectors in climatic space

400 Individual franchise relocations were analysed separately from league ex-
 401 pansion. For each franchise, its city stints were ordered chronologically, and
 402 each transition between two consecutive host cities was treated as one relo-
 403 cation. Expansion franchises were not included in this analysis because they
 404 had no preceding host city.

405 Every origin and destination city was evaluated using the same fixed
 406 1991–2020 climatology. This procedure isolates the climatic difference be-
 407 tween the two locations from the background warming occurring between
 408 the dates of the relocation. For each move, we calculated the great-circle
 409 distance between origin and destination using the haversine formula, the
 410 changes in latitude and longitude, and the differences in TAVG, HDD, CDD,
 411 hot days, and frost days. We also recorded the Köppen–Geiger classes at ori-
 412 gin and destination and identified whether the move crossed a climatic-class
 413 or climatic-group boundary.

414 A negative change in latitude denotes a southward move, a positive change
 415 in TAVG denotes relocation to a warmer city, a negative change in HDD
 416 denotes reduced heating-related demand, and a positive change in CDD de-
 417 notes increased cooling-related demand. League-level relocation summaries
 418 were calculated as the arithmetic mean of the individual vectors, together
 419 with the proportions of moves towards warmer cities, southward locations,
 420 and different Köppen–Geiger classes.

4. Results

4.1. Spatial migration of the leagues

The geographic footprint of the four leagues expanded markedly between 1950 and 2025 (Figures 1 and 2). In 1950, major-league franchises were concentrated in the north-eastern quarter of the continent, particularly in the industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest. By 2025, their geography extended across the Sun Belt and the West Coast, with a dense presence in Florida, Texas, the Southwest, and California, regions that were largely unrepresented at mid-century.

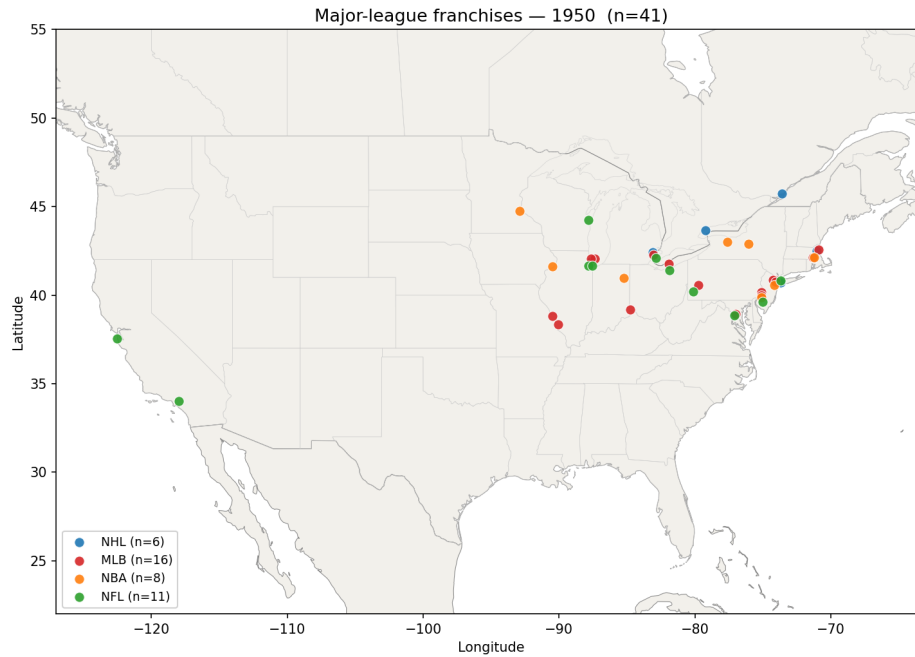


Figure 1: Major-league franchises active in 1950, coloured by league.

This expansion had a clear spatial direction. The centroid of each league's active franchises moved westward between 1950 and 2025, with an additional southward component that varied among leagues (Figure 3). Centroid displacement ranged from 351 km for the NFL and 519 km for the NBA to 1 122 km for the MLB and 1 203 km for the NHL. The NHL and MLB shifts were predominantly westward, whereas the NBA and NFL followed more pronounced south-south-westward trajectories.

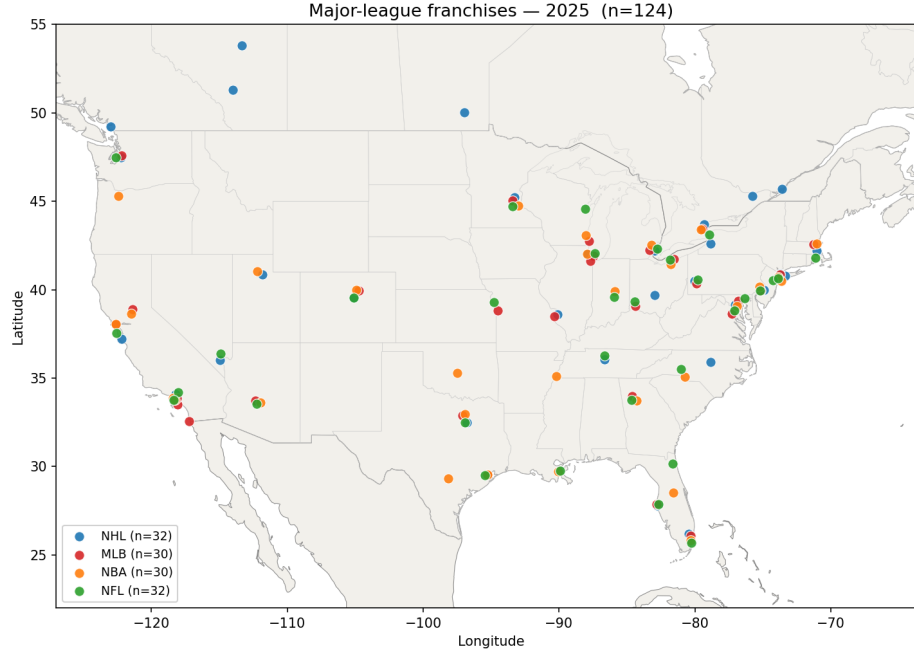


Figure 2: Major-league franchises active in 2025, coloured by league.

437 The median latitude of franchise cities also decreased in every league be-
 438 tween 1950 and 2025 (Figure 4), by approximately $1.5\text{--}2.8^\circ$. This common
 439 decline indicates that the southward movement was not produced solely by
 440 a few geographically distant franchises, even though the larger component of
 441 some centroid trajectories was longitudinal. Across all league-years, median
 442 latitude was strongly and negatively associated with mean annual tempera-
 443 ture (Figure 5). The thermal migration examined below therefore reflects a
 444 southward movement along the continental temperature gradient, superim-
 445 posed on a broader westward expansion.

446 4.2. Thermal drift

447 The changing geography of the leagues was accompanied by a strong
 448 upward drift in the mean annual temperature of franchise cities (Figure 6).
 449 Between 1951–1970 and 2006–2025, mean TAVG increased by 3.73°C for the
 450 NBA, 3.44°C for the NHL, 2.54°C for the NFL, and 2.53°C for the MLB. All
 451 four time series exhibited positive and statistically significant trends (Mann–
 452 Kendall $p < 0.001$), with Sen slopes ranging from 0.46°C per decade for the
 453 MLB to 0.71°C per decade for the NBA.

