

Distance athlete's effect on urban rhythm
How do ultrarunners run in automatized cities



Benjamin Juarez

Department of Sociology, Philosophy and Anthropology
University of Exeter

Prospective Supervisor: Michael Schilmeier
PhD Project

College of Social Sciences and
International Studies

November 2016

Context

Millions of persons run nowadays in different urban scenarios: they just put their clothes on and leave. It is crucial to feel the body when running. And this does not imply that this attention and perception is always a given. In July of 2015, an athlete in Frankfurt finished an Ironman (a triathlon that takes 11 hours on average to complete). The participant died after being convalescent due to over hydration/hyponatremia. The issue raised here is that certain sport practices demand a more thorough type of health care, a kind of learning that becomes vital: that is, of life or death.

Running, however, generally contributes positive elements to fight against obesity, depression, to mention but a few. It is also used as a lucrative activity by an industry that produces sport supplies; thus generating an apparatus of organization that hosts a variety of events: short races, olympic marathon distance (42.195 k) and ultramarathons that go from 50 k up to the 246 k Spartathlon and even races that can last 48 consecutive hours. While running is seldom a high risk activity, the latter challenges do pose the question of public physical (and mental!) health.

The use of urban and wild spaces require that they be managed in an agile, free, and articulate way. This also detonates in a exploitation of natural and tourist resources that oscillates between environmental care and decay. UNESCO for example, looks to take care of Mont Blanc, the place of the emblematic ultramarathon Ultra-Trail du Mont-Blanc, as a World Heritage Site.

Runners experiment the activity in many different manners: as meditation in motion, to listen to music, to eliminate some cholesterol from blood, to experience the vitality of their body/mind, to clear their head and/or gaze at the green landscape anywhere in the city. Just buy a good pair of shoes and you're ready? say those who promote a less sedentary and quite cheap activity: one might be tempted to say (almost) for free.

Runners & The City

The total number of runners moving through any space seems to be an independent flow from the rest of the city's circulation. This is true in the sense that green spaces are mainly designed for leisure and as traffic-free zones. On the other hand, however, it is not quite true that runners are independent of other flows because car-traffic and other types of non-running traffic cross the runners' way and, hence, make them stop: breaking runners' momentum¹. Runners, just as all others, depend on getting available paths as they go. This has two major implications:

- The need for paths to move freely in a city
- No two objects/people can be in the same place at the same time

The need for paths to circulate in This has a huge dimension in which non-humans get into play. For each space that is used in the city one could follow a science studies method: to determine all the objects and people that come into action to deliver a single object. The generic city as a civilized construction always has a set of layers upon which it has been built: be it an arid, rocky, or damp or even forest-like, or any other kind of environment there are ways of setting in. Humans have customized spaces for millennia. Only the past couple of centuries, at the most, have taken into account the use of delimited areas of public space for new purposes such as leisure.

The need to share space True as it may be, this last point seems to be overlooked in today's flawed auto-mobility system²: not only do cars (and drivers) burn fuels, and leave a lasting carbon footprint, but private vehicles can become quite impractical with the normalcy and abundance of traffic jams as well. LeCorbusier, in his Athens Letter (1933), settled the four main modern uses of urban space: inhabiting, working, circulating and recreating. Granted that this view has a somewhat non-layering of functionalities, and an oversimplification of uses; however, it was intended to take into account city livability for human beings, hence prioritizing the housing and green areas on urban planning. Also, transportation was the least considered element, in a period where automobile expansion numbers (an overpopulation of non-humans, so to speak) had only just recently begun. In the XXIst century, this seems to be a much more critical issue, where these old proposed functions have nearly collapsed. How do runners find non-occupied paths in such an overflowed system?

¹ETTEMA, Dick. "Runnable Cities. How Does the Running Environment Influence Perceived Attractiveness, Restorativeness, and Running Frequency?" *Environment and Behavior*. Pp. 1-21. 2015. P. 17.

²SHELLER, Mimi; URRY, John (eds.). "The new mobilities paradigm". In *Environment and Planning*. volume 38, pages 207-226, 2006.

The need to share times of use The physical environment is not used at all times in the same way. Social space has areas in which one acts among other people; and others, in which this presentation is left aside: this is what has for long been called the front and back regions of human conduct, also well known as front-stage and backstage³. So attention is shifted from one *stage* to the other.

