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Kiernan O. Gordon

University of New Hampshire - Main Campus, kiernan.gordon@unh.edu

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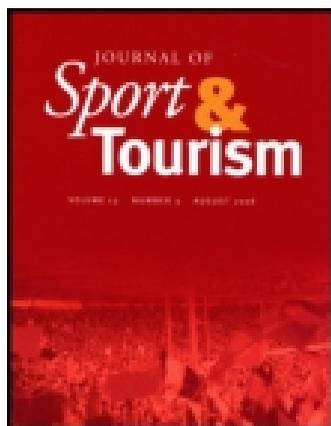
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Kiernan O. Gordon^a

^a Department of Kinesiology and Health, Miami University, 202N Phillips Hall, 420 South Oak Street, Oxford, OH 45056, USA

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Emotion and memory in nostalgia sport tourism: examining the attraction to postmodern ballparks through an interdisciplinary lens

Kiernan O. Gordon*

Department of Kinesiology and Health, Miami University, 202N Phillips Hall,
420 South Oak Street, Oxford, OH 45056, USA

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Nostalgia sport tourism, one of Gibson's [1998. Sport tourism: A critical analysis of research. *Sport Management Review*, 1, 45–76] three forms of sport tourism, appears to have received little scholarly attention in contrast to active sport tourism and event sport tourism [Fairley, S. (2003). In search of relived social experience: Group-based nostalgia sport tourism. *Journal of Sport Management*, 17, 284–304; Gibson, H. J. (2002). Sport tourism at a crossroad? Considerations for the future. In S. Gammon & J. Kurtzman (Eds.), *Sport tourism: Principles and practice* (pp. 123–140). Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association; Gibson, H. J. (2003). Sport tourism: An introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Sport Management*, 17, 205–213; Ritchie, B. W., & Adair, D. (2004). Sport tourism: An introduction and overview. In B. W. Ritchie & D. Adair (Eds.), *Sport tourism: Interrelationships, impacts and issues* (pp. 1–29). Buffalo, NY: Channel View]. Despite this apparent lack of research relative to the other two domains, insightful and thought-provoking scholarship has emerged within nostalgia sport tourism. Sociology, which is one of sport tourism's parent disciplines, has influenced much of this scholarship [Gibson, H. J. (2004). Moving beyond the 'what is and who' of sport tourism to understanding 'why'. *Journal of Sport Tourism*, 9(3), 247–265; Harris, J. (2006). The science of research in sport and tourism: Some reflections upon the promise of the sociological imagination. *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, 11(2), 153–171]. Among other things, this epistemological orientation has yielded the importance of emotion and memory to nostalgically oriented experiences. This paper considers the emergence of emotion and memory within nostalgia sport tourism and, in so doing, continues this sociological emphasis. In particular, it argues that interaction ritual (IR) theory [Collins, R. (2004). *Interaction ritual chains*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press], a micro-sociological perspective, can be used to provide scholars with a deep understanding of tourists' and excursionists' motivations for engaging in nostalgically oriented experiences. Three additional constructs from the field of sport geography – place, placelessness [Relph, E. (1976). *Place and*

*Email: gordonko@miamioh.edu

placelessness. London: Pion], and topophilia [Tuan, Y.-F. (1974). *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall] – are posited as useful supplements to IR theory that can enable sport tourism scholars to develop a more nuanced conceptualization of those elements inherent within nostalgically oriented sport sites. These theoretical positions are synthesized and used as a framework to examine sport tourists' and excursionists' attraction to the recent 'throw-back' esthetic of contemporary Major League Baseball park design.

Keywords: emotion; memory; interaction ritual; place; topophilia

Nostalgia sport tourism is the least researched of the three domains within sport tourism (Fairley, 2003; Gibson, 2002, 2003; Ritchie & Adair, 2004). Despite this relative lack of research, insightful and thought-provoking scholarship has emerged within this growing sport tourism domain. Sociology, one of sport tourism's parent disciplines, has influenced much of this scholarship (Gibson, 2004; Harris, 2006). This epistemological orientation has yielded, among other things, the importance of emotion and memory to nostalgically oriented experiences, and the result has prompted scholars to argue for a broader interpretation of nostalgia sport tourism than was originally established within the field (Fairley & Gammon, 2006; Gammon, 2002; Ramshaw & Gammon, 2005).

In continuing this sociological emphasis, this paper considers the emergence of emotion and memory within nostalgia sport tourism and argues that a micro-sociological perspective – interaction ritual (IR) theory – can be used to provide scholars with a deep understanding of tourists' and excursionists' motivations for engaging in nostalgia-oriented experiences. Moreover, three additional constructs from the field of sport geography – place, placelessness, and topophilia – are useful tools for sport tourism scholars who wish to develop a more nuanced conceptualization of those elements within nostalgically oriented sport sites. The combination of these interdisciplinary perspectives represents a manifestation of Gibson's (1998) argument that studies within sport tourism 'should not limit themselves to a single theoretical domain' (p. 68).

This paper has two objectives. The first is to argue for the appropriateness of IR theory as an interpretive device in scholars' attempts to understand the motivations of those who engage in nostalgia sport tourism. The second is to advocate for three sport geographical concepts as helpful devices in articulating those physical elements associated with sport stadiums that facilitate a nostalgic experience. To accomplish this, a brief overview of the previous literature within nostalgia sport tourism is required, as is a brief explanation of IR theory and place, placelessness, and topophilia. IR theory will be combined with the sport geographical concepts of place, placelessness, and topophilia to examine the recent phenomenon of 'retro', or 'postmodern' (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001), Major League Baseball parks in the USA to arrive at a nuanced understanding of those elements that are inherent within an

increasingly important element of nostalgia sport tourism. Thus, this paper's intent is to address the 'why' of sport tourism (Gibson, 2004) particularly as it applies to nostalgia to aid in constructing 'an edifice of sports tourism knowledge' (Weed, 2006, p. 23) through interdisciplinary analysis.