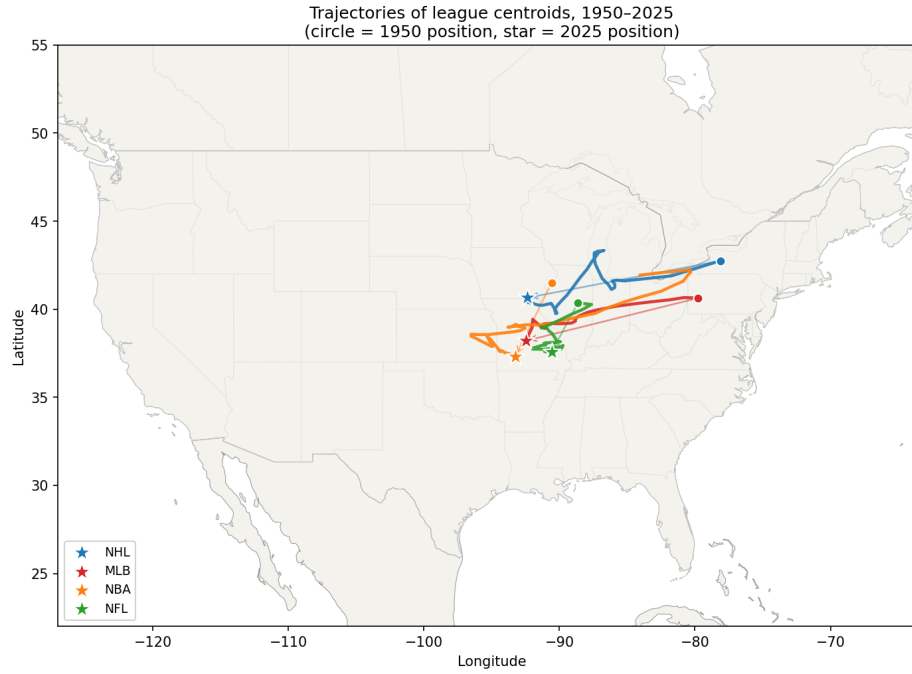


Figure 3: Trajectories of the four leagues' franchise centroids, 1950–2025. Circles indicate the 1950 positions and stars indicate the 2025 positions.

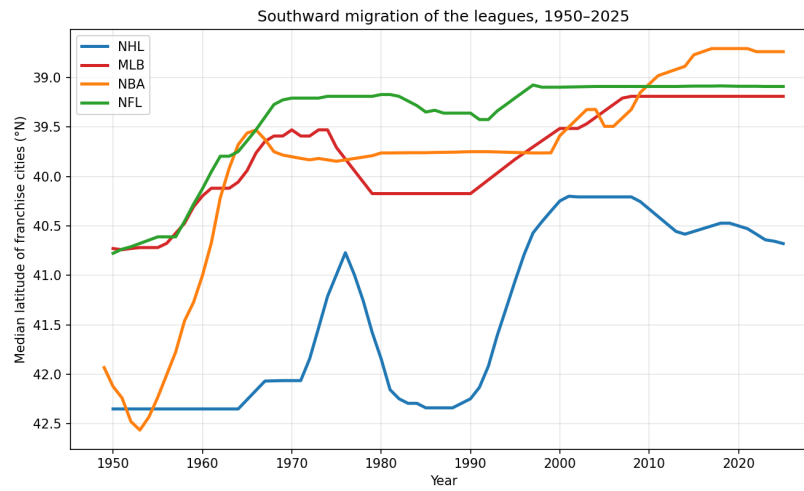


Figure 4: Median latitude of franchise cities by league, 1950–2025. The vertical axis is inverted so that southward migration reads downward.

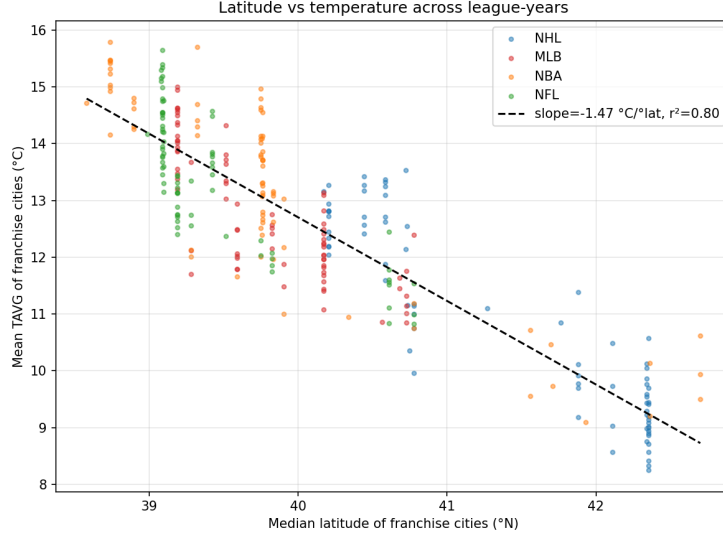


Figure 5: Relationship between median latitude and mean annual temperature across league-years.

These changes combine two processes: the warming of established franchise cities and the changing composition of the leagues as franchises entered or moved to different cities. The decomposition presented in Section 4.3 shows that the latter accounts for most of the observed thermal drift in every league. The results therefore support **H1**.

4.3. Changing geography versus in situ warming

The total thermal drift was separated into the warming of the initial franchise geography and the effect of changing league composition:

$$\Delta T_{\text{total}} = \Delta T_{\text{in situ}} + \Delta T_{\text{composition}}. \quad (12)$$

The fixed-geography counterfactual applies the franchise-city weights observed during 1951–1970 to the climate of the same cities during 2006–2025. It therefore estimates how much each league would have warmed had its initial geography remained unchanged. The composition component measures the additional difference associated with expansion and relocation into a new set of host cities.

Both components were positive in all four leagues (Table 1). The fixed initial geography warmed by 0.95–1.06 °C, depending on the league. The

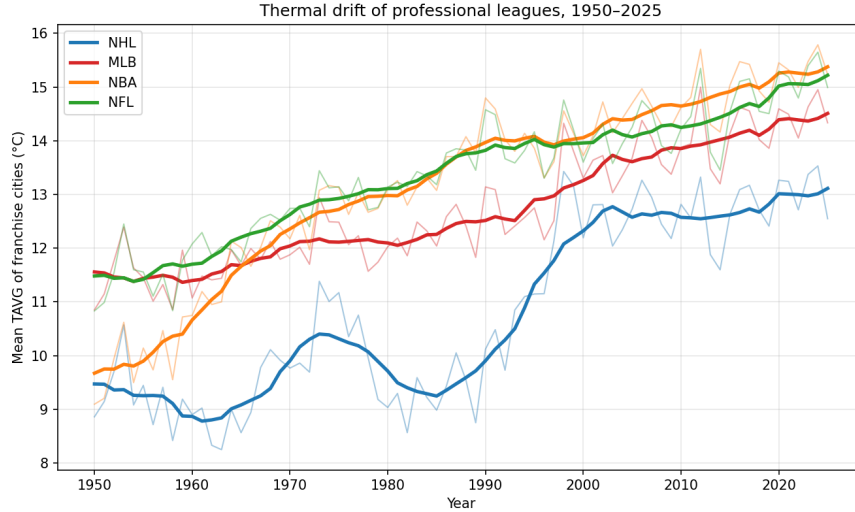


Figure 6: Thermal drift of the four leagues, 1950–2025. Thin lines show annual mean TAVG across active franchise cities and bold lines show 10-year moving averages.

