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U.S. Baseball and English Soccer

Chris Stride, *University of Sheffield*
Ffion E. Thomas, *University of Sheffield*
John P. Wilson, *University of Oxford*
Josh Pahigian, *University of New England*

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Abstract

From an almost standing start at the beginning of the 1990s, the number of statues of U.S. baseball and English soccer heroes has risen inexorably. By 1st September 2011, 33 soccer players and 67 Major League Baseball (MLB) players were, or were soon to be, depicted by existing or commissioned subject specific statues inside or adjacent to the stadia they once performed in. Yet even amongst the very finest exponents of their sport, relatively few players are honored in this way.

This paper investigates and compares the defining characteristics of stadium statue subjects in these two national sports. We first developed a shortlist of potential causal factors likely to influence subject selection by considering the motivations behind statue building. The MLB Hall of Fame and the English Football League “100 Legends” list were then used as samples of the best performers from each sport. Logistic regression models were built to test the effects of potential predictors for the selection of statue subjects; these included loyalty, locality, longevity, performance of the player and their team, national recognition, sympathy and the effect of nostalgia or memory (i.e., the era a player performed in).

The optimal models for soccer and baseball correctly identified depiction or non-depiction for 87% and 90.6% of the respective samples, and their significant constituent effects indicated the importance of club loyalty and era. Players who played most or all of their careers at one club or franchise and those active in the 1950s and 1960s were most likely to be depicted. This latter finding in particular suggests that the role of a statue as a nostalgia/heritage marketing object impacts upon subject choice, which is thus dependent in part on the “chance” effect of birth era. Distinct characteristics of each sport, such as baseball franchise relocation and international soccer success, were also found to have a significant effect upon the probability of depiction. Predicted probabilities were calculated for players with statues who were not Football League “Legends” or MLB Hall of Famers; these confirm the viability of the model outside of the elite performers it was constructed upon.

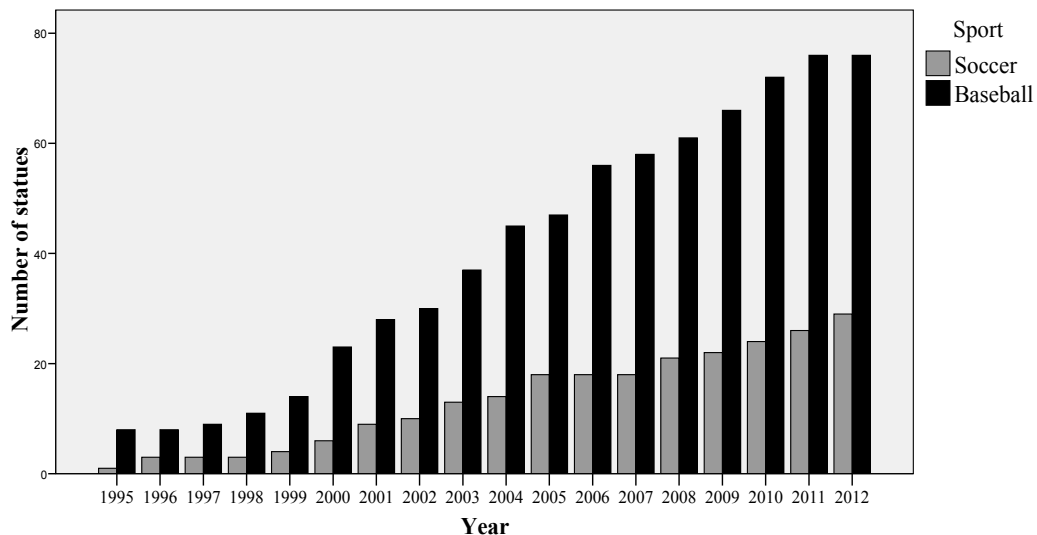
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Introduction

In *National Pastime* (Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005), a comparison of the development of the soccer and baseball industries, the authors note that administrators in each sport will learn from each other and that this process is already at work. Indeed, it is reputed that English Football League founder William McGregor took the idea of a structured system of fixtures from that already flourishing across the Atlantic (Jackson, 1899); and the maximum wage system that operated within English soccer from 1900 through to the 1960s bore much resemblance to that previously devised by baseball's administrators to counter the rampant wage inflation that threatened the stability of the game. A more modern and visual working of such trans-Atlantic contagion can be found in the construction of monuments of significant figures within each sport. As Osmond et al. (2006: 82) remark, 'Public statues that commemorate the lives and achievements of athletes are pervasive and influential forms of social memory within the cultural landscape of Western society.' The 1990s and 2000s saw a steady and sustained increase in the ballpark and soccer stadia statuary, as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Cumulative totals of player statues in situ or commissioned to be erected at English soccer stadia and US ballparks, 1995-2012¹.



¹ 2011 totals include and 2012 totals are entirely comprised of commissioned but not yet erected statues likely to be erected by 31/12/2011 and 31/12/2012 respectively.

As of 1st September 2011, the authors had identified 96 existing or commissioned figurative statues portraying 94 distinct baseball greats² located across or soon to be erected inside or adjacent to 23 of the 30 Major League Baseball ballparks. These are primarily comprised of 77 statues depicting 74 distinct players, with the remaining 19 portraying 5 managers, 10 executives and 5 broadcasters. The figures for English soccer, whilst lower (44 existing or commissioned figurative statues portraying 50 distinct subjects³, sited across 32 of the 92 English Premier League or Football League stadia; 29 of which depict 33 distinct players) attest to a similar pattern of growth. Such statues are typically organised by the franchise or club that plays at the facility and funded directly from the owner's personal largesse or via commercial sponsorship, though, particularly at mid-ranking clubs within English soccer, supporter-led projects are becoming more frequent. Within both sports a further statuary (showing a similar rate of growth but outside the scope of this study) exists in city centres, national stadia and sporting museums, and in baseball, at the grounds of Minor League associates of the Major League clubs.

Over 40000 soccer players have appeared in the English Football League or EFL (and the successor of its top division, the English Premier League or EPL) from its formation in 1888 to the end of the 2010/2011 season (Joyce, 2004; Hugman, 2005). Similarly, *Baseball Almanac* lists over 17000 baseball players who have pitched or hit in the Major Leagues up to the start of the 2011 season. Depiction in statue form is therefore an honour bestowed upon a very small proportion of players. The debate on whether player X is more deserving than player Y can be seen as a nuanced version of the selection of an all-time best team across the generations. This is both a popular social activity for supporters and an oft-revisited topic for journalists; and an issue no doubt debated fiercely by those intimately involved in statue projects, especially when the decision is made to erect a statue before the subject is chosen. Russell (2006: 8), when discussing statues in the context of commemorating recently-deceased players and managers, remarks that it would be 'interesting for future studies to consider the factors involved in this iconic specificity', a challenge we seek to take up.

This paper aims to discover the personal and club characteristics related to selection as a subject of a stadia-located statue, and compare and contrast the relative importance of such factors within US baseball and English soccer. To

² Two statues depict multiple subjects; similarly 6 subjects - Hank Aaron, Josh Gibson, Cool Papa Bell, Stan Musial, Ty Cobb, and Ted Williams - are depicted by more than one MLB ballpark statue. Of the 23 ballparks that have existing or commissioned statues, 20 have one or more depicting a player.

³ Four stadia statues depict multiple subjects, similarly one subject - Denis Law - is depicted by more than one soccer stadia statue. Of the 32 soccer stadia that have existing or commissioned statues, 23 have one or more depicting a player.

achieve this we first explore the motivations behind statue building by sports organisations and their supporters, since these are likely to impact upon how the instigator(s) of a statue project choose their subject. Having proposed a shortlist of potential characteristics that could inform subject selection, we then identify or create suitable variables to measure these characteristics. Using samples of the best performers from each sport as chosen by sports historians and journalists, we build logistic regression models that utilise these measures to predict, and indicate their relative importance when predicting statue subject selection within each sport. In particular, these models enable us to assess whether selection is a meritocracy, i.e. due to the subject's and their club's performance or their personal loyalty, as opposed to 'chance' characteristics such as the era of their career, or an early death provoking sympathy and sentimentality.

Given the relatively small numbers of manager, executive and broadcaster statues in existence, and the practical problems of defining equivalent performance characteristics, obtaining comparable metrics or selecting samples of potential statue candidates for these categories, we have concentrated solely on statues erected to honour players. Each player is defined as having a 'primary' club or franchise; almost always the club for which they appeared most frequently.

Why are statues erected at stadia?

Changes in mourning culture

One potential motivation for the erection of a statue is sympathy related to the recent death of the subject, and an associated desire for commemoration. Russell (2006) mentions statue building as part of an emergent 'grammar of mourning' in the context of deceased UK soccer players. This is a potential driver behind the construction of sporting statues, with sympathy likely to be enhanced where the subject has died at a relatively young age e.g. in English soccer, the statue of Billy Bremner at Leeds United FC (died aged 54 in December 1997, statue erected in August 1999).