Nostalgia sport tourism

Many scholars have accepted Gibson's (1998) three forms of sport tourism – active sport tourism, event sport tourism, and nostalgia sport tourism – as their dimensions for study. In contrast to Gibson's first two dimensions, nostalgia sport tourism has received little scholarly attention (Fairley, 2003; Gibson, 2002, 2003; Ritchie & Adair, 2004). When scholars have studied nostalgia sport tourism, their early work has primarily examined the role that nostalgia has played in fans' attendance at sport halls of fame (Redmond, 1973; Snyder, 1991) and, more recently, stadium tours (Gammon & Fear, 2005) through qualitative and often interpretive means. Many scholars, though, have found that nostalgia plays a role in the sport tourism experience beyond these parameters.

Fairley (2003, 2009), for example, found in her study of Australian football fans that nostalgia has a broader relationship to sport tourism than Gibson (1998) originally posited. Nostalgia played a facilitative role in forming these fans' group solidarity during their transportation experiences to and from their favorite teams' matches. Kulczycki and Hyatt (2005) also found that nostalgia was the impetus in fans' decision to attend hockey games after their local National Hockey League (NHL) franchise relocated to a different city. This prompted Kulczycki and Hyatt to argue that nostalgia sport tourism should also account for fans' travel to live sporting events. Ramshaw and Gammon (2005) took this argument a step further and asserted that 'nostalgia' is too narrow a term to describe the variety of sport tourism activities that appear to be related to it. Instead, they argue that 'heritage' is a broader, more inclusive term for these activities, within which nostalgia is but one component. Ramshaw and Gammon posited four characterizations of sport heritage to aid scholars in classifying its presence within sport tourism: tangible immovable, tangible movable, intangible, and goods and services with a sport heritage component. Fairley and Gammon (2006) also argued that there are two broad conceptualizations of nostalgia in sport tourism research: nostalgia for place or artifact and nostalgia for social experience. These examples demonstrate that the notion of nostalgia and its relationship to sport tourism studies remains undefined.

Despite arguments surrounding the definition and parameters of nostalgia sport tourism, several scholars have viewed nostalgia as a type of emotion brought about through the sport tourism experience and as an important component of individual and collective sport-related memory. Several examples exist within nostalgia sport tourism that elegantly exemplify the nexus of sport, emotion, and memory.

Snyder (1991) viewed nostalgia as an emotion in his research of attendees at the Baseball Hall of Fame and his analysis revealed that nostalgia is a part 'of the collective memories of a society as well as the lived emotion of individuals' (p. 229). Nauright (2003) argued that sport is a 'highly nostalgic practice' for remembering and reconstructing past achievements to forge individual and collective memory (p. 36). Ramshaw and Gammon (2005) described nostalgia as a 'powerful human emotion' (p. 239) that is a strong motivation for fans' attendance. Kulczycki and Hyatt (2005) found in their research of fans who followed a relocated NHL franchise that they were emotionally attached to objects associated with nostalgia. One fan described to the researchers his feelings upon watching the relocated team play in their new arena as 'weird' because he 'didn't feel the emotion for the team' (Kulczycki & Hyatt, 2005, p. 285). Gammon (2002) demonstrated the importance of memory and emotion to the experience associated with nostalgia sport tourism through an analysis of a sport fantasy camp, which he referred to as a form of 'commercial nostalgia' (p. 62). Slowikowski (1991) argued that the Olympic flame ceremony demonstrates the value of ritual in initiating and perpetuating the emotions of a crowd of sport spectators to facilitate collective effervescence, promoting social solidarity through the establishment of collective memory. Fairley (2003, 2009) extended this notion of ritual to include bus travel to and from sporting contests for a small group of fans who reflect upon past group experiences, which heightens their collective emotion and serves as an important part of the group's identity. These examples illustrate that nostalgia as a reflection of the past is not just simply linked with emotion, but is rather a memory-based, emotionally laden form of experience, one that is felt on an individual level and reinforced through shared relationships with other members of a larger social group.

Nostalgia, then, appears to be an important element in fans' attraction to sport sites. Despite this apparent consensus, the word 'nostalgia' itself requires a more thorough definition if sport tourism researchers are to fully grasp its constituent elements and their role in engaging sport tourists. As the above evidence suggests, that definition of nostalgia ought to be broadened to include the emergence of emotion and memory in a variety of sport tourism contexts. The salience of emotion and memory in sport tourists' and excursionists' experiences enables sport tourism researchers to connect individual experience with that of the collective. Collins' (2004) IR theory is particularly useful in accounting for emotions and memory and connects their presence in one's personal experience to macro-phenomena; the result of which can aid researchers in understanding the attraction of nostalgically based sport experiences to sport tourists and excursionists.

The salience of emotion and memory to the sport tourist experience, however, also requires a stronger understanding of those elements inherent to the nostalgically based environments with which sport tourists interact. Relph's (1976) constructs of place and placelessness, and Tuan's (1974)

concept of topophilia, are useful tools in understanding the elements inherent in those sport environments that attract the interest of sport tourists.

The emphasis of this paper is not to argue for a redefinition of nostalgia *per se*. Rather, this paper is meant to delineate the importance of emotion and memory to the experience involved in nostalgia sport tourism through IR theory and the incorporation of place, placelessness, and topophilia as relevant environmental constructs. The current practice among American Major League Baseball teams to design and build parks that resemble the sport's earliest facilities is an excellent example of how place, placelessness, and topophilia, when viewed through an IR theory lens, manifest to facilitate an emotion- and memory-laden experience that is meant to create feelings of nostalgia for attendees. Consequently, the broad view of nostalgia presented in this paper will closely resemble that of Fairley (2003, 2009), Fairley and Gammon (2006), Ramshaw and Gammon (2005), and Snyder (1991).