470 changing geographical composition added a further 1.59–2.72°C. The com-
 471 position effect was therefore larger than the *in situ* effect in every case and
 472 accounted for 63% of the total drift in the MLB and NFL, 69% in the NHL,
 473 and 73% in the NBA.

474 The NBA experienced the largest composition effect, at 2.72°C, followed
 475 by the NHL at 2.38°C. The MLB and NFL each recorded a composition
 476 effect of 1.59°C. The geographical reconfiguration of the leagues was con-
 477 sequently not a secondary perturbation on the underlying warming trend.
 478 It was the dominant component of the observed change in their aggregate
 479 thermal geography.

480 The cohort comparison provides a complementary view (Figure 7). When
 481 both groups are evaluated during the same recent period, 2006–2025, expan-
 482 sion franchises occupy warmer cities than founding franchises in every league.
 483 The expansion-minus-founding difference in mean TAVG is 3.67°C for the
 484 NFL, 3.23°C for the MLB, 2.23°C for the NBA, and 1.45°C for the NHL.

485 Because the comparison is made within a common climatic period, these
 486 differences cannot be attributed to the passage of time. They reflect the
 487 warmer geographical placement of franchises entering after 1970. The coun-
 488 terfactual decomposition and the cohort comparison therefore yield the same
 489 general result through different designs: the thermal drift of the leagues arose

Table 1: Decomposition of thermal drift between 1951–1970 and 2006–2025. The *in situ* term represents warming of the fixed 1951–1970 franchise geography. The composition term represents the effect of expansion and relocation into a different set of cities. Temperature changes are expressed in °C.

League	ΔT_{total}	$\Delta T_{\text{in situ}}$	$\Delta T_{\text{composition}}$	Composition share
NHL	3.44	1.06	2.38	69%
MLB	2.53	0.95	1.59	63%
NBA	3.73	1.01	2.72	73%
NFL	2.54	0.95	1.59	63%

490 primarily from where their expanding franchise networks were located.

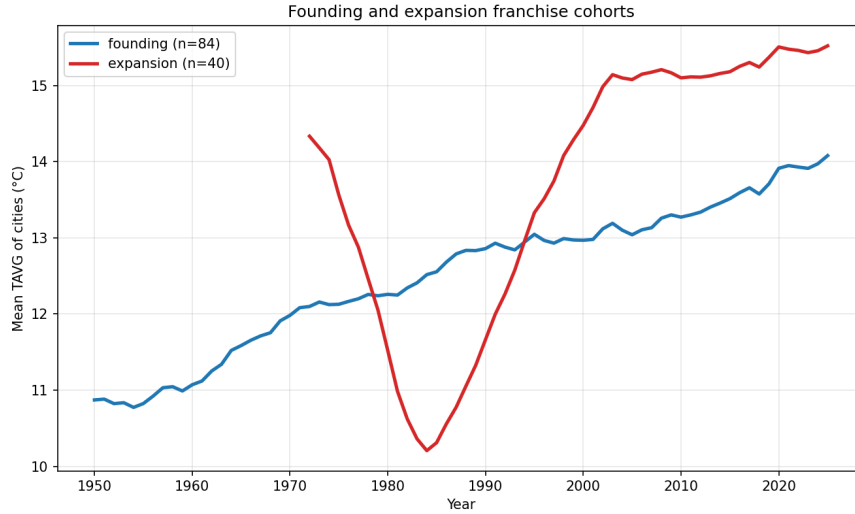


Figure 7: Mean annual temperature of host cities for founding and expansion franchise cohorts. Expansion franchises occupy systematically warmer cities. Annual means reflect the evolving set of active franchises within each cohort.

491 4.4. Thermal-energy transition

492 The degree-day profile of franchise cities changed markedly over the study
 493 period (Figure 8). Heating degree days declined and cooling degree days in-
 494 creased in all four leagues. Their aggregate climatic context therefore shifted
 495 away from heating-dominated conditions and towards a greater relative re-
 496 quirement for cooling.

497 The transition was particularly marked for the NHL. Its historical fran-
 498 chise geography was strongly heating-dominated, whereas its subsequent ex-
 499 pansion placed franchises in cities with much greater cooling-degree demand.
 500 For an indoor sport requiring an artificially maintained ice surface, this shift
 501 has a different operational meaning from ordinary space cooling, although the
 502 degree-day indicators do not measure realised venue energy consumption.
 503 The consistent decline in HDD and increase in CDD support **H2**. The
 504 observed direction is also consistent with the broader increase in cooling-
 505 related climatic demand documented across North America and globally
 506 (Scoccimarro et al., 2023; Erhardt, 2015; Petri and Caldeira, 2015; Soule
 507 and Suckling, 1995).

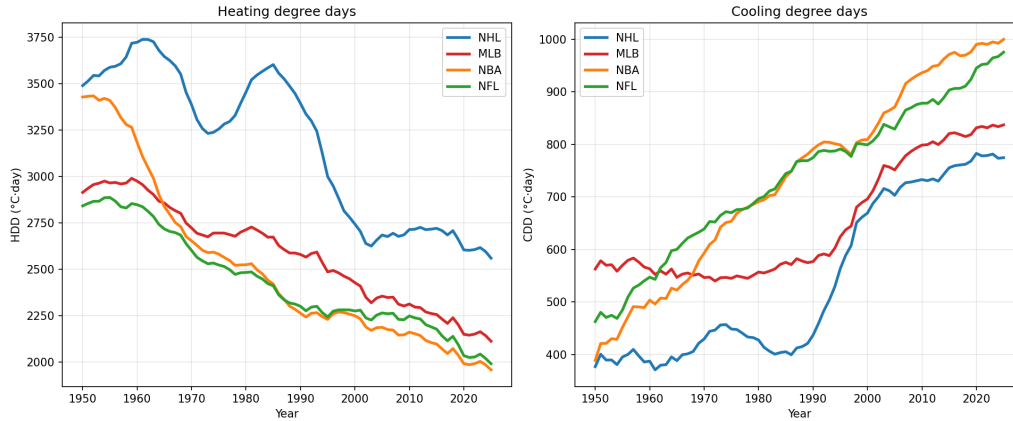


Figure 8: Heating degree days (left) and cooling degree days (right) across franchise cities, shown as 10-year moving averages.

508 4.5. Köppen–Geiger transitions

509 The climate classification of the cities beneath the contemporary franchise
 510 network also changed (Figure 9). Holding the set of cities hosting franchises
 511 in 2025 fixed, the comparison between the 1961–1990 and 1991–2020 climate
 512 normals shows a decline in the share classified within the cold D group and
 513 an equivalent increase in the temperate C group. The shares of arid B and
 514 tropical A climates remained essentially unchanged.

515 This pattern represents a change in the climatic field beneath a fixed set
 516 of cities, rather than a change in franchise composition. The transitions were
 517 concentrated in the north-eastern corridor. New York, Newark, Philadelphia,

518 Brooklyn, and Cincinnati crossed the D/C boundary from Dfa to Cfa, while
 519 Boston, Buffalo, Toronto, and Montreal shifted within the cold group from
 520 Dfb to Dfa. These changes are consistent with the documented northward
 521 movement of the Köppen–Geiger D/C and Dfa/Dfb boundaries in eastern
 522 North America (Suckling and Mitchell, 2000; Hanberry and Fraser, 2019;
 523 Rohli et al., 2015).