As such, we propose that there will be a sympathy effect on subject selection (P1). Players who died at a young age are more likely to be a statue subjects than those who died at an older age or are still alive.

Marketing via built heritage

One benefit of building statues at a stadium comes from their visual impact. First, they provide a focal point that can then be exploited in promotional material. Steve Sutherland, formerly Commercial Director of Charlton Athletic FC in

England, describes how, since the statue of goalkeeper Sam Bartram was erected at their Valley stadium, *'every TV feature on Charlton Athletic starts with a shot of the statue... every TV interview takes place in front of it... all the club's brochures feature an image of the statue'* (Sutherland, 2011). Second, many developers, town planners and architects believe that the installation of public art can improve the perception of the environment surrounding it, and hence aid economic regeneration (Selwood, 1995). This is particularly cogent given that many of the older soccer grounds and the new wave of US ballparks are located within run-down or deprived urban areas. Making the stadium surrounds appear more attractive may remove a psychological barrier to spectator attendance. English soccer in particular has taken dramatic steps to increase the breadth of its supporter base over the past 20 years, with clubs *'repositioned as a product for middle class and family consumption'* (Edensor and Millington, 2008). In some instances, such environmental improvement can be the catalyst for the regeneration of an entire district; Ramshaw (2005) describes how Baltimore Orioles' new ballpark anchored the entire Inner Harbour development, as the area was transformed from *'derelict wasteland to a spectacular urban space'*. Where clubs have invested in cheap land, commercial premises and property surrounding their new stadium, this in turn can be extremely profitable. One sculptor interviewed (who wished to remain anonymous) quoted the chairman of an English soccer club whispering to him at a statue unveiling *'let's not forget amidst all this that this doubles the real estate value of the land around it'*.

A further explanation for the recent development of sporting statues, specifically those located at stadia, is the increased sophistication of sport marketing through built heritage. Brands require a foundation in the opinions, feelings and experiences of potential devotees. Holt (2006) describes brands as being dependent on tapping into *'myth markets'*. The development of a heritage-based marketing strategy to achieve this effect is discussed in the context of popular US sports by Seifried and Meyer (2010: 53), who note that, *'The history and heritage produced by sports organisations through facilities is a particularly interesting strategic tool'* for attracting and retaining supporters. A watershed in the use and perceived importance of this technique was the opening of the aforementioned Baltimore Orioles' retro-styled inner city ballpark, Camden Yards, in 1992, to popular and critical fanfare (Rosensweig, 2005). The preference of fans for this baseball-specific and heritage-referencing environment over the multi-use out-of-town stadia that had become the industry standard construction over the preceding 3 decades paved the way for a new focus on using the sport's heritage to attract fans to stadia.

The installation of statues can be seen as a particular tactic with multiple benefits within a wider branding strategy. Fans, both old and new, crave success, which can be dependent on and go hand in hand with financial muscle gained

from commercial exploitation of the fan-base; but they also desire authenticity and cultural distinctiveness of experience, to which such commercialisation and globalisation of the game can be deleterious (Edensor and Kothari, 2006). A statue can simultaneously project both of these potentially opposing ideals. On one hand it offers the opportunity for displaying (self-)importance and employing the established strategy of basking in the reflected glory ('BIRGing': Cialdini et al, 1976; Heider, 1958); it boasts of past success through reminding supporters of the great players or managers who have represented the club or, in the case of 'triumph' designs, even the winning of a particular trophy. On the other, the statue of a historical figure or scene from the club's past displays respect for authentic and club-specific tradition and history. This can appeal to potential new fans or even heritage tourists on a stadium tour, by appealing 'to the innate need of individuals to connect to an idealized environment' (Ramshaw and Gammon; 2005: 230); whilst also servicing the nostalgia of existing supporters. Nostalgia, defined as recollections from the past that serve to offer a preferred escape or alternative to the present, is exploited by many non-sporting organisations, both political and economic (Humphreys and Brown, 2002; Milligan, 2003). Seifried and Meyer (2010) describe how nostalgia-related emotions generated by sports facilities help fans to relive previous experiences of both enjoyment and endurance and provide the inspiration to pilgrimage to that location (Holbrook and Schindler, 1996; Pascal, Sprott and Muehling, 2002).

Both the marketing strategies of BIRGing and more general nostalgia generation are likely to impact upon statue subject choice. Sport heritage sites, and by association their content, will err towards the populist and the partisan, giving preference to glorious mythologies rather than critical narratives (Kidd, 1996; Ramshaw, 2011). Players who are successful will develop a greater local and even a national profile, potentially crossing over into the world of celebrity and boosting their credentials as a statue subject still further. Soccer clubs with larger supporter bases have been more successful historically, which leads to a virtuous cycle. Such clubs will have more reflected glory to bask in. From their position at the top of the sporting and business achievement pyramid, they will seek to expand their supporter base still further, and will have the financial resources to fund statue building.

Hence we propose that personal and club performance will have an impact on statue subject selection in three distinct ways:

Firstly, players who were successful in terms of personal performance statistics, be it through direct impact upon the game, or national recognition for cumulative excellence, are those most likely to be statue subjects (P2a).

Secondly, players who performed successfully in terms of being part of trophy-winning teams, at both club and national level, are those most likely to be statue subjects (P2b).

Thirdly, players whose primary clubs are historically successful, and have a large number of supporters are those most likely to be statue subjects (P3).

Likewise, since any attempt to evoke more general feelings of nostalgia amongst supporters relies upon both memory of and familiarity with the subject depicted, and a temporal distance from the present to the subject's playing career, the era of that career will have a non-linear effect upon their probability of statue subject selection (P4). Players who appeared for their clubs in the past but within living memory are more likely to be statue subjects than either current/very recent past players (who will not generate the same feelings of nostalgia due to their recency) or players from the early days of the game, for whom the number of supporters with first-hand memory of their feats or contribution to the club will be very small.

A better past?

Marketing strategy may explain the building of club-instigated statues, but within English soccer approximately a third of existing and forthcoming statues are inspired and funded by supporters. Such fan-led projects are unusual in US baseball but still occur, for example the statue of Warren Spahn at Atlanta Braves' Turner Field (Meaders, 2003). Therefore fan-centric motivations must also be considered as potential drivers of the accumulation of a sporting statuary.

Whilst clubs may use statues as part of a nostalgia-based marketing strategy, those same feelings of nostalgia will impact upon on the subject choice where statues are erected by fans. Much sporting culture is an oral one with supporters discussing and passing on memories of historic events and characters. However, this form of culture is relatively intangible and in some respects ephemeral. A statue projects a permanent statement of fans' preference for the past, their positive memories of their club's successes, moments shared with friends and their younger selves generally, encapsulated in an image of a hero from their youth. Russell (2006) describes how nostalgia within English soccer was thrown into sharp focus (and developed into a critique of modern morals) by the death of Bobby Moore in 1996, and the subsequent media-driven comparison of the former England captain, portrayed as a saintly figure, with the excesses of modern professionals. Similarly, US baseball writers both feed and feed upon public disenchantment with the negative events such as the player's strike of 1994 and reports of steroid use by players, by painting a halcyon picture of the 'golden days' of the game and its heroes. The *Bleacher Report*, eulogising post-war great Ted Williams, derisively asks 'how many home runs he would have knocked out

of the park if he took HGH and/or steroids like the so-called superstars of modern Major League Baseball' (Baldassari, 2011).

The website for the Roy Sproson Statue Fund at Port Vale FC takes a similar viewpoint, commenting that Sproson's record of appearances is 'unlikely to be bettered during these days of the high paid football mercenary' (The Sproson Fund, 2008). The latter quote focuses on a particular type of nostalgia within sport, namely the changing nature of and reverence for loyalty and locality. Players who stay with a club for a long period of time are naturally prized by supporters for their loyalty, particularly if they reject offers from rival clubs in doing so. Similarly, a player who has been born or grown up locally is likely to be seen by the supporters as 'one of us' and is often afforded greater affection than an equivalently talented 'import'. However, changes in contract laws that have made soccer players free agents at the end of their contracts and abolished their maximum wage (Binder and Findlay, 2011), combined with an increase in the variation in financial resources between the richest and poorest clubs (Jones, 2011), have led to increased movement between clubs and a reduction in the numbers of loyal 'one club men'. Allied to these factors, the globalization of the market for players (Antonioni and Cubbin, 2000) both at senior and youth level has reduced the number of players who are developed by and play for their local club.

We expect the positive image of loyalty to exist across sports, since in both soccer and baseball a good player is likely to be courted by rival clubs as the end of his contract approaches. However, nostalgia for locality is likely to be a more pertinent issue in soccer than in baseball for the following reasons. First, recruitment in baseball has traditionally seen the best young high school and college players 'drafted' nationwide (with preference given to weaker clubs to maintain the balance of competition), as opposed to being scouted by and choosing to join their local club as often happened in soccer. Second, the geographical spread and the smaller number of professional baseball clubs removes the option of playing for a local club for many players. This lack of choice is likely to make locality a marginal issue for baseball fans.

