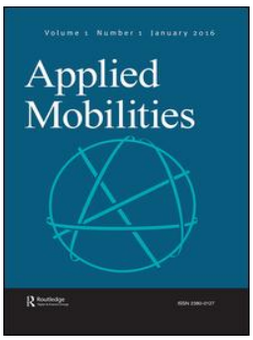

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Rhythmanalysing the urban runner: Pildammsparken, Malmö

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ABSTRACT

In this article we discuss the development of urbanized running culture by exploring how the embodied rhythms of running interact with other urban rhythms in a park. The analysis focuses on the timings, sensations and materialities produced through running, and how the rhythms of running intersect with the materialities and rhythms of others. The investigation draws on interviews, observations and a running diary undertaken at Pildammsparken in central Malmö. Our research shows that while the runner, in endeavouring to align with the rhythms of others, may becoming a more disciplined figure, running in the park is more concerned with practising a sharing of space than moving on auto-pilot. Consequently, running is largely a mobile rhythmic practice that negotiates and adapts to co-produce eurhythmic choreographies in this particular urban location.

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Rhythmanalysis; running; park; negotiation; sensation; materialities

Urban running became popular in the U.S.A. during the 1960s and 1970s as a predominantly middle class activity to improve health (Latham 2015). Since then, interest in urban sports, and running in particular, has greatly increased. Generating new spatial patterns and rhythms, running – along with numerous other mobile practices – reproduces space and shapes the everyday experience of place.

This paper discusses the development of this urbanized running culture in a Swedish urban park by drawing on Henri Lefebvre's concept of rhythmanalysis (2004), exploring how the different embodied rhythms of running interact with the rhythms of others, the material affordances and other temporalities. The investigation draws on research undertaken at Pildammsparken in central Malmö (Figure 1), one of the most popular places for running in Sweden's third biggest city and one of the most densely populated municipalities, with about 50 m^2 of green areas per inhabitant, less than a third of that in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Hosting a variety of exercising routines and leisure activities, this park is an exemplary public space in which diverse rhythms of running are accompanied by a host of other everyday rhythms. Running does thus not happen in isolation from non-runners (cf. Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016, 764); indeed, the increasing number of urban runners adds to the social complexity and rhythmic diversity of the park.

In the first part of the paper, we detail our approach to rhythmanalysis and running before highlighting the history and key features of Pildammsparken. We then focus on three themes

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Figure 1. Runner and person walking with a cell phone, alongside the large pond at Pildammsparken.

that adopt different, though interlinked, takes on running and rhythmanalysis. First, we discuss how runners integrate their exercise routines into rhythmic everyday and weekly schedules. Second, we explore how material affordances and intersecting rhythms co-produce running rhythms. Third, we investigate how the embodied rhythmic experience of running is developed through training, or "dressage". We conclude by considering how our study draws attention to how the management of mobile rhythms can produce inclusive spaces and eurhythmic urban choreographies.

1. Rhythmanalysis and running

Lefebvre claims that "(E)verywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time, and an expenditure of energy, there is *rhythm*" (2004, 15). Accordingly, places might be characterized according to their particular "polyrhythmic ensemble" (Crang 2001) through the distinctive ways in which changing rhythms interweave multiple events and passages of varying regularity. Crucially, rhythmanalysis highlights how rhythmic flows ceaselessly pass through and centre upon place, disavowing timeless and static notions and underpinning the essentially dynamic qualities of place. These emergent, vibrant qualities are grounded in both repetitions and changes at daily, weekly, monthly and annual scales, movements and actions that provide a backdrop to a simultaneously durable yet ever-changing everyday life.

A city is invariably polyrhythmical. Temporal and spatial order is continuously reproduced by the ongoing performance of regular routines and rhythms, laid down by governmental

and commercial forces. This rhythmic organization usually promotes orderliness, bestowing predictability and security upon time, space and place. Collective adherence to these rhythmic conventions becomes part of how urban dwellers inhabit the city. Children walk to school, commuters crowd roads during rush hours, tourists follow package tours, and citizens rhythmically attune themselves to the "openings and closing of shops, the flows of postal deliveries, bank deposits and coffee breaks" (Labelle 2008, 192) that mark different periods of the day.

Thus integral to the dynamic, polyrhythmic qualities of places are the mobile rhythms that cut across space. From his Paris window, Lefebvre (2004) discerns the rhythmic patterns of pedestrians and traffic, an account that has recently been augmented by discussions about other rhythmic mobile practices, including walking (Edensor 2011; Johansson 2013), coach travel (Edensor and Holloway 2008) cycling (Spinney 2010), driving (Edensor 2010), shopping (Kärrholm 2009, 2012), commuting on trains (Jiron 2010), and dancing (Hensley 2010). We supplement these accounts by focusing on how running rhythms in Pildammsparken are established and maintained within daily and weekly schedules, align or clash with other human and non-human rhythms, are produced by encounters with the park's diverse materialities, are experienced and practised in an inescapably embodied way, and are organized and developed through training.