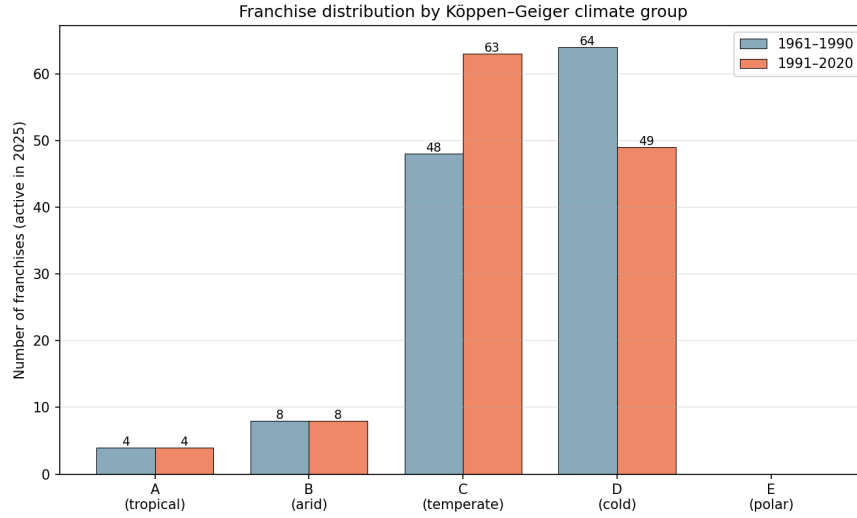


Figure 9: Köppen–Geiger climate groups of cities hosting active franchises in 2025, classified under the 1961–1990 and 1991–2020 climate normals. The set of franchise cities is identical in both periods.

524 4.6. Climatic departure and the NHL

525 The Climate Departure Index identifies the NHL as the league with the
 526 greatest standardised thermal departure from its historical geography (Fig-
 527 ure 10). The NHL has the lowest historical reference temperature of the four
 528 leagues, with $T_{\text{ref}} = 9.3^\circ\text{C}$ compared with $11.2\text{--}12.1^\circ\text{C}$ for the others. It
 529 also has the smallest baseline thermal dispersion, with $\sigma = 2.1^\circ\text{C}$. A given
 530 temperature difference therefore represents a larger standardised departure
 531 for the NHL than for a league whose initial geography was warmer or more
 532 heterogeneous.

533 The NHL trajectory is also the least monotonic. Its CDI declined during
 534 the 1980s before rising rapidly through the 1990s and 2000s to reach the

535 highest values among the four leagues. This combination of a cold and rela-
 536 tively narrow historical distribution with a subsequent expansion into much
 537 warmer cities supports **H3**.

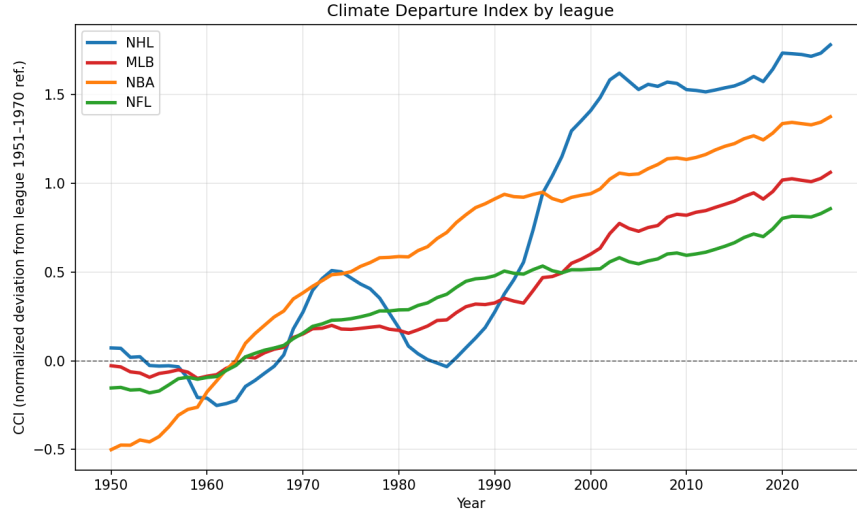


Figure 10: Climate Departure Index by league. Positive values indicate franchise cities warmer than the league-specific 1951–1970 thermal reference.

538 The non-monotonic NHL trajectory corresponds to identifiable changes
 539 in league composition. The decline beginning around 1979 coincides with
 540 the integration of northern former-WHA franchises, including Edmonton,
 541 Winnipeg, Quebec City, and Hartford, which shifted the league’s aggregate
 542 geography towards colder cities. The subsequent increase coincides with the
 543 1991–1999 expansion into San Jose, Tampa, Anaheim, Florida, Nashville, and
 544 Atlanta. The CDI therefore responds visibly to successive phases of northern
 545 consolidation and Sun Belt expansion. This correspondence illustrates the
 546 sensitivity of the index to major structural changes in league geography.

547 4.7. The anatomy of a relocation

548 The aggregate change in league geography results from both the creation
 549 of new franchises and the movement of existing ones. To examine the latter
 550 process directly, each of the 59 franchise relocations was represented as a
 551 vector between an origin and a destination city. This analysis is distinct from
 552 the decomposition in Section 4.3. Expansion changes the league portfolio by

553 adding a franchise without an origin city, whereas a relocation connects two
554 successive host cities of the same franchise.

555 All origin and destination cities were evaluated using the same 1991–
556 2020 climatology. Differences between them therefore represent contrasts in
557 location rather than warming between the dates of the moves. Across the 59
558 relocations, 63% moved towards a warmer city and 64% moved southward.
559 The average move covered approximately 1 400 km and produced changes of
560 -1.4° in latitude and $+0.6^\circ\text{C}$ in mean annual temperature.

561 The relationship between latitude and temperature differences is visible
562 in Figure 11. Most southward moves also led to warmer climatic conditions,
563 while northward moves generally produced cooling. The degree-day compar-
564 ison in Figure 12 places most relocations in the quadrant combining lower
565 HDD with higher CDD. The Köppen–Geiger transition matrix (Figure 13) is
566 dominated by moves within the temperate group, $\text{C} \rightarrow \text{C}$ ($n = 17$), from cold
567 to temperate climates, $\text{D} \rightarrow \text{C}$ ($n = 15$), and from temperate to cold climates,
568 $\text{C} \rightarrow \text{D}$ ($n = 10$).

Table 2: Mean relocation vectors by league, evaluated using a fixed 1991–2020 climatology. Positive ΔTAVG denotes relocation to a warmer city and negative $\Delta\text{latitude}$ denotes relocation towards the south. Distance is expressed in kilometres, latitude in degrees, and TAVG in $^\circ\text{C}$.

League	n	$\overline{\Delta\text{km}}$	$\overline{\Delta\text{latitude}}$	$\overline{\Delta\text{TAVG}}$	Warmer moves	Köppen change
NHL	9	1 842	+0.10	−0.78	56%	89%
MLB	13	1 758	−2.34	+1.62	62%	85%
NBA	24	1 296	−2.40	+1.88	79%	58%
NFL	13	951	+0.22	+0.48	54%	77%

569 The mean vectors reveal substantial differences among leagues (Table 2).
570 NBA and MLB relocations had strongly warming and southward mean vec-
571 tors. Their average changes were respectively $+1.88$ and $+1.62^\circ\text{C}$ in TAVG,
572 and -2.40° and -2.34° in latitude. The NBA also had the largest proportion
573 of relocations towards warmer cities, at 79%.