It could be arguable that, of the classic functions presented by LeCorbusier, three of them are to be pursued as part of social and even animal life: working, sleeping and wandering. Transportation, even if exaggerating and stretching the argument a bit too far, as a means to an end has no real function. It seems that all time lost in traffic is time in the backstage with no actual point. However, runners do seek to transport themselves, but with a whole other meaning, closer to leisure in their free time (even *serious leisure*), or even the mental-rest aspect of sleep time.

³GOFFMAN in HANNERZ, Ulf. "The City as Theater: Tales of Goffmann". In *Exploring the city: inquiries toward an urban anthropology*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1980. P. 206.

Research topic and subject of analysis

It would seem at a first glance that all the social and biological mechanics of the functioning of running just work on autopilot. And however, several controversies open up from different angles. The popular book *‘Born to Run’* suggests that the Mexican Indians, the Raramuri of the Tarahamara mountains, run today in the same way they have been doing so for the last four centuries.

Running as a trend arises half a century ago, together with sport gear and recommendations on the use of special shoes to that end. In a wider specter, these customs are inserted in a world of vast shortages and excesses. On the one hand, shortages of activity-involving options for the dormant body ?in an economic system in which desk jobs prevail as well as bodily passivity and mass consumption. On the other hand, excesses in the search of vivid attention, fun, fatigue and the exploration of the limits of the body when activated. The bodily biology opens up to new sensations. The body becomes a centrifugal force making it necessary to analyze the outcoming bodily fluids, the salinity of sweat, the color of urine indicative of hydration, and of feces that show the gastric processes. The body as the center of centripetal forces seeks for a nourishment that allows running for hundreds of kilometers, and the knowledge it will not die in the attempt. In sum, *a social body as a machine of singularization* that goes beyond the standardized solutions provided to all.

The individual and collective bodies may face the challenge of becoming a couch potato or not: and thus affect their ability and desire to act. There are even those who hold that it is not even necessary to wear shoes to run, claiming it would be enough to simply use your legs, and barefoot feet. This is supported by several athletes, academics and even a small fraction of the industry looking for innovation (going back to basics) with minimalist footwear: with low or no heel height.

Is it really necessary to wear shoes? Some studies suggest that certain barefoot movements can prevent injuries: for example landing with the ball of the feet (metatarsi) while running, instead of using the heel. This type of bodily mechanics is one of the topics that the paleoanthropologist Daniel Lieberman has researched for over a decade. Runners learn technical resources and make them their own from different sources: nutritional, mechanic,

motivational. Yet each person uses them, develops them, and tailors these resources to their own knowledge: they *singularize* them, they learn how to run in their own unique way. In this point, the experimentation of athletes becomes key. In a broader sense, the whole of the runners' world would also affect the urban rhythms, slowing them down and accelerating them, intervening in the physical city and the way spaces are used. To that purpose the goals of this research are as follows.

- GENERAL OBJECTIVE

Researching into how people learn to manage resources/knowledge and take risks to do activities that the majority ignores. Runners of ultramarathon are not superhumans: they develop a know-how and find interest in the methods of running to an extreme extent.

- SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- Taking into account the progressive information that a community of ultrarunners have access to and handle through specific events.
- Reviewing the impact of running styles related to injury/health, and the relationship with (or the lack of) running gear.
- Considering the motivations to run beyond a health goal (even risking life) and the mental and spiritual levels that get into motion.
- Detailing the particularities and differences of an ultramarathon event in comparison to shorter races.
- Seeking the paths of the athletes through public space as an opposite direction against standardized and massive urban rhythms, placing the general mobility as a limitation to the body and social development.
- Attending to how ultrarunners cope with the cities and spaces they live in, work and run through. It is assumed that runners and their surroundings are conditioned by the trends of massive behaviour . . . but at the same time athletes' behaviour reshape production by making the input of new demands for new equipment, a renewal in set of mind and for nuances in ways to be in urban placements.

Materials and methods

This work looks to a wider spectrum of escape mechanisms from the inertia of the productive system, a production of machinic uselessness, where cars and public transportation *circulate, overpopulate and congest*, all of which control movement in favor of an economic and political order and power.