The mobile rhythms of running are accompanied by a medley of other mobile rhythms. Some, such as the non-human mobilities of insects, birds and mammals, may be unpredictable and amenable only to limited management, as may be rhythms of the seasons and weather. In other cases, runners conform to official rhythms of traffic flow, pedestrian crossings and rail timetables. Yet these mobile human rhythms are also developed by practice: for instance, cyclists learn how to pedal at a speed and rhythm that maximizes safety and is not endangered by the rhythms of other vehicles (Spinney 2010). As we discuss below, running rhythms are crucially developed through training, here conceived as a form of dressage. In shared spaces that do not privilege the channelled mobilities of particular mobile bodies (as with the vehicular mobilities privileged by the motorway), these different mobile rhythms must align and co-ordinate as part of mobile choreographies if arrhythmic collisions and stoppages are not to occur. The material affordances of the space traversed also shape the rhythmic practice and experience of running. The qualities of surface, the circuitousness or straightness of the path, the effects of wind and rain, and gradient all impact upon the consistency or variegated phases of the running rhythm.

Equally vital is the acknowledgement of how the body is integral to the experience and performance of a mobile rhythm, and Lefebvre is explicit about this somatic dimension. In discussing how the rhythms of place might be identified, Lefebvre insists that the rhythmanalyst should call on all their senses, focusing on breathing, the circulation of blood and heartbeat (Lefebvre 2004, 21), for he contends that the rhythms of the body – its "respirations, pulses, circulations, assimilations – durations and phases of durations" are key to understanding geographical rhythms. The body epitomizes polyrhythmia, eurhythmia (healthfulness) or arrhythmia (illness), and through the body we may sense the rhythms of different spaces: "He listens – and first to his body; he learns rhythm from it, in order consequently to appreciate external rhythms" (Lefebvre 2004, 19, *sic*). Here, we rhythmanalyse the somatic responses to place and time through running. As we investigate, following a training regime and subsequently, a regular running routine, solicits an attunement to place, to its affordances and the other rhythms that flow through it, as well as an emergent attunement to

one's own body, as it becomes a running body. Emphatically, somatic and external rhythms meld and interweave.

Accordingly, this embodied approach to rhythmanalysis has informed our methodological approach. First, Johan kept a diary of his regular exercise sessions in the park, an autoethnographic approach that attends to embodied and place-based rhythms in the experience of running. The diary was written from mid-March to early October, 2016 and commences from his tentative early attempts at running in an unfamiliar runscape and becoming exhausted during a slow 1.5 km run, to cultivating a relationship with both running and place, and later easily taking on regular 5 km runs. Johan established a routine whereby he took notes immediately after completing a run and then elaborated further on his computer upon arriving home. The diary, consisting of around 15,000 words, was written and analysed with a focus on how the running experience transformed over time, and how running intersected with different rhythms. Reflexive analysis by the authors focused on writing style and the range of phenomena that should be accorded attention in the compilation of a rhythmanalysis. This process enabled Johan to interlace personal records of his running experiences with interpretative passages, combining analysis with ongoing observation so as to develop a more discriminating attentiveness while running.

Second, empirical research also includes 28 semi-structured interviews conducted on site between December 2015 and August 2016. About half the interviews took place just inside the north east entrance of the park, and the rest at other locations where many runners start and finish their runs, such as at bike stands or the outdoor gyms. Questions primarily concerned running routines, frequency, choice of route and the experience of running in the park, exploring common interruptions and temporal differences amongst other emergent issues. The interviews were recorded through note-taking, with subsequent transcription.

Thirdly, we undertook a series of observation studies and site audits, including a structured pilot observation to gain an overview of the mobilities in the park, and a two day participant observation during the musical festival and event *Vi som älskar 90-talet* ("We who love the 90s") in July 2016. The festival was included as an extraordinary occasion with its own distinctive rhythms (see Duffy et al. 2011) that affected regular, everyday running rhythms. The structured study was embarked upon during two days during which four different spots were observed[1] for a total of 12 h, and included the counting of 767 people. The four sites were chosen in order to coincide with all the different running tracks of the park: by a bench east of the small pond along the red track (2 km), by the stairs adjacent to the large pond along the yellow track (3 km), in the wooded area along the blue track (c:a 1 km) and at a junction where different tracks intersect (see Figure 2).

To provide further context to the study, we also surveyed discussions on the internet forum "Jogg" to gather quotes exemplifying the different qualities of Pildammsparken considered important within the running community.

2. Pildammsparken and its urban context

Pildammsparken derived its name from a seventeenth century water reservoir surrounded by willows (pildamm means "willow pond"). A second pond was created in the late nineteenth century together with a pump station, and a water tower was added in 1904. The park itself was built for the Baltic exhibition in 1914, when the central areas containing the

Figure 2. Map of Pildammsparken, including the three different running tracks (blue, red and yellow), Johan's route (green), and the observation spots (1–4). The map was constructed with the help of OpenStreetMap (and retrieved from http://www.openstreetmap.org, 2016).

gardens were laid out in accordance with the plans of Erik Erstad-Jørgensen. After the war, Erik Bülow-Hübe redesigned the park, adding the area with the smaller pond in 1921 and the larger woodland area between 1924 and 1928 (Hårde 2013, 21ff.). From its inception, Pildammsparken was regarded as an important amenity that contributed towards a healthier Malmö, a recreational space and green lung for a rapidly growing city. Areas within and adjacent to the park were covered with allotments, but these were erased with the expansion of the hospital to the east (Hårde 2013). The history of running in the park is by no means recent; when running facilities were first introduced in Malmö during the late 1960s, Pildammsparken became the first area (and later one of four spaces) to be identified as a venue for exercise, probably because one section resembles a forest, highly valued as a running location throughout Sweden (Qviström 2016).