IR theory

Sport tourism scholars have argued for the application of theory from sport tourism's parent disciplines to research (Gibson, 1998, 2002, 2004, 2006; Higham & Hinch, 2006). Within the domain of nostalgia sport tourism, theory from the field of sociology appears to be most prevalent. Several scholars have framed nostalgia-related phenomena within a sociological perspective. Harris (2006), for example, drew upon Mills' 'sociological imagination' to argue for an interpretive, reflexive approach to sport tourism research. Snyder's (1991) research exemplifies a Durkheimian (2008 [1912]) approach and is similar to other scholars' work, much of which has analyzed ritual (Fairley, 2003, 2009; Slowikowski, 1991) and the sacred and the profane (Gammon, 2004) as they relate to sport tourism. Perhaps the best example of sociological analysis is MacCannell (1999) who, though viewing tourism in a more general sense, incorporated Durkheimian, dramaturgical, and ethno-methodological constructs in his analysis of the tourist experience. Scholars view these analyses with great importance in the literature and rightfully so, as they are thoughtful examples of sociology's use within sport tourism. IR theory (Collins, 2004), though, incorporates these micro-sociological interpretations while also meeting researchers' needs within nostalgia sport tourism by incorporating emotion and accounting for memory. Thus, IR theory is particularly well suited to aid sport tourism scholars in their analyses of those phenomena arising within nostalgia sport tourism.

IR theory represents a synthesis of micro-sociological perspectives. It incorporates key elements from Durkheimian sociology, symbolic interactionism, dramaturgy, the sociology of emotions, and exchange theory. These perspectives have evolved historically to coalesce into Collins' vision of a theory that connects micro-behavior to larger social phenomena.

For Collins, the key to the concept of IRs is understanding that the situation, and not the individual, is the interactional starting point. That is, different

situations require different ritualistic elements in order for interactants to achieve their desired results. Beginning with the situation as starting point allows for a contextualized understanding of situationally appropriate behavior. The term IR is meant to account for the variety of rituals that take place within face-to-face interaction. Consequently, Collins' broad notion of ritual is more akin to that of Goffman (1982) – both of which are extensions of Durkheim's conceptualization of the term – than that of many scholars within anthropology or religious studies whose focus on ritual has generally been restricted to formal ceremony (Collins, 2004).

The ritualistic elements inherent within these different interactions either reinforce or create shared symbols whose meaning to those persons involved enhance the feelings one has regarding that interaction. These symbols become infused with situational emotion that can be recirculated through future IRs. Ultimately, the importance of these symbols depends upon their frequency during future IRs, as well as the level of emotional intensity that is reached during encounters when those symbols are used.

The use of a particular symbol or symbols throughout a given social network results in an IR chain. Variations in the intensity of rituals lead to variations in the patterns of social membership and their corresponding ideas. Thus, the social practices we witness on a large scale are not initiated at the macro level but rather have their origins in person-to-person situations. As Collins (2004) clarifies:

In a strong sense, the individual is the interaction ritual chain. The individual is the precipitate of past interactional situations and an ingredient of each new situation. An ingredient, not the determinant, because a situation is an emergent property. A situation is not merely the result of the individual who comes into it, nor even of a combination of individuals (although it is that, too). Situations have laws or processes of their own . . . (p. 5)

Symbols and the rituals that reinforce or create them are important ingredients, as well. While their presence will emerge primarily through the course of face-to-face interaction, implicit in the argument of this paper is that symbols can and often are present in the material environment. These environmental symbols have the potential to elicit emotions from people and can facilitate meaningful IRs for those who engage with them.

The degree of emotional intensity an individual experiences in an IR, as well as the symbols used during it, influences the type and number of IR opportunities available to that individual throughout the social marketplace. For Collins, 'good' IRs facilitate a high level of emotional intensity, or 'emotional energy' (EE), which leaves the individual highly charged and seeking other IRs where he or she can utilize his or her EE in the shared experience of the appropriate symbols. The experience associated with a large number of people engaging in an IR that is highly charged with EE is akin to Durkheim's (2008 [1912]) notion of 'collective effervescence'. In contrast, 'weak' or

'failed' IRs lower EE. Persons are often treated as outsiders, or perhaps even victims, in these interactions. The social marketplace, then, is filled with individuals who are moving from one IR to another, seeking EE. The movement of persons throughout this EE-driven, IR-based social network is the foundation of various forms of social stratification, as well as the motivation for different forms of work, leisure, and consumption, according to Collins.

This treatment of Collins' theory is brief and does not include all of the depth and nuance associated with his argument. It is sufficient, however, for the current piece. An even more succinct definition of Collins' argument reads as follows: macro-phenomena are the aggregate of micro-behavior, which is formed by individuals' actions to seek out emotionally fulfilling, ritually oriented interactions through their social circuitry.

Previous studies within nostalgia sport tourism share strong similarities when viewed through a Collinsian lens, despite the varying degrees with which nostalgia, emotion, and memory are discussed within this scholarship. For example, although he did not explicitly use Durkheimian terminology in his analysis of sport shrines, Redmond's (1973) assertion that 'In the sports hall of fame, fan worship has been visibly transformed into real worship' (p. 46) could be interpreted as an example of Durkheimian (2008 [1912]) totems, whereby fans' 'worship' of past players is both a celebration of those individual athletes and teams as well as a celebration of the larger subculture within which both parties reside. Moreover, the act of experiencing the sport hall of fame with others is an important IR for parents and children. Parents are the precipitates of previous sport-oriented IRs, who use the hall of fame to pass along the same reverence for the sport experience to their children through the shared experience of sacred symbols. Thus, the sport hall of fame IR is, for parents and children, a confluence of emotion and memory that will facilitate some degree of future EE-seeking behavior. This example is analogous to Fairley's (2003) work on reliving social experience through nostalgia sport tourism and her broad conception of ritual is akin to that of Goffman and Collins.

