ABSTRACT

Title of Document: LANDSCAPES AND TRADITIONS OF
                            MARATHONING IN THE USA, 2000-2008

                            Krista Marie Park, Doctor of Philosophy, and
                            2012

Directed By: Professor Nancy L. Struna, Department of
                            American Studies

This dissertation concludes that the symbiotic relationship between two competing

cultural traditions of marathoning, Corrival and Pageant, simultaneous creates and

eliminates barriers to marathoning participation. Using John Caughey's strategies for

studying cultural traditions and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capital to differentiate

between and describe two different approaches to training for and participating in

marathons among runners in the Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan Area (BWMA).

Drawing on participant observation, interviews of runners in the BWMA, and an

exploration of the geography of running in the BWMA, contextualized by discourse

analysis of three prominent marathon training guides and the covers of the two most

influential running magazines, this dissertation also explores the strategies

individuals' use to overcome actual and potential obstacles to marathon participation,

such as parenting or restrictive work schedules.

LANDSCAPES AND TRADITIONS OF MARATHONING IN THE USA,
2000-2008.

By

Krista Marie Park

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2012

Advisory Committee:
Professor Nancy L. Struna, Chair
Professor John L. Caughey
Associate Professor Martha Geores
Associate Professor Sheri L. Parks
Associate Professor Mary Corbin Sies

Preface

Although I began studying marathoning intensively during the 2005-2006 school year and continue studying it to the present, this dissertation explores marathoning in the Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan Area (BWMA) from approximately 2001 to 2008. First, since earlier records have generally not been digitized, studying marathoning before 2000 would have been difficult. Second, rapid changes in technologies of the internet and the development of social networking in the early 2000s spawned a new, rapid growth in marathoning and another generation of change in 2008 or 2009. During this between 2001 and 2008, marathoners and marathoning institutions used the internet to share data about races and advertising for events and running groups, but there really was minimal interactive social networking during that period (by interactive social networking, I mean the instantaneous posting of activities and running workouts enabled by smart phones and other tracking devices). Once heavy, interactive social networking and real time use of internet tracking systems during training and racing became more common in marathon culture, the era discussed in this dissertation ended: reports in the running media of yet another huge spurt in participation in 2009 suggests that perhaps the increased social network is actually impacting participation in the marathon or yet another factor is in play.

Time has passed since I conducted interviews and participated in and observed marathons. The publications I examined are no longer new, and some have been republished in revised editions. This study now explores the recent past instead of the present. Now, my junk mail from the Leukemia and Lymphoma Society's

Team in Training and the National Multiple Sclerosis Society regularly includes training groups for Century Bicycle Rides and Triathlons in addition to marathons.

Since both time and the historical moment has passed, I generally refer to events and activities throughout this dissertation in the past tense. I even use the past tense when the institution or individual continues to exist or act in the same position they were in during the 2006-2007 season.

Lastly, since I inadvertently allowed my approval by the University of Maryland, Human Subject Research Institutional Review Board to lapse, I had to make all of my data anonymous, including my interviews. Consequently, I cannot state specifically which marathon each of the race organizers I interviewed managed or which charity group the interview subjects were affiliated with.

Dedication

To my parents, my friends, my coworkers (past and present), and my many teachers. I am definitely standing on the shoulders of giants.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to my adviser, Nancy Struna, and all of my committee members, John Caughey, Martha Geores, Sheri Parks, and Mary Corbin Sies, for their advice and patience as I have struggled to complete this dissertation while managing Field Division geography activities for the 2010 Census.

Thank you to my coworkers, especially my supervisor David McCormack and my teammates Kristen Michaud and Mel Troxell, in the Field Division's Geographic Support Branch for their assistance when my job obligations and school obligations conflicted. Thank you to all of the Field Division geographers who have read my writing over the past five years and given me feedback on many documents.

Thank you to my many friends for standing by me over this decade long odyssey. Special thanks to Scott and Amanda Smith, Asim Ali, Donna Sralla, Christopher Swenson, and Thursday Bram for helping me keep my life in balance.

Thank you to my mother, Jean Park, for transcribing my interview recordings, and to both of my parents, Jean and Gerald Park, for their unending support.

Thank you to all of the individuals who agreed to be interviewed or helped me find people to interview.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview

According to MarathonGuide.com's 2009 annual report on the state of marathon running, 299,000 racers finished a marathon in 2000. Nine years later, 468,000 racers completed a race, an increase of 169,000. [1] During that decade, I ran two marathons, thus taking part in the explosion in marathon participation. While training for and running two marathons, I saw people with very different approaches to running. Initially, people around me told me that the primary distinction was between two specific groups of runner: those introduced to marathoning via charity fundraising groups and those who came to marathoning via running. However, further examination led me to conclude that simply dividing practices along the line of "charity" and non-charity regular runner is an oversimplification eliding a more useful distinction potentially key to increasing participation in athletic activities.

I first became aware of fundraising groups focused around marathons while flying home to Anchorage, Alaska, in 1995, the summer between high school graduation and college. I was waiting at the gate for my flight at Seattle-Tacoma Airport for my flight surrounded by clusters of relatively fit individuals in matching team shirts proclaiming their membership in different Team in Training groups from around the country. I learned, from their chatter and from the newspaper when I returned to Anchorage, that the Anchorage

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[1] Marathonguide.com, "2009 USA Marathon Statistics and Report."

Mayor's Midnight Sun Marathon is a destination race for the fundraising group, and their presence dramatically expanded the size and prominence of the event. At the time, I resented them simply because they were tourists taking up the scarce airline seats in and out of Alaska during the summer.

I first learned about the tensions within the sport of marathon running nearly a decade later. Before my first running race, the half-marathon accompanying Anchorage's Mayor's Midnight Sun Marathon in 2003, I gave an acquaintance, Norman, a ride to the start of the marathon. Norman had coached for Team in Training groups in the past, and somehow the conversation turned in that direction. Norman explained that he stopped working with the group in part because the organization did not encourage its members to cheer for non-Team in Training participants at events and even set up special aid stations that only served their people. He did not enjoy the exclusivity at the core of those practices. With those comments in mind, I paid attention to the Team in Training people around me during the half-marathon. And, yes, they had an audience that cheered primarily for them. And, yes, there was an aid station set-up for the exclusive use of Team in Training runners. His comments and my subsequent awareness of charity-centered training groups while training for and participating in both running and bicycling endurance events inspired this dissertation.

In 2006, the tension I had been introduced to, apparently between marathon runners affiliated with charity groups and those who approached marathons having run shorter distance races, hit the mainstream with a *Slate.com* online editorial, also broadcast on NPR, by Gabriel Sherman titled, "Running with Slowpokes: Sluggish Newbies Ruined the Marathon"[2] Hundreds responded to the editorial, some in support of Sherman's point and

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[2] Sherman, "Running with Slowpokes."

other's supporting their own participation in marathons, even though they are slow. The initial goal of this research project was to understand that particular dichotomy, but as I interviewed marathon runners in the Baltimore-Washington Metro Area (BWMA), I discovered the divisions in the marathoning community cleaved along more complex lines.

The tension between the appeal of the event among the growing number of marathon participants and the members of the established running community that refer to at least some of these newer participants as "slowpokes" or "sluggish" reveals a tension within the running "community" or, perhaps, suggests that the "running community" as a singular, unified body does not exist. Many stakeholders would benefit from understanding how to motivate people to both participate in their first marathon and continue their athletic endeavors for the rest of their life. Marathon organizers wish to encourage more participants, fund raising organizations focused around marathons want to encourage more participants, cities wish to use marathons to spur economic development, and the public health community would like to encourage more physical activity.

The marathon, as a running race, was invented for the first modern Olympics in 1896. Although the excitement surrounding the new Olympic event did immediately generate the creation of numerous marathons in the United States of America, including the Boston Marathon first run in 1897, the first real growth in participation began in the late 1960s and early 1970s with Frank Shorter's gold medal in the event at the 1972 Munich Olympics, the inauguration of the New York City Marathon in 1976 as a marathon for the masses, designed to engage the city's population in cheering for the event, and American world record holder for the

marathon Joan Benoit's gold medal in the inaugural Women's Olympic marathon in 1984.[3] In the introduction to his monograph on the Chicago Marathon, Anthony Suozzo, echoing the narrative contained at the beginning of many books either relating stories of marathons or instructing potential participants on how to train, explains that the "second running boom," marked by exponential growth in participation in large urban marathons in the 1990s and early 2000s, should be attributed to an association in the public mind between running and good health and the events status as a metonym for recovered health[4]:

> The synergy generated by nearly universal accessibility to attenuated competition ensures this health-enhancing sport the potential for dynamic growth in the foreseeable future. But this growth is largely fueled by a noncompetitive, group-oriented participation; this kind of participation is linked to the current value shift that emphasizes inclusiveness rather than personal distinction.[5]

While not inaccurate, Suozzo's explanation for the tremendous growth in marathon participation certainly is incomplete as he argues, with no substantive support, that all non-elite marathoners participate for the same reasons and with the same "inclusive" approach.

As I will explain in greater depth later, previous academic research on marathons or the motivations of the "average" runner, as opposed to the Olympic-

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[3] Suozzo, *The Chicago Marathon,* 4-9.

[4] Ibid., 6-8.

[5] Ibid., 9.

level athlete, is limited, either focusing exclusively on the spectacle of and participation in large marathons—such as Vincent Serravallo's study of the New York City Marathon based on race registration forms and Andrew Suozzo's study of the Le Salle Chicago Marathon—or, like Ogles and Masters' study of marathoners' motivations, founded on overly narrow measures of "achievement" focused exclusively on speed. Further, studies of large marathons, such as Suozzo's, often emphasize the urban revitalization elements over the experiences of the tens of thousands of individuals that participate in the large, city encompassing marathons each year. None of the existing research compares and contrasts large and small marathons or focuses on the experiences of runners who are neither elite nor even moderately good, for example, running within approximately 30 minutes of the time required for that individual to qualify to run the Boston Marathon.[6] This dissertation examines the larger landscape of marathons within a single metropolitan area; and

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[6] Serravallo, "Class and Gender in Recreational Marathon Running;" Suozzo, "The Chicago Renaissance and Urban Renaissance;" Suozzo, *The Chicago Marathon*; Ogles and Masters, "A Typology of Marathon Runners based on Cluster Analysis of Motivations." For amateur runners, the Boston Marathon, for which runners must qualifying by running a specific qualifying time based on their age and sex during the previous year, is the measure of success. For the fastest amateur runners, qualifying for the National Championship may be the goal. Generally, with good training, runners have a chance of improving their finishing time by thirty to forty minutes in one year, so the target is a realistic one when a runner is running within that bracket of time to their goal deadline.

thus, necessarily examines both smaller marathons and slower runners within the context of the more frequently studied aspects of marathoning.

In order to understand the cultural mechanisms behind the audience reception to Sherman's "Slowpokes" editorial, this dissertation was designed to answer the following questions about the marathon as a cultural field and set the stage for more research on increasing the access to recreational activities for all portions of American society: (1) What cultural divisions exist within marathons and marathon runners? (2) How do different approaches to marathons and marathon running impact the appeal of the activity to potential participants? (3) What insight can popular magazines, popular training guides, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, cultural landscape study, and the official records of marathon races provide on the cultural practices and cognitive landscapes of marathoning? (4) How can Bourdieu's theoretical framing of capital assist in untangling the complexities of the institutions and practices that make up that constitute the cultural traditions of marathoning?

As an individual, I struggle to fit into the marathoning cultures; further, while writing this dissertation I began advising my coworker Natalie on training for a half-marathon. Ignoring the significant impact of technological changes that have occurred in the last five years on marathoning cultures, Natalie raised some of the same questions of confusion that I faced about a decade ago: Why bother paying to enter a race (instead of running the distance unmetered)? Why try to train with one other person or with a group? What equipment is necessary verses hype? And where does good advice on training and equipment come from? Even though my conversations

with Natalie occurred five years after the interviews at the center of this dissertation and eight years after I trained for my first half-marathon, Natalie contemplated some of the same questions and barriers both I and my interview subjects struggled with in previous years: these questions demonstrate the persistence of the barriers hinted at by these questions.