Thus, we propose that the loyalty and longevity (P5), and the locality of birth of a player (P6) will affect their chance of being a statue subject. Those who appeared many times, performed over a long period, and made a high percentage of their career appearances for a single club are more likely to be statue subjects than those who have appeared less frequently, more ephemerally or spread their appearances between many clubs. Likewise, in soccer, players who were born locally to their primary club are more likely to be statue subjects than those born elsewhere; however we would not expect to find this effect in baseball.

Finally, it could also be argued that a player's position or role on the pitch will affect the extent to which supporters recall and idolize them. Specifically, within soccer, we would expect the goal-scoring feats of attacking players to draw greater adulation and more frequent recall than the performances of players in more defensive positions. Similarly, in baseball hitters can turn the direction of a match or even a season in one play with a home run. The most memorable moment in the history of baseball is widely considered to be the 'shot heard 'round the world', a pennant-winning walk-off home run by the New York Giants' Bobby Thomson in 1951. By contrast, the impact of a pitcher, who is aiming to strike out hitters in a succession of innings, is cumulative over the course of a match. Furthermore, whereas pitchers have just one effective role in a match (i.e. to pitch), hitters also participate in the fielding (defense) part of the game alongside the pitcher. Pitchers do hit in the National League (though very rarely in the parallel American League, where they can be replaced in the batting line-up by a 'designated hitter'); however they are selected for the team based upon their pitching ability.

We propose that a player's role in a team will impact upon their chances of statue subject selection (P7). In soccer, attacking players are more likely to be statue subjects than midfielders, defenders or goalkeepers. In baseball, hitters are more likely to be statue subjects than pitchers.

A desire for identity and a sense of place

Tuan (1974) and Dunning (1999) describe how a supporter's attachment to their club's ground is a characteristic prevalent in modern sport. Fans come to see their stadia or ballpark as their home. Many US baseball franchises and English soccer clubs have moved into new stadia in recent years, but there are critical differences between the sports in this regard. Having spent the first half of the 20th century in traditional 'classic' ballparks, typically built in inner city areas and designed purely for baseball, 11 of the 16 MLB franchises in existence in 1950 plus a handful of new 'expansion' franchises moved to out-of-town multi-sport facilities between 1950 and 1990. These stadia were often described as cookie-cutter stadia due to their similarity, and were unpopular with fans who missed the intimacy and character of the classic ballparks. However, inspired by the success of Camden Yards, two-thirds of the current 30 franchises have now moved again into baseball-specific 'retro-modern' or 'retro-classic' ballparks opened in the last 20 years (Lowry, 2005). These new ballparks are designed to imitate distinguishing features of the classic ballpark era that made each park unique and recognisable, such as irregular dimensions of the outfield, angular, asymmetrical fences of varying heights and adornments such as flagpoles.

In contrast, only 3 English Football League clubs moved into new stadia between 1945 and 1988, and any ground redevelopment in this period was piecemeal. Yet, in just over 2 decades since then, 40 clubs have either moved to new grounds, often sited on the edge of the city, or have redeveloped all 4 sides of their ground, prompted by revisions in safety guidelines prompted by the disasters at Bradford and Hillsborough (Taylor, 1990). Just as with the cookie cutter stadiums of the US, this rapid development or redevelopment of so many English soccer grounds has tended to result in the ‘McDonaldisation’ of sports buildings (Wood, 2005). Hence English soccer is a step behind US baseball in stadia development, with many supporters having very recently ‘lost’ home grounds that had previously been a largely unchanging template or canvas for their unfolding stories, one with enormous symbolic value (Giuliannotti and Williams, 1994) that carried the memories of earlier generations of fans and became the history of the club in itself (Bale, 1994). With much of their stadium heritage demolished or changed, the sense of ‘home’ and of ‘place’ has been diminished or lost.

A fan-led statue project can be seen as an attempt to offset the losses described above; likewise clubs may instigate statue projects in response to fans’ feelings of loss. Ron Knuszka, a soccer fan who organised the project to erect the Ivor Allchurch Statue at Swansea City FC’s new Liberty Stadium shortly after the club’s move there from the Vetch Field, describes the birth of the project as follows: *‘So there I am at the game, the stadium’s being built a couple of miles up the road, and I’m saying to myself, well how can we move forward by taking a part of our history, not just into the present but into the future, not to forget where we’ve come from?’* (Knuszka, 2011).

A statue also breaks up the uniformity of new grounds, providing a distinguishing feature, though given the recent proliferation of statue-building, the uniqueness is rapidly being reduced to the identity of the subject.

Therefore, we propose that the age of the stadium or ballpark of a player’s primary club or franchise will impact upon their chance of being a statue subject (P8). Players whose primary club or franchise has recently moved to a new stadium or ballpark are most likely to be selected.

Franchising: a barrier to statues?

US baseball differs from English soccer in its operation of a franchise system that enables clubs to relocate to a different city for economic reasons; and the relative youth of a number of its franchises compared to English soccer clubs. Though their professional leagues and oldest clubs both date from the late 19th century, the basic 4 division structure of English professional soccer, encompassing approximately 90 clubs, was established by 1922. In comparison, as recently as 1960 the MLB consisted of just 16 clubs; it has expanded to 30 with the creation

of 8 new franchises in the 1960s and another 6 since. As well as this growth in numbers, franchise relocation has also happened on 13 occasions, with a notable period of movement occurring in the 1950s; between 1953 and 1957 the Dodgers and the Giants moved from New York to Los Angeles and San Francisco respectively, the Boston Braves to Milwaukee, the St Louis Browns to Baltimore and the Athletics from Philadelphia to Kansas. More recent movements have occurred from Milwaukee to Atlanta, from Washington to Texas and from Montreal to Washington. As a result, several MLB franchises have a relatively short history within their current location. Given the controversy surrounding some of these relocations and the desire of the relocated franchises to attract supporters from their new location by establishing a local identity, they may not wish to evoke memories of a past that was written in another city. More youthful franchises will have fewer memories to evoke and triumphs to celebrate than those, such as the Boston Red Sox or New York Yankees, with long, unbroken histories in their home city. However, a handful of locations (Washington, Baltimore, Kansas) have a longer history of MLB baseball than just the age of their current franchise; such locations may wish to honor heroes of past franchises at their present stadia.

As such, we would expect that the location history of a player's primary franchise will have an effect upon their probability of being a statue subject (P9). First, players whose primary franchise has been moved to a new city since their playing days are less likely to be a statue subject than those at franchises that have remained in the same location. Secondly, franchises with a longer history of the sport in their current city, whether through their constant presence or due to previous franchises, are more likely to erect statues at their stadium. Such effects are only likely to be found in US baseball; English soccer does not operate a franchise system, hence there has not been a similar wave of club movement; nor is there similar variation in the age of clubs.

Methodology

Sample selection

To assess the impact of the potential predictors described above, we selected samples of soccer and baseball players for whom the potential for depiction was credible. The alternative, i.e. attempting to sample all players from the beginnings of the organized versions of each sport, was itself prohibitive in terms of data collection resources and would still require some choice of limiting parameter i.e. the performance level at which to stop selecting participants.

As such we used two independently selected lists of the best performers in each sport; for baseball we used the National Baseball Hall of Fame (HOF), and for English soccer, the Football League 100 Legends list (FL100). The former, established in 1936, is renowned as the definitive list of the best players, managers, executives and umpires to grace the sport. Typically between 2 and 5 new members are elected annually by the HOF committees, which are comprised of journalists, historians, ex-players and baseball executives. It has been specifically designed to give full historical coverage without bias towards a particular era of the game (<http://baseballhall.org>). 234 of the current 295 inducted members were selected for their playing performance. Each inducted member is associated to a specific club, almost always that for which they made the majority of their appearances. English soccer is less well served; its own official Hall of Fame, established by the National Football Museum in 2002 (<http://www.nationalfootballmuseum.com>), is at present very much biased towards the players from recent generations; of the 79 players inducted by 2010, 32 had been active within the preceding 25 years, with just 10 chosen from the period between 1888 and 1939. As such it does yet not provide a deep or historically broad sample. Instead we have used the FL100 list of ‘100 greats’ who played part or all of their professional careers in England. This selection, chosen by a panel of journalists and historians and published by The Football League in 1998 to mark the start of the 100th season of League soccer (Gearey, 1998), was intended to reflect the League's history by including players from throughout the preceding 99 completed seasons. It featured 34 players who began playing careers prior to the 2nd World War, 37 players who debuted after 1945 and had retired by 1980, and a further 29 who were active in the 1980s or 1990s. The selectors considered a player’s status with supporters alongside raw performance statistics such as appearances and medals. The late Bryon Butler, a respected soccer journalist who was part of the panel, remarked ‘*We were looking for that X-factor as well as pure achievement.*’ (Young and Goodwin, 2005).