Furthermore, Fairley (2003) argued that nostalgia sport tourism is a social group-derived experience of which memory is a key component, which demonstrates the application of IR theory to nostalgia sport tourism. Moreover, she discussed the value of rituals in reinforcing social solidarity through fanship. While she refers to this social solidarity as 'communitas', a Collinsian interpretation would view this as an IR-derived social group, whose symbols have provided high levels of EE for participants that lead them to engage in future activities that reinforce the group's solidarity, as well as spawn future IRs that are centered around the group's sacred symbols. Her analysis of the group's travel to and from their favorite team's contests further demonstrates the applicability of IR theory. Moreover, her analysis maintains the Durkheimian notion of ritual, as the trip to the sacred site or the trip to engage in the sacred ritual is a ritual unto itself.

The aforementioned research of Kulczycki and Hyatt (2005) exemplifies well the notion of EE as it pertains to the sport tourism experience. One fan's response regarding his connection to the relocated NHL franchise as 'weird' because the team is playing in its new arena can be interpreted through an IR lens. The sacred symbols that were present in the team's old facility, as well as the rituals associated with the experience of attending a game in that facility, could not be associated with the team's new facility, rendering this different IR emotionless for the fan and, consequently, dampening his heretofore strong connection to the team.

Gammon's (2002) work exemplifies IR theory in his description of a fantasy camp as collective nostalgia. In this setting, multiple persons organize together to achieve EE through the shared experience associated with interacting with sacred symbols, in a sacred space, with sacred persons. Moreover, the potential exists for future IR chains with other participants.

An IR reading of Slowikowski's (1991) analysis would affirm her interpretation of the Olympic flame ceremony as an important ritual that connects cultures through a shared sense of community. Yet, an IR reading would further add that such ritual, given the pronounced sacredness of the Olympic flame ceremony, facilitates a highly charged emotional experience that can, and does, prompt current spectators – be they present live or watching on television – to engage in future IRs through attending future Olympics and, in some cases, to be a participant in the Games themselves. This demonstrates how highly charged with EE some symbols can be, since the flame ritual occurs once every four years for each Olympic Games. Their predictable yet infrequent occurrence provides enough EE to influence some individuals to change the course of their entire life just to participate in them. Moreover, the Olympic flame ceremony can be viewed as a crucial component of Olympic culture, for its occurrence, coupled with the entrance of the Games' participants by country, reinforces the meaning of the Games as a communal and participation-oriented event, even as the Games appear to take on greater nationalistic, political, and capitalistic emphases over time.

These examples illustrate the applicability of IR theory to nostalgia sport tourism. Of particular note, though, is Collins' notion of EE, which may be the most important aspect of IR theory for sport tourism researchers. If we apply Collins' notion of the social marketplace to include those leisure pursuits that are at the root of sport tourism, we must explore what it is about those particular pursuits that facilitates EE for participants. Or more specifically for nostalgia sport tourism, what environmental or situational ingredients are common to those nostalgia-oriented sport experiences that facilitate high levels of EE? Relph's (1976) constructs of place and placelessness, along with Tuan's (1974) concept of topophilia, enable sport tourism researchers to better understand those elements present within nostalgically oriented sport sites, such as halls of fame and, most specifically, stadiums.

Place, placelessness, and topophilia

Geographical concepts can prove useful for sport tourism researchers in their analyses of individuals' motivations to engage in sport tourism (Higham & Hinch, 2006). The concepts of place, placelessness (Relph, 1976), and topophilia (Tuan, 1974) are central to humanistic geography and are key to understanding those environmental or situational elements that appear to be inherent to the sport tourism experience.

To clarify, a place is one's experience of an authentically conceived and implemented environment; one that consists of materials from that space (in the broad sense of the term, e.g. regional or local) and specifically used for that site. A place also allows an individual to engage with its constituent materials to facilitate a particular sensory experience, one whose esthetic looks and feels authentic to that particular locale. A place, then, is the 'real thing' (Relph, 1976).

For Relph (1981), rational approaches to place-making, while they make our environment more comfortable, facilitate a bland experience, a sameness, by virtue of increased replication. Materials, architectural styles, design, and spatial planning are all prey to an over-rationalized approach to their creation and implementation, which prevents us from experiencing the idiosyncrasies, the uniqueness, of a place. Relph considered those practices that result from this rationalistic paradox to be inauthentic representations of a particular place. Consequently, placelessness is present where ever inauthenticity reigns. Inauthentic places are the manifestations of Relph's (1976) rationalistic paradox, or technique, which he described as 'an overriding concern with functional efficiency, objective organization, and manipulative planning' (p. 81). This 'functional' or 'manipulative' emphasis distances one from the unique aspects of his or her respective environment. Meshing these concepts and considering the relationships among them provides sport tourism scholars with fruitful constructs that articulate the past, present, and future state of sport landscapes.

The use of Relph's concepts in sport studies is not without precedent. Many scholars have explored, explicitly or implicitly, Relph's concepts of place and placelessness in sport contexts. Bale's work is most notable in this regard. He discussed, for example, the placelessness inherent within a simulated golf space, where participants hit balls into screens with video images of famous golf courses projected onto them, which occurs in a Canadian warehouse in the dead of winter (Bale, 1994).