Ultrarunners are the case study. However, the implications of the topic go beyond this social world. A good number of ultrarunners are so aware of the need of natural food that they are more inclined to eating more fruits and vegetables than average people and many of them become long term vegetarians. This is related, but differently, to massive consumption patterns: of avoiding the dangers of canned foods, with preservatives, refined sugars, processed flour; and a political view that requires that the land be distributed and cultivated to feed people and not animals.

The proposal is of qualitative research. On one side, it will nurture from secondary material in texts and videos made by and about the participants of ultramarathon races. On the other side, first hand material will be collected from fieldwork. As study material, the general training method shall be reviewed and at least, the ethnography of one specific competition. These elements pursue to give new life to the ideas of how people move, beyond a mere transportation function, and how urban spaces can be circulated, expanding their uses.

Auto-ethnography

The plan of work proposed here sets axis on which to develop future ideas, these axis being: affect, body, and materiality. These *sensitizing concepts* (rather than restrictive prescriptions) shall be guiding points to suggest directions where to look at, as germs of analysis on how and where to collect information. Data finding also relies on the researcher's agenda: "What sorts of patterns one is looking for depends, of course, on research focus and theoretical orientation". Benefits of in-field immersion include not only direct access in general but additionally to non-structured conversations in which "[unusual participant terms] may stress

theoretically important or interesting phenomena”. In the same vein, concepts may also be, alternatively, “observer-identified”⁴.

The axial concepts are not to give a taken-for-granted understanding of behaviors. The approach here is first *exploratory*, rather than explanatory. The deeper understanding of behaviors and use of tools, resources and knowledge on the whole, shall come later, during research. The intention is first to gather data, concepts, and a series of insights from in-field work.

Ultra-running has a certain tension in the way it connects participants with people from the outside social worlds.

- On one side, it is an ultimately public activity, runners are exposed to permanent contact with other runners (and non-runners as well) in the open, and races depend on a wide number of actors, both participating and non-race related: in sum, a very wide orchestrated and coordinated social activity.
- On the other side, ultra-running entails a certain *Loneliness of the long distance runner*⁵. Running ultra distances may well be one of the most outdoor activities or sports. It involves several hours, even days sometimes “out in the open”, amongst almost untouched nature and wild green spaces afar from a city in cross-country races. And in training season, even in city context: the silent early night-to-dawn moment (from 4 to 6 am) is when nearly no ordinary person is going about, and birds have not even began to chirp. As well as with lone spaces, running involves far many solitary moments in which runners get to collect themselves and revolve in their thoughts, the bareness of the surroundings, and at many flowing times: think of nothing and seize the moment.

The *in situ* work is intended to grasp these two areas (intimate-personal; and social-network-dependent) in ultra-running: the first, during training; and the second, during specific ultra-running events.

1. The first aspect, training, is to be dealt with through auto-ethnography, not as a biographical account, but as a means to grasp the main topics developed. Many of the available material on ultra-running in text and video documentary depict narratives from the sole perspective of runners themselves, in first person, and how they prepare for their practices with different styles of running and post practice cool downs and

⁴HAMMERSLEY and ATKINSON. *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 3rd ed. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2007. P. 164 (“Sensitizing concepts” is Blumer’s), 163.

⁵Short story by Alan Sillitoe, published in 1959.

stretching as well as general nutrition and resting time. The researcher may well take a similar approach without being an outsider of common practice in this social world.

Gertrude Kurath (1960) recommended ethnographers to "learn the movements" and Adrienne Kaeppler (1978) proposed that ethnographers learn certain movements and receive instructions on what is done "incorrectly", or "differently" with a methodology that would allow for better understanding. (Joszerril has argued that the practical formation of the researcher has its advantages.) This knowledge allows access to aspects of the research topic that otherwise would pass unnoticed if only done with a distant approach based on observation and interview. (the experiential dimension makes it possible to gain entry to the experience and) "to the psycho-physical and -why not-, to the spiritual states that that this experience triggers⁶.

Of course, auto-ethnography may work with a potential source for bias, but at the same time provides both the most inner side view possible, and reveals the speaker's interests, perspectives and preconceptions; to which one can always add contrast with other references to compare and find the most reliable common ground⁷.