Methods

In order to expand the boundaries of research on marathons into the realm of the smaller marathons and the less athletically successful runners, I combine both quantitative and qualitative approaches in a study of marathons in the BWMA. The qualitative components consist of three years of participant observation, interviews with race organizers and marathon participants from throughout the region, geographic analysis of the race courses and the distance travelled by participants to the event, and a discourse analysis of popular, meaning both frequently referred to and good selling, training guides. The quantitative components include examinations of the race finishing data, the contents of the covers of the two most prominent magazines, and a geographic analysis of the racecourses themselves.

This project grew out of my own participation in marathons and other endurance activities in which the charity training groups function. Unlike many typical students in sports sociology programs and other researchers on running, I am not a lifelong athlete. I began working out regularly during the summer of 2002 at the age of 25. My experience with athletic competition began in 2003, at the age of 26. I ran a half-marathon and two full marathons in 2003, and I volunteered as event support crew for the Marathon in the Parks in 2004 and the George Washington's

Birthday Marathon in 2006. In 2004, I also ran several shorter local running events including the Annapolis 10 Miler. Through these events I observed participants with different levels of fitness and different types of support networks: some individuals were clearly participating alone and others were clearly only participating because of the support of the large training team of which they were a part. Since most of my participation occurred before I decided to focus on local marathons for my dissertation, I do not have detailed field notes. I do, however, have informal diary entries, photographs, and memories.

My own participant observation provides the foundation for the description and analysis of the cultural landscapes of marathons. My analysis of the running publications and the interviews I conduct reinforced and added to my own experiences. My actual study of marathon running and the cultural structures surrounding it began as a mixed methods project. At the bare minimum, I knew that I would need to expand the horizon of my participant observation with analysis of the discourse of the running media or in depth interviews with other participants as my own status as an overweight adult-onset-athlete from a culture that values individual endurance sports over team sports in an atypical, for an American, way certainly gives me a very distinct perspective on American sporting culture. So, I gradually added other data sources using what John Creswell describes as a "Concurrent Transformative Strategy"[7] as different research methods reinforced my understanding of marathon running and its surrounding structures and exposed holes in my understanding.

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[7] Creswell, *Research Design,* 219.

The second data set I added, to expand my view beyond my narrow personal experience, consisted of the texts and images of popular running magazines and training texts. I experienced these first as a participant using them to guide my own training and then as a researcher. I began my research by following a broad range of running magazines during the 2003-2004 academic year: *Ultrarunner, Marathon & Beyond, Trail Runner, Runner's World, and Running Times*. Once I started narrowing my research focus, during the 2004-2005 academic year, I narrowed my focus to *Runner's World* and *Running Times,* because the other magazines are niche markets not readily available on newsstands. *Ultrarunner* and *Marathon & Beyond* target individuals whose shortest competitive races are marathons and half-marathons, and most of the articles focus on running multiple marathons back-to-back or racing distances in excess of 26.2 miles. *Trail Runner*, as its name suggests, focuses on trail running, not road running, and places less emphasis on racing than either *Runner's World* or *Running Times*.[8]

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[8] *Trail Runner*'s media kit for 2005 list the magazine's total readership as 56,715, with 2.4 pass along and 8,000+ race copies, and 54 percent of the magazines paid readership of 20,100 purchases their copies from newsstands. *Marathon & Beyond*'s January/February 2004 issue "Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation" reports that the average number of copies printed per issue during the preceding 12 months was 6,111. The "Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation" published in the November 2003 issue of *Ultrarunning* reports that the average total number of copies printed for the preceding year was 4,400, of which 100 copies were sold through dealers. The December 2004 "Statement of Ownership,

Two magazines dominate the marathon running world in the USA: *Running Times* and *Runner's World*. Both *Runner's World* and *Running Times* are available throughout the United States, often even at grocery stores, and both cover the elite world of running as well as the general-participatory sport. They also both review shoes and other equipment, races, and running trails, profile runners, both famous and every day, and do feature articles on running fads. The magazines cover all distances of running, from competitive sprints at the high school level to ultrarunning events. Both of the big magazines also have an online presence.

I have subscribed to and read both *Runner's World* and *Running Times* since 2003; however, since most of the individuals I interviewed for the dissertation only stated that they'd seen, not read, copies, and the few that had read print running magazines had only read either *Runner's World* or *Running Times* (and the majority had only read *Runner's World*), I drew only on the front and back covers of the two magazines for the dissertation. I quantitatively assessed the covers of both magazines for their entire runs from 2003 to 2009, and I examined in detail the contents of the front covers of the two magazines for the year in which I interviewed my subjects as well as the year before and after those interviews (see Appendix XX).

Management, and Circulation of *Runner's World*" reports that the average net press run for a single issue in the preceding 12 months is 751,290 with 102,875 copies sold through non-mail-subscription methods. The December 2004 "Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation" for *Running Times* reports that average net press run for each issue in the preceding 12 months was 110,281 copies with average sales per issue through non-mail-subscription methods of 9,938.

In order to capture the thought processes of a broad variety of leaders in the running community, I examined training guides for marathon running. These training guides give explicit instructions to runners regarding bodily practices during training and racing, guidance about material culture products believed to aid marathoners, and framing of the cultural landscape of marathoning through recitations of the events' history and prescribing mental frameworks for participation that the guides believe will increase the likelihood of successful completion of the event. I began by exploring a broad range of guides and then narrowed my study to those guides most focused on marathons, as opposed to running in general, most popular, and most representative of the discourse patterns used by the larger training groups and the running magazines, *Running Times* and *Runners World*. The initial group of guides reviewed consisted of Hal Higdon's *Marathon: The Ultimate Training Guide*, David Whitsett et al.'s *The Non-Runner's Marathon Trainer*, Claire Kowalchik's *The Complete Book of Running for Women*, Jeff Galloway's *Marathon: You Can Do It!* and *Galloway's Book on Running*, Jeff Bingham and Coach Jenny Hadfield's *Marathoning for Mortals*, John Bingham's two books *The Courage to Start* and *No Need for Speed: A Beginner's Guide to the Joy of Running*, and Dave Kuehls' *Four Months to a Four-Hour Marathon*.

I focused my research on three specific marathon training guides by authors known for writing regular columns for *Running Times* and *Runner's World* and for their participation in live trainings of large groups of people: Jeff Galloway, John

"The Penguin" Bingham, and Hal Higdon.[9] These three authors seek to encourage a wide range of individuals to participate in marathons and, consequently, sell books and promote their own strong careers as coaches and traveling guest lecturers. For runners training alone, these guides specifically stand in place of the apparatus of a training group and create the training landscape and environment. These three authors also regularly write articles in the two major running magazines and are affiliated

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[9] Among my interview subjects, Felice and Kim report following Higdon's program as published on his website; his book elaborates on the same basic training plan as is posted to his website. Brian, following the guidance of the large charity training group he participated in, and Ivey and Charlie, on their own initiative, followed Galloway's training plans. According to his website, Hal Higdon is a founder of the Road Runners Club of America (RRCA), he has written articles for *Runner's World* regularly since the magazine's second issue in 1966, and was a primary mover in establishing the core training program for the Chicago Marathon, training 3,000 runners each year. John Bingam, according to his website, wrote a column for *Runner's World* magazine for 14 years. His website describes him as a spokesman for the Leukemia & Lymphoma Society's Team in Training program "known to his flock as 'the Penguin' for his waddling pace . . . . [He] has, for two decades, encouraged runners of all shapes, sizes, and speeds to follow his example and change their lives for the better by taking up the sport." On his website, Jeff Galloway claims that his "training schedules have inspired the second wave of marathoners who follow the Galloway RUN-WALK-RUN™, low mileage, three-day, suggestions to an over 98% success rate."

with specific training teams.

After contextualizing my own experience within the national running culture using magazines and training books, I explored the BWMA running cultures through interviews and study training and racing geographies of the region. The central data set for exploring the local geographies is a series of interviews conducted between December 2006 and July 2007. When I began the interview portion of this project, I planned to interview at least forty individuals. In addition to recruiting interview subjects from friends and friends-of-friends, I posted a request for interview subjects to a Running group on Livejournal, a social media website popular in the 00s, and at least two email listservs. I also emailed all of the local marathons' race directors and large training groups directly asking for participation from their leadership and members. However, after only ten interviews, not only were the themes I had observed through other methods of study already appearing consistently and repetitively, but specific demographic elements were appearing uncomfortably regularly: other than the marathon professionals (race organizers or training group organizers), nearly everyone who agreed to participate in my research had either done an ethnographic research project themselves or had a close friend or family member who had done that type of research. Based on that observation, I concluded I was having a very difficult time finding anyone to interview outside a very narrow range of educational and economic backgrounds. Further, many of my interview subjects talked about reading descriptions of why people trained for marathons, so the narrative structures outlined in this paper are potentially self-reinforcing: just a few style leaders could shift patterns of thought and action significantly. Both of those

patterns continued through my remaining eleven interviews. Due to both the repetition and the clear pattern supporting the repetition, I followed the lead of Leo Marx and stopped interviewing, as Marx said, defining the extent of his research for his book *Machine in the Garden*, "When no new kinds of evidence were forthcoming, that is, when it seemed virtually certain that the next technological image would conform to one or another of a limited number of established patterns, the source was considered exhausted."[10]

In the end, I interviewed 22 runners and race organizers. Due to the requirements for human subject research, the interview subjects are identified only by pseudonyms.[11] To summarize, 13 of the individuals interviewed were women, and nine were men. 14 were white/Caucasian, three Hispanic, two African America, and three individuals who could be broadly categorized as Asian. Four were either currently race directors or had organized a race for multiple years. One person interviewed was not a runner, only a race organizer for a sports management corporation; six individuals had run one to two marathons; nine had run three to six marathons; and six individuals and run 10 or more marathons. Based on those

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[10] Marx, Leo. "American Studies – A Defense of an Unscientific Method," 85.

[11] Although my initial University of Maryland, Human Subject Research Institutional Review Board approval allowed my interview subjects to give permission for me to use their names in my research, I inadvertently let my approval lapse and thus must refer to all subjects by pseudonym. In addition, to ensure the anonymity of my subjects, I removed the names of the charities or races each individual is affiliated with from their commentary.

characteristics, which are the easiest to screen for when recruiting individuals for a study, the group was relatively diverse. But, as the demographic table shows in appendix D, table 2, the income range and education of the group is not as diverse.

The interviews lasted from thirty to ninety minutes long. Two interviews were conducted by telephone, and the rest were conducted face-to-face. All participants permitted me to record the interviews for later review. Three of the face-to-face interviews took place in the individuals' homes, and the rest took place in public spaces of the subjects' choice such as coffee shops, parks, or the individual's workplace. I had hoped to interview a more diverse set of subjects, but I was unable to connect with a wider variety using my own social networks and approaches. The primary method used to recruit interview subjects was opportunistic sampling,[12] with allowances for chain sampling and an attempt to select both typical subjects and the very extreme case of marathon race directors. Numerically, as stated previously, the interviews ended when the richness of the information thinned out, which is also supported by Patton's argument, "The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with . . . information-richness. . . . and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size."[13]

Each interview was an open ended discussion structured around a set of loosely adhered to questions designed based on cultural inferences drawn from

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[12] Michael Patton, 182-3, quoted in Bradshaw and Stratford, "Qualitative Research Design and Rigour," 44.

[13] Ibid., 46.

personal observation and the running magazines; however, as most of the individuals I interviewed do not feel themselves to be reflected by the magazines, the questions often did not resonate with them and the conversations about marathon training and running diverged into a consistently different direction. While the focus of my initial questions were traditional measures of difference such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and age, the people I interviewed differentiated among runners based different criteria such as speed, serious engagement with running shorter distances, and participation in charity training groups. During the course of the interviews, my understanding of the factors empowering and limiting individuals' participation in marathons changed dramatically.