Place and placelessness mark the significance, or lack thereof, of our experience within the sport landscape. They represent types of *genius loci*, or the mind's distinct impression of a place. *Genius loci* can elicit a great deal of emotion by virtue of our interaction with those place or placeless elements within a particular sport site. Another type of *genius loci* that has the potential to generate emotion is Tuan's (1974) notion of 'topophilia'.

Topophilia is a broad term that is meant ‘to include all of the human being’s affective ties with the material environment’ (Tuan, 1974, p. 93); that is, individuals experience topophilia through a strong affinity toward a particular place via our sensory experience. Implicit in Tuan’s notion of topophilia is the role that memory plays in establishing and strengthening *genius loci*.

An important concept that has general applicability to a variety of sport contexts, topophilia contains one key component that has particular relevance to sport places: ‘carpentered’ versus ‘noncarpentered’ space. In explaining this dichotomy, Tuan (1974) noted that, ‘The carpentered world is replete with straight lines, angles, and rectangular objects. Cities are rectangular environment *par excellence*. Nature and the countryside, in contrast, lack rectangularity’ (pp. 75–76). In nature-based cultures, carpentered spaces – that is, those spaces that consist of hard angles or ‘orthogonals’ – contain a sacred quality that facilitates a topophilic experience for cultural members. In contrast, curvilinear spaces and natural elements facilitate topophilia for city dwellers (Tuan, 1974). Consequently, topophilic sport landscapes often blend the carpentered with the noncarpentered to establish positive *genius loci* that have the potential to elicit emotionally charged experiences for attendees.

There are several explicit and implicit examples of topophilia’s emergence in the sport-related literature (Bale, 1993, 1994, 1996, 2003; Giulianotti, 2007). For example, Bale (1994) referenced topophilia and its constituent elements implicitly in speaking to the importance of blending the carpentered with the noncarpentered in creating sport landscapes with the following excerpt:

To an extent, the sports landscape can be regarded as part of the human habitat, a conscious decision having been made for slopes, soils, elevations, sites and routes, fields, channels or relief features to be used as homes for sport. In such cases humans rearrange nature into various sport-related forms in a harmonious way – an adjustment to nature but not the overwhelming conquest of it; the sports landscape, therefore, becomes a blending of humanity and nature ... (p. 10)

Gammon (2004), too, connected topophilia to the sport experience within nostalgia sport tourism in his exploration of sport tourism as a ‘secular pilgrimage’, though he did not discuss carpentered and noncarpentered elements.

The evolution of the American baseball park is an excellent example as to how the confluence, or lack thereof, of place, placeless, and topophilic elements have the ability to facilitate an emotionally charged experience that attracts sport tourists and sport excursionists. Ritzer and Stillman’s (2001) typology serves as a useful heuristic device for examining American ballparks, which consists of ‘early modern’, ‘late modern’, and ‘postmodern’ ballparks. Early modern parks are those built in the USA during the early 1900s. These were monofunctional, outdoor ballparks in urban locations. Wrigley Field in Chicago and Fenway Park in Boston serve as good examples. Late modern ballparks were built in the USA during the mid-1900s. Often built in rural or

suburban locations, these parks had a multifunctional emphasis. Many late modern ballparks were also built with domed roofs and seemed to put a much stronger emphasis on the presence and employment of technology than did their early modern predecessors. Examples include The Houston Astrodome and the Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome in Minneapolis. Postmodern ballparks were built in the 1990s and early 2000s and represent a return to both monofunction and the urban setting. Ritzer and Stillman (2001), though, used the term ‘postmodern’ to denote these parks’ emphasis on a total leisure experience. These ‘fun ballparks ... simulated some of the surface charm of the classic parks and have added a range of amenities ...’ (pp. 101–102). Although these parks have been designed and built primarily for one sport, they contain other leisure opportunities, such as shopping and dining, or in the case of Chase Field in Phoenix, a swimming pool over its outfield fence. Some examples of postmodern ballparks are Oriole Park at Camden Yards in Baltimore and AT&T Park in San Francisco. This typology of ballparks – early modern, late modern, and postmodern – serves as a useful construct in examining the nostalgic draw these parks have for sport tourists and excursionists.

Experiencing place, placelessness, and topophilia in American ballparks and their connection to EE and memory

Synthesizing the aforementioned theoretical elements and applying them to the evolution of American Major League Baseball park design yields interpretations that may facilitate insightful future research. Through this theoretical lens, one may conclude that many early modern ballparks’ use in contemporary American society exemplifies the sense of place that participants and attendees experience when they are present within them; that is, these ballparks represent authentic sport place-making. Early ballparks, which were built within cities, were made to fit the often odd dimensions of the urban land plots they occupied (Neilson, 1986). These parks’ playing spaces were consequently idiosyncratic and demonstrated a nonstandardized approach to ballpark design. The idiosyncrasies of these parks, such as the ivy-covered, brick, outfield wall in Chicago’s Wrigley Field, provide symbols and rituals that are unique to cities and communities. These ballpark symbols and rituals act as situational ingredients that make the experience associated with attending a game at an early modern ballpark a sacred one for die-hard fans and interested tourists vis-a-vis IR theory.