Pildammsparken is presently a 45 hectare park in a growing city and in the past 20 years has become increasingly crowded. Growing demand for recreational space is indicated by a number of recent developments including public toilets, outdoor gyms, outdoor nurseries and a restaurant. Contemporary planning initiatives focus on enhancing the possibilities for

exercise (cf. Malmö stad 2012), but the polyrhythmic character of the park is also evident in the multiple activities currently practised. Pildammsparken is unlike the specialized Swedish model facilities of the post-War period (Qviström 2013) established in forests close to some Northern Swedish cities. Rather, it is a formal park that is a setting for intense urban activity, with restaurants, gardens, an open-air theatre (*Friluftsteatern*), pavilions, playgrounds, outdoor day care centres and boules courts. Pildammsparken attracts dog walkers, people feeding birds, families and groups having picnics or barbecues, and diverse forms of physical exercise. Professionally equipped tree-climbing, drone-flying and the location-based game Pokémon Go craze were spotted, and newly installed features include beehives and rental bikes. The park also stages the annual May Day *Walpurgis* bonfire celebration, midsummer festivities, concerts and many other events. In the last few years a camp of homeless migrants lived in the park, though this was dismantled before our study started.

The park is roughly divided into four areas (see Figure 2): the wooded area surrounding a circular grass field – *Tallriken* ("the plate") – that includes the outdoor day care centres; the garden area with the rose garden, flower walk, cafe pavilion and open-air theatre; the quarter that contains the large pond, adjacent water tower and Michelin-starred restaurant, *Bloom in the Park*; and the area that includes a smaller pond, grassy parkland, a playground, an old fire station and the garden that houses the 1938 statue of the Greek mythical figure, Galatea. Pildammsparken is thus a park in which a majority of people arrive for different purposes, with no single or central destination taking precedence. Its spatial structure is enclavic, with paths not coinciding with the urban grid (as with most Swedish parks developed from the 1930s). Thus, its pathways do not afford any obvious short cuts for people walking through the city (cf. Berg and Miller [1988] for a comparison of park structures, including Pildammsparken). From observational analysis, there was an evident tendency for people to move clockwise around the park.[2] The path around the large pond was the most populated route, with the outer circle used somewhat more than the paths deeper inside the park. The percentage of people running in Pildammsparken on our two days of observation in October 2015 was around 15%. However, at the three points (1, 2 and 4, in Figure 2) that included the longer tracks (2 and 3 km), this was closer to 25%.

3. Establishing running rhythms within everyday schedules

The mobile habits of individuals usually align with schedules and timetables, organized vehicular flows, and the channelling of pedestrian movement. These orchestrated mobile rhythms produce place specific choreographies through which cyclists, pedestrians, car drivers and runners become habituated and attend to each other's manoeuvres.

As we discuss in the following section, these rhythmic mobilities are not invariably aligned and frequently clash and disrupt each other. However, shared rhythms can provide a mobile sense of place or "dwelling-in-motion" (Sheller and Urry 2006) whereby individuals "repeatedly couple and uncouple their paths with other people's paths, institutions, technologies and physical surroundings" (Mels 2004, 16). Familiar places such as Pildammsparken are unquestioned settings for regular spatio-temporal patterns of walking, dog exercise, meeting, drinking alcohol and running. The park is thus a site at which rhythmic practices mark out regular paths and points of spatial and temporal intersection. People follow particular paths and congregate by benches, nurseries, playgrounds, lakes, bridges, cafes, exercise

stations and lawns, collectively composing "place ballets" that shift throughout the day, week and year (Seamon 1980).

These habitual routes and practices enfold Pildammsparken in broader rhythmic routines: an early morning stroll with the dog before going to work, a period of post-prandial exercise, a sojourn at the playground after picking the children up from school, or a reflective evening walk. Patients from the adjacent hospital often enjoy a moment in the sun while the slow wanderings of the homeless (Hall 2010) follow different routines: a man regularly uses the water pump for filling plastic bottles, brushing teeth and washing. Weekly social rhythms include weekend barbecues, surging football crowds walking to and from the nearby football stadium, and parkour, martial arts or fitness sessions.

Within this polyrhythmic ensemble in the park, running routines are diverse, some people running several times a week while others exercise less frequently. One woman's running rhythms are shaped by her domestic commitments

> Lina, 45: I run about three times a week, mostly evenings after work. During weekends I run during the day. I have small children and not so much time of my own. But this is a routine that I can keep, running for 45 minutes.

This exemplifies how running in the park intersects with other routines that precede and follow it. People run at all times, but most interviewees preferred to run after work or during the weekend, and especially early in the morning, during lunch and in the evening.