The interviews allowed me to refine my understanding of the cultural categories I had observed during my own participation in running groups, running landscapes, and races. Most importantly, the interviews helped clarify when the participants in the communities did and did not credit as meaningful differences among participants and practices. The twenty-three individuals I interviewed fit loosely into three categories: race organizers, coaches and trainers, marathoners with some affiliation to a charity group, and marathoners not-affiliated in the past or present with charity groups. Although I tried to recruit a diverse set of interview subjects, my ability to recruit a truly diverse set of interview subjects in some criteria: my pool of subjects does not include many people with children, other than those individuals who directly support marathoning institutions, or people not employed in professional, white collar occupations.

Five of the individuals I interviewed currently or previously organized

marathons in the BWMA.[14] Some, but not all, of these individuals also marathon. John, a 34-years-old white man, works for a sports management company and does not run, much less marathon. He had led his company in its management of one of the larger marathons in the BMWA for several years and was at the time of the interview also leading his company's endeavor to take over the management of a second marathon. These interviews were conducted during the winter of 2006-2007, so I will describe the individuals in past tense throughout this dissertation. In the passing time, they have all aged, some have completed more marathons, and at least one of my interview subjects has died. In 2012, they are not necessarily exactly the same people they were at the time we spoke.

Kim, a 36-year-old white mother and graduate student, began running with junior high school track and has run over twenty marathons. At the time of the interview, she had just finished building a small marathon into a medium-sized Expo marathon, and she was in the process of handing management of the much larger race over to the company John works for.

Gerry, a 40-year-old Mexican American runner, organized a medium sized marathon in the BWMA that was no longer in existence in 2006. He started running at the age of 18 and by the time of the interview had run 10 marathons and six ultramarathons. He was a father and worked as a scientist. Although he was the first adult in his family to participate in marathons, his wife began marathoning after watching him compete. He has trained with a running team located in his county, and currently only runs marathons if he can set some sort of time or achievement goal to

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[14] See Appendix 1 for more demographic information about my interview subjects.

train for. In order to improve his running, he was also working with a professional coach.

Frank, a 63-year-old white father, organized a smaller marathon for over a decade. He began running in his thirties in order to improve his conditioning, but he eventually running became more important than tennis. He has run a marathon in each of the fifty states and trains regularly with a running group based in his region.

Lynn, a 15-year-old Euro-Asian woman, began and organized what she calls a "Boutique Marathon." She began running for fitness and first competed in triathalons before moving on to marathoning. She has run "only about a dozen" marathons and is most proud of having qualified for and run a Boston Marathon. Unlike the other race directors, who all work as professionals, she makes her living through a combination of lower-skilled jobs such as administrative assistant, nude modeling, race directing, race timing, and race course certifying.

In addition to the race directors, I also interviewed three others engaged in managing another type of institution fundamental to marathoning: marathon training groups. Abby and Donald worked with one of the large charity fundraising groups while Julia coordinates for one of the few marathon training groups, as opposed to more general running groups, not affiliated with a charity.

Abby, a 32-year-old Asian-Pacific-Islander woman, has a masters degree and worked as a campaign manager for one of the large charity-affiliated marathon training teams. She ran one marathon with the charity group five years before becoming an employee.

Donald is a fifty-four year old male who has been running since high school.

His primary occupation was as an engineer, but he also coached for one of the large charity training teams, and had run more marathons than he would count. He became involved with the charity team after his son was diagnosed with the disease the charity group focuses on.

Julia was a 39-year-old white woman who works as a realtor and also helped coordinate a non-charity-linked marathon-training group. She had participated in several marathons; however, she had only run one marathon and had walked several others.

Of the fifteen other marathoners I interviewed, eight had some affiliation with a charity-training group while the remaining seven marathoners had not been affiliated with a marathon training group. Of the eight affiliated with a charity training group, four were men and four were women. Of the four men, all but one had college degrees and worked in professional positions. Brian was a 47-year-old, African American office manager who ran one marathon, preparing with a charity group. Charlie was a 43-year-old Hispanic man who has run over 17 marathons; he started running in high school, but took a break between high school and his early thirties. He was a manager. Harold was a 33-year-old white man who had run six marathons. He had been running for five years and is now acting as an assistant coach with the coaches who helped him train for his first several marathons; professionally, he designs instructional software. Ian was a 38-year-old white accountant and lobbyist who had run three marathons in exotic locations.

Cathy was a 34-year-old white woman who taught elementary school. She has run her whole life, but the marathon she completed with the charity group the

previous year was her first marathon. Monica, a 33-year-old white woman who taught at the same school as Cathy, had run five marathons; she began running marathons through a charity training team along with a group of female friends. Georgia was a 24-year-old graduate student with a full-time job living in a group house; she trained for her marathons with Harold. Georgia had always run, but she became more serious during college with the marathon training. Diane was a 42-year-old African American woman and mother who began running at 12, paid for college with athletic scholarships, and turned to marathoning with the guidance and inspiration of a charity training team. Diane is a school counselor.

Of the seven unaffiliated with a charity-training group two were men and five were women. Hannah and Edward, although I interviewed them separately, were a married couple in their late twenties. Hannah describes herself as white and Edward describes himself as Hispanic. Hannah was working in domestic violence counseling, and Edward was working on a PhD in the biological sciences. They have one marathon and one half-marathon. Hannah got into running for fitness and decided to train for a marathon because Edward's father runs marathons. Edward began running marathons to accompany her. At the time of our interviews, they did not have any children.

Adam, the other non-charity-related male I interviewed, was a 41-year-old white man with a career in science, no children, and no significant other. He also organized his biotechnology firm's charity 10K running race. He has run throughout his life and ran one marathon several years ago as he was interviewing for a coaching job at an elite private school.

Bonnie, a 37-year-old East Indian female engineer, lives alone, like Adam. She had been running off-and-on for about nine years. She began running marathons in order to structure the running she was doing for fitness. At the time of our interview, she had run one marathon, the Marine Corps Marathon, which she had selected because it was conveniently close.

Felice was a 24-year-old white graduate student, living alone, who had been running since high school. She had run three marathons, but was struggling to fit serious running in around her graduate school studies. Ivey was a 37-year-old Asian scientist, without children, who had been running for approximately three years and had completed four marathons. She began marathoning to structure her fitness-focused training and to give her group of friends an excuse to travel together.

Ellen, alone among the marathoners not directly engaged with the marathoning institutions of race directing and training team organizing, was a parent. At the time of our interview, Ellen was a 31-year-old white mother of one. At the time she was training and running her one marathon, Ellen's husband was deployed overseas with the military. She ran high school track but did not run regularly again until she started training for her first marathon. She had run two marathons in the three years since returning to running after being inspired by a neighbor's successful completion of a marathon.

The final research method used for this project is an exploration of the geography of marathoning in the BWMA using the Jeremy Korr's method for cultural landscape study. Given the international nature of some of the institutions that constitute the field of marathoning, bounding any portion is difficult as many people,

especially those registered for marathons located in exotic locations, train for the event near their homes yet travel significant distances for race day. So the commonality-of-the-running-landscape itself, whether race day or the routine of training, will serve to bound the geography of the study. In defining the boundaries of the BWMA for the sake of this study, I considered the primary transportation infrastructure of the region as well as the likely distance a runner would be willing to travel for both training sessions and race day. The commuter rail system, including the Virginia Railway Express, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority, and the MARC Train, and commuter bus systems, such as the Calvert County and St. Mary's County commuter bus systems, connect the community from as far south as Fredericksburg, Virginia, as far north as Frederick and Baltimore, Maryland, and as far East as the Delmarva Peninsula. Although some extreme individuals regularly commute in from Pennsylvania to work in the BWMA, this is a small population and most likely farther than someone would travel on race day without getting a hotel room. Since marathons usually start at 8 AM and runners must pick up their bid before the race (usually the day before), few runners will travel more than one hour's distance of travel to and from a marathon on race day, and so a race any farther from home would increase the likelihood a racer would get a hotel room.[15]

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[15] For my second marathon, I drove to Sparks, Maryland, for the North Central Trail Marathon. Sparks is approximately 50 miles from College Park, Maryland, where I live. Although driving to and from the race on race day made for a long day, it was very manageable; however, driving much farther without being able to ice sore muscles would have been uncomfortable. Two directors of races in the BWMA

As I will discuss in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3, the institutions and physical aspects of the geography of a marathon include the race courses themselves, the common training landscape of multi-use trail systems, the central points of training teams, and specialty running stores. After searching for all marathons in the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and Delaware, using Marathonguide.com and general internet searches, I eliminated those events more than one hour's drive from the Washington Beltway and the center of the outlying communities in the commuting area, for example Baltimore and Annapolis. Due to the ephemeral nature of some marathons, it is possible that I overlooked a marathon or two that was held only once within the timeframe of the research. Lastly, I looked to the competitive race circuit calendar for the DC Front Runners to confirm my list of what might be considered an event for a group geographically tied to the BWMA: the farthest north event included on the calendar is the Philadelphia half-marathon, the farthest west event is the Frederick Running Festival, which includes a marathon,

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defined the realm of competing marathons in the one to two hour driving distince: John, race organizer for a larger race in Baltimore commented that even the distance between Washington, DC and Baltimore is enough to discourage residents of once city from participating in a marathon in the other city: "Logistically, we have problems. [Marathoners] don't want to come up to get their race packet the day before and then turn around and drive I-95 and the Beltway again the next day to race." Gerry, a director of a smaller race in the BWMA defined the universe of marathons competing with his event as those within a 2-hour-drive during the two-month competing window.

and the farthest south is the Colonial Half Marathon in Williamsburg, VA.[16] Although the inclusion of the Philadelphia and Williamsburg events in the DC Front Runners' circuit suggests that the Richmond, Philadelphia, or Virginia Beach area marathons might be appropriately included in a list of "local" events, those events would likely require a high proportion of BWMA participants to get a hotel room for the event, which adds a significant additional financial burden for participation. Further, broadening the scope of the landscape that far would then also bring into the scope of the study several not-overlapping retail and trail networks. Based on my interview subjects' discussions of what they do and do not like regarding the amount of travel they are willing to commit to for training and the support they prefer for race day itself, adding those far flung events would inaccurately expand the cultural landscape beyond its normal borders. While some individuals may regularly travel unusually far, those individuals are indeed unrepresentative of the community as a whole. As a result of that study, I chose to examine the races listed in table 1.

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[16] The DC Front Runners, the local chapter of the International Front Runners, is a running, walking and social club for gay people and their friends. A "race circuit" is a scheduled series of races identified by a running group; the group's members submit their finishing times for the events and runners who have completed a certain number of events from the series are eligible for award certificates, based on accumulated points usually calculated using an age-graded tables or finishing order. Since the DC Front Runners do not run a race series of their own, their circuit list is not focused only on events held by the group.

Table 1. Regional Marathon Basic Information Held in 2006-2007.

#	Race Name	Month	Years	Type	Setting	State	Finishers
1	**Baltimore**	October	'00-'08	Loop	Urban	MD	2,149
2	**Baltimore and Annapolis Trail**	May	'00-'02, '04-'08	Out & Back	Rail-to-Trail	MD	246
3	**Frederick**	April	'03-'08	Loop	Urban	MD	666
4	**George Washington's Birthday**	February	'00-'02, '04-'08	Circuit (3)	Suburban	MD	144
8	**Lower Potomac River**	March	'05-'08	Out & Back	Rural	MD	129
9	**Marine Corps**	October	'00-'08	Loop	Urban	DC-VA	20,879
11	**National**	March	'06-'08	Loop	Urban	DC	693
12	**Northern Central Trails**	November	'00-'08	Out & Back	Rail-to-Trail	MD	320
13	**Potomac River Run**	May	'04-'08	Out & Back	Rail-to-Trail	VA	143

Source: Marathonguide.com for information on the marathons including date, location, and number of finishers for each race.