The significance of these ballparks as places have, in some cases, helped to distinguish these structures as municipal landmarks (Sheard, 2001). Moreover, the authentic use of materials and space in the construction of these ballparks and their presence within the city over a number of years can facilitate a strong sense of place for attendees. Trumpbour (2007) argued, for example, that Pennsylvania’s steel industry facilitated the construction of Shibe Park in Philadelphia and Forbes Field in Pittsburgh, both of which have since been

torn down. The use of in-state materials in these parks' construction may have further enhanced their significance for attendees via topophilia. The significance of these ballparks in their ability to facilitate a topophilic experience, though, also has a lot to do with what happens within these spaces. As Relph (1976) noted,

Much ritual and custom and myth has the incidental if not deliberate effect of strengthening attachment to place by reaffirming not only the sanctity and unchanging significance of it, but also the enduring relationships between a people and their place. When the rituals and myths lose their significance and the people cease to participate fully in them the places themselves become changeable and ephemeral. In cultures such as our own, where significant tradition counts for little, places may be virtually without time, except perhaps in terms of direct and personal experience. (pp. 32–33)

Here, Relph asserts a connection with the three key components of IR theory: ritual, EE, and memory. Thus, Fenway Park and Wrigley Field are significant, perhaps even topophilic, places by virtue of the teams and players who have played within their respective spaces and the successes they have had (or, in the case of the Chicago Cubs whose home park is Wrigley Field, their storied lack thereof). The experience of being present within these spaces, combined with the collective memory of those who attend and identify with the IRs that take place within these spaces, evokes a nostalgic sentiment for many attendees. This nostalgic sentiment is the manifestation of place and topophilia and their interaction with these individuals' EE and memory, the latter of which is forged collectively yet experienced individually.

Early modern ballparks typify urban spaces that blend the carpentered and the noncarpentered, both elements of which are indicative of many topophilic landscapes (Tuan, 1974). Relph (1976) asserted that the presence of both elements make for 'complex landscapes', in contrast to the 'simple landscapes' that 'present no problems or surprises, [that] lack subtlety' (p. 136). Complex landscapes, then, are akin to what Raitz (1987) called 'the sport landscape ensemble' (p. 7). Generally speaking, the playing surface present within these ballparks – the outfield fence, the ballpark seats, the green grass, the dirt within the infield, and the open air – are inherent to the games themselves and thus make ballparks 'potent sources' of topophilia (Bale, 1992, p. 77) and serve as excellent examples of the type of environmental ingredients necessary for strong IRs. This helps us understand the appeal of early modern ballparks to the contemporary sport landscape, as many consist of carpentered and noncarpentered elements that are unique to the larger space (i.e. city or region) within which the ballpark presides, thus lending an appearance of patina to their structure.

Wrigley Field (see Appendix 1) is an excellent example of a complex landscape, or sport landscape ensemble, whose authentically blended carpentered and noncarpentered elements within it denote a patina that facilitates a

significant sense of place and serves as an excellent environmental ingredient for IRs. Perhaps Wrigley's most notable feature – its ivy-covered, brick, outfield wall – is the carpentered/noncarpentered sport structure *par excellence* (see Appendix 2). This wall is a unique characteristic of the ballpark, one that sets it apart from all ballparks, including other early modern ones. Furthermore, Wrigley is distinct from other ballparks, including other early modern parks, in that it did not have any stadium lights that would allow for night games from its construction in the early 1910s until they were added in the 1980s. All of these elements make Wrigley Field a significant and authentic, if not topophilic, place in the minds of sport tourists and sport excursionists. Wrigley's historical tradition and ritualistic elements, such as the singing of *Take Me Out To The Ballgame* with Harry Caray and other local celebrities, further strengthen the emotional bond that attendees have with the ballpark and one another.

In contrast to the authenticity and complex ensemble of early modern ballparks, late modern ballparks represent a turn toward the rational, or 'technique' (Relph, 1976). These ballparks signify the placelessness inherent within the increasingly technologized sport landscape. Late modern ballparks' move from urban monofunction to suburban or rural multifunction represented a dramatic shift in designers' and architects' mode of thinking; these ballparks' emphasis became one of mass spectacle, in which virtually every inch of playing and spectating space was rationalized to ensure maximum financial efficiency and performance heterogeneity.

Most characteristic of late modern ballparks was the prevalence of technique and, consequently, inauthenticity. Bale (1994) discusses the placelessness within late modern ballparks when he noted that, 'The concrete bowl stadium with its plastic carpet and the fenced-in tennis court with its synthetic surface typify [placelessness]' (p. 52). Oriard (1976) highlighted that, in contrast to early modern ballparks' idiosyncratic playing spaces, late modern ballparks' playing spaces lacked intrastadium variation. The outfield dimensions in, for example, Boston's Fenway Park (see Appendix 3) are highly idiosyncratic, especially when compared to the symmetrical outfield in Cincinnati's Riverfront Stadium (see Appendix 4), which is considered a late modern ballpark. Thornes (1977) noted sport stadium designers' increasing desire to control environmental variables that could affect performance outcomes in late modern ballparks. This increased emphasis on the control of performance variables explains technology's ubiquity in the form of artificial turf, the late modern ballpark move toward domed stadiums, or, where natural grass is present, the increased presence and necessity of groundskeepers, tarps, and similar equipment for 'weather interference sports' (Thornes, 1977, p. 261) such as football and baseball.

The lack of noncarpentered elements in late modern ballparks is glaring in comparison to their early modern predecessors, leading Neilson (1986) to refer to them as 'sports saucers'. Late modern ballparks' emphases on financial efficiency and performance heterogeneity maximized seating and

multifunctionality at the expense of spectator sightlines and natural idiosyncrasy, the combination of which created a still, bland, sport vacuum for spectator and participant alike. Perhaps the only noncarpentered element in these spaces was the dirt in the baseball infield, which itself was minimized to the immediate areas surrounding the bases so as to make many ground balls bounce as predictably as possible. In essence, then, the placelessness elements that were characteristic of late modern ballparks did not provide attendees with the necessary type of environmental ingredients that yield high levels of EE, save for the events that take place within the playing space.