574 The mean NHL vector, in contrast, was slightly cooling (-0.78°C) and
575 nearly neutral in latitude. This net result conceals a highly polarised set of
576 individual movements. The largest warm-city relocations included Winnipeg
577 to Atlanta ($+13.0^\circ\text{C}$), Minneapolis to Dallas ($+11.5^\circ\text{C}$), and Quebec City
578 to Denver ($+3.5^\circ\text{C}$). The largest movements towards colder cities included

579 Glendale to Salt Lake City (-13.9°C), Atlanta to Winnipeg (-13.0°C), and
580 Atlanta to Calgary (-12.4°C).

581 The NHL relocation history therefore did not follow a steady movement
582 in one direction. It included both major transfers into warmer markets and
583 subsequent or separate transfers towards colder ones. Its small mean vector
584 reflects the cancellation of these opposing movements rather than an absence
585 of climatic mobility. This polarised relocation pattern is consistent with the
586 non-monotonic CDI trajectory, although the two analyses concern different
587 processes: the CDI also incorporates league expansion and merger-related
588 changes in composition.

589 The NHL also had the highest proportion of relocations crossing a detailed
590 Köppen–Geiger class boundary, at 89%. Thus, even though its average re-
591 location vector was small, most individual NHL moves connected cities with
592 distinct climatic classifications. By comparison, the NBA followed a more
593 consistently southward and warming trajectory but crossed climatic classes
594 in a smaller proportion of moves.

595 5. Discussion

596 5.1. *Climatic migration as an outcome of economic geography*

597 The results show that the thermal evolution of North American pro-
598 fessional sport cannot be attributed to climatic warming alone. Between
599 1951–1970 and 2006–2025, the mean annual temperature of franchise cities
600 increased by 2.53 – 3.73°C across the four leagues. The corrected decomposi-
601 tion indicates that 63–73% of this drift arose from the changing geographi-
602 cal composition of the leagues, while the remaining share resulted from the
603 warming of the initial franchise geography. Professional sport therefore did
604 not merely experience a warmer climate in place. Its organisations moved
605 towards a warmer part of the continent.

606 The spatial analyses clarify the geography of this movement. All four
607 league centroids shifted westward, while median franchise latitude declined in
608 every league. The strong negative relationship between median latitude and
609 mean temperature shows that the thermal migration was primarily associated
610 with a southward displacement along the continental temperature gradient,
611 embedded within the broader westward expansion of the North American
612 urban system. The historical climatic setting of a sport was therefore not a
613 binding constraint on the contemporary geography of its professional league.

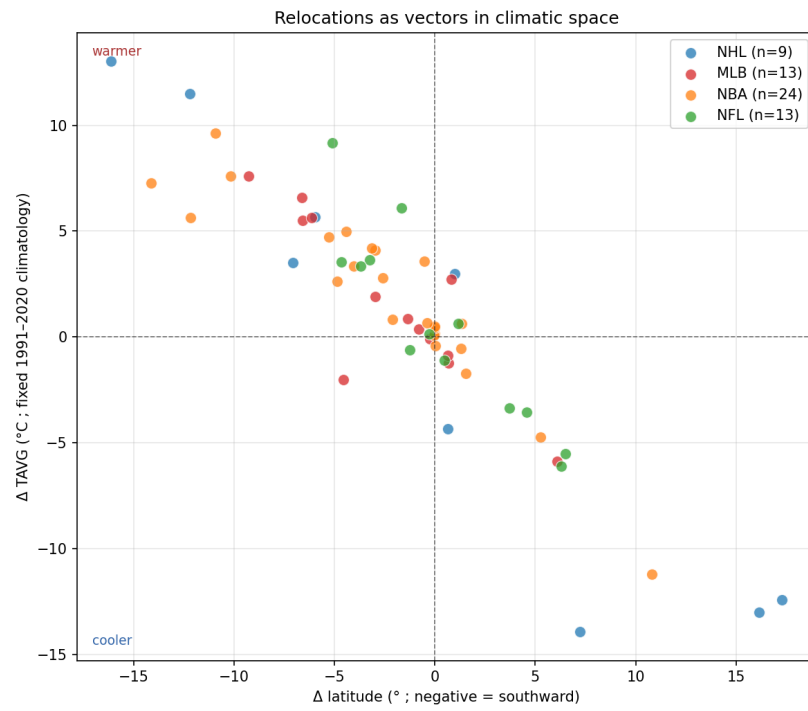


Figure 11: Franchise relocations represented in climatic space using changes in latitude and mean annual temperature under a fixed 1991–2020 climatology. The NHL occupies both the strongly warming and strongly cooling extremes.

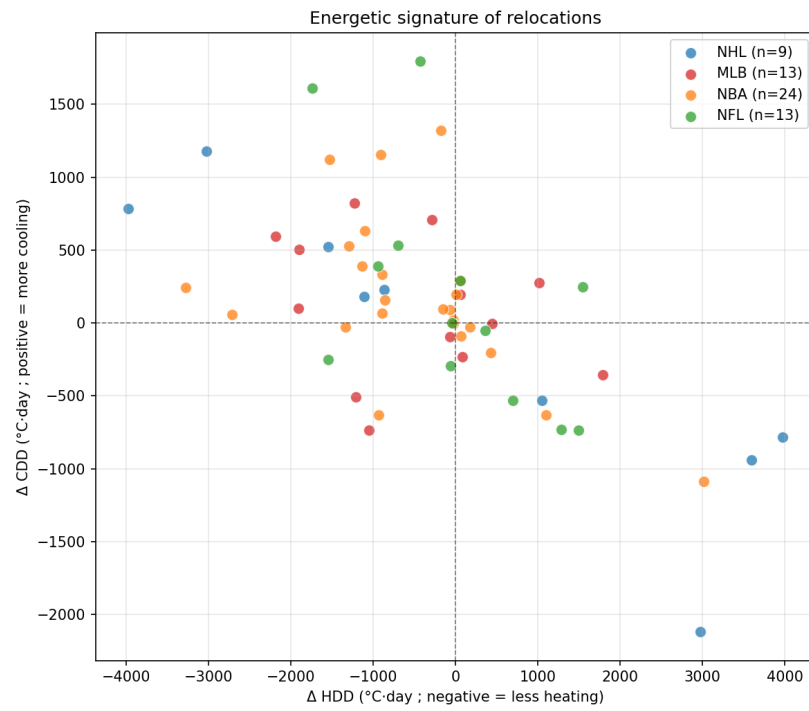


Figure 12: Changes in heating and cooling degree days associated with franchise relocations under a fixed 1991–2020 climatology. Most moves combine lower heating-degree demand with higher cooling-degree demand.