Notes: Corporate sponsors' names will not be used throughout this dissertation. When marathons shift between two months depending on the alignment of available weekends, only the chronologically first month is listed. The "Years" column reports only the years held within the framework of this study. Some of the marathons have been held nearly continuously for decades preceding this study. In 2003 both the Baltimore and Annapolis Trail marathon and the George Washington's Birthday marathon were cancelled due to extreme weather. Course types, based on the USATF race certification maps: loop (starting and ending at the same location), point-to-point (starting and ending at different locations with no or minimal repetition of parts of the course), or circuit (starting and ending at the same location while repeating part of the course.

Marathon events are specifically located geographically but ephemeral; thus, as a landscape they consist of both the physical geography, as recorded on the United States of America Track and Field (USATF) certification map for the course and in the race finishers' statistics, usually published online on both the race website and at archives such as MarathonGuide.com. Based on the official certification maps, I used a website named GMAP Pedometer <gmap-pedometer.com> to estimate the elevation changes of the course; the implications of the various characteristics of the courses will be discussed in chapter 2.

In addition to the race courses, the specialty running stores in the BWMA significantly impact the experiences of some marathoners. I identified the stores in the BWMA using multiple methods: internet searches, advertising flyers from events or left on my car at trailheads, and advertisements or listings in running magazines. See table 2 for a list of specialty running stores in the BWMA; the larger discussion of specialty running stores in Chapter 2 explains how shopping at a specialty running store differs from shopping at general athletic stores or shopping for running shoes online.

Table 2. Specialty Running Stores, Baltimore-Washington Metro Area, Winter 2006-2007

Jurisdiction	Store Name (# Outlets)	Place/Neighborhood
Washington, DC	Georgetown Running Co (1)	Georgetown
	Fleet Feet Sports (1)	Adams Morgan
Maryland Suburbs of DC	Metro Run & Walk (1)	Rockville
	Fleet Feet Sports (2)	Annapolis, Gaithersburg
	New Balance (1)	Annapolis
	Racket & Jog (2)	Bethesda, Rockville
	Feet First Sports (1)	Columbia
Virginia Suburbs of DC	Pacers (2)	Alexandria, Arlington
	Metro Run & Walk (2)	Falls Church, Springfield
Baltimore Metro Area or more Distant Suburbs	Fleet Feet Sports (1)	Pikesville
	The Athlete (2)	Easton, Salisbury
	Charm City Run (1)	Timmonium

Neither my direct participation nor my academic needs drive the chronological bracketing of the data in this dissertation. Due to rapid changes in internet technology and the impact of social networking, this dissertation focuses on the era from 2001 to 2008 when the internet was used to share data about races and advertising for events and running groups, but there really was minimal interactive social networking during that period. Heavy interactive social networking and real time use of internet tracking systems during events began growing in marathon culture at the same time both grew in mainstream culture: 2007/2008. Further, the running media reported yet another huge spurt in participation in 2009, which suggests that perhaps the increased social network is actually impacting participation in the marathon or yet another factor is in play.[17]

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[17] MarathonGuide.com, "2009 USA Marathon Statistics and Report," 2010.

In addition to a large body of physiological research on the effect of marathoning on the body, the existing scholarship on marathon includes both broad descriptions of the cultural phenomenon as well as more detailed studies on the experiences of highly competitive participants. The body of literature explores the history of the race as an institution, the role of the race in constituting community, and the definite presence of various types of identity grounded in marathon running and volunteering. Portions of the body of research struggle to clarify the impact of race, class, gender, and other elements of identity construction on marathoning.

The most comprehensive general study is Pamela Cooper's history *The American Marathon*. Cooper traces the history of the marathon since its origins in the first modern Olympiad to the early1990s. She marks the importance of ethnic and class homogeny in the running clubs essential to popularizing the event in the first several decades of the marathon, but she does not continue this exploration past 2000. Further, Cooper's book is primarily descriptive from the 1970s onward, not even attempting to explore the reason for the significant growth in participation that began in the 1970s. As Andrew Suozzo explains in his introduction, "Cooper's work is clearly an invitation to other authors to expand our knowledge of the subject" (xv-xvi). The book is an overview of the history with neither in depth analysis of social structures or coverage of the contemporary practice.

The single most comprehensive study of the contemporary urban marathon phenomenon is Andrew Suozzo's analysis of *The Chicago Marathon*. He analyses the current motivations and discourses surrounding marathons; however, his study

approaches the issue from the point-of-view of the race organizers and the city

hosting one of the largest urban marathons. Suozzo explains:

> [M]ost major cities relish marathons because of the prestige and recognition
> such events confer. They are Image-builders that enable cities to compete with
> one another In the quest for tourist dollars; marathons allow cities to send a
> message of affluence and celebration to the larger world beyond their limits.[18]

Suozzo also argues that the marathon replace "the carnivals and religious processions

of times past" (155) as civic unifying events in this post-modern era where cities,

communities, and individuals lack the historical or cultural backgrounds that would

make those events meaningful. Suozzo argues, for cities and individuals, marathon

running, linked ever increasingly to tourism via destination races such as The Marine

Corps Marathon, serves both as a 26.2 mile sightseeing route and a spectacle to be

seen by tourists. Suozzo's monograph does not explore any of the other marathons in

the Chicago metropolitan area or the more complicated marathon participation

patterns of those who seek to run a marathon in all 50 states.

David Martin and Roger Gynn's *The Olympic Marathon*, Tom Derderian's

The Boston Marathon, and George Banker's *The Marine Corps Marathon: A Running

Tradition* primarily contain the results for each race, short biographies of the race

directors, and anecdotes about policy changes or notable winners for the period of

time covered by each book. Michael Connelly's *26 Miles to Boston* is a popular book,

not an academic monograph, consisting of anecdotes organized by the mile in which

the event took place. Ron Rubin's *Anything for a T-Shirt* is simultaneously a

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[18] Suozzo, *The Chicago Marathon*, 142.

biographical history of a race and its director, Fred Lebow targeted at the popular audience.

The most prominent author on worldwide running cultures is John Bale; however, Bale definitely focuses on running in general, as opposed to marathoning in particular. John Bale's globally focused *Running Cultures* frames running through the lens of cultural geographer Yi-Fu Tuan. It explores different ways of conceptualizing running (recreation v. work or as resistance), the process of normalizing race courses, the framing of non-stadium running competitions, the relationship between athletes and coaches (conceptualizing athletes as pets), and conceptualization of the "amateur" runner verses the professional. John Bale and Joe Sang's *Kenyan Running* specifically explores the phenomenon of Kenyan's running in the international Olympic and professional track circuit. Necessarily, the book focuses on events shorter than 10K.

In addition to the large tomes described above, the literature on marathoning and the aspects of endurance sports in general germane to marathoning has grown significantly over the last decade. I will first review the literature that focuses on running in general or triathloning, and then I will describe the smaller body of literature considering the impact of marathoning and running on family structure. The third group of articles explores how marathoning, in all of its different forms of participation, contribute to community and national identity. Finally, I will chronologically review the literature explicitly on individual marathoners.

The body of research on running in general establishes the concept of a running identity and examines the relationship between the athletic identities and

other factors shaping runners' sense of self and daily lived experience. Andrea Abbas, in her 2000 dissertation and 2004 article, examined the covers and letters to the editor of running magazines published between 1979 and 1998, including *Runner's World*, and interviewed 10 runners; Abbas concluded that institutionalized running naturalizes gender and age inequalities among the middle class. Ted Butryn and David Furst, in their 2003 article, reported the results of a survey administered to 30 non-elite female runners after the runners completed a run in an urban setting and in a vegetative park; they concluded that while negative moods were decreased and positive feelings increased as a result of the exercise, the setting had no impact on the changes in moods. Jacquelyn Allen Collinson and John Hockey's 2007 article "'Working Out' Identity: Distance Runners and the Management of Disrupted Identity" explores how the "running" identity continues for "amateur but serious" middle and long distance runners during non running periods caused by injury. Elizabeth Ransom's 1997 Masters thesis concludes that only by looking at sports participation within the larger network of behavior can we see the prevalence of disordered eating and eating disorders among female athletes. Stuart L. Smith's 1998 article examines how runners in a running group consisting primarily of adult men in Britain differentiates between different levels of runners based on the effort runners invest in improvement, while non-runners tend to focus on whether the runners finish specific races. In his 2000 article, Stuart L. Smith concludes that both female and male participants believe they are respected by non-runners because their participation demonstrates "masculine" characteristics. Cathy van Ingen's 2002 dissertation and two articles (2003, 2004) report on her observation of the Toronto

Front Runners, a gay and lesbian social running group; she describes the different types of social and therapeutic spaces the runners create through their interactions. Darcy Plymire's 1997 dissertation, based on her interviews of nine runners, counters the prevalent argument that runners in the 1970s began running out of a desire for metaphysical growth but instead began for practical reasons such as losing weight; however, she argues that long term adherents do develop a running identity that situates the activity as an "escape" from their other responsibilities.

Four articles deal specifically with the impact of high volumes of training, whether for marathons or for triathlons, on family life. These articles all confirm that families in which one or more parents participates in high volume training can find the experience rewarding instead of onerous. Gerry Barrell et al.'s 1989 article, "Ideology and Commitment in Family Life: A Case Study of Runners" reports on their interviews with 24 marathon runners and 17 of those runners' spouses or partners regarding their degree of involvement, motives, and the impact of their participation on their families. The article, claiming to contain only under theorized descriptions of coping mechanisms and perceptions of the running world, identified both a specifically acquired running culture and three strategies for combing running and family life: taking time, buying time, and sharing time. Charles Brown's 1995 article builds directly on Gerry Barrell et al.'s article: he reviews the coping strategies and also reports on his survey of 165 triathletes and 127 of their partners, the majority of whom believe the athletes' training has a positive impact on their family life. Todd Goodsell and Brian Harris's 2011 article specifically examines family life facilitation of marathon training based on 46 in depth interviews; Goodsell and Harris expand

upon the mechanisms for coping described in Gerry Barrell et al.'s article but specifically concludes that egalitarian relationships in which the individual sport becomes a family endeavor is the ideal setting for integrating high volume training and family life.

Other existing literature explores the impact of marathoning in larger contexts than the already discussed individual and family; this body of literature explores the role of the race in its larger community and the role of non-athletic-participation in this bigger context. The research exploring marathoning within a larger context struggles with (1) nationhood; (2) charity and civic engagement; and (3) the participatory experience of the volunteers and family members who also participate in marathons. In total, this body of literature emphasizes the both the impact of larger societal structures on marathoning and the far-reaching impact of marathoning on society.

Pamela Cooper successfully argues in her 1995 article "Marathon Women and the Corporation" that the Avon Corporation sponsored women's running races were instrumental to gaining women's inclusion in all levels of marathon competition. Matthew Gilbert's *American Quarterly* article "Hopi Footraces and American Marathons, 1912-1930" discusses how marathons facilitated the acculturation of Hopi teens and young adults. Theresa Walton's 2010 article explores the role Olympian Paula Radcliffe plays in production nationality in the United Kingdom.

The scholarship exploring the experience of those surrounding the runners explicitly notes that the runner experience is different from both the runner and the runners' supportive friends and family; further, this research identifies strong patterns

in the experiences of both of these types of participants. Keunsu Han's 2007 dissertation "Motivation and the Commitment of Volunteers in a Marathon Running Event" examined the demographics and motivations of marathon volunteers; further, most volunteers are motivated by an "egoistic factor" such as thinking that volunteering is fun and energizing. Han concluded that the typical marathon participant is a 20-29 year-old Caucasion woman with a Bachelors degree and over $75,000 income. Kristin Hallmann et al.'s 2010 article "Event Image Perceptions Among Active and Passive Sports Tourists at Marathon Races" contrasts the way the runners and the non-running friends that accompany them to out-of-town marathons in Germany remember the location and event; Hallmann et al. conclude that the runners remember the emotional, physical, and organization aspects of the experience while the non-running participants remember the social and historical aspects, in other words the more standard tourist aspects, of the destination.