Because Pildammsparken is centrally located in a dense city, many runners live nearby. The kind of running enabled here is thus contextually different from, for example, the "event mobility" (Cidell 2014) of road races, to which runners may travel far by vehicle or aeroplane, and subsequently move on foot. Geographical proximity enhances the possibilities for adjusting or aligning running to other everyday rhythms shaped by work timetables or domestic routines. Living half a kilometre from the park, Johan has the luxury of doing laundry and being able to take a run within the time afforded by the cycle of the washing machine. Another runner brings a backpack to the park to shop for groceries afterwards. Living close to the park also allows runners to adopt a "standby mode", to run in the park contingently, at short notice without having to plan in advance, taking advantage of "windows" in the rhythms of everyday life or the vagaries of the weather. As has been pointed out by Cook, Shaw and Simpson et al. (2016), running might sometimes be seen as a punishment or a rewarding break, but more often it is experienced merely as one of the many mundane, routine practices that make up everyday life.

Running routes in Pildammsparken might focus on completing a circuit or circuits of the park but may also be part of a longer running journey that passes through it, as shown in Figure 3. Some serious runners connect areas of the city in their route (cf. jogg.se), using the park as part of a wider training schedule. For example, one runner mentions Pildammsparken as one part of a 15 km three-split route chosen to cover diverse environments of city, park and beach. In addition, several officially arranged runs incorporate the park into more extensive courses.

For some, the usual pattern is to connect up green spaces, avoiding busy streets and pavements. For example, Tobias, 30 states:

> When I run here, I also run to and from the park. A quite big part of the distance is covered by Slottsparken [another park], so the traffic is not a problem to me.

Figure 3. Popular running tracks in Malmö according to Strava. Pildammsparken is here shown as connected through Kungsparken to Ribersborg and the Western harbour area (http://labs.strava.com) (The map shows all the runs uploaded by people through the Strava mobile phone application at 2015-06-01 (Strava started in 2009). As not all runners use this application, the representability of the map should not be overestimated, but it gives an impression of popular runs in Malmö that seems to accord well with, for example, jogg.se.).

Many interviewees however, evade the disruptive affordances of the city, explaining that they did not run to the park because they found the asphalt uncomfortable, along with interruptions from traffic and people. As Esben, 35, reported, "Running to the park disturbs my rhythm too much". Several pointed out that the traffic flow at the intersecting street of Baltiska Vägen constituted an obvious interruption to their running rhythms, and Johan experienced similar disruptions when jogging home from the park:

> At the crossing there's all these cars and bikes and people in a hurry calling for my attention. The traffic lights dominate the moving of my body here, it's a big contrast to running freely around the pond. (Running diary 2016-03-21)

Disruptions to running caused by such unfavourable affordances and the intrusions of other mobile rhythms seem to risk a loss of control and produce a fragmented running experience. Because of this, many runners cycle to the park, sometimes as a way of warming up, as exemplified by Max, 31:

> To get here, I bike. I don't want to run to and from here because of all the crossings, people and cars on the way here. Running outside the park makes the run kind of chopped up.

Having explored how the intersections of runners own rhythmic routines and the rhythms and affordances outside the park impact on their running practices, we now consider the impact on the rhythms of runners by these elements *inside* Pildammsparken

4. Running rhythms in the park: responses to material affordances and the rhythms of others

Solnit (2001, 5) contends that walking is "a state in which the mind, the body, and the world are aligned, as though they were three characters finally in conversation together, three notes making a chord". Yet as with running, this eurhythmy is an idealized aim and is interspersed by the disruptions afforded by necessary attentiveness to materiality, other mobile humans, seasonal effects and non-human intrusions. For though runners tend to re-enact regular running routes of similar duration, the rhythms that they anticipate occasionally devolve into arrhythmia. The messy polyrhythmic ensemble of Pildammsparken includes undesirable disruptive rhythms as well as enjoyable rhythms and affordances that enable a smooth running rhythm to be experienced.

Firstly, the running body may not always be able to move smoothly through space, for contingencies and material affordances ensure that rhythms have to adapt to circumstances. The body may be forced to veer away from obstacles, avoid slippery surfaces and rough textures, and become acquainted with and attuned to a variety of material affordances. A diverse terrain certainly characterizes the running experience in Pildammsparken: different routes and areas provoke different running rhythms through their particular affordances. Several runners use the lap around *Tallriken* for interval training while hilly areas are used for slope training. The wooded area provides a calm, quiet and shadowy environment for those seeking a more meditative running experience (although autumn leaf-fall makes it slippery when wet), while the circuit around the larger lake affords openness and a definitive distance. Others shape their running rhythms by following the perimeter of the park, or pursuing possibilities to add on shorter distances to the total running length: "I use the blue running track because it makes it easy to choose for how long you are going to run. You say to yourself: Just one more lap, just one more lap" (Sten, 50).

One couple combine an engagement with the excess materiality of the park by running while collecting cans from trash bins and putting them in plastic bags. One of them describes how this promotes a particular competition between them: "When I see someone going towards the refuse bin, I start running to get their first". This engagement with the material affordances of the park thus solicits the evolution of a distinctive running rhythm. Other "combinatory" practices include runners who socialize with a companion on a bicycle, exercise a dog or push a pram.

More fixed features in the park, notably the two popular outdoor gyms installed in 2014, also shape rhythm and routine. Some alternate running with gym work, one runs an extra lap instead of standing still while waiting for a particular piece of gym apparatus to become available, while others utilize other fixtures. One inventive runner, Michael, 28, who incorporates other exercises into a fitness regime, lifted a large stone retrieved from a nearby retention wall. Adriana, 30, explicitly avoids the gym in carrying out exercises: "You shouldn't depend on machines, the gym is really inside your head. The benches are my equipment". Runners are often seen using the benches for stretching, and sometimes, as in the case of Adriana, for different kinds of muscular workouts. They are, of course, also used for resting after the run.