2. On the second aspect, on racing events, there is very little material in academic research on events from a qualitative approach. There is scarce material, and when so, only done through surveys or measurement based. Hence, the importance to move forward. Some of the key features of an ethnographic approach are taken into account in the present proposal: to prioritize the insider perspective highlighting the experiential, an active immersion in the field during a reasonable amount of time, minimal interference to gather data to be triangulated⁸. And not to focus on measuring variables, but rather on *collecting and constructing new variables* to build up ever more complex concepts: this adds nuance to the understanding of the phenomenon, and provides material to suggest new questions and aspects to be worked on⁹.

⁶ASCHIERI, Patricia. "Hacia una etnografncarnada: La corporalidad del etnfo/a como dato en la investigaci X RAM- Reuni Antropologel Mercosur. Cba, Argentina, 2013. P. 16. My translation.

⁷HAMMERSLEY and ATKINSON. *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 3rd ed. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2007. P.124.

⁸HOLLOWAY, Imma; BROWN, Lorraine; and SHIPWAY, Richard. "Meaning not measurement: Using ethnography to bring a deeper understanding to the participant experience of festivals and events". *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*. Vol. 1 No 1, 2010. Pp. 75-76.

⁹BECKER, Howard S. *What About Mozart? What About Murder? Reasoning From Cases*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2014. Pp. 13-14, 18.

Conceptual approach

The general problems of mass production and consumption have been noted even from the dawn of the industrial ages. The topic of massivity has run from the *marvelous rise* of the car industrialization in the early XXth century going back to the actual need to decongest traffic and search for new patterns of mobility and a sense of participating in the environment instead of driving over all ecosystems. This does not happen in a neutral and clean socio-political situation. These conducts are part of a broad systematic pattern. Deleuze & Guattari (2010: 527) signaled that things as different as monopoly and the specialization of most of the medical knowledge, the complication of the automobile motor, the gigantism of machines, do not correspond to any technological need, but rather to economic and political imperatives.

Certain objects and conducts of today's societies have built and shaped urban landscapes in an ever growing manner. Many of them blocking and constraining transit of people, of resources, and even being a blockage for ideas and customs. It becomes increasingly widespread and evident the way in which vehicles stagnate in traffic during long inner-week-hours and amounts of cars lost in traffic through the world. Billions of people also follow, or intend to do so with tidy regularity, a standardized daily work schedule from 9 to 5. Roads can function as boundaries when they striate space into fixed compartments of places of circulation, but roads can also be connectors of smooth space that open to the world and to infinite paths (Brighenti, 2009: 64).

While several flows tend to become a little more at stop, there are also countermovements that move against the said stagnation: all together many different currents of flow could be taken into account, but mostly two different types coexist: those which favor movement, and those that tend to collapse. They could be called rhythms and anti-rhythms. We can perceive variations in possibilities of movement by passing through spaces and becoming part with the surroundings.

we experience the contours of the landscape by moving through it, (...) every path or track shows up as the accumulated imprint of countless journeys that people have made as they have gone about their everyday business. Thus the same movement is embodied, on the side of the people, in their 'muscular consciousness', and on the side of the landscape, in its network of paths and tracks. In this network is sedimented the activity of an entire community, over many generations. It is the taskscape made visible. (Ingold, 1993: 167)

Some people prefer to walk through a forest; others enjoy driving a car. Many urban personae relate to the city in varying degrees. Some authors, such as Goffman and Von Uexkll, have seen how the surroundings interact with animals and humans to create an environment,

which they call the surroundings, or more technically: the Umwelt, the involving space from which signs of alarm are expected. As it happens in ethology, it also applies in humans: *the size of Umwelten varies considerably according to the species*. Of interest here is that this area can move, and can expand and contract according to whom, and how, is at the center of this phenomenon. These perceptions, shared and negotiated, make up to a pluralism of views and reactions.

Additionally, every social world, in Becker's terms, attracts a number of resources, knowledge as well as consensus and resistance. Some social worlds more than others depend on, and have an influence in productive systems. Here it is claimed that the ultrarunners environment impacts on ways of living, and are on the tip of a certain curve of behaviour, that is: of discipline, deprivation, potential mental disturbance and generally extreme experiences, all of which affect the way cities are lived in.