Sarah Nettleton and Michael Hardey's 1996 article, Samantha King's 2000 dissertation and book, and Maren Klawiter's article and book explore the role of participation in fitness fundraising activities, such as charity walks or fundraising training groups for marathons, in enacting a specific type of citizenship. This entire body of scholarship emphasizes how these charitable activities situate the athletic activities as part of an active discourse of civic engagement.

P.J. Clough et al.'s 1989 article "Marathon Finishers and Pre-Race Drop-Outs" reports their results from a longitudinal questionnaire administered on the first day of marathon training and on race day; the article concludes that the 30 percent of runners who dropped out cited injury and lack of training as their reason.

Kevin S. Masters and Benjamin M. Ogles's 1995 article "An Investigation of the Different Motivations of marathon Runners with Varying Degrees of Experience" is one of the core articles, cited by nearly every article on marathoning, on the motives of marathoners. Masters and Ogles, based on a survey distributed to 472 runners (80% male) across three marathons, presented at least two possible conclusions from their research: first, as runners gain experience, their motivation changes from an internally focused performance based stage to competitive, socializing, "marathon" phase; second, a subset of runners who begin running for competitive for social reasons that is separate from the group of runners who begin running for the internally focused, performance based runners. Masters and Ogles believe a longitudinal study would be required to differentiate between these two possibilities. Benjamin Ogles and Kevin Masters' 2003 article concludes that they cannot statistically derive groupings of marathon runners based on motivation such as running enthusiasts, lifestyle managers, personal goal achievers, personal accomplishers, and competitive achievers.

Vincent Seravallo's 2000 article based on the registration forms for the New York City's Marathon argues that social class and gender in combination explain the uneven pattern of participation in the marathon. However, in this article Seravallo refines general concepts of social class to emphasize the type of work runners engage in, not just their financial resources.

Katherine M. Berheny's 2001 dissertation reports the results of a survey distributed to running clubs and organizations in Virginia. She divided her 292 respondents into four groups based on their volume of running: sedentary, fitness

level, high volume, and high volume marathon. Berheny concldudes that runners, regardless of volume of running or level of involvement, demonstrated greater competitiveness and need to be successful.

In her 2008 dissertation, Michelle Choate examines the motivations and training habits of first-time and veteran marathon participants and volunteers associated with the Leukemia Society's Team in Training. Choate's research, unlike the broader motivation research done previously, identified a number of significant differences between new marathoners and veterans. Her research shows that her subjects were most motivated by health concerns, personal goal achievement, and self-esteem, instead of by competition, recognition, and psychological coping.

Galit Ziv Birk's 2009 dissertation "The Transformative Experience of Marathon Running for Adult Women" reports on in depth interviews with six female marathon runners. This psychological study identified five primary transformation themes. Alison L. Boudreau and Barbro Giorgi's 2010 article also explores the "life-changing" experience of marathoning, but through a phenomenological interview of 2 women instead of through the psychological lens presented by Galit Ziv Birk. Boudreau and Giorgi report on six areas of growth and conclude that the changes that occur through marathon running impact other aspects of participants' lives.

Laura Booth's senior paper is an ethnographic study of runners in the Chicago suburbs; most of her informants have run multiple marathons and train for long distance running consistently. She concludes that running is not transformative but instead allows the confirming of the current identity by "Proving" oneself.

Theory

The review of literature on marathoning demonstrated the centrality of the concept of a running or marathon-based identity to researchers examining the marathon. Certainly, a running or marathon-based identity may become central in some individuals lives, but as I will argue, runners in the BWMA exist with in more than one type of marathoning identity.

In *Negotiating Cultures & Identities: Life History Issues, Methods, and Readings*, John Caughey explains that understanding individuals requires untangling the influence of multiple cultural traditions on the individual:

> To understand individuals in complex, multicultural, contemporary societies, the concept of cultural traditions seems essential. Like the concept of culture, that of cultural tradition or cultural model points to a system of meaning that includes its own vocabulary and beliefs and its own set of rules for acting in the world. But it is a smaller-scale system, one among many ways of thinking and acting that individuals encounter.[19]

Caughey's shift in scholarly concept from all encompassing "culture" to the more multilayered and modular concept of "cultural tradition" allows him to emphasize the importance of identifying and exploring all facets of the research subject's life where the traditional emphasis within the discipline of anthropology on culture deemphasizes the non-dominant cultural components of individuals' lives in order to facilitate studying the dominant culture.

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[19] Caughey, 14.

In explaining his method for studying cultural traditions, as part of the study of life histories, Caughey emphasizes that the "cultural traditions" may be identified by listening to how "[research participants] naturally talk about their lives in terms of their engagement with different social situations."[20] Caughey then provides an explicitly non-exhaustive taxonomy to push researchers to consider a large variety of sources for cultural traditions: Large national/Societal Cultures; Regional Cultures; Racial-Ethnic Cultures; Class Traditions; Religious and Spiritual Traditions; Family Traditions; Educational Traditions; Occupational Traditions; Philosophical Traditions; Psychological Traditions; Military Traditions; Sports Traditions; Musical Traditions; Media Traditions; Artistic Traditions; and the traditions of Clubs and Other Voluntary Associations.[21] Caughey implores researchers to listen for each of these types of traditions during their interviews of research subjects.

Caughey's method next emphasizes considering the relationship research subjects have to each of their cultural traditions. Caughey's understanding of the relationship between the individual and the cultural tradition emphasizes understanding whether the person is a "true believer" or someone with "critical tensions" in their relationship to the cultural tradition.[22] Certainly, this type of relationship to a cultural tradition is important, but that is not the only type of relationship to a cultural tradition that matters to individuals. Although Caughey does not directly address the issue, cultural traditions composed of multiple geographically

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 14-20.

[22] Ibid., 20-21.

disperse, commoditized institutions also require different people to have different relationships to the cultural tradition: some people must be consumers and some people must work in some way to generate and reproduce the necessary institutions. In this sense, different people have different relationships to the cultural traditions of marathoning because the cultural tradition is situated in different places within Caughey's taxonomy of cultural traditions: for example, marathoning may be part of someone's sporting tradition; the individual may encounter marathoning through a specific club or other voluntary association; and for coaches and race organizers, marathoning may be part of their education or occupational tradition. Bourdieu's framing of capital helps assist in exploring the interplay between producers and consumers across multiple types of capital.

The complicated aspect of applying Caughey's method for studying cultural traditions to marathoning is that the method is designed to help the researcher understand the individual's negotiation of different, competing cultures. The research method is not designed to focus on the cultural tradition. In addition to focusing on the individual and not the cultural tradition, the research method does focus on individuals instead of institutions. Institutions, in the form of organized races, specialty running storms, and various forms of training groups, are important components of marathoning, so Caughey's framework will need to be stretched to apply to institutions. Charlotte Linde, whose first book *Life Stories* informs Caughey's method,[23] explores the application of life story or life history

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[23] Ibid., 236 n7.

methodologies to institutions in her book *Working the Past: Narrative and Institutional Memory*.

Understanding Linde's application of life story research methods to institutions begins with understanding how her approach works for understanding individuals. Two elements stand at the center of her method: her understanding of the concept of a "life story" and her understanding of coherence. When Linde moves to working with institutions in *Working the Past*, she explores how "institutions and their members use narrative to remember. And in remembering, how they work and rework, present and represent the past for the purposes of the present and the projection of the future."[24] In other words, Linde argues that narrative is at the center of defining the existence of an institution: "Narration is one very important way that institutions construct their presentations of who they are and what they have done in their past, and they use these pasts in the present as an attempt to shape the future."[25] Through the rest of *Working the Past*, Linde explores the detailed function of different types and occasions for narrative and their role in educating adults to become members of "a [voluntary] secondary group within the larger culture."[26] Linde's work, which focuses on a place of employment and a private school movement, explores membership in voluntary organizations: unlike a family, religion, or ethnic group, one can feasibly leave the type of organization both she and I study.

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[24] Linde, *Working the Past*, Introduction, para. 1, Kindle location 29.

[25] Ibid., para. 3. Kindle location, 29.

[26] Ibid, "Data for this Book," para. 18, Kindle location 97.

Linde's work, both her study of individuals' life stories and institutional

narrative, relies on the following definition of life story:

A life story consists of all the stories and associated discourse units, such as

explanations and chronicles, and the connection between them, told by an

individual during the course of his/her lifetime that satisfy the following two

criteria:

1. The stories and associated discourse units contained in the life story have

    as their primary evaluation a point about the speaker, not a general point

    about the way the world is.

2. The stories and associated discourse units have extended reportability; that

    is, they are tellable and are told and retold over the course of a long period

    of time.[27]

Note that Linde is emphasizing that narrative units must focus on the subject, be

reportable (Linde defines "reportable" as something that can be "turned into a story"

that would be worthy of a news publication: something that is unique or something

that reinforces larger cultural beliefs.[28]), and coherence over time to be effective

stories about a particular life. Linde looks to both internal and external relationships

in defining coherence:

Coherence is a property of texts; it derives from the parts of a text bear to one

another and to the whole text, as well as from the relation that the text bears to

other texts of its type.

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[27] Linde, *Life Stories*, chap. 2, para. 3, Kindle location 298.

[28] Ibid., chap. 2, para. 7, Kindle location 299.

[…]

Coherence must also be understood as a cooperative achievement of the speaker and the addressee; it is not an absolute property of a disembodied, unsituated text.[29]

For institutions, Linde describes how policies and procedures, informal practices, artifacts, places marked for remembering, and explicit occasions serve as opportunities for remembering.[30] Most importantly for the purposes of studying the multiple institutions like those involved in marathoning, Linde emphasizes that the important aspect for the creation of coherent narratives for institutions is the action of remembering and not simply memories not acting among people. Consequently, "Files in a warehouse, in someone's office, or in a database are not memory, but rather resources for potential remembering. Files become part of active remembering when they are used."[31] Thus, at an institutional level, Linde proposed that identity works in the same way it works for individuals: with the individuals performing the narrative construction for the institutions while they do so for themselves.

For both the individual and the institutions, Linde explains, these narratives and their performers work within coherence systems. Caughey's summary of Linde's book *Life Stories* emphasizes that Caughey also believes the concept of a coherence

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[29] Ibid., Ch. 1, para. 26, Kindle Location, 183; para 27, Kindle Location 184.

[30] Linde, *Working the Past*, chap.. 1, chap.. 3.

[31] Linde, *Working the Past*, Introduction, "Do Institutions Remember?" para. 7, Kindle location 196.

system is an important element in Linde's work and equivalent to his concept of cultural tradition:

> [*Life Stories* is an] important study of life stories as constructed narratives we are obligated to maintain and present in accounting for who we are. Discusses the role of coherence systems (or cultural traditions) in shaping how people make sense of their past.[32]

Since Caughey's book focuses on the process of working with the research subject and not on theoretically framing what a life history or life story project is trying to get at, Linde's explanation of the coherence system will more clearly define the concept than Caughey's own work. Linde's core definition of coherence system emphasizes the scale and scope of the theoretical model:

> A coherence system is a discursive practice that represents a system of beliefs and relations between beliefs; it provides the environment in which one statement may or may not be taken as a cause of another statement. More specifically, a coherence system of the type discussed here is a system of beliefs that occupies a position midway between common sense—the beliefs and relations between beliefs that any person in the culture may be assumed to know (if not to share) and that anyone may use—and expert systems, which are beliefs and relations between beliefs held, understood and properly used by experts in a particular domain.[33]

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[32] Caughey, *Negotiating Cultures & Identities*, 244.

[33] Linde, *Life Stories*, chap. 6, para 1, Kindle location 2334.