Certain material technologies brought by runners themselves facilitate the maintenance of a steady rhythm and measure achievement. Several listen to music on headphones in order to stabilize a running rhythm, as Omar, 20, describes: "I only bring my headphones

and phone. I want to listen to music, it's like being in a world of your own when running". Others modulate their speed, distance and time with GPS-watches, one runner setting the device to vibrate if the running pace or heart rate drops. Backpacks were also important, for instance, in accommodating a change of clothes in order to combine running with work or another activity.

Besides the propensity for various affordances of the park's diverse array of materialities to shape the rhythms of running, the co-presence of other humans can potentially produce both a sense of eurhythmy and arrhythmia.

Runners and non-runners alike may appreciate the specifically urban quality of the park and the interaction with other rhythms that this solicits. Indeed, many runners who are very familiar with the site have become accustomed to rhythmic multiplicity, as Lina, 45, explains

> I've been running here for such a long time that I've learned how to run among all the other visitors in the park. I don't have to think about pedestrians or birds anymore and they don't bother me.

Most runners enjoy the co-presence of other people, as Jakob, 32, asserts:

> I think it's a quality to be able to see activities when running. It makes me feel like I'm part of the life of the city. Pildammsparken is so alive during summer. I appreciate moving in the city and feeling like becoming one in the crowd. The train of soccer supporters, for example, they do interrupt me but they also bring a special atmosphere to the situation.

Jakob also enjoys the diverting medley of social activities that occur in the park.

> If I'm lucky I get to see activities on the grass area, like hipsters, live role players with swords or some goofy yoga things.

And Johan observes how running, although often a somewhat self-absorbed activity, also allows for small forms of social interaction when set in the convivial setting of a park

> I even throw a smile to an old man when coming between him and the birds he's feeding. (Running diary 2016-03-19)

While the necessity of modulating rhythm and course might be produced by encounters with other people, runners largely accept this as a part of the quality of exercising in a park, as Omar, 20, asserts:

> Sometimes I have to step aside because of other people, but it doesn't bother me. After all, it's a park.

An entry in Johan's diary offers a similar sentiment, intimating that the runner is co-productive of a larger choreography in a park full of mobile and less mobile subjects

> The small manoeuvres you have to make – zigzag steps, to quickly slow down or speed up – to get through bottlenecks rather feels like a way of cooperating with the surroundings. I'm part of the dynamics. It makes me feel skilled. (Running diary 2016-03-28)

Crucially, these responses indicate how running can be incorporated into an inclusive sense of sociality in the park, its rhythms coexisting harmoniously with those of other park-users. Despite these positive assessments, other runners are more concerned by the disruptions to their running rhythms produced by the practices of others. For instance, Dalia, 31, details how other mobile subjects fail to recognize the specific requirements of the runner in keeping to a straight path and steady rhythm:

> Sometimes I'm bothered by people that don't keep on the right side of the path. Walkers should keep to the left and runners to the right. It's the same principle as in traffic. I holler and wave to people when I come running

Another common impediment to smooth progress lamented by some runners is that caused by dogs and dog owners (cf. Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016, 761), as Håkan, 40s, complains:

> If I should complain about one group, it's the dog owners. Not all of them, of course. But some of them don't take the runners into consideration. A typical example is the owner on one side of the path and the dog on the other. Then the leash is right where I'm about to pass.

The tolerant sociality exemplified above is absent here as walkers and dog-owners do not moderate their practices in order to accommodate the practices of runners and hence disrupt their rhythm. Yet it is crucial not only to consider the effects of others on runners, for runners themselves may produce disorienting arrhythmic disruptions for others, as Johan captures in his account of a strolling elderly couple:

> An elderly couple is walking in the middle of the path. Runners pass by them continuously. They try to turn off to get to one of the benches, but they cannot break through the flow of runners. For a second they look so rueful and confused that I think of them as two deer caught in headlights in the middle of a highway. I am one of the high speed vehicles, just passing by. (Running diary 2016-09-07)

Besides identifying how the rhythms of the runner are heavily influenced by material conditions and other people, seasonal effects inevitably shape running routines. In some cases, the advent of rough seasonal weather diverts runners to the park, shifting their usual routines. For instance, some leave the beach at Ribersborg because Pildammsparken affords greater protection from strong winds and rain, with its trees providing some shelter – as they also do in summer in providing shade from a strong sun. Interviewees also tend to avoid frozen or slippery winter surfaces and female runners in particular refer to how in the darker months they skirt areas of insufficient lighting whereas summer affords greater scope and flexibility for making evening routes.

Ola, 41, took an alternative route during summer because of the smell of the eastern side of the large pond: "I think there is rotting algae. Sometimes the wind blows so that I run straight into that strong smell". Other seasonal factors include an appreciation of the absence of other visitors in winter, the sensory pleasures gained from the cold temperature, the stark visual absence of greenery, or the climatic change signified when paths suddenly become covered with fallen chestnuts. Such seasonal rhythms can produce pleasing sensorial experiences:

> Allan 60: When I think about running during different seasons, I think about scents and atmosphere. During a summer evening the air is humid and it's so filled up with different scents. This is when it's most pleasurable to run.

