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The Economics of Sport

An International Perspective



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Preface

Although the economics of sports is a relatively small field in terms of courses offered, there are now at least three other textbooks on the economics of sports, all published between 2000 and 2003 (Downward and Dawson, 2000; Fort, 2003; Leeds and Von Allmen, 2002). This spurt of new books in a field that until recently had no textbooks raises two questions; why did these books come out at about the same time and why are we offering a competitor? The main reason for these new books is a burgeoning interest in the economics of sports on the part of economists, public officials, lawyers, business leaders and students. The sports pages of newspapers now constantly have articles about public subsidies for new stadiums, labor/management disputes, record-setting payments for players, billion-dollar contracts for broadcast rights, and the merging of sports teams into entertainment businesses. Legal and regulatory decisions and new laws such as the EU Bosman decision, the US Congress Curt Flood Law, and the UK Monopolies and Mergers Commission BSkyB/ Manchester United ruling are reshaping the market for sports. At the same time that news stories brought these issues to students' attention, economists have made rapid progress in analyzing these markets. There is a new Journal of Sports Economics and over a thousand articles on the economics of sports.

From a pedagogical perspective, the economics of sports is a wonderful subject. For example, a season ticket is really a complex financial contract with uncertainty over the quality of the team, the value of ticket renewal rights, and the option to purchase post-season tickets. The effects of monopoly power to raise ticket prices, to keep down the number of teams, to force municipalities to subsidize stadiums, and to convince Congress to legislate exemptions from the antitrust laws are all compelling topics. What economists have concluded about the development effects of local professional sports teams and the intangible benefits is largely, if not completely, at variance with public perceptions. What other industry has precise data for measuring worker productivity and assessing all the possible sources of discrimination?

Sports economics provides an excellent framework for discussing standard economic topics such as marginal revenue applied to ticket pricing, capital asset pricing as applied to the selling prices of sports franchises, cartel behavior as applied to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the

xiv Preface

major sports leagues of North America. We think the economics of sports will become as popular an upper-level economics course as more traditional subjects such as labor economics or money and banking courses. No economics or public policy instructor who teaches the economics of sports need be embarrassed about teaching a 'lightweight' course. Properly designed, an economics of sports course would be a valuable addition to the undergraduate economics curriculum.

The second question is, why are we offering another book? This book differs in three respects. First, it is intended to be the most comprehensive. Second, it is more rigorous. This textbook builds on a foundation of introductory microeconomics and carries much of its discussion at the level of an intermediate microeconomics textbook. There are some calculus examples and exercises and optional sections where the material suits that treatment. The calculus-based exercises are identified. Third and most distinctively, this book takes a truly comparative approach. The ability to compare different institutional settings illuminates the economic concepts. For example, what are the consequences of the European promotion/relegation system versus the North American system of having teams with permanent major league status? Why does the USA have a gigantic collegiate sports system while the commercial potential of collegiate sports elsewhere remains unexploited? Why are sports broadcast rights in Europe so much lower than in the USA?

Professional sports are undergoing a rapid transformation towards globalization. There may also be a trend toward domination by broadcast/ entertainment conglomerates such as Rupert Murdoch's Fox and Sky networks. The pace of fundamental changes will keep professional sports in the daily headlines. New leagues are being formed with different business models such as league-wide ownership of the teams. A 'super league' of top football (soccer) clubs is under discussion in Europe. Soccer is trying again to made headway in the North American market and the National Basketball Association (NBA) and the National Football League (NFL) are marketing their games in Europe. Protracted strikes have cost the players and the team owners billions of dollars in North America. As the total profits from sports broadcasts and team ownership rise, there will be pressure for such strikes to spread to Europe as well. A textbook with an international perspective, focusing primarily on the USA, Canada, Europe and Australia, is the only way to explain these changes in coherent manner and show the common issues across countries.

Note: Words in **bold** in the text can be found in the Glossary at the end of the book.