Sample description

The sample of soccer players consisted of the members of the FL100 list. Of these, 12% were goalkeepers, 17% were defenders, 21% were midfielders and 50% were forwards. Whilst this list may seem biased towards attacking players, it reflects historical playing formations, which for the first half of the twentieth century typically included 5 forward players. 23% of these players are depicted by one or more existing or currently commissioned statue either inside or adjacent to the soccer stadium of their primary club. These 100 legends are drawn from 30 different primary clubs (with Manchester United and Liverpool - 11 players each -

the most frequently represented), and account for 72% of the subjects depicted by existing or commissioned English soccer stadia statues of players.

The 234 members of the Baseball Hall of Fame list who were inducted for their exploits on the pitch formed the initial basis of our sample of baseball players. However 32 playing Hall of Famers were from clubs who have no lineage to any current MLB franchise; either now-defunct late 19th century clubs in non-contemporary MLB franchise locations (3 players) or the Negro League teams (McKissack and McKissack, 1998) that flourished from the 1920s until the post-war racial integration of 'organized' baseball (29 players). These 32 players were excluded from the majority of our analyses due to the absence of comparable, and in the case of the 29 Negro League players, reliable sources of personal and team performance and appearance measures.

Of the 202 baseball HOF players remaining to form our analysis sample, 70% were hitters and 30% were pitchers, which approximates the relative numbers and involvement of pitchers and hitters within any one match (typically 8 or 9 hitters, a starting pitcher, and one or two relief pitchers). Of the 30 current MLB franchises, 23 are represented either directly or through the historical or locational lineage of the franchise, with the San Francisco Giants (24 players, 19 from their previous New York Giants/Gothams incarnations) and the Yankees (21 players, 3 from their previous Orioles or New York Highlanders incarnations) the most honored. 49 (24%) of this sample are depicted by one or more existing or currently commissioned statue either inside or adjacent to the ballpark of their primary franchise. The stadium statues of the New York Yankees' legend Babe Ruth and St Louis Browns' George Sisler are not considered 'counting statues' within our analyses since these HOF stars are not located at the ballpark of their primary franchise. Ruth is depicted outside of his hometown franchise Baltimore Orioles, whom he never represented; likewise, the statue of Sisler is sited adjacent to St Louis Cardinals' Busch stadium as opposed to that of the Baltimore Orioles, who are the historical descendent of the St Louis Browns franchise. Together these 49 HOF players account for 75% of the 65 former and current MLB players (excluding Ruth, Sisler and the Negro League players) depicted by existing or commissioned MLB ballpark statues.

It is worth noting that 7 of the greatest stars of the Negro Leagues have been honored by statues at PNC Park in Pittsburgh, the city in which their successful Negro League team 'the Homestead Grays' was based. Cool Papa Bell is commemorated again at St Louis Cardinals' ballpark. As such, their observed probability of depiction, at $7/29 = 0.24$, is equal to that of MLB Hall of Fame players. They represent a distinct subset of statues worthy of further research.

Data and measures

For each HOF inductee selected for their playing performance in MLB and each member of the FL100 list, we collected data on a variety of potential measures for the constructs proposed as antecedents of statue subject selection, as well as the outcome variable itself, namely the presence or absence of a statue of the player at the ballpark or stadia of their primary franchise or club. Such data was additionally collected for 9 further soccer players⁴ and 16 baseball players who were depicted by existing or commissioned subject specific stadia statues but were not part of the respective HOF and FL100 lists.

To measure the sympathy effect of death, and a potential enhancement of this effect caused by death at a young age, we coded players into three categories; those who died aged under 65, those who died aged 65 and above, and those still alive (set as the reference category when this variable was dummy coded for use as predictor).

Playing performance (and the related dimensions of national/international profile and success within the context of representing a winning team) required different measures for each sport. This was due to the varying performance criteria and difference in importance of the international game. For English soccer players, performance was measured by their presence in the top 3 all time goal scorers at their club. National and international profile was measured by their number of international caps. Contribution to team success was represented by the number of major honors⁵ they had won at their primary club and whether or not they had been part of a winning national team within senior international competition. The only such examples of the latter within this sample were members of the England 1966 World Cup winning team.

For the baseball sample, personal performance data was collected for each Hall of Fame player on a variety of metrics, selected as those that fans would traditionally be most likely to judge a player's ability by (as opposed to more refined but only recently devised sabermetric statistics such as Wins Against Replacement or WAR⁶). For hitters we used their number of home runs (HR) and

⁴ Ray Wilson, a 10th non-FL100 legend and the 33rd player to be depicted by a stadia statue, is one of four players depicted in the 'Champions' statue on the approach to West Ham United's ground, which honours West Ham United players who were part of the England 1966 World Cup winning team. However Wilson did not play for West Ham United, rather for Huddersfield Town and Everton, and, according to sculptor Philip Jackson, he was included in the statue design to make it an accurate depiction of a famous post-match celebration scene (Jackson, 2011). As such he is excluded from our analysis.

⁵ Championship of the highest division, the FA Cup, the Football League Cup and European club competition trophies excluding the European Super Cup and the Inter-Toto Cup.

⁶ WAR reflects how many more wins a player would give a team as opposed to a 'replacement level', or minor league/bench player at that position.

their batting average (AVG)⁷; for pitchers we used their number of wins (W) and their Earned Run Average (ERA)⁸. To make these measures comparable across hitters and pitchers, they were converted into ranks over all players for whom records existed, and also across all players who had represented their primary franchise. This gave a short list of 8 possible measures; each of the four combinations of HR and AVG with W and ERA, for both overall and within-franchise ranking. Each measure was then tried as a predictor individually, with the most powerful selected. Personal success within a team context was measured by the total of National or American League Pennant wins and World Series wins that the player achieved whilst at their primary club; given the extreme positive skew of this composite variable a logarithmic transformation was performed. Baseball lacks the international structure of soccer; hence international caps were proxied by the number of selections for the 'All-Star Game', an annual match between the best players from the parallel National and American major leagues. Since the All-Star Game was first played in 1933, we used the retrospective votes for hypothetical pre-1933 All-Star teams from fan website *Baseball Fever* (<http://www.baseball-fever.com>) to impute complete All-Star selection counts for players from the early years of the game.

For both sports, a player's era was captured by the year representing the midpoint of the subject's career span i.e. from debut to final senior appearance. This variable was transformed into years since career midpoint by subtracting from 2011. To model the proposed effect of a lower probability of subject selection where their playing career was very recent or in the distant past, a squared effect of years since career midpoint was also added to the model.

To measure loyalty, we calculated the percentage of total senior career appearances that were made for their primary club or franchise. Longevity was measured by the number of years between their debut and final appearances. Number of appearances was a problematic and hence rejected alternative for baseball given the smaller number of appearances made by pitchers. For English soccer, locality was coded as 1 = 'Local' for players who were born and/or grew up within 50 miles of their primary club, and 0 = 'Not local' otherwise; for US baseball locality was defined as being born in the state that their primary franchise is currently located in. Typical playing role was coded for soccer as 1 = Goalkeeper, 2 = Defender, 3 = Midfielder, 4 = Forward (the latter set as the reference category when this variable was dummy coded). Baseball players were coded as either 1 = Hitter or 0 = Pitcher.

⁷ Batting Average (AVG) is the number of hits divided by the number of times at bat, for any given period.

⁸ Earned Run Average (ERA) is the mean of earned runs given up by a pitcher per nine innings pitched.

Club success and support in soccer was initially measured using each of the all time number of major honors won, average league position (scored from 1-92; a lower score indicates a better performance) and average attendance during their time in the Football League/Premier League, up to the end of the 2010/2011 season. Due to the very high correlation between these variables (calculated across the 30 clubs represented in the legends sample, Spearman's $\rho > 0.85$ in magnitude for all 3 pairs of variables), only one was used in the model building, namely average league position. Franchise success in baseball was measured by the total number of League Pennants and World Series won up to the end of the 2010 season, again log transformed.

History and tradition in a player's primary club or franchise's current location was assessed by the number of years the soccer club had played in their current city or town or, in the case of baseball, the number of years since any MLB franchise had first been based in that city. For baseball, the potentially negative effect of franchise movement was measured by a dummy variable indicating whether or not the current location of the franchise was the same as when the player last appeared for them (1 = Yes, 0 = No).

The age of a club or franchise's current stadium in 2011 was also collected, though different histories of stadium construction led to differential coding of this variable across the two sports. Soccer stadium age has a multi-modal distribution, hence was categorized into pre-1988 stadia (the start of the current wave of stadium construction), those entirely rebuilt on the same site since 1988, and those newly built since 1988. For baseball, the raw age of the ballpark was uni-modal but positively skewed by the surviving classic ballparks in Boston and Chicago; hence the natural logarithm of ballpark age was used.