Specific concepts

Affect

A main concern underlying this project is that in day-to-day life there is a prevalent automatism and standardization of ways of using transport, working and perceiving the body and the city as a whole. Each one of these elements that composes urban rhythms is more or less taken for granted, and considered as mere objects and routines that function under fixed ways with little change. However, the city concert also has a number of potentials that undergo permanent changes. The city has a way of constantly creating its own character: that is, people and objects create a full working network and at the same time the city itself becomes a living being. There is no intention (perhaps only slightly) to humanize a non-human, but to understand the influence under which it is subjected and how it creates effects upon *all citizens*.

Emotions are also boiling on the surface of city activity, but it is not this alone that imprints a distinction on how urban flows act, react, change directions and sizes, stop, and come back under different ways. There are certain properties and activities that make a city closer to "all that it can be", or rather those that just keep it at a minimum. *Emotions are not the same as affections* repeat Deleuzian texts and their readers: while the first are needed for a qualitative detection of lively experiences and themes, they are not the points that show how far an entity can reach to the infinite of possibilities to be developed. Each atom of this "life of associations", to use a Tardean-Latoureaan-ANT idea, can have a strength and ability to propagate itself, or just die by itself from internal implosion. Affect can be on one

extreme the potential for sadness, but most commonly cited as the contrary potential for joy, expansion, and freedom to do what is desired and desirable.

Affectivity is understood as intrinsically positive: it is the force that aims at fulfilling the subject's capacity for interaction and freedom. [...] The positivity of this desire to express one's innermost and constitutive freedom can be termed as *conatus*, *potentia* or becoming¹⁰.

One of the primary driving forces that allows for these realizations is desire, highlighted as the prime trigger that enables subsequent processes in human society. Hence, one can make a direct relation by linking affections and desire to produce societal outcomes, be them productive for liberation or, on the other hand, even for alienating, controlling and impeding the liberation of desire:

Undeniably, a romantic concept within his discussion of the regulation and production of desire and energy within a social field, Deleuze's writings on affect and affection nevertheless enable a material, and therefore political critique of capital and its operations. Within a Deleuzian framework, affect operates as a dynamics of desire within any assemblage to manipulate meaning and relations, inform and fabricate desire, and generate intensity —yielding different affects in any given situation or event. [...] In Deleuze's singular and collaborative work with Guattari, affective forces are depicted as reactive or active (following Nietzsche), tacit or performed. As Deleuze portrays it, affective power can be utilized to enable ability, authority, control and creativity¹¹.

The city and its components, humans and non-humans, have a number of potentials working at several levels of interconnected networks. And these network points even have the capacity to interchange properties and labels: a passive human-car annexed together can be more of a block in the system of flows than an active non-human river that transports water to the industries and to quench people's thirst. Even separating humans from non-humans is fictional: they are structured ways of understanding agents that are not actually very easily separated, a cyborg human becomes indistinguishable from a pos-human, or even a simple human.

The research suggested here intends to explore the capabilities in a side of urban life and seek how it may unfold: it is a search that goes to several components of a network and tries to see how the latter may render multiple layers of possible outcomes.

¹⁰BRAIDOTTI, Rosi. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Polity, Cambridge, 2006. P. 148

¹¹PARR, Adrian. *The Deleuze Dictionary* [2005]. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2010. P. 13.

Materiality and Body

One take on materiality could be that physical elements of the city could not have any ability whatsoever to *act proper* by themselves onto other objects or people. An object is by definition inert. But this doesn't mean that objects don't have a weight in social relationships.

Any piece of technology involves in itself a cristalized amount of human work that absolves the user from extra effort. Roads mean that each person does not need to clean a path through the wild jungle. . . each time intending to move across with a scythe or bowie knife. A road is a non-human that implies a number of human work hours, crystalized in a specific, tangible object.

The notion that any matter has potential of social relationships is even fair with the most unexpected. The most apparently inactive of objects have life by interchange of elements and as mediums through which other elements of a network travel. Runners and hitchhikers need to know their ways. The ability to understand how to run through a city is in fact, part of a taken for granted training that goes beyond the physical and relates with how to understand and grasp control and develop a route by moving through obstacles, gates and pathways.