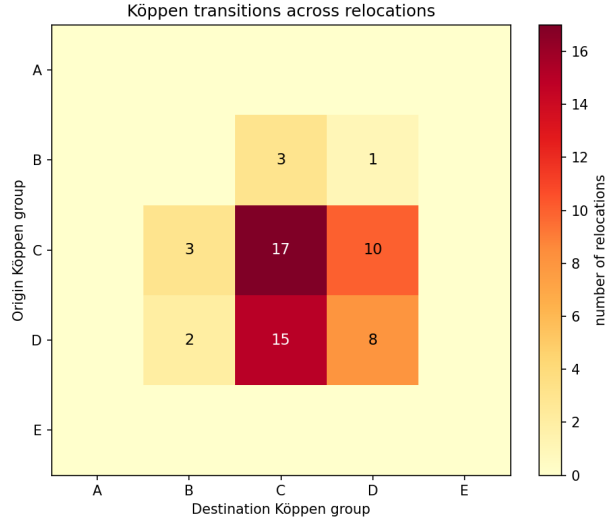


Figure 13: Köppen–Geiger transitions across franchise relocations. Rows indicate origin climate groups and columns indicate destination climate groups.

614 This outcome was not produced by an explicit preference for warm cli-
615 mates. It emerged from the economic and demographic geography of the
616 post-war United States. The metropolitan areas that experienced the strongest
617 population and market growth were disproportionately located in the South,
618 Southwest, and West. Professional franchises followed these expanding con-
619 sumer markets and the urban amenities, infrastructure, and agglomeration
620 benefits associated with them (Humphreys and Zhou, 2015; Prophet, 2019).
621 Because the demographic frontier of the United States coincided geographi-
622 cally with its warmer regions, market-seeking behaviour generated a thermal
623 outcome. Warmth was not the objective of franchise expansion, but it was a
624 persistent spatial correlate of that objective.

625 The cohort comparison supports this interpretation. Expansion fran-
626 chises are located in warmer cities than founding franchises even when both
627 groups are evaluated over the same recent climatic period. This difference
628 is therefore not the product of differential temporal warming. It reflects the
629 geography of later franchise placement. Founding franchises remained con-
630 centrated in the older industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest, whereas
631 new franchises were disproportionately placed near the demographic and eco-
632 nomic frontier of the Sun Belt.

633 Public policy reinforced this market and demographic movement. Fran-

chise location is co-produced by competition among cities through venue subsidies, tax concessions, infrastructure investment, and the symbolic value associated with major-league status (Coates and Humphreys, 2003b; Bradbury et al., 2023; Kellison and Mondello, 2014; Kellison et al., 2017; Carlino and Coulson, 2004). Rapidly growing Sun Belt municipalities had both the incentive and the capacity to attract professional teams. Local public decisions therefore helped direct franchises towards the same warm metropolitan areas identified in the climatic analysis. The observed thermal migration is consequently the aggregate geographical expression of private market strategies, demographic redistribution, and public territorial policy.

Climatic de-territorialisation is therefore not a climate-seeking strategy in the conventional sense. It is the unintended climatic consequence of an economic geography. Professional sport followed people, capital, infrastructure, and political support, and in doing so moved systematically through climatic space.

5.2. *Convergence, divergence, and non-monotonic pathways*

Although all four leagues moved towards a warmer contemporary geography, they did not begin from the same climatic position or follow the same trajectory. At the start of the study period, the NHL occupied the coldest and least thermally dispersed set of cities, whereas the NFL began from the warmest historical reference. By 2025, the four leagues had converged towards a more similar set of major metropolitan markets and, consequently, towards a more similar thermal envelope.

This convergence reflects the homogenisation of professional sport onto a shared national urban system. Once franchise placement is increasingly governed by metropolitan size and market potential, the leagues tend to occupy the same cities. The geography of each sport becomes less distinct because their professional organisations compete within the same hierarchy of large urban markets.

Convergence in absolute climatic space does not imply equal climatic de-territorialisation. The CDI measures each league relative to its own historical distribution. The NHL therefore exhibits the largest standardised departure because it began from the coldest and narrowest climatic reference. The MLB, which was already distributed across a comparatively temperate and geographically broad set of cities at mid-century, shows a smaller departure from its initial thermal geography. The contemporary league map may be

670 converging, but the climatic distance travelled from each sport’s historical
671 setting remains highly unequal.

672 The relocation vectors further show that similar endpoints can be reached
673 through different pathways. NBA and MLB relocations produced relatively
674 consistent southward and warming mean vectors. The NHL followed a far less
675 linear path. Its near-zero net latitudinal movement and slightly cooling mean
676 relocation vector conceal individual moves towards both climatic extremes.
677 Relocations such as Winnipeg to Atlanta and Minneapolis to Dallas were
678 among the largest warm-city movements in the dataset, whereas Atlanta to
679 Winnipeg, Atlanta to Calgary, and Glendale to Salt Lake City moved strongly
680 towards colder climates.

681 The NHL therefore did not simply translate from a cold geographical cen-
682 tre to a warmer one. Its geographical range expanded and contracted through
683 opposing movements. This pattern is consistent with the non-monotonic CDI
684 trajectory, although the two analyses describe different components of league
685 change. The CDI includes expansion and merger-related changes in compo-
686 sition, whereas the relocation vectors include only movements of existing
687 franchises.

688 The NHL case shows that climatic de-territorialisation need not be mono-
689 tonic. A sporting organisation can move away from its historical climatic
690 setting, partially return towards it, and subsequently expand again into con-
691 trasting climates. Net drift alone therefore provides an incomplete account.
692 The destination, direction, and volatility of the pathway must be distin-
693 guished.

694 5.3. *Thermal artificialisation and transformed dependence*

695 The ability of professional sport to operate across such different cli-
696 matic settings depends on thermal artificialisation. Ice manufacture, air-
697 conditioning, enclosed arenas, domed stadiums, and retractable roofs allow
698 sporting conditions to be produced independently of the immediate outdoor
699 environment. These technologies weaken the direct relationship between the
700 climate of a city and the conditions required for play.

701 The degree-day results identify the direction of the environmental transi-
702 tion associated with this movement. Across all four leagues, heating degree
703 days declined while cooling degree days increased. The franchise geogra-
704 phy shifted from colder, heating-dominated contexts towards locations with
705 greater cooling-related climatic demand. For the NHL, this transition is es-
706 pecially significant because cooling is not limited to spectator comfort or

indoor air temperature. It includes the continuous artificial production and maintenance of the playing surface itself.

The engineering literature documents the operational implications of this substitution. Ice rinks may consume substantial quantities of energy (Sutherland, 2015; Marquardt and Mainka, 2008), while stadiums and arenas rely on cooling, ventilation, roofing, and climate-control systems (Nishioka et al., 2000; Goeppert and Paech, 2020; Sofotasiou et al., 2015; Winter, 2016). These systems can create significant greenhouse-gas emissions and financial costs, although actual consumption varies greatly by venue design, use, and energy source (Hedayati et al., 2014; Manni et al., 2018). Our indicators do not measure these realised loads. They demonstrate that the climatic context in which such systems operate has become systematically more cooling-intensive.

This shift has implications for urban energy planning. Professional venues are large and often energy-intensive infrastructures. Their movement towards warm metropolitan areas places them within electricity systems already subject to strong summer cooling demand (Scoccimarro et al., 2023; Erhardt, 2015; Petri and Caldeira, 2015). An open NFL stadium, a retractable-roof MLB park, an NBA arena, and an NHL ice rink will translate the same urban climate into very different operational loads. Nevertheless, their location within a warmer degree-day regime increases the relevance of cooling capacity, grid reliability, peak electricity demand, and heat-resilient surrounding infrastructure.