Cultural and social rhythms also sometimes act as seasonal markers, as with the prevalence of young adults on benches at the start of the academic year, and the rising numbers of runners in April that "are panicking over the upcoming beach season and want to get fit" (Dalia, 31). Moreover, Pildammsparken is a popular venue for small- and large-scale events, adding to the plethora of contingencies and rhythmical encounters in which running becomes entangled. Since 2014, the group *Träna i parken* has arranged over 200 occasions for various free forms of group training arranged via social media, regular gatherings that take place at several locations throughout the park and have to be skirted around by the runner. More random events that may be disruptive include Johan's experience of a limousine that conveyed guests to a wedding at the pavilion blocking his running route. And the "We

who love the 90s" festival forced runners to adopt different routes or abandon their earphones because of the aural impact of loud, amplified music.

Finally, in addition to these disruptive agencies, the animals that share the space of the park are also apt to interfere with seamless running rhythms. Besides some locally reported unusual sightings such as a wild boar spotted in the park, and in summer 2015, a three-metre long python that provoked both curiosity and concern about potential danger, the park is populated by large numbers of birds. One informant explained that he quit running in Pildammsparken because of the considerable growth in the number of birds, with barnacle geese, for example, increasing from 17 to almost 300 pairs in 25 years (Hårde 2013, 231).

Other runners tolerated the waterfowl even though they occasionally interfere with their running rhythm. Katja, 36, explained that interruptions often arose "when the geese have just had kids, they get very aggressive then." Johan gives an example of how other humans, non-humans and timing interact to cause arrhythmia:

> A bread-missile is thrown right in front of me, making a posse of birds gather in excitement. I slow down and take small, aggressive, steps to dispel them. Behind me I hear laughter and someone saying: "Oh, you sabotaged the jogger!". (Running diary 2016-08-09)

Another example of non-human interruptions concern swarms of insects that gather in the light of lamp posts in June. Johan describes how these have a more profoundly evident somatic effect on running rhythms, tickling the eyes and causing coughing attacks when inhaled.

In addition to the place-specific contingencies identified above, running in the park also depends on everyday psychological and biological factors such as amount of sleep, dietary habits, stress, mood and confidence. Most runners are quite tolerant of the disturbances identified above, and similarly, their practices are tolerated by other park users. Such tolerance is essential in such a large, shared public space, and on the whole, this collectively produces a eurhythmic harmony. Having discussed the ways in which running rhythms intersect with the other rhythms of the park, we now consider how they work to develop the stable running rhythm that maximizes the eurhythmic experience of the regular runner.

5. Becoming a runner: dressage and attunement to place

All mobile practices require training so that those enacting them may become attuned to bodies, vehicles and spaces. Consider the training required in developing an ability to swim, ride a bicycle and drive a car. Similarly, in order to become adept and fit, runners must develop routines and strategies that allow them to synchronize their weekly routines with everyday work, leisure and family rhythms (Cook, Shaw, and Simpson 2016). At first, such training might be something of a slog although later the development of a fit body will make routine running far less onerous – and rhythmically smooth – and regular routines must be maintained in order to sustain the ability to run at a comfortable pace and rhythm. The development of a regime that allows bodies to become attuned to regular running illustrates Lefebvre's notion of "dressage" as a means to train the body to perform, to absorb rhythm into bodies through prolonged practice so that it becomes habitual, a "second nature". Lefebvre primarily focuses upon disciplinary procedures through which workers are trained to comply with the imperatives of efficient production, inculcating unreflexive habits that render their bodies docile. Runners, though, take on a self-disciplining form of dressage

through which they train their bodies to become habitually accommodated to the demands of running, though they may follow advisory programmes such as the popular *Couch to 5k* scheme. Dressage here then, is not coercive but is undertaken to acquire running fitness and familiarity with place and space. The key is to undertake a period of training when initially, movement and breathing does not come easily, a form of apprenticeship that develops the aptitude to comfortably run the desired distance and allows entry into the community of runners.

Dressage, as Lefebvre points out, is based on repetition (2004, 39) and concerned with learning how to negotiate environments and align with different rhythms. Dressage devised to train the runner resonates with that of the pedestrian during the early twentieth century (Hornsey 2010), when knowing how to move and behave in traffic became increasingly important. Modernist planning aimed for such mobile practices to be performed on *autopilot* (Middleton 2011). Moreover, mobile forms of dressage act to attune people to place, whether to the hard asphalt of the military parade ground or to the running affordances, temporal patterns and co-users of the local park that we have discussed above.

In order to more substantively investigate the process of running as *dressage* and as a practice that progressively attunes the runner to time, the running body and place, we particularly draw on Johan's running diary. In the diary, entries foreground how becoming a runner involves on-going negotiations with different rhythms. Here, we discuss three different rhythmic encounters – with different temporalities, with different materialities and corporeal experience, and with rhythms that modulate between interiority and exteriority. Some of these negotiations might become settled and stabilized over time as an outcome of repetitive dressage and routine, but they are also constantly renegotiated.