A cultural tradition[34] requires more than just "common sense" knowledge obtainable without any specific knowledge, but a coherence system is also not something only something obtainable by a person with specific expertise. These systems guides its adherents with both a set of typical narratives and beliefs but also an environment describing the relationship between the different narrative elements.

Jeremy Korr's cultural landscape analysis fieldwork model provides the tools for incorporating the physical aspects of marathoning into the narrative-focused theoretical structure of the cultural tradition. Further, since running in general and marathon running in particular require very few material culture artifacts and few specific characteristics in the landscapes in which participants either train or compete, the tools of cultural landscape study, which emphasizes the natural v. human and the physical v. cultural aspects of spaces in which specific activities occur serves as an ideal tool for identifying both the physical and the mental/emotional/cultural characteristics the cultural traditions of marathoning.

Jeremy Korr's succinct definition of the academic tool of cultural landscape study defines both the raw materials of the study and the process of the analysis:

> In essence, cultural landscapes add a dimension to the study of individual artifacts. […] Cultural landscape study takes the two agents from material culture – humans and artifacts—and adds a third agent, nature, thus creating a three-way relationship. Merging the anthropocentric 'culture' with the nature-

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[34] Coughey described the terms "coherence system" and "cultural tradition" as equivalent. Since "cultural tradition." For the sake of clarity, I will use the term "cultural tradition" unless I am directly quoting Linde.

bound 'landscape,' and invoking material culture's emphasis on the dynamic relationships between humans and artifacts, creates the interdisciplinary cultural landscape approach.[35]

Organized into Korr's categories for the three aspects of a cultural landscape, the marathoning landscape includes artifacts such as the equipment runners use (shoes, specialty running clothes, and electronic tools like watches, pedometers or GPS-based training trackers); the roads, courses, and trails they run on (as human mediated landscapes); race day timing equipment; and the running-related-media (running magazines, books, podcasts, and websites). The *natural* landscapes involved in marathon running include the underlying natural elements of the trails and roads runners use (elevation and, to a certain extent, the surrounding natural elements such as trees) and the weather. The human aspect of the marathon landscape includes the people involved in the cultural landscape include the runners, coaches, race organizers and managers, volunteers and staff required for race day itself, people involved with the production of running media, and people involved in the development, advertising, and sales of running equipment. I will expand on the previous list of elements of the landscape of marathon running during a subsequent exploration of the boundaries of the field of marathoning, the perceptions of the landscape by different types of runners, and the dynamic transformations of different types of symbolic capital within landscape.

As Korr emphasizes, cultural landscape study, as a methodology, links together the above mentioned artifacts and *natural* landscapes with the people using

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[35] Korr, *Washington's Main Street*, 476-77.

the artifacts and acting upon and within the landscapes through the exploration of five different operations: (1) Description of dimensions (human, artifact, and non-human natural in multisensory sense); (2) Boundaries (temporal, their creation, experiential vs. abstract, or social); (3) Perceptions (cognitive landscape, aesthetic, terminology, and spatial relationships); (4) Dynamic relationship (who are the agents?); and (5) Cultural analysis (including constructions of identity, representations, and technology).[36] Exploring the different elements of the cultural landscape also brings to the front the different types of capital, as categorized by Piere Bourdieu, at play in the field of marathoning. Bourdieu's theoretical framing of capital helps bring to light the dynamic relationships within the landscape of marathoning.

The final component that helps untangle marathoning is Bourdieu's framing of "capital." Bourdieu identifies three fundamental types of capital, each of which plays a different role in marathoning:

> [C]apital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.[37]

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[36] Ibid., 482.
[37] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 106.

In Bourdieu's framework, all of these three types of capital also constitute "symbolic capital […] insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition."[38] Untangling the patterns within these various symbolic forms leads directly to understanding the

In addition to dividing capital into three fundamental guises, Bourdieu further divides cultural capital into three forms:

Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the race or realization of theories or critique of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualification, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.[39]

For example, in the field of marathoning, the physical bodies of the runners contain cultural capital in the *embodied* state; the marathon training guides and running magazines are forms of *objectified* cultural capital; and the marathons themselves, the USATF race course certifying system, and the training groups are forms of *institutionalized* cultural capital.

As Bourdieu argues, "*Symbolic capital*, […] presupposes the intervention of

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[38] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 115n3.

[39] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 106.

the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity."[40] However, as I will argue, for physical activities, such as marathoning, the inability of the cultural tradition to consistently convert one form of cultural capital to another and one form of symbolic capital to another indicates a weakness in Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Specifically, the framework struggles to deal with the undetermined relative value of the embodied and institutional forms of capital in what otherwise appears to be strong, well-formed cultural tradition. Depending upon the form of marathoning individuals inhabit, the form of embodied capital varies; however, regardless of which marathoning cultural tradition is active in a given situation, the embodied form of cultural capital cannot be consistently institutionalized or objectified and, through the process of institutionalization and objectification transform effectively to political or economic capital.

After an exploration of the cultural boundaries of the field of marathoning, as opposed to running or other athletic activities, chapter 2 will differentiate marathoning from other related forms of sport involving running and then describe the physical elements of the field of marathoning. These physical elements include the race courses (the courses themselves as well as the trips marathoners take to participate in a marathon), the landscapes marathoners use for training (including the impact of weather and temperature on whether marathoners train indoors on treadmills), and the specialty running stores. Chapter 3 will build upon the description of the physical elements in this chapter in order to explore the mental, emotional, and cultural aspects of marathoning.

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[40] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 115n3.

As the discussion of the cultural landscape of marathoning in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 will discuss, the marathoning landscape features distinct patterns in participation by men and women, a strong trend toward participants with more economic resources (in some types of marathoning practice), fewer infrastructure elements in historically black areas of the BWMA, and a reputation for having primarily white participants at non-elite levels. Given those strong patterns of disinvestment and disengagement among non-privileged groups, understanding the mechanisms for participating in marathoning is key to expanding access by those historically disadvantaged or disengaged from marathoning.

By exploring the structures within marathoning, this dissertation takes on a research task called for by Richard Gruneau, a key early scholar in the sociology of sport. In his seminal work for the sociology of sport, Gruneau complains about the primary focus of many scholars as it relates to issues of diversity among sporting participants:

> Historians and sociologists who have limited their analyses to benign questions about opportunities for involvement in sports (e.g., the so-called democratization of sports), rather than actually exploring the themes of dominating and subordination that stand at the core of class analysis and the study of the dynamics of capitalist society, have been too easily led to an optimistic conclusions.[41]

Although this dissertation will consider basic levels of access, by focusing on the dynamics of the cultures of marathoning that encourage the inequalities in

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[41] Gruneau, *Class, Sports, and Social Development,* 54.

participation or minimize inequalities, this dissertation begins to explore tools for making marathoning more accessible and welcoming to a wider variety of people. In order to understand issues of access, Gruneau argues studies must move beyond basic awareness of participation and look at underlying power structures that allow for changing demographics of participants:

> Far more important is the differential capacity of some people to define and shape the nature of sport's institutional apparatus and to counter the nature of the 'meanings' of sports as cultural productions in the struggle to define a hegemony. Indeed, what [other research perspectives tends] to overlook are the broader issues of power and domination in society, and the relationship of sports—whatever the "opportunities" for participation—to the reproduction of the allocative rules and social relations which influence the continuation of specific systems of inequality.[42]

By focusing on these inner structures as well as obvious elements of the cultural traditions and cultural landscape of marathoning, through comparing and contrasting different types of marathoning, this dissertation begins to suggest the larger mechanisms within marathoning that Gruneau feels are key to understanding the systems of inequality.

Caughey and Linde's concept of cultural traditions, Korr's theoretical model for cultural landscape study, and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of capital within the field of marathoning provide the tools for identifying and analyzing the different types of marathoning and the structures supporting these different types.

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[42] Ibid., 53-54.

Chapter 2 describes the cultural landscape of marathoning in the WBMA focusing on the various boundaries of the field: conceptual, temporal, and physical aspects. Chapter 3 analyzes the cultural and experiential aspects of the cultural landscape of marathoning in the WBMA. Chapter 4 and 5 respectively describe the Pageant and Corrival cultural traditions within marathoning. Chapter 6 revisits the initial research questions and explores the problems Bourdieu's concept of capital has when applied to physical activities.

Chapter 2: Defining Marathoning: Boundaries and Institutions

Overview

As this chapter on the institutions of marathoning and the next chapter on the most commonly agreed upon mental frameworks that support marathoning will demonstrate, the field of marathoning involves an elaborate network of institutions and social beliefs that keep the institutions in play. While individuals could choose to simply put on their shoes and run—without the structure of race courses, training plans, training teams, or specialty equipment gathered together in specialty stores—people elect to engage, both physically and mentally, with these marathoning institutions.

As introduced in Chapter 1, the institutions of marathoning include the runners, the races, institutions that support runners such as running specialty stores and training teams, the media relating to running that surrounds them providing both implicit and explicit instruction, and the geography of marathoning itself. Experientially, these many components constitute either physical or mental/emotional/cultural aspects of marathoning: external observers can easily see the physical aspects but they cannot easily observe the mental/emotional/cultural aspects. In *Working it Out*, Linde explores the functions that create the time and place for remembering as well as the objects and narrative types that serve as other types of triggers for remembering. Marathoning incorporates many opportunities and touchstone elements to encourage remembering, which simultaneously gives the

opportunity to construct the cultural tradition and tests against the existing cultural tradition. Marathoning is acted out in the formal occasions of the races, less-formal occasions for remembering in the form of the routines of running workouts, and commercial locations, where marathoners invoke their traditions and their hopes for future memories in order to select the appropriate equipment. Further, marathons traditionally encourage the memorialization of the racers' experience by issuing formal, dated medals to all finishers, giving t-shirts advertising the race to all participants, and organizing commemorative photography. Structurally, many of the elements of the landscape elements

In addition to providing the tools for untangling the interplay of different types of capital within marathoning, Pierre Bourdieu also provides specific instructions for understanding sporting cultures: understand the space of "sporting practices as a system from which every element derives its distinct value."[43] Bourdieu gives the following examples of potentially significant characteristics:

> [T]he distribution of players according to their position in social space, the distribution of different federations according to their number of members, their wealth, the social characteristics of their leaders, […], the type of relation to the body that it favours requires, whether it implies direct contact […] or whether on the contrary it excludes all contact.[44]

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[43] Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 156.

[44] Ibid., 157.

As Bourdieu's prescription states, both the spatial relationship and the cultural relationships within the social groups are important for understanding sport cultures. Bourdieu also identifies an additional potential complication in studying sport "the nominal unity […] registered by statistics […] masks a dispersal […] of the ways of playing them, and this dispersal increase when the increase in number of players […] is accompanied by a social diversification of those who play."[45] To paraphrase, when a large number of people participate in a sport, they may actually "play" the sport in distinctly different ways. And, both running in general and marathon running in particular have a significant amount of participants making it highly likely that various groups of people "run" or "marathon run" in distinctly different ways. The relatively recent large influx of new runners to marathoning increases the likelihood that they participate in distinctly different ways. By narrowing the focus of my research to non-elite marathoners, I am specifically eliminating one set of extremely divergent marathoning practices from my research. By limiting myself to the geography centered in the BWMA, I am also attempting to minimize the variety of practices. As chapters 4 and 5 will show, non-elite marathoning includes at least two very different cultural traditions. As Pierre Bourdieu predicts, different marathoners belong to differently structured organizations and have different relationships to the athletic aspects of marathoning.