Thermal artificialisation does not make professional sport independent of climate. It transforms the form of dependence. A sport initially linked directly to local environmental conditions becomes dependent on energy, engineering, infrastructure, and finance. This transformation also creates new vulnerabilities. A climate-controlled venue still depends on a functioning electricity system, accessible transport infrastructure, safe outdoor conditions for spectators, and resilience to heat, storms, smoke, and power failure.

This transformed condition can be described as *post-climatic sport*. The term does not imply that climate has ceased to matter. It describes a sporting system that has weakened its dependence on locally inherited playing conditions by reproducing the required environment technologically. Climatic dependence is externalised and reorganised rather than abolished. The concept of climatic de-territorialisation describes the geographical trajectory, while the post-climatic condition describes the infrastructural dependence that can result from it.

745 This interpretation connects the historical geography documented here
746 with the growing literature on climate vulnerability and adaptation in pro-
747 fessional sport. Stadiums may serve as thermal refuges (Kellison et al., 2023),
748 climatic exposure may accelerate venue replacement (Kellison and Orr, 2021),
749 scheduling may become an adaptation instrument (Orr et al., 2025), and
750 spectators may attach economic value to cooler conditions (Kuruc et al.,
751 2025). The present results locate these contemporary pressures within a
752 longer geographical process of movement towards warmer markets.

753 5.4. *Two movements in climatic space*

754 The analysis identifies two distinct movements through climatic space.
755 The first is organisational. Franchises expand and relocate across an existing
756 climatic field, changing the aggregate environment occupied by the leagues.
757 The second is environmental. The climatic field itself changes beneath cities
758 that remain geographically fixed.

759 The corrected decomposition shows that both mechanisms contributed
760 positively to the warming of league geography, but that the organisational
761 movement was dominant. Changing franchise composition accounted for
762 63–73% of the total thermal drift, while warming of the fixed 1951–1970
763 geography accounted for the remaining 27–37%. Professional sport therefore
764 moved towards warmer cities at the same time as the climates of its original
765 cities warmed in place.

766 The Köppen–Geiger analysis illustrates the second movement. The set of
767 cities hosting franchises in 2025 was held constant, yet several cities crossed
768 from cold D climates to temperate C climates between the two normal pe-
769 riods. These transitions were concentrated in the north-eastern corridor,
770 including cities central to the historical geography of the leagues. The cli-
771 mate changed beneath the older franchise network even where the franchises
772 themselves did not move.

773 The two mechanisms are conceptually distinct. Expansion and relocation
774 are institutional decisions shaped by markets, demographics, and policy. In
775 situ warming is a physical environmental process shared by all activities
776 located in these cities. They can also occur in different places. Much of
777 the composition effect is generated by franchises entering Sun Belt cities,
778 while the most visible Köppen transitions occur in older northern and eastern
779 markets.

780 Together, these movements reduce the correspondence between profes-
781 sional sport and its historical climatic settings from both directions. The or-

782 ganisations move across the climate gradient, and the climate gradient moves
783 beneath established organisations. Climatic de-territorialisation therefore re-
784 sults from the interaction between institutional mobility and environmental
785 change, although only the former is specific to the geography of professional
786 sport.

787 5.5. *Transferability and contrasting sporting systems*

788 The framework developed here can be applied beyond the four North
789 American leagues, but other sporting systems should not be expected to
790 reproduce the same pattern. The North American franchise model is char-
791 acterised by closed leagues, market-based expansion, and the possibility of
792 team relocation. Other systems are organised through different institutional
793 and biophysical constraints.

794 Association football in Europe provides a contrasting case. Clubs are gen-
795 erally more territorially anchored and rarely relocate between cities. How-
796 ever, the geography of top-level competition changes through promotion,
797 relegation, financial inequality, and variation in sporting performance. Its
798 climatic geography would therefore reflect changes in competitive composi-
799 tion rather than franchise migration. Applying the framework would require
800 distinguishing organisational mobility from the movement of clubs between
801 competitive divisions.

802 The Olympic movement follows another logic. Host geography changes by
803 design from one edition to the next. Climatic requirements and engineered
804 infrastructure are transferred to successive host cities, often under strong
805 political and economic constraints. The relevant process is not the permanent
806 migration of an organisation towards a market, but the repeated spatial
807 relocation of an event and its environmental requirements.

808 Winter sports provide a biophysically constrained case. Their historical
809 climatic conditions are not merely cultural associations but essential envi-
810 ronmental resources. Snow and cold cannot be completely replaced without
811 altering the activity itself, even though artificial snow and indoor facilities
812 can temporarily weaken those constraints (Knowles, 2019). Winter sports
813 may therefore reveal the limits of climatic de-territorialisation rather than
814 reproduce the North American league trajectory.

815 These systems should not be expected to reproduce the North Ameri-
816 can franchise pattern. Rather, they provide contrasting institutional and
817 biophysical tests of climatic de-territorialisation. The common analytical
818 question is whether the geography of a sporting system has shifted relative

819 to its historical climatic reference, through what mechanism, and with what
820 resulting infrastructural dependence.

821 The retrospective framework developed here also complements prospec-
822 tive assessments of future climate risk for sport (Defrance and Lescure, 2026).
823 Prospective analyses examine where climatic conditions may become less
824 suitable for sport. The present approach examines how sporting systems
825 have already moved through climatic space. One tracks the future move-
826 ment of climate relative to sport, while the other reconstructs the historical
827 movement of sport relative to climate.

828 5.6. *Limitations*

829 Several limitations define the scope of the analysis. First, the climatic
830 characterisation is based primarily on annual indicators rather than condi-
831 tions during each league’s competitive season. Hockey and basketball are
832 largely played from autumn to spring, while baseball occupies the warmer
833 part of the year and football extends from late summer into winter. Season-
834 specific indicators could refine the magnitude and operational interpretation
835 of the thermal displacement, although the broad geographical contrast be-
836 tween northern founding cities and warmer expansion markets is unlikely to
837 disappear.

838 Second, HDD and CDD are theoretical climatic indicators rather than
839 observed energy-consumption data. They describe the direction and rela-
840 tive magnitude of heating- and cooling-related climatic demand. They do
841 not account for venue design, roof type, refrigeration efficiency, occupancy,
842 operating schedules, energy prices, or electricity-generation mix. The study
843 therefore identifies the changing climatic context of potential demand rather
844 than the realised energy or carbon footprint of individual facilities.

845 Third, each city is represented by a single ERA5-Land grid point located
846 near its geographical centre. This resolution is appropriate for comparing the
847 regional climates of franchise cities, but it cannot resolve urban heat-island
848 effects, local topography, coastal exposure, or the microclimate of individual
849 stadiums and arenas. The pre-1979 ERA5-Land record is also less strongly
850 constrained by observations than the satellite-era period, although the use of
851 multi-decadal means and persistent inter-city contrasts reduces the influence
852 of individual annual errors.