Baseball player and franchise data was sourced and cross-referenced from the statistics and player profiles at sabermetric websites *FanGraphs* (<http://www.fangraphs.com>), *Baseball Reference* (<http://www.baseball-reference.com>), and baseball history website *Clem's Baseball* (<http://www.andrewclem.com/Baseball/>). Soccer player and club data was collected from club websites, *Myfootballfacts* (<http://www.myfootballfacts.com>) and the *Rec.Sports.Soccer* statistics newsgroup archive (<http://www.rsssf.com>).

Analysis

Due to the different metrics used to assess performance, separate datasets were constructed and analyzed for the soccer and baseball samples. For the FL100 soccer legends and the 202 baseball HOF players the presence or absence of a statue of that player at the stadium or ballpark of their primary club (coded 1 = Present, 0 = Absent) was predicted by using binary logistic regression, i.e. by fitting generalized linear models of the following type:

$$(1) \quad \text{Log}(p/1-p) = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + B_3X_3 + \dots + B_iX_i ;$$

where in (1), p is the probability of depiction as a statue subject, B_1, \dots, B_i are unstandardised regression coefficients, and X_1, \dots, X_i are predictor variables. As such, for any pair of predictor X_j and coefficient B_j , a one unit increase in X_j will cause the odds of depiction, $(p/1-p)$, to change by a factor of $\exp(B_j)$.

Given the relatively small number of cases and the large number of predictors, subject choice was modeled in three stages for each sport. Initially separate regressions were run for each subset of predictors corresponding to a specific proposition. Only predictors that emerged as significant effects from this initial 'piecewise' analysis stage were retained and entered together at the second stage. This model was then assessed, with any further non-significant predictors again dropped to give an optimal model. Probabilities of being a statue subject were calculated for each player, with observed and predicted statue subjects classified and then compared. This enabled us to assess how effective the optimal model was in predicting statue subjects, and to identify players as yet not depicted who, under this model, might expect to have had a statue of themselves erected. Finally a pair of supplementary analyses was run using the optimal models for each sport. They were respectively fitted to the 9 soccer players and 16 baseball players who were depicted by stadia or ballpark statues but were not a part of the legends or Hall of Fame list (and hence not used in building the optimal model), to see how well their observed depiction was predicted.

For each sport, the number of FL100 legends or MLB Hall of Famers from a player's primary club or franchise was entered as a control variable in the respective analyses. This modeled the potentially confounding effect of historically more successful clubs having more great players suitable for depiction and therefore, given budgetary and space constraints, potentially reducing the chances of any one player being selected as a subject. For the baseball analyses, three further control variables were employed. These were dummy variables coded 1 for players whose primary club was the St Louis Cardinals, New York Yankees or the Baltimore Orioles respectively, and 0 otherwise. Each was designed to model the specifically developed commemoration policies of these franchises. The Yankees have, since 1929, erected plaques and sculptures of retired shirt numbers dedicated to former greats within their ballpark, a ritual formalized within an area named Monument Park since the 1970s and reconstructed within their new ballpark in 2009. The Orioles have erected sculptures of retired numbers at Camden Yards since it opened in 1992. Conversely, the Cardinals have a stated policy of honoring their Hall of Famers with a statue outside of their ballpark. Having an established franchise protocol for honoring players is likely to systematically restrict or inflate statue building.

The $p < 0.05$ level of statistical significance was used throughout the analyses, with one-tailed tests applied given the directional nature of the hypotheses being tested. A predicted probability cut-point of 0.5 was used to categorize players into those predicted as having (or not having) a statue.

Results

Summary statistics

No English soccer club had more than two existing or planned player statues at its stadia, with no more than 3 different subjects depicted; the 33 distinct players are spread between 23 of the 92 clubs. Of the 20 current Premier League (top division) English soccer clubs, 10 have one or more player statues. In contrast, 67 existing or planned MLB player statues are spread across just 20 of the 30 MLB ballparks, with St Louis Cardinals (8) and Chicago White Sox (7) having the highest density. The Angels, Athletics, Blue Jays, Diamondbacks, Dodgers, Mariners, Marlins, Mets, Rays and Rockies do not have any statues of MLB players sited at their ballparks (though the Angels, Diamondbacks, Mariners, Rays and Rockies all have statues of managers, executives or non-specific players).

Amongst the FL100 legends, 20% had died under 65, 35% had died aged 65 or above, and 45% were still alive by 1st September 2011. On average they had won 42 international caps, 3 major club honors, had a 17-year career and had made 73% of their career appearances for their primary club. 32% were born locally to their primary club, and 24% featured as one of that club's top 3 all time goalscorers. Seven were members of England's 1966 World Cup winning team. The baseball HOF players had a slightly older age profile, with just 25% having died before 65, though 46% were still alive. On average they had made 8 All-Star roster appearances. Longevity and loyalty summary statistics were similar to those of the soccer sample; on average they had an 18-year career, and made 74% of appearances for their primary franchise. However relatively few baseball players (11%) were born in the state of that franchise.

A model for stadia statue subject selection in English soccer

For the soccer legends data, 4 predictors emerged as statistically significant when testing the variables related to each proposition separately. Three significant positive effects of personal performance or national prominence were detected; specifically featuring in the top 3 goal scorers for one's primary club, the number of international appearances and being part of the England 1966 World Cup squad. Era of playing career had a significant curvilinear effect upon subject selection. Finally, loyalty to a player's primary club, measured by the percentage

of their total career appearances that were for that club, had a positive effect upon subject selection. Effects of career longevity, locality, playing position or age of death era were not found. The only club-specific variable to impact upon the probability of statue subject was the control variable, i.e. the number of players from that club who were legends, which had the negative effect expected.

When the variables found to be statistically significant in these initial analyses were entered together, the effects of goal scoring, international trophy winning, career era and loyalty remained statistically significant; however, the number of international appearances no longer had a significant effect, and removing this from the model did not significantly impact upon model fit (change in model chi-square = 1.702, change in df = 1, $p > 0.05$). This gave an optimal model for statue subject selection given in table 1a. Having controlled for the number of FL100 legends within a player's primary club, the remaining four predictors significantly improved the model fit when entered together (change in model chi-square = 32.469, change in df = 5, $p < 0.05$). The odds of a player who is one of the top 3 goalscorers for his club having a statue erected in his honor is over 4 times higher than one who is not (unstandardised regression coefficient $B = 1.457^*$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 4.291$). The odds of a player who appeared in the 1966 World Cup winning team having a statue erected in his honor is over 21 times higher than for a player who did not ($B = 3.059$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 21.034$). Of the 11 players who represented England in the final, 6 have now been depicted in stadia statues, with manager Alf Ramsey also having a statue at Ipswich Town FC. The odds of a completely loyal 'one club' player being depicted are over twice as high as those of a player who made only 80% of his appearances for a single club ($B = 0.043$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(20*B) = 2.363$). The curvilinear playing era effect was maximized when a player's career mid point was 1954 (main effect: $B = 0.142$, $p < 0.05$; squared effect: $B = -0.001$, $p < 0.05$). In figure 2 the effect of playing era upon the predicted probability of being depicted is plotted for three levels of loyalty (corresponding to 60%, 80% and 100% of appearances for primary club), with all the effects of all other predictors fixed at their sample mean.

This optimal model for soccer stadia statue subject selection classified 87% of cases correctly (75% of observed statue subjects, and 93% of those players without a statue were correctly predicted). Misclassified players are listed in table 1b; three of the four with the highest predicted probabilities of having a statue either have current informal online supporters' campaigns aimed at persuading their clubs to erect a statue in their honor (Jimmy McIlroy and Jimmy Dickinson), or already have a bust at their primary club (John Charles at Leeds United FC). When this model was applied to the 9 soccer players who have a statue at their primary club's stadia but were not selected as Football League

legends, it offered a good fit, with 7 of the 9 statues correctly predicted (78%). Table 1c gives the predicted probabilities for these players.

Table 1a: Optimal model for stadia statue subject selection in English soccer.

Predictor and Proposition tested (control variables B entered in 1 st step, other predictors in 2 nd step)	B	exp(B), (95% CI)	Correctly Classified
<i>Control: Number of legends at player's primary club</i>	-0.264*	0.768 (0.634, 0.930)	77%
Is player in top 3 goalscorers for primary club (1 'Yes' vs 0 'No')	1.457*	4.291 (1.154, 15.965)	87%
Any major international honors won by player† (1 'Yes' vs 0 'No')	3.059*	21.304 (2.344, 93.608)	
Percentage of player's career appearances made for primary club	0.043*	1.044 (1.010, 1.078)	
Years since midpoint of player's career	0.142*	1.152 (0.984, 1.349)	
Years since midpoint of player's career (squared)	-0.001*	0.999 (0.998, 0.999)	

N = 100 soccer players from the FL100 legends list, * p < 0.05.