List of abbreviations

ABA American Basketball Association AFL American Football League

AIAW Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women

AP Associated Press

BEA Bureau of Economic Analysis

DGR defined gross revenue FA Football Association

FIFA La Federation Internationale de Football Associations

IFC Independent Football CommissionIOC International Olympics CommitteeITC Independent Television Commission

IUPUI Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

LPGA Ladies Professional Golfers Association
MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MLB Major League Baseball
MLS Major League Soccer

MMC Monopolies and Mergers Commission

MRP marginal revenue product

NAIA National Association of Intercollegiate Athletics NASCAR North American Stock Car Racing Association

NBA National Basketball Association

NCAA National Collegiate Athletic Association

NFL National Football League

NIT National Invitational Tournament
NLSY National Longitudinal Survey of Youth

OFT Office of Fair Trading

OPEC Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries

PGA Professional Golfers Association

PL Premier League
PPV pay-per-view
PSI payronal coat lice

PSL personal seat license SAT Standard Assessment Tests

UEFA Union of European Football Associations

USFL United States Football League WHA World Hockey Association

WNBA Women's National Basketball Association

WNSL Wembley National Stadium Ltd

XFL World Wrestling Federation's Football League (US)

Contents

Li	st of boxes, tables and figures	ix
$A\iota$	knowledgements	xi
Pr	eface	xiii
Li	st of abbreviations	xv
1	Introduction	1
2	Club and league objectives: profit versus utility maximization	10
	·	
	Chapter goals	11
	Are the motives of team owners and leagues important? North America versus Europe	11 12
	What is profit maximization and what is utility maximization?	15
	The Scully model of profit maximization	18
	The Sloane model of utility maximization	20
	Constraints on utility maximization: publicly-traded clubs	22
	Testing the models of individual owner behavior	24
	League motives	25
	Conclusions	26
3	Demand and pricing	28
	Chapter goals	29
	The determinants of demand for sporting events	29
	Pricing good and bad seats for a single event	41
	Pricing season tickets	53
	Conclusions	59
4	The labor market for players	64
	Chapter goals	65
	Introduction	65
	The supply of and the demand for professional athletes	66

vi	i (Con	tent	٢

Collective bargaining in professional sports	75
	77
• •	
starters and backups	85
Revenue sharing and salary caps as mechanisms for	
achieving uncertainty of outcome	91
Conclusions	98
Discrimination in professional sports	104
Chapter goals	105
Introduction	105
What is discrimination?	106
Measuring discrimination	110
Evidence of discrimination in professional team sports Public responses to discrimination: Title IX	113
	123
Conclusions	124
The economic implications of sports broadcasting	127
Chapter goals	128
	128
	132
	132
	137
	140
- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	149
	151
Appendix 6.2: List of services meeting the 'qualifying	
	152
	152
	153
	100
clubs (1999/2000)	154
Sports teams and leagues: from a business	
necessity to dominating cartels	155
Chapter goals	156
	156
	100
committees needed?	15 <i>7</i>
From stability to market control	160
Implications of the North American framework for	100
managing sports	172
Leagues and the management model in the UK	175
	Revenue sharing and salary caps as mechanisms for achieving uncertainty of outcome Conclusions Discrimination in professional sports Chapter goals Introduction What is discrimination? Measuring discrimination Evidence of discrimination in professional team sports Public responses to discrimination: Title IX antidiscrimination legislation in the USA Conclusions The economic implications of sports broadcasting Chapter goals Introduction The growth of sports broadcasting on live attendance Sports broadcasting and competitive balance Public policy and sports broadcasting Conclusions Appendix 6.1: Listed UK sporting events Appendix 6.2: List of services meeting the 'qualifying conditions' as set out in the television regulations, 2000 Appendix 6.3: Events designated in other EU states under Article 3a of the Broadcasting Directive Appendix 6.4: Listed British soccer clubs 1999/2000 Appendix 6.5: Media interests in British soccer clubs (1999/2000) Sports teams and leagues: from a business necessity to dominating cartels Chapter goals Introduction Why are leagues, associations and organizing committees needed? From stability to market control Implications of the North American framework for managing sports