Marathoning: A Separate Field from Running

For the individuals I interviewed, differentiating marathoning from other types of running requires exploring different ways of assessing both the seriousness and

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[45] Ibid., 158.

successfulness of marathoners. Several narratives in both the publications that speak for marathoning and the runners I interviewed clearly differentiated marathoning from other forms of running and other types of endurance athletes: being a marathoner does not make one a runner, and simply jogging also does not make one a runner. These narratives also emphasize that marathoning is neither a required result of serious running nor even the best option for those whose ultimate goal is weight loss. Since they are so formulaic, these training guides and structured conversations among marathoners are also formulaic narratives for establishing the cultural traditions. Finally, these narratives emphasize the importance of actual, timed participation in a race on a certified course, as opposed to simply running a specific distance. These restrictive views of marathoning indicate that the identity of a "marathoner" is a distinctly embodied form of cultural capital: the identity is grounded in actual participation in the activity, as institutionalized through sanctioned races, and a source of status, especially among non-runners.

Cathy—the interview subjects who has run one marathon, a couple of half marathons, and is now moving from marathoning into other endurance events such as adventure racing—explicitly categorized participation in those other endurance events as not marathoning. In Cathy's words, she is "switching over" from marathoning, in the form of the half-marathon to adventure racing for a season before doing a full marathon later in the fall. Cathy's description of the sequence of events as a sequence indicates that she does see the activities as related, but by using the term "switch," she emphasizes that adventure racing is not the same thing as marathoning, while a half-marathon may fit within the same category as marathoning. Later in the interview, I

asked Cathy to describe the types or categories of runners; her categories included a differentiation between various types of runners, but she specifically includes a category for "runners that do it as a component of other racing, be it triathlons or adventure racing."

John Bingham and Jenny Hadfield's marathon training guide also discusses the differences between marathoning and other types of running. At the beginning of the book Bingham explains, "marathoning is for everyone" and no longer the sport of the "solitary individual logging and lonely miles along some forgotten highway."[46] But, Bingham and Hadfield also carefully emphasize that there is also no reason one must commit to training for a marathon to gaining many of the same benefits of marathon running: "If being active is your only goal (and that's a very worthy goal), then you don't need any more specifics."[47] Not only do Bingham and Hadfield make sure to emphasize that marathon training is not a required ultimate goal or necessarily even and necessary goal for good health fitness running participation, they also emphasize that marathon running requires "specifics" as far as training instructions. However, even after they make that disclaimer, Bingham and Hadfeld also frame marathon training and running as a transcendent experience:

In a training program, your reward is the race itself. On top of that, sometimes the racing spirit will award you with a personal best, or the perfect day, or some other extraordinary experience that you will carry with you for the rest of your

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[46] Bingham and Hadfield, 23.

[47] Ibid., 12.

life.[48]

As published authors and running training group coaches, Bingham and Hadfield have the power to both institutionalize and create objectified forms of cultural capital within the field of marathoning such as their training guide, which is of course also a form of economic capital. As people read their book, discuss their idea, or participate in their running groups, they create cultural capital and convert it to economic capital as they sell their coaching in live exchanges and in print.

Race organizer and marathon runner Lynn supports Bingham and Hadfield in their desire to emphasize that marathon running itself should not be the prime validator for a running identity. Lynn goes further by suggesting different measures of success:

> I don't understand the appeal of a marathon. They think to accomplish a marathon is such a great thing, but that's nothing. If you ran a five-hour-marathon, I'm not impressed. So what. Anyone can do that with a couple of months of training. I would rather run a good 5K than run a gazillion mediocre marathons. Non-runners are impressed by long distances. *Just imagine 26 miles!* They don't understand that a 29-minute-10K is more impressive than running marathons every week.

Lynn's contends that a faster, shorter race is as important or more important in running than running a slower longer event. She also argues that non-runners' opinions, as opposed to runners' perceptions, of the difficulty of different achievements significantly influence overall cultural perceptions. Lynn's explanation

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[48] Ibid., 15.

of the relative value of different running accomplishments highlights the conflicts in the structure of cultural capital. In Lynn's experience, non-runners frequently value marathon completion above other running achievements, yet she believes certain categories of runners will agree with her in valuing certain performance times on shorter distances over simple completion of the marathon distance.

Several of the marathoners I interviewed agreed with Lynn's contention that, among runners, speed is a bigger element in running identity than distance alone. Yet, Bonnie, Donald, Felice, Harold, and Ian still chose to train for and run at least one marathon, and they consider finishing the marathon a significant achievement. These marathoners believe the ability to run a certain speed, or at least the desire to try to achieve that speed, is a crucial type of embodied cultural capital.

Bonnie, a 37-year-old engineer, explains why she does not think of herself as a real runner because she does not schedule her life around running. But, her exact framing shows that she agrees with Lynn's dismissing of simply completing a marathon as a measure of great achievement or commitment to running:

> I think somehow, even though I run, I don't feel like I'm a runner. It doesn't define my life, like my neighbor, she's great, fit, runner […] and so I don't say that. I also think there is a different expectation […] if you're a runner: you run marathons, run regularly. So I knew that I kind of make that all up in my mind a little bit, but I do say that I ran a half marathon two years ago, and they'll say "Wow. Really? Oh my gosh?" I don't think of it that way, I mean, even after I ran a marathon, I don't think I'm a runner. I feel like I'm runner, if I do it regularly. So I don't identify. I say, I run, run occasionally.

By volunteering to be interviewed, Bonnie indicated that she identified enough as a marathon runner to be an eligible candidate, yet she actually had only completed a semi-informal half-marathon by planning to and then actually completing only the first half of the Marine Corps Marathon. So, for it is likely that participation in an event titled a "marathon" did indeed allow her to implicitly adopt the label, at least some degree, of marathoner, yet she explicitly rejects the label runner.

Donald, a white-54-year-old male who has run multiple marathons and coaches for a charity organization for a disease his child survived, described how the categories of "runner" and "jogger" differ. Speed, although not a specific pace, and the desire to reach a specific speed or strength goal are characteristics of "runners" that Donald does not also ascribe to "joggers":

> A runner runs faster. [A runner is] just not out there to move, you're out there working on technique, speed, strength, or a specific goal in mind. That's how I would distinguish a runner. […] If I just want to go out there and move myself, a ten-minute mile, I would consider myself jogging. I would have to be going faster to count myself as running to feel like I was pushing myself.

Since Donald would even say that he is not being a "runner" if he does not push himself during training, he clearly frames the "runner" category as an achievement-focused group. In the middle of defining a runner, Donald used the marathoners he trains for a charity group—they have them run/walk instead of run—as an example of a form of marathon participation that is not running. Implicit in this categorization of runner and walker is Donald's belief that simply completing a marathon does not

make someone a runner. As a coach for a large charity-training group, Donald is a participant in an institutionalized form of cultural capital designed explicitly to transform cultural capital into economic capital; he is a key individual in helping potential marathoners reach their goal.

Felice, a 24-year-old graduate student who has run since high school and completed three marathons, also agrees with Donald's assessment that completing a marathon does not make one a runner and instead believes its about a certain level of seriousness:

I usually say [I am a] runner. I have a marathon bumper sticker now, but I usually go with runner. But what I do I wouldn't call running. I run pretty slow, an 11 minute mile, which I would consider a jogging pace, but a jogger doesn't seem to have the same seriousness. I'm a runner, I'm not just going out there because it is a pretty day.

Since Felice marks her car with a bumper sticker, an objectified form of cultural capital, proclaiming her status as a marathoner, she clearly considers marathon running as something that confers status, even as she simultaneously separates herself from the label of "runner." Felice's list of categories for "marathoners" further displays how she separates running from marathoning and further divides participants based on a combination of skill and effort:

Super elite people [...] awesome to watch, and then there are the charity runners (there are a lot of overweight runners, first time marathoners, because this is a big deal for them and they make me smile, like a huge accomplishment--I can't imagine carrying 300 pounds). There are the

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hardcore old guys who are usually ex-military, 50, 80 something like that.

They've been running marathons for 30 years. Then there is the rest of us.

Normal people who are not super fast, but out there for fun, not raising

money for charity (Which I totally respect, I would love to have a support

group with cheerleaders, but . . .).

For Felice, effort over time (demonstrated by her lumping together all first time

marathoners with out of shape, charity marathoners) and speed (demonstrated by her

singling out of "elite" and "hard core" runners) indicate success in running, and

simply doing a marathon certainly does not qualify a runner as someone "hardcore."

Her need to claim that the "hardcore" runners have specifically been running

marathons, as opposed to simply running in general, confirms that she sees

participating in the marathon as a distinct activity from running in general.

Harold, who began running five years ago through a charity marathon

training team but now runs various lengths of events, describes how and why his

identity as a runner changed over time. For Harold, the identity of "marathoner"

preceded that of "runner" by a significant interval, and his clear recognition of a shift

from one category to another demonstrates that the different labels embody different

amounts and types of cultural and social capital. Throughout much of the interview,

he compares his current point-of-view to his point-of-view as someone just starting

to run, specifically someone introduced to running via a charity training team:

At this point I consider myself a runner. I didn't consider myself a runner

when I began because I was walking more than I was running originally. It

really wasn't until last year that I started looking at my speeds and I wasn't

finishing last ten percent. So, now I'm starting to feel like a runner. It is

funny, all of people in training say, "Oh, I'm not a runner," and I say, "Yes

you are." But I didn't believe that either [when I first started training].

In the institutional context of his initial charity training team, Harold was urged to

adopt the identity of "runner." Yet, as he gained experience, he shifted to a new

identity.

Donald agreed with Harold that part of the transformation the charity-running

team encouraged in him, as he moved from runner to marathoner involves pressuring

runners to embrace the social capital tied to the label "runner." Harold could even

identify the conditions, notably embodied forms of cultural capital, that made him

finally feel like a runner: "Once I was training an 11 minute mile, that's when I

started to think like now I am actually starting to do this." Clearly, while the

structures of marathon training, which Harold is now transmitting to newer

participants as part of the institutionalized cultural and economic capital juggernaut

that is charity-training teams, attempt to convince the new runners to identify as

such, the overall culture does not allow them to accept the label. Instead, these newer

runners understand that their coaches, such as Donald, and the other legitimate

runners need them to be slightly faster and working towards even greater

improvement.

Ian, a 38-year-old who has run three marathons and several half-marathons,

also started serious running through a charity training program and echoes Donald

and Harold's understanding of the definition of a runner. Even after several

marathons, Ian considers himself a "jogger" and not a "runner." As Ian explains, "I

know what I can run, the time I can run it in, so it's not a big deal for me. For runners, it is a big deal for them, timewise." Ian summarized that he thinks that "runner" believe you need to run a marathon in under a specific amount of time. He characterizes this belief, derisively, as "an attitude." Like Harold, he also felt pressured to call himself a runner within the context of his charity training team: "When I was doing my marathons and stuff, I would say I ran the marathon, because that was what I was told to say, but I consider myself a jogger."

Bingham and Hadfield, Lynn, Bonnie, Felice, Donald, Harold, and Ian each emphasize the separation between running and marathoning. Further, my interview subjects describe a desire for improving speed and the planned effort to increase speed over time as requirements for a "runner" while simply running a marathon qualifies one as a marathoner. Together, these two separate patterns support defining the bounds of the cultural landscape and field at the center of this study around the marathon and marathoning instead of around a larger portion of the practice of running. These patterns also begin to define elements fundamental to different types of capital in the field of marathon running: effort to improve speed, actual speed, and event participation. The bifurcated emphasis—some individuals are concerned about speed over the length of the race and others are simply concerned about the race itself—also begins to display the different core interests of the two cultural traditions of marathoning I will discuss in depth in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Racecourses in the Baltimore-Washington Metro Area (BWMA)

Having established that marathoners see marathoning as distinct from other forms of running, describing the racecourse itself is the next crucial step for

describing the cultural landscape of marathoning. As essential elements for the enactment of the marathoning cultural tradition, the race courses, as they are created and certified before and experienced on race day, are active touch points for narrating the marathoning experience. In running discourse, racecourses, including marathon courses, are categorized three ways: point-to-point, circuit, out-and-back, and loop. A point-to-point course begins and ends at different points without retracing any part of the course. Logistically, the biggest problem is getting participants either to or from the mode of transportation they used to get to the event from either or both the race start and finish. Similarly, any on course staff have to either park near or their workstation or get shuttled around by other parts of the events' infrastructure. The historic Boston Marathon is a point-to-point event. In the DC area, the short-lived Marathon in the Parks was a point-to-point event that used the DC Metro's Red Line to return runners from the finish to the start.