B = Unstandardised regression coefficient, hence exp(B) gives change in the odds of depiction caused by a one unit increase in the predictor.

† The only internationally honored legends were in England's 1966 World Cup winning team.

Table 1b: Optimal model for stadia statue subject selection in English soccer - misclassified cases.

Player's name	Primary Club	Predicted probability of being a statue subject	Existing or commissioned statue?
Jimmy Mellroy	Burnley	0.735	NO
George Camsell	Middlesbrough	0.682	NO
Jim Dickinson	Portsmouth	0.678	NO
John Charles	Leeds United	0.658	NO
Terry Paine	Southampton	0.512	NO
Wilf Mannion	Middlesbrough	0.423	YES
Bert Trautmann	Manchester City	0.421	YES
Billy Bremner	Leeds United	0.328	YES
Denis Law	Manchester United	0.133	YES
Stanley Matthews	Stoke City	0.128	YES
George Hardwick	Middlesbrough	0.108	YES
Steve Bloomer	Derby County	0.103	YES
George Best	Manchester United	0.058	YES

Table 1c: Optimal model for English soccer applied to non-legends with existing or commissioned stadia statues - predicted probabilities of statue subject selection.

Player's name	Primary Club	Predicted probability of being a statue subject	Correctly classified?
John Atyeo	Bristol City	0.898	YES
Roy Sproson	Port Vale	0.667	YES
Sam Bartram	Charlton Athletic	0.655	YES
Joe Shaw	Sheffield United	0.617	YES
Peter Osgood	Chelsea	0.613	YES
Harold Fleming	Swindon Town	0.558	YES
Jimmy Hagan	Sheffield United	0.513	YES
Hugh McIlmoyle	Carlisle United	0.346	NO
Fred Keenor	Cardiff City	0.185	NO

N = 9, Percentage correctly classified = 78%.

A model for ballpark statue subject selection in US baseball

The model fitted for baseball Hall of Fame inductees resembled that for English soccer legends, but contained additional predictors. When assessed piecewise by proposition, significant predictors were player's age/age of death (players who were still alive were more likely to have statues), rank in either home runs or wins (the optimal performance statistic measure combination, stronger performance had a significant effect), number of all star appearances (positive effect), era of performance (curvilinear effect), length of career and percentage of career appearances for primary club (positive effects), age of primary franchise's ballpark, years of MLB presence in franchise's location, and whether franchise had moved city since player last represented them (negative effects).

When combining these predictors in a single model, age/age of death, years of any MLB presence in franchise's location and personal performance rank were no longer statistically significant; removing these variables from the model was not deleterious to fit (change in model chi-square = 8.623, change in df = 4, $p > 0.05$). The resulting optimal model is given below in table 2a. The effect of loyalty was similar to that experienced by English soccer players, with the odds of a 'one club' player being depicted four times as high as those of a player who made only 80% of his appearances for a single club ($B = 0.070$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(20*B) = 4.055$). Players with longer careers were also more likely to be a statue subject, with their odds increasing by 31.3% for every extra year ($B = 0.272$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 1.313$). Likewise the effect of playing era was again curvilinear, with the function maximized at a career mid point of 1963 (main effect: $B = 0.194$, $p < 0.05$; squared effect: $B = -0.002$, $p < 0.05$). This effect is

depicted in figure 2, alongside that of loyalty, and with the corresponding effects for soccer players. The only statistically significant performance measure over and above the players’ presence as Hall of Fame inductees was the number of times they were chosen for the annual All-Star team. Each additional selection increased their odds of being a statue subject by 32.5% ($B = 0.281$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 1.325$).

The principal difference in the optimal model for baseball compared to that for soccer players came in the existence of significant predictors relating to the player’s primary franchise. Players whose primary franchise has remained in the same city since their playing careers ended have their odds of being a statue subject at their primary franchise increased by over 40 times over those whose franchise has moved ($B = 3.729$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 41.657$). Likewise, ballpark age has the negative effect proposed (for log’ of ballpark age $B = -1.080$, $p < 0.05$, $\exp(B) = 0.340$). This model classified 90.6% of cases correctly (75.5% of observed statue subjects, and 95.4% of those players without a statue were correctly predicted).

Table 2a: Optimal model for ballpark statue subject selection in US baseball.

Predictor and Proposition tested (control variables B entered in 1 st step, other predictors in 2 nd step)	B	exp(B), (95% CI)	Correctly Classified
<i>Control: Number of Hall of Fame members† at player’s primary franchise</i>	-0.009	0.992 (0.939, 1.047)	75.7%
<i>Control: Yankees player (Dummy: ‘Yankee’ vs reference category ‘Not’)</i>	-7.169*	0.001 (0.000, 0.030)	
<i>Control: Orioles player (Dummy: ‘Oriole’ vs reference category ‘Not’)</i>	-4.480*	0.011 (0.000, 0.406)	
<i>Control: Cardinals player (Dummy: ‘Cardinal’ vs reference category ‘Not’)</i>	0.224	1.251 (0.188, 8.339)	
Number of All-Star roster appearances by player	0.281*	1.325 (1.129, 1.554)	90.6%
Years since midpoint of player’s career	0.194*	1.214 (1.030, 1.430)	
Years since midpoint of player’s career (squared)	-0.002*	0.998 (0.997, 0.999)	
Length of player’s career (years)	0.272*	1.313 (1.090, 1.581)	
Percentage of player’s career appearances made for primary franchise	0.070*	1.073 (1.039, 1.108)	
Log’ of Age of player’s primary franchise’s current ballpark (in 2011, years)	-1.080*	0.340 (0.170, 0.679)	
Is player’s primary franchise located in same city as when they last appeared for them? (1 ‘Yes’, 0 ‘No’)	3.729*	41.657 (3.317,123.136)	

N = 202 MLB baseball players from the National Baseball Hall of Fame, * p < 0.05.

B = Unstandardised regression coefficient, hence exp(B) gives change in the odds of depiction caused by a one unit increase in the predictor.

† Includes players, managers, pioneers and executives.

Misclassified players are listed in table 2b. As with soccer, several of the misclassified players with high predicted probabilities of having a stadia statue are either the subject of an online campaign for such an honor to be bestowed (e.g. Tom Seaver and Carl Yastrzemski) or already have a statue in their home town (e.g. Mel Ott). Applying the optimal baseball model to the 16 players who have a statue at their primary club's stadia but are not currently inducted in the Hall of Fame gave a correct prediction rate of 44% (see table 2c).

Table 2b: Optimal model for ballpark statue subject selection in baseball - misclassified cases.

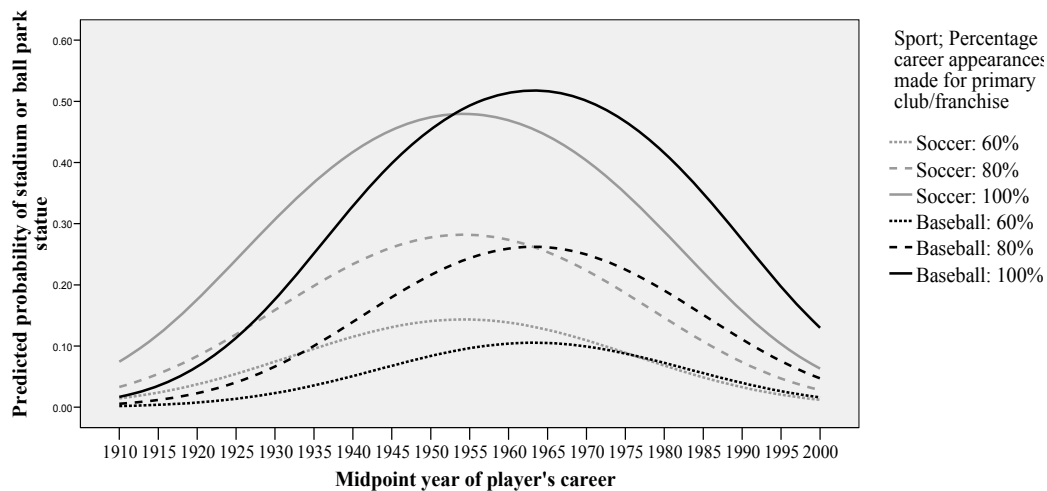
Player's name	Primary Franchise	Predicted probability of being a statue subject	Existing or commissioned statue?
Carl Yastrzemski	Red Sox	0.967	NO
Tom Seaver	Mets	0.899	NO
Tony Perez	Reds	0.682	NO
Luke Appling	White Sox	0.661	NO
Pie Traynor	Pirates	0.644	NO
Ted Lyons	White Sox	0.590	NO
Mel Ott	Giants	0.520	NO
Dizzy Dean	Cardinals	0.483	YES
Luis Aparicio	White Sox	0.405	YES
Yogi Berra	Yankees	0.395	YES
Hank Greenberg	Tigers	0.374	YES
Richie Ashburn	Phillies	0.372	YES
Walter Johnson	Twins	0.331	YES
Ernie Lombardi	Reds	0.229	YES
Orlando Cepeda	Giants	0.225	YES
Bobby Doerr	Red Sox	0.134	YES
Billy Williams	Cubs	0.117	YES
Nolan Ryan	Rangers	0.096	YES
Honus Wagner	Pirates	0.057	YES

Table 2c: Optimal model for US baseball applied to players not from the HOF list, but who have existing or commissioned ballpark statues - predicted probabilities of statue subject selection.