There is a certain learning of the senses on how to understand the environment or the objects we are confronted with. Perceiving, or tasting as Hennion exemplifies, is a "passivity actively sought". That which applies in general, applies to running as well as to several other fields. Even a rock climber and a rock can have a certain interchange, in quite a direct manner:

What climbing shows is not that the geological rock is a social construction, but that it is a reservoir of differences that can be brought into being. The climber makes the rock as the rock makes the climber. The differences are indeed in the rock, and not in the 'gaze' that is brought to it. But these are not brought to bear without the activity of the climb which makes them present. There is co-formation. Differences emerge, multiply and are projected. The *object* is not an immobile mass against which our goals are thrown. It is in itself a deployment, a response, an infinite reservoir of differences that can be apprehended and brought into being¹².

To learn how to feel the city, and our own body, does not come without effort. One may not know how to move, resist, relax and stretch, or when it is time to rest and sleep. All physical skills are also developed by a training not only of the body but also of the ability to perceive. *What can one perceive if one does not know what to be aware of?* The problem

¹²HENNION, Antoine. "Those Things That Hold Us Together: Taste and Sociology". *Cultural Sociology* Volume 1(1): 97-114. 2007. Pp. 100-101.

raised by Latour (2004: 210) regarding the potentials of the body is that a body that doesn't perceive anymore, gets closer and closer to an inactive body, whose ultimate projection is towards the life of a dead corpse.

An inarticulate subject is someone who whatever the other says or acts always feels, acts and says the same thing. [Articulation, on the other hand, means the ability to] being affected by differences.

Through the concepts above mentioned, a set of ideas deploy a range of possibilities for society and in which directions they can mutate. The case study of ultra-runners may highlight a number of variables that look to a perhaps different system that is not based on consumption or production, but to other horizons. Aside the critiques of the automobile systems, there is a parallel consideration of practices of slow mobility and de-growth. If one could summarise a cycle of interests, that would run in the following steps:

(affect) -> desire -> effects -> (changes?)

On both ends of this transition, one can realize that much of the foundation is built on how affects are dealt with, what they produce at a desired machine level, and what material and corporeal effects they have upon the collective body.

The mobility of running is not that slow per se. Rather, speed is defined by different scales of technology: runners would be more of organic machines hybridized with "simple" technologies, such as shoes, (in the same way that cyclists use a metabolic energy for propulsion) instead of the bigger scale of solely mechanical cars that depend on exterior fuels such as gas and oil.

On the side of "de-growth" something similar happens. If a life style is measured comparing the use of gas, or lack of it, of course living without them feels like a decrease. But on the other hand, when everyday life is related to a more green life style, a different sense of growth can appear, that of life which entails another time frame: like worms that eat slower than humans, of bacteria in fermentation which serve humans to deliver pre-digested food. Finally the active, non-sedentary, human body awakens, gets a more active, quicker, metabolism and flourishes. Perhaps a new system may be devised not under the comparative term of being slower than that of automobiles, but one that it may grow in a different sense and direction.

Research questions and workplan

The above leaves the way closer to attempt a series of questions. Would it be possible then to see freeways and cities as something else than a mere containment of controlled flows? Or said in a more positive way and onto a slightly other physical direction:

Can we consider roads, paths in general, and other technological artifacts as enablers that shape human experience and social relationships? And this can even be considered as a double track proposal: How do human experiences and social relationships shape pathways, views, resources and technologies? Even if two seemingly separate sides merge to form a socio-technical assemblage, they in fact hybridize: hence the importance to rescue all agents, humans and non humans, involed with simetrical weight. The double sided view separates analitically what actually forms a network of dependencies.

There are many available resources to study the ultrarunning scene even from a distance. Secondary material involves both texts¹³ written by participants, and journalists; as well as videos¹⁴. Part of this material has already been read and viewed.

Field work allows for direct contact with the ultra world and for day to day updates on normal practices and non-structured interviews. The first-hand material is expected to be a strength of the proposal since the candidate is a long-time runner, with more than two decades of experience in several distances. Having already completed the marathon distance the candidate is highly likely to fulfill races of at least 50 kms. Longer distances (80, 100, 150) could and are expected to be attempted later on. Regardless of the kind of participation, be it by running or simply attending to events as observer, the contacts have already began: I already gained information on specific yearly ultra-distance races with different attractives: the german Rennsteiglauf with an average of 15000 participants, the chilean Rapa Nui trophy at the exotic Easter Island, and the important NGO that prepares races for awareness to fight against human trafficking: Muskathlon, both in South Africa and also crossing the border from Bulgaria into Greece.