Contents	vii

	Revenue-sharing, leagues and competitive balance Summary and conclusions	177 182
8	Sports and economic development	186
	Chapter goals Introduction Defining terms: talking a common language	187 187
	when discussing the economic gains from sport Moving economic activity to achieve policy goals Sports and economic development: regions and cities Evaluating the success of a city's sports strategy:	188 193 195
	moving economic activity or enhancing total welfare? Sport and the choice of different locations for business Sport and downtown development: experience elsewhere	203 204
	Teams, sport and total welfare: conclusions The intangible benefits	205 208 209
9	Sport and development: what is possible? Financing the facilities used by professional sports teams	212 215
	Chapter goals Introduction The private and public goods aspects of sports facilities The building boom in sports facilities: why, and how large? Factors influencing financing plans for sports facilities Theory into practice: public sector financing of sports facilities Conclusions	216 216 218 222 225 230 239
10	Nonteam sports and incentives	241
	Chapter goals Introduction Product markets in nonteam sports Labor markets in non-team sports Conclusions	242 242 246 248 255
11	College sports in the USA and the role of the NCAA	257
	Chapter goals Why are intercollegiate sports so big? Is the NCAA a cartel? Do colleges make or lose money on their sports programs? Competitive balance in intercollegiate sports Conclusions	258 258 263 267 278 281
12	Government and sports policy	285
	Chapter goals Introduction	286 286

viii	Contents
Amateur sport	288
Sporting infrastructure and international sporting events	292
Antitrust and public policy	296
Conclusions	301
Glossary of terms	305
Bibliography	310
Index	341

List of boxes, tables and figures

Bo	X	es
----	---	----

2.1	Money out of the folds of the miser's toga	15
3.1	The real costs of antiscalping laws	52
4.1	Transfer fees and the price of footballers	74
4.2	The Bosman case	79
4.3	Salary caps in the NFL	94
5.1	Tennis and gender discrimination	114
5.2	Customer discrimination and the market for memorabilia	122
6.1	Should NFL blackouts be banned?	142
6.2	The Restrictive Practices Court investigation into collective	
	selling of television rights by the English Premier League	144
6.3	The Monopolies and Mergers Commission investigation	
	into BSkyB's attempted take-over of Manchester United	147
8.1	Economic impact of a Major League Club in Houston	189
9.1	Downtown eateries lose on game days	223
10.1	Sporting dominance in Formula One racing	243
10.2	Pay and performance in horse-racing	252
11.1	Sport provision and student recruitment	277
12.1	The reconstruction of Wembley Stadium	293
12.2	The British Horse-Racing Board and the Jockey Club	298
Table	9 5	
5.1	Productivity variables in professional team sports	112
5.2	Count of studies of discrimination in professional	
	team sports, 1968-2000	114
6.1	The cost of television rights to live league matches	
	from the premiership in England, 1983-2001	133
6.2	Value of live sports rights in the UK, 1999	134
6.3	Media ownership of US sports clubs, 1999	146

7.1	Team payrolls, 1990–2001	166
7.2	MLB salaries in 1998 and 1999: a rising tide	
	carrying all ships	167
8.1	Private sector employment and payroll levels	
	in all US counties with 300,000 or more residents, 1995	197
8.2	Industry size as measured by private sector payrolls,	
	Arlington, Texas, 1992	198
8.3	Projects and sources of funds for downtown	
	development in Indianapolis	201
8.4	Population concentration in Maricopa County, 1960–98	206
8.5	Projects and sources of funds for downtown	
	development in Phoenix	207
8.6	Sales tax revenues generated in downtown	
	Phoenix by business type	208
8.7	Citywide sales tax receipts and the proportion from	
	downtown Phoenix	208
8.8	Measures of civic pride and identity	210
8.9	The importance of different assets in establishing	
	pride in living in Indianapolis by attendance	211
8.10		212
9.1	Construction costs and the public sector share	233
9.2	Financing tools used by the public sector to	
	build baseball facilities	236
11.1	1999 attendance and average ticket prices	260
11.2	Counts of status changes	277
Figur	es	
2.1	Winning, average revenue, attendance and profit	18
2.2	Uncertainty of outcome, instability and mutual	
	interdependence	21
3.1	Straight-line demand function	33
3.2	Marginal revenue function	34
3.3	Profit-maximizing quantity and price with a negative	-
	marginal cost	36
3.4	Profit-maximizing price and quantity with ancillary sales per	
	customer related to the willingness to pay for tickets	40
3.5	Demand for good and bad seats	42
3.6	Consumer surplus for good and bad tickets before	
	and after price discrimination	43
3.7	Demand and supply for resold tickets	45
3.8	Decisions in lottery	49
3.9	The expected net benefit of applying for a lottery ticket	49
3.10	Effect of restrictions on scalping tickets	51