Player's name	Primary Franchise	Predicted probability of being a statue subject	Correctly classified?
Tony Oliva	Twins	0.993	YES
Minnie Minoso	White Sox	0.992	YES
Joe Nuxhall	Reds	0.931	YES
Billy Pierce	White Sox	0.772	YES
Craig Biggio	Astros	0.764	YES
Frank White	Royals	0.589	YES
Willie Horton	Tigers	0.547	YES
Ted Kluszewski	Reds	0.462	NO
Ron Santo	Cubs	0.455	NO
Jeff Bagwell	Astros	0.255	NO
Dom DiMaggio	Red Sox	0.245	NO
Harold Baines	White Sox	0.202	NO
Frank Thomas	White Sox	0.148	NO
Johnny Pesky	Red Sox	0.013	NO
Frank Howard	Senators/Rangers	0.006	NO
Don Larsen	Yankees	0.001	NO

N = 16, Percentage correctly classified = 44%.

Figure 2: The estimated effect of playing era and loyalty upon selection as a soccer stadia or ballpark statue subject, by sport.



Discussion

Our examination of predictors of statue subject selection in the soccer and baseball industries reveals a similar set emerging across the two sports. Variation that exists is largely due to differences in the structure of each sport, specifically in international competition and ownership structure. First, though it was implicit in the sampling design as much as the modeling process, it is important to acknowledge the role of performance. Our samples of baseball and soccer legends, each a small elite, were originally chosen by experts primarily on the basis of their performances. These great players make up the majority of statue subjects, approximately three-quarters in each sport, despite representing less than 1% of EFL soccer players or just over 1% of MLB baseball players since the birth of the EFL and MLB respectively. Being a noteworthy performer is clearly a powerful positive influence on the chance of depiction even before considering modeling the impact of performance measures on subject selection within these elite samples. However, for both sports just a quarter of even these exceptional players are depicted, so it is clear that an even higher echelon of performance or other attributes are typically required for a player to be cast in bronze.

Amongst these attributes appear to be the effect of era, with the shape of the effect detected supporting the proposition that subject selection is in part governed by the use of statues by clubs or franchises to market themselves through generating nostalgia amongst supporters. A strong curvilinear effect of era was detected for both sports, with players who performed in the 1950s and the 1960s being most likely to be depicted. However, it is important to note that this optimum era should be thought of in terms of its 30-40 year distance from the start of the modern fashion for sporting statues in the 1990s, as opposed to being an artifact related to the 1950s or 1960s themselves. Such interpretation is supported by the two temporally outlying statues, of soccer player Harold Fleming and baseball star Honus Wagner, that were erected in the 1950s – both players had performed approximately 40 years previous to unveiling. The apex and shape of the curvilinear effect is unlikely to remain fixed since, as time passes, the era of players within ‘living memory’ will also move forward. If stadia statues continue to be built, we would expect players from the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and eventually 2000s to become more frequently depicted as their eras become viewed as nostalgic. The effect of era may then be better modeled by dummy variables distinguishing pre-1950, post 1950s and contemporary careers. However, stars from the pre-WWII era currently without a statue will be ‘marooned’ beyond living (and televisual) memory, and are unlikely to be selected as statue subjects in greater numbers in the future even if they possess playing and loyalty credentials that would earmark them as deserving subjects under other significant selection criteria. Examples include baseball players Tris

Speaker, Nap Lajoie and Sam Crawford, and soccer players Charles Buchan, Bob Crompton and Billy Bassett. This prognosis is supported by the decade wide difference in optimum career midpoints observed for baseball and soccer; the greater density of statues at baseball franchises may have resulted in some franchises exhausting suitable players from the optimum nostalgia period of 30-40 years since career midpoint. Faced with this scenario, baseball franchises have chosen to move forwards in time (i.e. towards honoring more recent players) rather than back in time. Such a strategy would be logical given the resultant scope for 'future nostalgia' and the possibility of statues of near-contemporary players appealing to a younger generation of fans.

Another explanation for the earlier optimum playing era for statue subjects within English soccer is the growth of fan-instigated soccer statue projects. These have become increasingly frequent in the last decade, particularly at less wealthy and successful clubs, where supporters have sought to take an active role in the organization of the club through forming a Supporters Trust (Football Taskforce, 1999). Such statues are unlikely to be motivated by the marketing or branding imperatives that may lie behind a club organized statue. Fan organizers have the freedom to choose a subject who would be regarded as significant but beyond televisual memory or the living memory of supporters. Examples include the Steve Bloomer statue at Derby County, and the currently commissioned Fred Keenor statue at Cardiff City. Moving beyond players, UK soccer fans have even erected statues of their club's founding fathers (i.e. Brother Walfred at Celtic FC in 2005; William McGregor at Aston Villa FC in 2009). Conversely, in US baseball, fan participation in ownership is not only discouraged but generally prohibited (Szymanski and Zimbalist, 2005). This has made organized campaigning supporter groups an anathema, and resulted in a predominance of club organized statues.

As well as generating the aforementioned era effect, the role of nostalgia-based marketing strategies offers an explanation for the lower numbers of statues within English soccer compared to US baseball, a difference amplified by the greater age of and larger number of distinct professional clubs within English soccer. Szymanski and Zimbalist (2005: 83) claim that 'Baseball has always been a business, whereas the owners of soccer clubs have often been motivated more by social and political goals. For most soccer fans, winning has been more important than the surroundings at the stadium, and owners have been more concerned about investing in players than in facilities.' The former claim is overly simplistic. The implications of the franchise model adopted clearly conflict with the traditional localism of English soccer clubs, yet the largest soccer clubs have now become global businesses, with all of the attendant trappings. However, as the latter statement suggests, the business philosophy with respect to facility development, whilst recently converging, differed for many years. Since the birth

of the sport as spectator entertainment, US ballparks have been through three cycles of development, becoming progressively more modern and focused upon servicing and profiting from supporters. English stadia remained largely unchanged in location and style until safety concerns eventually forced an upgrade in the late 20th century. Previous developments were business decisions - but decisions based on raising revenue purely through an increased capacity as opposed to secondary revenue streams such as catering concessions. This difference in philosophy is possibly influenced by the differences in playing conditions. Baseball is an approximately 4 hour game and a summer sport, hence a visit to the ballpark is more likely to become a full afternoon or evening out. Developing secondary gameday revenue streams through policies focused upon fans such as enhancing the stadia environment and satiating their desires to eat, drink and purchase merchandise whilst there is a more obvious and straightforward strategy for baseball to pursue than for soccer, where a 90 minute match is often played out in inclement weather.

The similarity across the sports of the significant positive effect of loyalty upon subject selection is striking, and demonstrates the value that supporters place upon this quality. Given the increased freedom of contract within soccer since the Bosman ruling (Frick, 2009), lack of loyalty amongst contemporary high performing players may provide a downward impact on the number of statues erected in future generations. Similarly, neither sympathy (i.e. age of death) nor playing position featured in the optimal model for either sport. Whilst there are occasional examples referred to earlier, with the advances in modern health care there have been too few cases of early death in either sport since the building of statues became popularized for this impact to be detectable. In fact, within the baseball sample, the opposite effect was found when age of death was considered individually (i.e. without playing era also in the model). This was due to players from the late 19th and early 20th century who were less likely to be depicted due to the aforementioned era effect also dying at the younger ages expected at the time.

Also consistent across both sports was the lack of any effect of club success. The power to detect such effects in this study is weakened by a range restricted sample of clubs. Having legendary players is likely to lead to playing success; in turn playing success will lead to increased financial resources and the ability to buy the best players. Hence the clubs represented by our samples of legends are likely to be largely restricted to the more successful and better supported outfits. Such range restriction is enhanced for the baseball sample by the lack of Hall of Fame players from recent expansion franchises such as the Marlins, Diamondbacks and Rockies (as such, the analysis of the locational recency effect within baseball was also imperfect). Within English soccer, the relatively small numbers of statues at any one club suggests a limiting factor, possibly of taste, space or finance, upon construction, and also points against the

existence of any type of club level effect on specific subject selection over and above the negative impact of the number of legends at that club, which represents the level of competition for depiction.