First, the running diary recurrently reveals negotiations with, and productions of, different temporalities. Initially, running solicited a distinctly unfamiliar sense and scale of time: the feeling that the duration of a run was unreasonably long. Being unfit and unused to running, the distance to be completed was initially perceived as "endless" and stretching "forever". During the run, time as measured by the clock was deactivated, but when the run was finished, Johan became aware that "only" 15 min had passed. The experience of clock time as a deceptive measurement of running time persisted when he became more accustomed to habitually running at sundown, literally from day to night, foregrounding experiential time over clock time:

> There was still daylight when I started, but when I finish, it's dark. This reinforces my impression that way more than just twenty minutes passed during the run. I ran for so long that the world transformed. (Running diary 2016-04-11)

Though the mechanical time of the clock was in this case circumvented, other runners meticulously measure their running times, scrupulously monitoring the phases of their route with recording devices to adjusting lived rhythmic experience to a preconceived clock-based rhythm, imposing dressage on the running body.

Another aspect of this awareness about time triggered by running was the recurrence of a 15-year-old knee injury. While Johan had forgotten the injury for over a decade, the sudden activation of a formerly passively embedded corporeal memory brought back a somatic memory of the time of the injury but also invaded everyday experience more generally. Similar associations with distant biographical events were raised by several informants. For instance, one former resident of an afforested part of Sweden disclosed that he liked to run in the wooded area of the park since it reminded him of his youth.

Other references to the duration and rhythms of the life course were conveyed by references to earlier running habits that had been superseded. For example, Allan, 60, explained that "I used to run ten times per month. Now my health is limiting me", while Lukas, 30, described how "I used to run two times a week, but I recently had a child and now I can only run once a month".

Second, beginning to run rhythmically also led to an emerging self-awareness, in response to different corporeal and material elements. Enhanced somatic awareness means that the breathing, aches or posture of the body become reflexively monitored:

> My running style changed during the run. At the beginning I took short steps with my forearms raised and kept close to my chest. Eventually, there was a sort of unfolding taking place, in which I started to take wider steps and let my arms move more loosely. So the running style signals how far or how for long you've run. (Running diary 2016-04-07)

The capacity to produce a smooth rhythm does not only depend upon the initial period of training, or dressage, but also on ongoing, regular running. Attempts to improve bodily attunement to place and exercise can be thwarted if the training routine is not maintained, as the following diary entry elucidates:

> I have somehow slipped out of routine for the last week, even though I have really been longing for running. Now when I finally get to it, I am hindered by a devilish heartburn caused by the food and drinks I had at a celebration yesterday. For every running step I take there is a small sour rush of stomach acid fretting my throat, a pulse of sharp eruptions. I also feel a pressure in the chest. This is so unpleasant that I have difficulties focusing. It is a strange feeling to run with this turmoil inside, while the surroundings are so calm and peaceful. (Running diary 2016-09-17)

Johan has not fulfilled the necessary dressage routines with the consequences that his body's rhythms have become unable to perform earlier running rhythms.

Above we discussed how runners become attuned to the material affordances of Pildammsparken and a sense of rhythmic progress is also measured by passing a sequence of physical features, "milestones", such as the outdoor gym, the restaurant, and the water pump, that indicate how long remains of the circuit. Spatial variations, such as when a sense of openness is produced where views over the large pond are available or conversely, a closed in impression, also influence the running rhythm. As Emil, 27, reports: "I appreciate the parts of the park that are enclosed, like dense greenery. It makes the distance less tangible. In my head, it feels like I'm running faster when it's bushy and enclosed."

The rhythms of other runners also provide reference points during a run. For example, another runner, circling the same path in the opposite direction can serve as a useful mobile reference point, or even a challenge. For some runners, synchronizing with other runners' rhythms or racing others can enliven a session while also measuring the speed of one's body in relation to others. Jakob, 32, describes this process: "I do get motivated from passing by another runner. Sometimes I choose someone who's running fast and try to keep up with them. That also motivates me". Such encounters can be territorial, an ongoing negotiation of the line-of-running territory (cf. Goffman's discussion of line-of-talk territories, 1963). These territorial negotiations between running bodies are often resolved through quick detours or temporary changes in pace. But they may help in making estimations about one's speed: – "Can I make it before that bicycle or car?" – while at other times, the rhythm set by a fellow runner can be followed, obviating the need for self-monitoring.

Third, as part of becoming habituated to running, runners continuously modulate their experience in shifting between interior and exterior rhythms. Parts of the route that lack

distractions solicit introversion or a focus on the body, on breathing, speed and running rhythm, whereas areas with more diversions encourage a more outward looking extroversion towards other park users or scenery, and the conscious avoidance of collisions. Levels of introversion and extroversion vary according to whether the path is straight or turns, and how much is occupied by others. Distractions may divert attention away from aches or energy loss and to the surroundings, whereas their absence may assist focus on maintaining an even rhythm and speed.

Managing running rhythms according to such contingencies promotes the internalization of particular embodied responses. For example, when Johan hears footsteps closing in from behind, he automatically slows down in order to let the other runner pass. This highlights how such rhythms inform the development of a more or less unreflexive *socio-motor* skill (Warnier 2001, 9) that induces responsiveness to external elements and fosters an interiorizing ability to draw upon others:

> When approaching the bus stop, this guy starts running right beside me. The bus is just about to leave and he's trying to make it on board. He appears to be unused to running. He speeds up, I speed up, people are watching from the bus stop. He misses the bus, curses and slows down while I keep running. It must have looked as if I deliberately made fun of him. But I didn't mean to, it was just a reflex of mine. (Running diary, 2016-04-30)

This example shows how Johan not only notices and draws on the rhythm of another runner, but also how he incorporates this rhythm and interiorizes it in inadvertently committing a social faux pas.