List of boxes, tables and figures		xi
4.1	Marginal productivity	67
4.2	Bilateral monopoly	70
4.3	Equilibrium talent levels for a starter and a back-up	
	in a rank order tournament	88
4.4	Effect of gate-sharing in a two-team league	92
4.5	Effect of an equal salary cap in a two-team league	96
4.6	Effect of a luxury tax in a two-team league	97
5.1	Supply and demand for sports stars and janitors	107
5.2	Discrimination and the relative demand curve	108
5.3	New entry and discrimination	109
5.4	Monopsonistic exploitation	118
6.1	Consumer surplus with pay-per-view	130
7.1	Uncertainty of outcome and fan preferences	181
9.1	Effect of a ticket tax	229
9.2	Public sector share and team value	237
9.3	Public sector share and team total revenue	238
9.4	Public sector share and size of market	238
10.1	Allocation of prize money in the PGA tours	250
10.2	The response of runners with different abilities to	
	differential prizes	253
11.1	Box-and-whisker plot of enrollment by affiliation level	276
12.1	Costs and benefits of participation in sport	290

Introduction

Why study the economics of professional sports? Why study the economics of the revenue-generating amateur sports such as the Olympics and intercollegiate sports in the USA? The answer 'Because these sports represent a substantial share of the gross national product' is simply wrong. The spectator sports industry for both professional and amateur sports is a trivial component of all national economies. In the USA its revenues are dwarfed by mundane industries such as meatpacking. The total revenue in professional sports is about 12 per cent of the total revenue in meatpacking. Two correct answers to the question are that the sports industry raises fascinating economic questions and that sports have been a high-profile component of all societies for more than 4,000 years. The Greeks and the Romans made sport a central part of their society. They built their cities with sports facilities as the centerpieces. Mayan civilization in Central America also emphasized sport. The public enthusiasm for spectator sports continues unabated in modern times. There are courses in the economics of sports rather than the economics of meatpacking because sport is a rich area for economic analysis and because societies care a great deal about sports. Beginning in the 1950s, economists have published hundreds of papers on the sports industry. The economics of sport is now a significant branch of economics.

What makes the economics of sports especially intriguing? Professional teams are usually local monopolies which have exemptions from the antitrust statutes (competition policies in the UK) that apply to other businesses. One interesting question is how their monopoly status affects their interactions with their players. If the meatpacking companies got together and agreed never to hire a worker who was working for another meatpacker, they would be in serious legal trouble. Until recently athletes were tied to one team that could sell their contracts to another team or keep renewing the contracts indefinitely. This exclusivity was called the reserve clause in US baseball. The equivalent restriction on labor mobility in European soccer was called the retain and transfer system. In the USA, sports reserve clauses were eliminated through a series of contract negotiations with the players' unions. Management was under pressure because both sides were increasingly convinced that the reserve clause would be ended by court rulings. In Europe the Bosman case suddenly ended the retain and transfer system. Some elements of monopoly power over sports labor still remain. All of the US professional leagues have annual drafts of new players (see player draft). They agree not to make offers to players drafted by other teams. In Europe there is no parallel to the US draft of what are primarily college athletes.

Teams are also generally monopolies in their product markets. In the USA they have exclusive territorial rights. Teams that are members of the same league cannot enter their market without their approval. The largest cities in the USA have two professional teams in the same sport but beyond those exceptions there is one team per sport per city. The Los Angeles, New York