The relevance of what appears in the environment to ultrarunners is not always obvious in a third party written description, or even in conversation. The possibility to participate in the same training and competitions is to be part of the “same capsule of events” as other ultrarunners. What changes is not only the events but rather their at-handedness, which allow for a closer possibility of involvement.

¹³FIXX, James F.; JUREK, Scott; KOSTRUBALA, Thaddeus; LEONARD, George; McDOUGALL, Christopher; MURAKAMI, Haruki; NUNES, Valmir; ROH Fred. ROLL, Rich.

¹⁴BENNA J.B; COEMAN, Tom; DUNHAM, Jon; EHRLICH, Judd; FRANKEL, Davey Frankel & LAKEW, Rasselas; HEISENBERG, Benjamin. RICHARDSON, Tony; ROTHWELL, Jerry; STEWART, Rob; STUART, Mel.

Two possible outcomes of the study involve: on the one hand, the chance to get in-depth insight on the technological analysis of these practices and events. On this matter, time for research at the Sciences Po would be a gain. The direction of the project would benefit from the perspective of considering the mechanical-chemical aspects of ultra in relation to scientific humanities, specialty of Bruno Latour's team, with whom the candidate has taken an online MOOC course, early 2014. On the other hand, the second possibility should aim at spending time together with specific communities of ultrarunners.

References

- ARRIETA, Ezequiel. *Vegetarianismo en el debate político*. Córdoba, Ed. Del autor. 2014.
- ASCHIERI, Patricia. "Hacia una etnografía encarnada: La corporalidad del etnógrafo/a como dato en la investigación". X RAM - Reunión de Antropología del Mercosur. Córdoba, Argentina, 2013.
- BARBARINI, Tatiana A. *O controle da infância = caminhos da medicalização*. 2011. 192 p. Dissertação (mestrado) - Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Campinas, SP.
- BECKER, Howard S. *What About Mozart? What About Murder? Reasoning From Cases*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2014.
- BECKER, H. S. & PESSIN, A. "A Dialogue on the Ideas of 'World' and 'Field' with Alain Pessin". *Sociological Forum*, 21, pp. 275-86. 2006.
- BOTTERO, Wendy & CROSSLEY, Nick. "Worlds, Fields and Networks: Becker, Bourdieu and the Structures of Social Relations". *Cultural Sociology* 5(1) 99-119. 2011.
- BRAIDOTTI, Rosi. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Polity, Cambridge, 2006.
- BRIGHENTI, Andrea. "Walled Urbs to Urban Walls - and Return? On the social life of walls" in Andrea Mubi Brighenti (ed.), *The Wall and the City*, Trento: professionaldreamers, 2009.
- DELEUZE, G.; GUATTARI, F. *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia* [1972]. University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, Minneapolis, 2000.
- EDENSOR, Tim. "Defamiliarizing the Mundane Roadscape". In *Space & Culture*. Vol. 6. no 2. May. 2003.
- ETTEMA, Dick. "Runnable Cities. How Does the Running Environment Influence Perceived Attractiveness, Restorativeness, and Running Frequency?" *Environment and Behavior*. Pp. 1-21. 2015. P. 17.
- FIXX, James F. *The complete book of running*. Random House, New York, 1977.
- GOFFMAN, Erving. *Relations in public: microstudies of the public order*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.
- HAMMERSLEY and ATKINSON. *Ethnography: principles in practice*. 3rd ed. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.
- HANNERZ, Ulf. "City as theater: tales of Goffman". In *Exploring the city: inquiries toward an urban anthropology*. Pp. 202-241. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