Finally, though runners typically aim for predictable habitual rhythmic movement, unintended changes can emerge quite suddenly. One informant's style of running was dramatically transformed with the release of Pokémon Go, an augmented reality game that involves the player's geographical location (Hjorth and Richardson 2017). Instead of listening to audio books on headphones, Clara, 45, now ran with her phone in one hand to play the game, which consequently made her pause and walk more often but also extended the distance she covered.

The habits of running evolve as interiorizing and exteriorizing impulses combine to produce particular embodied routines, as Adriana, 30, exemplifies:

> My running route is the outer lap around the park. I run it once in one direction, and then once again the other direction. It's because I want an even distribution of how much the muscles have to work. If you always run the same direction and always make the same turns, the muscles one side of your body will have to work more than the other. This is important for me.

Such reiterative routines might also solicit diverse comforting, habitual engagements with fixtures, like the need to always run around a lamp-post or "a tree that I have to run round and a root that I always jump over" (Jakob, 32). This exemplifies how though becoming a runner tends to aim for consistency, contingencies and new desires can produce an ever-changing engagement with place as well as rhythmic repetition.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we suggest that the runner is a rhythmic figure par excellence. By combining running as theoretical orientation and mobile practice, we have explored the ongoing production and negotiation of rhythms in an urban park through a reflexive and engaged rhythmanalysis. Accordingly, we have exemplified how Pildammsparken is continuously

reproduced by the mobilities that centre upon and flow through it by focusing on how the urban runner contributes to a distinct polyrhythmic ensemble that characterizes everyday experience. Runners are some of the mobile bodies that reproduce a stable, consistent understanding of what a place means, how it feels and is practised. Yet the tensions and negotiations they must face at times also indicates how place may change, subtly as well as dramatically, and through multiple timescales. The pressures imposed upon Pildammsparken by a growing urban population and increasingly diverse leisure demands have shifted activities in the park over time. The huge rise in urban running as leisure pursuit has particularly changed the park's character, and supplemented the forest facilities in which Swedes have exercised.

We demonstrate how the urban runner comes to know places and routes through dressage. Repetitive forms of training and the subsequent reiteration of familiar mobile rhythms condition bodies and attune the runner to the material affordances and human and non-human actors who share the space. The runner is thereby co-producing a mobile sense of place undergirded by everyday and weekly habits and schedules.

We have demonstrated that most runners attempt to align themselves with the rhythms of other humans and non-humans, often negotiating disruptions. Accordingly, we might conceive Pildammsparken as a microcosm of the city, in which mobile rhythms clash, align and are managed according to urban strategies. Vehicles, people and non-humans are invariably entangled in a mashup of rhythms that in the park is largely eurhythmic and therefore chimes with Jane Jacob's depiction of an urban place-ballet, where participants do not conform:

> to a simple-minded precision dance with everyone kicking up at the same time, twirling in unison and bowing off en masse, but to an intricate ballet in which the individual dancers and ensembles all have distinctive parts which miraculously reinforce each other and compose an orderly whole. (1961, 50)

While the runner in Pildammsparken is perhaps becoming a more disciplined figure, running in the park is more concerned with practising the sharing of space than moving via autopilot, directed towards eurhythmia rather than isorhythmia. As with the pedestrians discussed by Lavadinho and Winkin (2008), the adaptations of runners as they attempt to maintain the steady rhythm integral to their pursuit are emblematic of the performance of civility that largely pertains in the shared public space of the park, underpinning its essential role in bringing together different people and practices.

By pointing to the urban runner as a rhythmic figure this article also contributes to expanding rhythmanalytical approaches and applications. Notions of dressage, polyrhythm, eurhythmy and arrhythmia have proved useful for describing urbanized running in itself as well as its relationality to wider temporal and material contexts. The urban runner has served as a rewarding figure through which to interpret the Lefebvrian imperative to use the body as a reference in order to understand rhythms. Thus, rhythmanalysis provides a pertinent excellent approach through which to track how different rhythms, multiple routes and micro-spaces, schedules, intersections and connections can characterize an inclusive site. The park is exemplary in demonstrating how lightly and loosely regulated public spaces provide settings in which tolerance and diversity can prosper and most park users accommodate each other as well as non-human co-inhabitants, and adjust to the material affordances. This calls for greater exploration into why and how such sites are successful in contradistinction to those realms in which timings, materialities and mobilities are orchestrated to provide

"relatively smooth 'corridors" only for some" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 213), while others may be disconnected and excluded.

Notes

1. The observations were made in October 2015 during weekdays, between 9.30 and 15.30, the weather was somewhat cloudy with 10–14 degrees Celsius. In this study we also had help from Gustav Kärrholm.
2. In 60% of the observations of places 1, 2 and 4, people were moving clock wise. In place 3, clock wise could actually be in both directions where, depending which the loop one is following, the ratio was 50–50.

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