The movement of late modern ballparks to suburban and rural settings is also important to consider. This locational shift created a sameness of landscape, whereby a ballpark attendee would almost not know where he or she was if they were transplanted in immediate proximity to, for example, the Houston Astrodome (see Appendices 5 and 6) or Minneapolis' Hubert H. Humphrey Metrodome during baseball season's spring or summer months. This is in contrast to Wrigley Field, whose presence in the Chicago neighborhood of Wrigleyville means that every home game is a community event, one in which some spectators will watch the game far beyond the ivy-covered, brick, outfield wall from neighboring residences' rooftops. If one were transplanted there, the scene would be unmistakably 'Wrigley'.

The emergence of postmodern ballparks represents the return of Major League Baseball parks to both urban settings and monofunctionality. These ballparks are a hybridization of early modern ballpark and late modern ballpark characteristics. They contain idiosyncratic playing spaces and blended carpentered and noncarpentered elements more characteristic of early modern ballparks, as well as the highly rational and technologized nature of late modern ballparks.

Ritzer and Stillman (2001) asserted that this popular 'throwback' ballpark model attempts to make the intentional presentation of its esthetic and efficient workings of its personnel less evident than the late modern ballpark model. In so doing, ballpark designers and personnel attempt to simulate the elements of classic, early modern ballparks. The result demonstrates a hyper-rationalized approach to the attendant experience, one whose nostalgic, 'old-fashioned' appearance belies a higher tier of technique.

Postmodern ballparks each contain a multitude of leisure opportunities for ballpark attendees. These ballparks often consist of both carpentered and noncarpentered elements in hopes of facilitating a topophilic sentiment among sport tourists and excursionists. Moreover, the increased technical emphasis on leisure and the evolution in stadium design have made postmodern ballparks more comfortable than both early modern and late modern parks. Attendees are exposed to topophilic elements in postmodern ballparks that are key IR catalysts through their nostalgic emphases, as well as other leisure elements that provide individuals with other opportunities to increase their EE and forge the ballpark as an important space for potential IRs.

AT&T Park in San Francisco (see Appendices 7 and 8) exemplifies the post-modern ballpark movement and its ability to engender high EE IRs through the rationalized approach to recreating nostalgia. Situated in San Francisco's 'China Basin' area, the ballpark's right field wall is flush against the San Francisco Bay. Home run balls that go over the right field fence have the possibility of landing in 'McCovey Cove' (a small segment of the bay named for one of the team's legendary players, Willie McCovey) and becoming known as a 'splash hit'. The space behind the left field seats contains signs for various corporate sponsorships and its esthetic is reminiscent of early twentieth-century advertising. AT&T Park also has plenty of shopping and dining space for adults and playground space for children. The park's structural elements and panoramic views of the bay from many of the ballpark's seats allow for the potential of a topophilic experience for attendees. These panoramic views include the Bay Bridge, which connects San Francisco to Oakland. The end result is a highly rationalized and stylized urban space, one whose curvilinear structure, idiosyncratic dimensions, and complex landscape creates a topophilic yet placeless paradox with the potential for high EE IRs within 'the city by the bay'.

Conclusion

Nostalgia sport tourism is the least researched domain within sport tourism (Fairley, 2003; Gibson, 2002, 2003; Ritchie & Adair, 2004). The growing body of knowledge dedicated to this aspect of sport tourism, however, has yielded thought-provoking research and analyses. Scholars have invoked different sociological perspectives to aid in their analyses, the majority of which have been micro-oriented. IR theory, whose emphasis is on EE and memory, is particularly well suited to aid sport tourism researchers in their examinations of nostalgia-oriented phenomena. The application of IR theory is bolstered through the employment of three sport geographical concepts – place, placelessness, and topophilia – the presence of which can engender an emotionally laden experience for sport tourists and sport excursionists regardless of what takes place on the field of play.

The evolution of American major league ballparks provides an example as to how certain elements inherent to sport sites can serve as key situational ingredients to IRs. Authentic carpentered and noncarpentered elements in early modern ballparks, for example, were combined to create complex landscapes that have facilitated a strong sense of place for many attendees over the years. During the late modern era, ballparks were no longer built in the city, but in rural and suburban spaces, which created a placeless experience for attendees by virtue of their emphases on multifunctionality and performance heterogeneity. Postmodern ballparks' emergence, in contrast, represents a renewed emphasis on intraurban development and authentic sport place-making, the result of which demonstrates a

hyper-rationalized attempt toward recreating nostalgia that facilitates EE through the simultaneous presence of topophilic elements and increased leisure opportunities.

Teams' and individuals' past performances within these spaces also contribute to ballparks' role in creating a *genius loci* as game attendees' collective memory is forged by virtue of their co-presence at the event. This is especially true for early modern ballparks, whose legendary performers and performances foster 'collective effervescence' among attendees and reinforce their needs for future joint spectatorship, as well as contributing to the sacredness of the ballpark itself (Durkheim, 2008 [1912]). This appears to exemplify what Relph (1976) means when he says, 'places can be almost independent of time' (p. 33). This ritualized aspect of the attendee experience is not exclusive to in-game events. Early and postmodern ballparks' placement within urban environments makes them accessible by foot for many attendees, which serves as a ritualized aspect of the ballpark attendant experience itself (Durkheim, 2008 [1912]; Fairley, 2003, 2009).