The club effects upon subject selection that did exist for the baseball sample were intrinsically related to baseball-specific trends or organizational structures. The subsequent movement of a player's franchise to a different city had a negative effect upon their probability of depiction, supporting our proposition that relocated franchises would not want to, or would not see any benefit in drawing attention to their past. A prime example of this is the case of Jackie Robinson, the first black major league player. Robinson is commemorated by six different statues across the US and Canada, yet none of these is located at a MLB ballpark. Robinson appeared for the Brooklyn Dodgers and retired just before the franchise moved to Los Angeles. Similarly, of the 24 HOF members who have represented the Giants franchise primarily as players, 19 were inducted as New York Giants; yet the 4 depicted by statues at their San Francisco ballpark are drawn from the 5 who concluded their careers after the controversial move from New York. A rare example of a player who is commemorated at a franchise now representing a different city from when he played for them is Warren Spahn. Spahn pitched for the Boston and Milwaukee incarnations of the Braves franchise, but his statue was erected outside the ballpark of the Atlanta Braves. Notably this statue is one of the very few baseball statues organized and funded by fans, and hence less likely to be subject to the branding concerns that might normally prohibit the celebration of a player from a past incarnation of a franchise.

The presence of an effect of ballpark age upon baseball subject selection coupled with the absence of such an effect within soccer is best explained by the fashion in ground design for each sport. The last 2 decades have seen a conscious attempt by baseball franchises to build new ballparks with retro features or complete designs. Referencing the past through a statue complements this policy. In a handful of cases, for example at Houston and Detroit, the construction of statues has been part of the package delivered by the stadium architects, planners and builders upon the opening of the facility. A further explanation is that the majority of these new ballparks have been located in inner city areas, and regeneration and environmental improvement of the surrounding area has been focused upon by owners eager to exploit the commercial potential of the surrounding land. The addition of a statue could be seen as making the ground's environs appear more attractive.

Conversely, English soccer stadia in inner city locations tend to be the older constructions dating from the early years of the 20th century. Post-1990 stadia are typically located out of town, and are of similar basic modern design, without many distinguishing features or references to the history of the club. The addition of statues at several of these grounds (e.g. The Liberty Stadium, Swansea

City FC and the Ricoh Arena, Coventry City FC) has been due to fan campaigns rather than any club-led design policy, but many such stadia are still to acquire such external decoration. It remains to be seen if, now that a fashion for statues exists, soccer clubs and stadia designers will attempt to follow the trans-Atlantic example for incorporating statues and other retro-design features into their new homes.

However, the effect of ballpark age described above may be a simplistic version of reality. Due to our use of a sample of Hall of Fame players, and the criteria for Hall of Fame membership requiring a player to have been retired for at least 5 years before induction is considered, recent expansion franchises such as the Diamondbacks and Rockies are not represented in our analysis. Such new franchises also have new ballparks and no subject specific statues. As such, the true effect of ballpark age is likely to be moderated by franchise history within a location, i.e. it is players at franchises that have both a long history within their city and who have just constructed a new ballpark who are most likely to be depicted.

The other source of variation between the optimal models for soccer and baseball is in the personal performance and success variables that were included. This is in part due to the impossibility of finding equivalent raw performance measures across differing sports, with the added complication of the lack of an international structure within baseball. For English soccer, international success is a key dimension. The 1966 World Cup winning team is particularly fêted within sporting and popular culture in general and its players are hence more likely to be chosen as statue subjects. There is no equivalent national achievement for US baseball players to have been a part of. The only performance indicator to emerge as a significant predictor of subject selection from the baseball sample was the number of All-Star team appearances, which can be seen as a proxy for international selection in this sport. It is a popular, nationally broadcast event, widely known as the 'Midsummer Classic' (Vincent et al, 2001). Supporter interest is no doubt piqued by their personal involvement; they are able to participate in team selection through voting for players, initially via postal forms and currently via text messaging or the internet. As such, regular All-Star players are likely to have a higher profile, as well as their selection reflecting a high standard of performance even compared to elite contemporaries.

Whilst the optimal model performed well in correctly predicting the existence of statues for the 9 soccer players who were not FL100 legends, it was less effective for the equivalent 16 non-HOF baseball players. A factor that unites five of the misclassified players within this subsample is their presence in multi-subject statues or statue scenes. Similarly one of the misclassified soccer players and two misclassified baseball players from the respective legends lists were portrayed by this type of statue. Multi-player statues typically aim to recreate a

particularly memorable or historic moment of triumph or action, and hence may include players to ‘complete the picture’ as opposed to their performance or loyalty credentials. Such players are likely to be outliers amongst statue subjects in terms of their level of personal achievement. Multi-player statues should perhaps be thought of as club specific rather than subject specific monuments.

A further explanation for the misclassifications arising from applying our model to both the samples of legends/HOF members and of non-legends/non-HOF members is the lack of any available measures to reflect what are commonly termed the ‘X-factors’ of style, personality and entertainment value that can make one player more popular with supporters than another with equivalent performance, loyalty or contribution to the club’s success. In terms of playing style, this is particularly (though not solely) relevant to the soccer sample. Soccer is a fluid game where player performances are both more interdependent and less easy to quantify in terms of measurable actions than in baseball. In the absence of definitive and easily observable performance measures, soccer fans will be more likely than baseball fans to place a high value on the entertainment provided by a player’s style of play, such as exceptional ball control, trickery, bravery or power. Stanley Matthews is considered as one of England’s greatest soccer players and is honored by a statue at Stoke City FC (he is also depicted in a statue erected in Hanley town centre). However, with a career split evenly between two unsuccessful clubs (Stoke City FC and Blackpool FC), a playing era midpoint in the 1940s and potentially due to the English FA’s decision not to enter the FIFA World Cups of 1934 and 1938 in which they would have been competitive, he has a predicted probability of depiction of less than 0.5. Yet even without these handicaps, it is unlikely that career statistics could fully explain Matthew’s fame and popularity, which was built upon his entrancing skills on the wing as well as his extraordinary longevity; he was widely known by an adoring public as *The Wizard of the Dribble* and *The Magician* (Miller and Matthews, 1991).

Within both sports the personality a player exhibits both on and off the pitch can create a bond or rift with supporters that will make them more or less likely to be honored with a statue. An example within soccer is George Best, whose colorful off-the-field lifestyle endeared him to Manchester United fans despite its adverse effect upon his undoubted talent and his effective desertion of the club at the age of 27. Baseball player Frank Howard, a hitter for the Washington Senators, may not have achieved a level of performance worthy of Hall of Fame selection, but was hugely popular due to his big-hitting style of play and engaging personality. In 2009 he was rewarded with a statue outside of Nationals Park. Defending Howard’s honor against the criticism that his abilities were not worthy of such treatment, a supporter wrote: *‘Well, kid, you had to be there. The years Frank Howard was good, well, they were mighty good. His bat looked like a toothpick in his hands. He might have hit one home run in the first*

couple of row, but the upper deck shots were common, and thrilling. Here's the problem with the Hall of Fame and fans who don't know their history: Frank Howard had tremendous charisma. Those 7 years he was good might not be Hall of Fame great, but no one who ever saw him play ever forgot him.' ('Sarrafedehkhomee', 2010).

Finally, a player's behavior away from the field of play can influence how they are perceived and commemorated at the end of their career. Several baseball players who have been depicted are renowned for their contributions to charitable causes. For instance, Roberto Clemente regularly delivered humanitarian aid to Central America, and contemporary player Albert Pujols, for whom a statue is currently being sculpted, heads a charity for families and children living with Downs Syndrome (<http://www.pujolsfamilyfoundation.org>). On the other hand, St Louis Cardinals' Mark McGwire, who in 1998 hit a record number of home runs within a single season, was suspected of and later confessed to steroid use (Weinbaum, 2010). The Cardinals had had a statue of McGwire sculpted but have now declined to erect it, ostensibly due to McGwire not yet being a Hall of Fame member, though this is now an extremely unlikely scenario (Gaffney, 2007).

Sporting statues are now an inescapable part of the stadium landscape. Their existence offers players the chance of a place in the sights and minds of fans long after their playing careers have finished; if not true immortality, then at least a role as a historical landmark for their club. Indeed, there is evidence that sportsmen are beginning to regard them as a mandatory end-of-career honor. In 2011, basketball player Kareem Abdul-Jabbar openly raised the subject of how he deserved a statue outside the LA Lakers' Staples Center (Helin, 2011). However, the extent to which these landmarks reflect performance and contribution within a full historical context is less certain. On the one hand, they provide the benefit of rewarding a player's loyalty to their club, undoubtedly a positive trait in the eyes of supporters, and one which may even have involved a degree of financial sacrifice by the player in turning down more lucrative offers elsewhere. Yet the temporal focus of such statues is currently narrow, most probably due to the use of many as part of retro-themed branding strategies, designed to attract new and old fans through generating nostalgia. We would argue that worthy recipients from the early years of professional sport should be honored more frequently. It was these pioneers who helped establish the popularity of their respective sports as spectator attractions. Without their efforts, today's stars may not have had the possibility of depiction in bronze at the end of their careers.

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