- HENNION, Antoine. "Those Things That Hold Us Together: Taste and Sociology". *Cultural Sociology* Volume 1(1): 97-114. 2007.
- HOLLOWAY, Imma; BROWN, Lorraine; and SHIPWAY, Richard. "Meaning not measurement: Using ethnography to bring a deeper understanding to the participant experience of festivals and events". *International Journal of Event and Festival Management*. Vol. 1 No 1, 2010. Pp. 75-76.
- INGOLD, Tim. "The Temporality of the Landscape", *World Archaeology*, 25(2): pp. 152-174, 1993.
- JUREK, Scott. *Eat Run: My Unlikely Journey to Ultramarathon Greatness*. Mariner, New York, 2013.
- KOSTRUBALA, Thaddeus. *The joy of running*. New York, Lippincott, 1976.
- LATHAM, Alan. "The history of a habit: jogging as a palliative to sedentariness in 1960s America". *Cultural geographies* 2015, Vol. 22(1) 103-126.
- LATOUR, Bruno. "How to Talk About the Body? the Normative Dimension of Science Studies". *Body & Society*. 2004.
- LEONARD, George. *Mastery: The Keys to Success and Long-Term Fulfillment*. Penguin Books, New York, 1992.
- LIEBERMAN, Daniel E, etal. "Foot strike patterns and collision forces in habitually barefoot versus shod runners". *Nature*. 28 January 2010. Pp. 1-6.
- McDOUGALL, Christopher. *Born to Run: A Hidden Tribe, Superathletes, and the Greatest Race the World Has Never Seen*. Knopf, New York, 2009.
- NUNES, Valmir. *Segredos de um ultramaratonista. Histórias do campeão*. Hemus, Brasil, 2009.
- PARR, Adrian. *The Deleuze Dictionary* [2005]. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2010.
- ROHÉ, Fred. *The Zen of Running* (1974). Pan-American, Middletown, 2000.
- ROLL, Rich. *Finding Ultra: Rejecting Middle Age, Becoming One of the World's Fittest Men, and Discovering Myself*. Random House, New York, 2012.
- SHELLER, Mimi; URRY, John (eds.). "The new mobilities paradigm". In *Environment and Planning*. volume 38, pages 207-226, 2006.
- TARDE, Gabriel. *Monadology and sociology* [1895]. Melbourne, re.press, 2012.
- YOUNG, di Eugene B. (auth.); GENOSKO, Gary (auth.); WATSON, Jannell. *The Deleuze and Guattari Dictionary*. Norfolk: Bloomsbury, 2013.

Videography

- BENNA J.B. 2008v. *Ultramarathon Man: 50 Marathons, 50 States, 50 Days*. Journeyfilm. 109 min.
- Charitywater. 2011v. *Water changes everything*. youtube. 4 mins.

- Charity: water. 2012v. *Rachel Beckwith's Mom Visits Ethiopia*. vimeo. 5 mins.
- COEMAN, Tom. 2012v. *Marathonman 365*. Bull's eye films. 52 min.
- DREYER, Danny. 2004v. *ChiRunning DVD: A Revolutionary Approach to Effortless, Injury-free Running*. 64 mins.
- DUNHAM, Jon. 2007v. *Spirit of the Marathon*. Calico 1880. 104 min.
- EHRlich, Judd. 2008v. *Run for Your Life (I)*. Flatbush Pictures.
- End Slavery Now. 2014v. *End Slavery Now Website Relaunch*. vimeo. 3 mins.
- Epipheo. 2010v. *Do you own (stuff made by) slaves?* youtube. 2 mins.
- FRANKEL, Davey Frankel LAKEW, Rasselas. 2009v. *Atletu*. AV Patchbay. 92 min.
- äHEISENBERG, Benjamin. 2010v. *Der Räuber*. Nikolaus Geyrhalter Filmproduktion. 101 min.
- MIERKE, Ken. 2005v. *Evolution running: run faster with fewer injuries*. Endurance Films. 46 min.
- MOLL, James. 2007v. *Running the Sahara*. Allentown Productions. 102 min.
- RICHARDSON, Tony. 1962v. *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*. Woodfall Film Productions. 104 min.
- ROMANOV, Dr. Nicholas. 2001v. *Pose Method of Running*. Train with the Czar. 60 mins.
- ROTHWELL, Jerry. 2012v. *Town of Runners*. Met Film Production. 80 min.
- STEWART, Rob. 2006v. *Sharkwater*. SW Productions. 89 min.
- STRETANSKI, David. 2010v. *ChiRunning Simplified!, Efficient and Injury Free Natural Running Form Technique Video* youtube (echifitness). 10 mins.
- STUART, Mel. 2000v. *Running on the Sun: The Badwater 135*. Galaxy Entertainment. 100 min.