Like many structures important to a space, be it a town, city, state, or country, urban ballparks serve as 'structural postcards', which highlight a city's most noteworthy attributes, consolidating them to fill a single frame of one's mental map (Tuan, 1974, p. 205). They serve as 'place anchors' in today's increasingly transient society, allowing individuals to reflect on the memories and emotions they associate with them. This is particularly true in the case of early modern ballparks. The Bostonian who moves to Phoenix, for example, may recall the experiences they had which involved Faneuil Hall or the Old North Church but may also, if not probably, recall Fenway Park's Green Monster during fond memories of his or her hometown. In contrast, postmodern ballparks have not yet reached the level of historical significance possessed by their early modern predecessors, nor the memory and emotion that goes along with that significance. Yet the presence of carpentered and noncarpentered elements within these parks, along with their curvilinear, structural elements, may overcome the placeless characteristics of rationalized simulation within them to create another form of urban, topophilic, sport space that can yield high EE IRs for sport tourists and excursionists.

Sport sites are important to the experience of sport tourists and sport excursionists for a variety of reasons. Their form and function evolve as do other structures. Their significance, though, can be strongly linked to the emotions and memories that are forged by tourists' and excursionists' experiences, some of which may be a result of the place and topophilic elements inherent within them. The relationship we have to these places is, as Relph (1976) asserts, key to our existence as social persons: 'A deep relationship with places is as necessary, and perhaps as unavoidable, as close relationships with people; without such relationships human existence, while possible, is bereft of much of its significance' (p. 41).

Suggestions for future research

The nexus of place, placelessness, topophilia, and IR theory can be researched in a variety of ways to add to the growing body of knowledge within nostalgia sport tourism. Stadium designers, sport managers, and sport tourism scholars could examine, for example, the influence that sportscape elements (Wakefield, Blodgett, & Sloan, 1996) such as stadium design, wayfinding signage, parking, and perceived crowding have in facilitating a topophilic or place experience to engender EE for attendees and the role that plays in generating repeat attendance for both tourists and excursionists. Sport tourism scholars could also explore the extent to which specific sport sites, such as stadiums, play a significant, if not sacred, role within the lives of tourists and excursionists through an examination of individual and collective memory, perhaps by researching the increasingly popular practice of stadium tours (Gammon & Fear, 2005). Such research might also provide insight into individuals' subjective experiences regarding place, placelessness, topophilia, EE, and memory vis-a-vis their relationship to the sport site under examination (e.g. as tourists, fans, local residents, etc.), as well as possibly illuminate broader cultural or regional differences in perceptions of what actually constitutes nostalgic elements. This might include the extent to which EE is effectively distributed from those with personal, nostalgically oriented experiences to others who have not had such experiences. Examples might involve parents who use their own nostalgically driven sentiments for particular sport sites, rituals, and performances as important symbols around which to strengthen emotional connections with their children.

Ramshaw and Gammon's (2005) typology of sport heritage – tangible immovable, tangible movable, intangible, and goods and services – may also provide future researchers with a useful starting point in attempting to understand the various gradations of nostalgia and related phenomena in the marketing and consumption of sport tourism. Future research might also focus on emerging trends in stadium or ballpark design, such as Marlins Park in Miami, Florida, and determine their ability, potential or realized, to facilitate EE among tourists and excursionists through the nexus of place, placelessness, topophilia, and memory.

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Appendix 1. Wrigley Field: spectator perspective



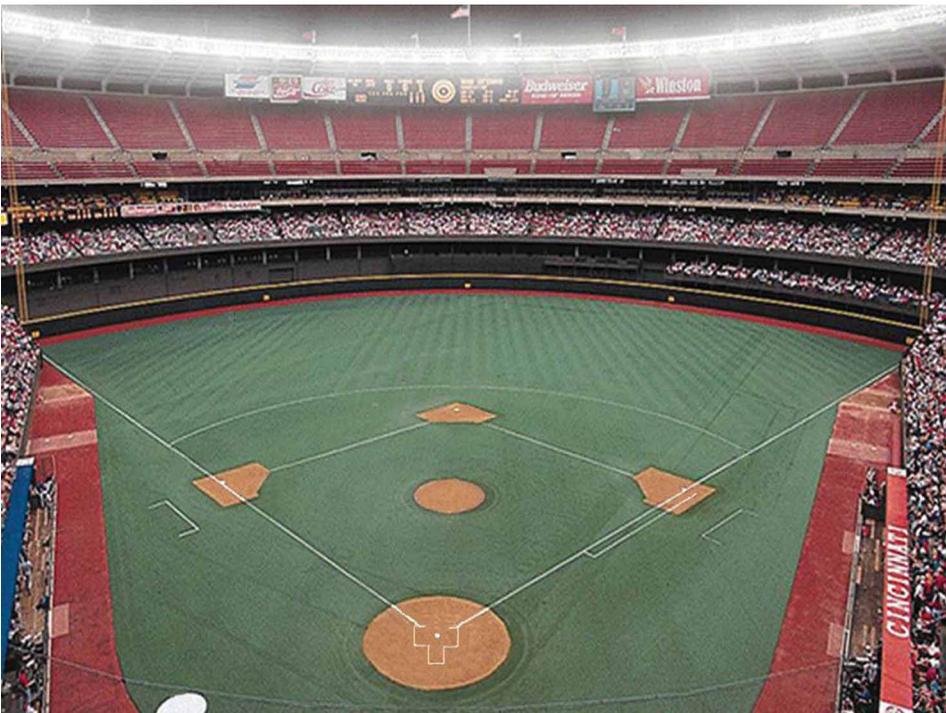
Appendix 2. Wrigley Field: outfield wall



Appendix 3. Fenway Park: spectator perspective



Appendix 4. Riverfront Stadium: spectator perspective



Appendix 5. Houston Astrodome: aerial exterior



Appendix 6. Houston Astrodome: spectator perspective



Appendix 7. AT&T Park: spectator perspective



Appendix 8. AT&T Park: aerial exterior facing northeast



Note: All photographs are in the public domain and were obtained through a simple Internet search.