853 Fourth, the construction of the franchise database requires decisions about
854 the continuity of franchises, host-city naming, and the treatment of league

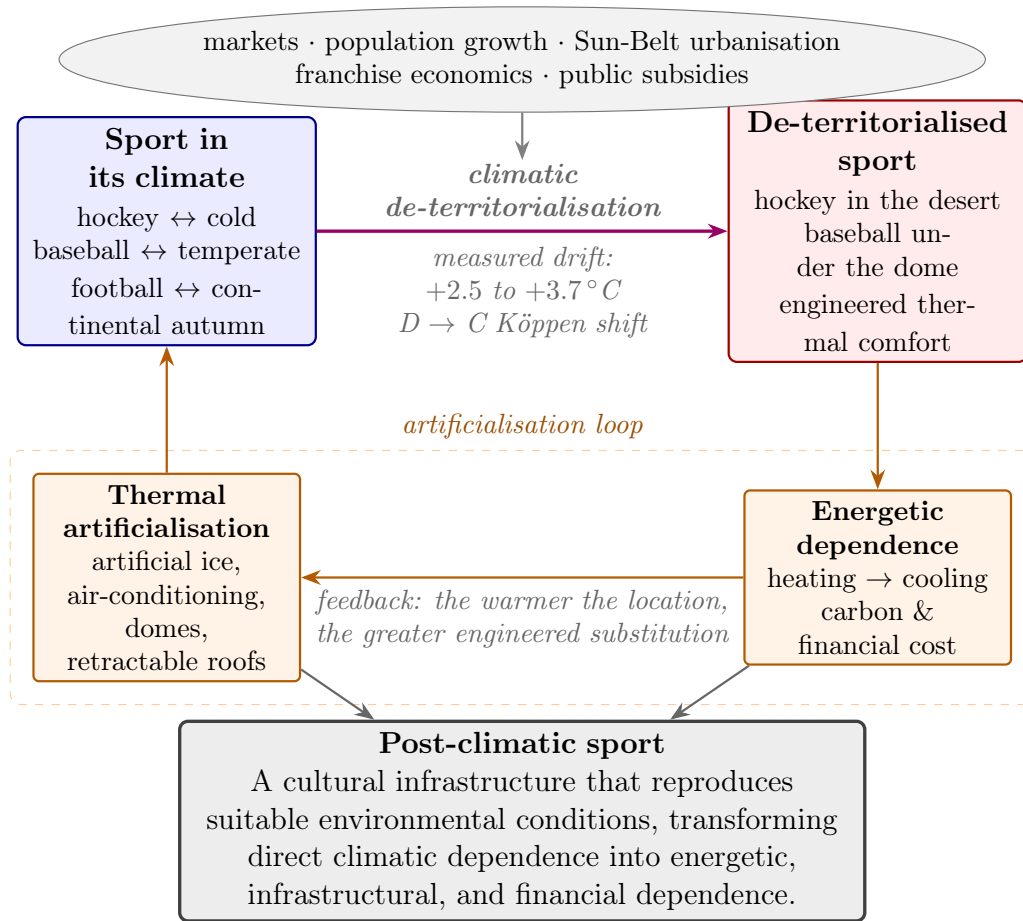


Figure 14: Conceptual schema of climatic de-territorialisation. Market, demographic, and policy drivers carry sport from its historical climatic setting towards a warmer and more de-territorialised geography. Thermal artificialisation transforms direct climatic dependence into energetic, infrastructural, and financial dependence.

855 mergers. No materially ambiguous continuity cases altered the principal re-
856 sults, but alternative historical conventions could slightly change the number
857 or timing of individual stints and relocations. The city-centre coordinates
858 also represent metropolitan locations approximately rather than the exact
859 location of every historical venue.

860 Fifth, all active franchises are weighted equally. The analysis there-
861 fore characterises league geography rather than attendance-weighted, match-
862 weighted, venue-capacity-weighted, economic, or energy-weighted exposure.
863 A franchise playing in a small arena contributes the same weight as one op-
864 erating a much larger venue, and a league with many outdoor events is not
865 weighted differently from one with fewer indoor events.

866 Finally, the analysis is restricted to the four major North American pro-
867 fessional leagues. The extent to which climatic de-territorialisation char-
868 acterises promotion-and-relegation systems, recurring international events,
869 winter sports, or other cultural and sporting infrastructures remains an open
870 empirical question.

871 6. Conclusion

872 Over seven decades, the four major North American professional sports
873 leagues did not merely expand across the continent. They migrated through
874 climatic space. Between 1951–1970 and 2006–2025, the mean annual tem-
875 perature of franchise cities increased by 2.53–3.73 °C across the four leagues.
876 The decomposition shows that 63–73% of this thermal drift resulted from
877 the changing geographical composition of the leagues, while the remainder
878 arose from the warming of their initial franchise geography. Most individual
879 relocations also moved towards warmer cities, although the NHL followed a
880 more polarised and non-monotonic pathway than the other leagues.

881 The broader contribution of the study lies in the geographical sequence
882 that connects these results. Post-war urbanisation and demographic redistri-
883 bution shifted the most attractive professional-sport markets towards the Sun
884 Belt. League expansion and franchise relocation followed those markets. This
885 movement carried professional sport down the continental temperature gradi-
886 ent and into more cooling-intensive climatic settings. The resulting distance
887 from historically associated climatic conditions was then sustained through
888 thermal artificialisation, including refrigeration, air-conditioning, enclosed
889 venues, and engineered playing environments. Market geography therefore

890 produced a climatic migration, and climatic migration produced new ener-
891 getic, infrastructural, and financial dependencies.

892 We describe this process as *climatic de-territorialisation*. The concept
893 does not imply that sport becomes independent of climate, nor that a sport
894 possesses a fixed natural territory. It denotes the measurable weakening of
895 the historical relationship between a sporting system and the climatic envi-
896 ronments in which it developed. Professional sport increasingly reproduces
897 suitable conditions technologically rather than inheriting them from place. In
898 doing so, it transforms direct climatic dependence into dependence on energy
899 systems, venue engineering, urban infrastructure, and financial capacity.

900 The endpoint of this trajectory can be understood as a form of *post-*
901 *climatic sport*. This condition is not beyond climate. It remains exposed
902 to heat, storms, smoke, transport disruption, power failure, and the capac-
903 ity of urban systems to maintain engineered comfort. Climatic dependence
904 is therefore displaced and reorganised rather than eliminated. The same in-
905 frastructures that allow sport to operate outside its historical climatic setting
906 create new forms of vulnerability within the warmer cities to which it has
907 moved.

908 The framework developed here also provides a basis for comparison across
909 sporting systems organised by different spatial mechanisms. European foot-
910 ball, the Olympic movement, and winter sports should not be expected to
911 reproduce the North American franchise trajectory. They instead offer con-
912 trasting tests of how competitive performance, programmed host rotation,
913 or biophysical constraint shape movement through climatic space. More
914 broadly, the study shows that organisational geography can itself generate a
915 climatic trajectory. Sport has moved towards warmer environments while cli-
916 mate change has simultaneously altered the cities in which it was historically
917 rooted.

918 **CRedit authorship contribution statement**

919 Dimitri Defrance: Conceptualization, Methodology, Software, Validation,
920 Formal analysis, Investigation, Data curation, Visualization, Writing – orig-
921 inal draft, Writing – review and editing, Project administration.

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923 The author declares that he has no known competing financial interests
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929 **Data availability**

930 The franchise database, processed climatic indicators, city-coordinate ta-
931 ble, relocation vectors, derived analysis datasets, and Python scripts used in
932 this study will be made openly available through Zenodo upon publication.

933 ERA5-Land reanalysis data are publicly available from the Copernicus
934 Climate Data Store.

935 **Declaration of generative AI and AI-assisted technologies in the** 936 **writing process**

937 During the preparation of this work, the author used Anthropic Claude
938 and OpenAI ChatGPT for language editing, proofreading, and manuscript
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