Circuit courses consist of a course that is some portion, typically a third or a quarter, of the events' entire length. Competitors run the circuit multiple times to complete the event. This type of course allows for the most support and supervision with the least amount of staff and equipment. In the DC area, the George Washington's Birthday marathon is partially a circuit course. At the time of this research, the Lower Potomac River Run course consisted of an out-and-back circuit (marathoners ran a 13.1 mile out-and-back course twice); the course for the race has now changed locations. The seldom-held Hains Point Marathon was also a circuit course.

Out-and-back courses start and end at the same, or approximately the same,

location. At approximately the halfway point, the runners turn around and run back, along the same course, to the starting point. Although these courses are logistically less complicated than point-to-point courses, participants do frequently report boredom since they run the same half-course twice. In the DC area during the 2006-2007 season, the Northern Central Trails marathon, the B and A Trail Marathon, the Frederick Marathon, the Lower Potomac River Marathon are out-and-back courses.

Loop courses are the most manageable for very large events because the start and finish are nearly adjacent. They also tend to obstruct traffic near the start/finish zone the longest because all of the competitors must both go and come from the area, whether the individual takes 2:30 to finish the race or 6 hours. In the DC area, the Marine Corps Marathon, the National Marathon, the DC Marathon and the Baltimore Marathon are loop courses.

Because the organizers of fundraising marathons and fundraising marathon training teams seek to create an all encompassing experience that involves as much of the primary participants' network of family and friends, and they are usually working with a large group of people, the national offices of fundraising groups usually select loop marathons as their focal points. Loop marathons, those that start and end at the same place, simplify the logistics for both the race organizers and the fundraising group leaders.

For race organizers, the loop course design allows them to provide basic support equipment for large events as well as elaborate amenities at both the beginning and end of a race without the extra expense of staging two sets of portable toilets and beverages, moving "race headquarters," organizing the move of the bag

drop station, or providing transportation either to or from the parking lot used by participants.

The type of course is not the only characteristic marathoners weigh when determining what type of marathon they wish to register for. Predictably, marathon training manuals identify some criteria for marathoners to consider. John Bingham suggests the following criteria for selecting a first marathon: a large cheering audience, frequently and well staffed aid stations, and a finish-line closing time of at least 6 hours for run/walkers.[49] Yet, his coauthor Jenny Hadfield recommends a slightly different type of race: "I actually prefer to run races in the great outdoors, races that wind through scenic pathways with the sounds of nature cheering you on. Such races attract fewer participants but offer more to see along the way.[50] Both Bingham and Hadfield direct runners to select an environment for their race that enables them to have an enjoyable, as opposed to face, race.

Jeff Galloway, in his book *Marathon: You Can Do It!*, does not give criteria for selecting a marathon, but it does give a list, organized by month, of 54 "Major" marathons[51] (with a note to go online to a website associated with the book for an updated list every three month). The list of major marathons in Galloway's book includes both very large marathons such as the Marine Corps Marathon and smaller, but still significant marathons such as the Mayor's Midnight Sun Marathon in Anchorage, AK, which has under 10,000 participants who run along trails, not city

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[49] Bingham and Hadfield, *Marathoning for Mortals*, 29.

[50] Ibid., 30.

[51] Galloway, *Marathon: You Can Do It!,* 190-94.

streets. The only criteria given for each race, however, is the length of time the finish line is open, indicating that Galloway considers that a key criteria. In providing detailed race selection criteria and a narrow list of events, Bingham and Galloway signal that they do not expect their readers to have other sources or the ability to determine and apply their own criteria for race selection.

Beyond the basic design pattern (loop, out-and-back, or circuit), four other collections of elements appeared in marathoning discourse suggesting ways to differentiate one marathon from the next: (1) elevation changes along the course, (2) the "view from the course," (3) the way race organizers approach the need to limit the time they close the course to traffic and staff the event, and (4) the distance marathoners travel to participate in a specific race.

Racecourses: Elevation Changes

Changes in elevation along a marathon course matter for two reasons: first, most people run slower when running uphill than when running on a flat surface, and, second, some runners knees or iliotibial bands (the muscle that runs from the upper hip and down to the outside of knee) get aggravated by downhill running. So, for many people, a flatter course is more likely a route to success than a hilly course. When I ran the Baltimore Marathon in 2003, I ended up walking beside another woman for large portions of mile 16-18 because both of us were struggling with the impact of the hills included in the course on our iliotibial bands. After the event, I talked with others and learned, as the race organizer confirmed during a formal interval, that the Baltimore Marathon's course that I ran had been significantly modified from the previous years' course in order to decrease the number of hills;

however, they continued to modify it in subsequent years because others continued to struggle with the hills.

Knowing that elevation changes matter to most runners, most races now publish a chart showing changes of elevation for the course on the race website. To generate a chart, simply trace the course onto one of the website that pull together map and elevation data, such as gmap-pedometer.com. In 2006, however, only the largest races included elevation charts, since the charts were more difficult to generate (Users had to pull the latitude and longitude data together with elevation data within their own geospatial processing program, use a commercial course analysis software package, or trace the course on a topographic map and manually generate a chart). In 2006, for all but the largest races, people relied on narrative descriptions of elevation changes or practice runs, sometimes organized by running groups or the race event organizer, along the course. Marathoners may prepare for a course with a specific elevation profile by finding similar landscapes to train on. Table 3 describes the elevations and general characteristics of the certified courses for marathons in the BWMA in 2006.

Table 3 BWMA Race Course Elevations (Calculated in 2009) and Descriptions for

2006

Race	Initial Elevation	Minimum Elevation	Maximum Elevation	Elevation Change	Description
Baltimore	89 ft	-20 ft	305 ft	325 ft	Starting and ending at the Raven's stadium, the loop course runs along city streets, dipping into the Inner Harbor area and then going back out to the rest of the city several times. The course begins and ends with hills with over 200 ft elevation changes.
Baltimore and Annapolis Trail	66 ft	23 ft	151 ft	174 ft	The out and back course begins running through the neighborhood near Severna Park High School. The neighborhood portion of the course has the greatest variation in elevation. After three miles in the neighborhood, a distance designed to space out the runners, the course runs south along the B & A Trail until approximately mile 7 at Route 450. Runners then turn around and run back up the B & A Trail until just past Marley Station Mall, approximately mile 20, and then turn around and return to the high school. Since the B & A Trail is a Rail to Trail conversion, that portion of the course is flat. The 70 ft elevation shifts occur in the first half of the course as runners run through the neighborhood and enter the B & A Trail.
Frederick	331 ft	259 ft	367 ft	108 ft	This loop course runs through the city streets of Frederick. The elevation regularly rolls up and down hill throughout the course.
George	167 ft	75 ft	259 ft	184 ft	Beginning and ending in

Race	Initial Elevation	Minimum Elevation	Maximum Elevation	Elevation Change	Description
Washington's Birthday					Greenbelt, the majority of the course consists of three repeats of a loop in the Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Center. The loop portions are relatively flat, however both the approach and exit from the loop include a hill with a total elevation change of at least 180 feet.
Lower Potomac[a]	3	0 ft	115 ft	115 ft	An out and back marathon run along Route 249 with quick turns through neighborhoods to extend the mileage during the first quarter of the race. The single hill consists of a gradual incline spreading over 3 miles and then a return along that same path with a gradual decline. The course also includes two smaller "hills" as it crosses a bridge.
Marine Corps[b]	10 ft	0 ft	155 ft	155 ft	This loop course runs along the city streets of Washington, DC.
National	16 ft	14 ft	293 ft	279 ft	A circuit course through the center of DC. The course has a small 40 ft high hill around mile 2. The most significant hill, to 279 ft, occurs at mile 12. The remainder of the course consists of rolling hills that gradually decrease overall elevation to the initial elevation.
Northern Central Trail	348 ft	244 ft	554 ft	310 ft	After starting at Sparks Elementary School, the runners enter the Northern Central Trail at mile two of the marathon. The runners turn around at mile 13 and return to the high school. The Northern Central Trail is a Rails-to-Trails conversion, so the elevation is even. The portion of the course on the trail runs

Race	Initial Elevation	Minimum Elevation	Maximum Elevation	Elevation Change	Description
					gradually uphill and so the second half of the course consists of a long, gradual downhill.
Potomac River Run	157	89	157	68 ft	According to a review on Marthonguide.com, the course was a double out and back that runs along the Potomac River from Alexandria to Mount Vernon on the paved bike path. The runner described the topography as rolling.

Source: Elevation data for races calculated or confirmed using the gmap-pedometer.com to map the racecourses as depicted on the official racecourse certification maps on file with the United States of America Track and Field (USATF).

Notes:

[a] Elevation data provided by the race administrators on the race website.

[b] Elevation data provided by the race administrators on the race website. The Marine Corps Marathon route changes subtly every year as city streets are redesigned and security concerns change; however, the course's general route is consistent. Due to data availability, information for the Marine Corps Marathon comes from the October 2010 event.

Numbers alone do not describe the experience of the elevation. For example, while I struggled with the elevation changes in the Baltimore marathon, I had a great race approximately six weeks later in the Northern Central Trail marathon, and other marathoners I interviewed, such as Lynn, agreed with my analysis of that as a "Great Race for a PR." Numerically, the Northern Central Trail marathon includes nearly as

much change in elevation as the Baltimore Marathon, but the gradual changes in the North Central Trail marathon significantly lessens the impact of the elevation changes.

Racecourses: The "View from the Course"

Runners who are not elite will spend hours on the course, so any crowds cheering along a course, the cityscape or trees around the course, and the other runners are significant entertaining elements for many marathoners; working together in an extended festival, the marathoners, race organizers, and volunteers create narratives throughout race day. Further, as I will discuss in greater detail in the Chapter 4 discussion of the Pageant cultural tradition of marathoning, the presence of well-known tourist attractions along the course, for the entertainment of both the marathoners and their supporters, also appeals to some runners. For the sake of this study, I have grouped the marathon courses in the BMWA into three different types of landscapes based on their urban/rural characteristics: urban, rail-to-trail, and suburban. Urban courses begin and end in city and the majority of the race occurs on city streets. Rail-to-trail races take place on multi-use trails built either explicitly from unused train tracks or built to mirror those wide, relatively flat transportation courses. In some areas, a rail-to-trail course may not occur on an actual converted rail track, but this type of course is characterized by multi-use trails not directly adjacent to roads carrying motorized vehicles. Suburban courses usually combine running on low-traffic suburban or urban-fringe roads with short distances on multi-use trails (refer to Table 4 for a categorized list of BWMA marathons based on the urban/rural characteristic of the landscape).

Table 4. Regional Marathon Basic Information for 2000 to 2008.

Race Name	Course Type	Course Setting	Number Finishers 2006
Baltimore	Loop	Urban	2,149
Baltimore and Annapolis Trail	Out-and-Back	Rail-to-Trail	246
Frederick	Loop	Suburban	666
George Washington's Birthday	Circuit (3)	Suburban	144
Lower Potomac River	Out and Back	Rural	129
Marine Corps	Loop	Urban	20,879
National	Loop	Urban	693
Northern Central Trails	Out-and-Back	Rail-to-Trail	320
Potomac River Run	Double Out-and-Back	Rail-to-Trail	143

Notes: As defined in the body of the dissertation, marathon courses can be either

loop (starting and ending at the same location), point-to-point (starting and ending at

different locations with no or minimal repetition of parts of the course), or circuit

(starting and ending at the same location while repeating part of the course. The

number of repeats of that portion of the course is in parenthesis). I categorized the

course types based on the race certification maps on file with the USATF.

Another element that contributes to the "View from the Course" is the size of

the marathon; the number of individuals on a course significantly impacts (refer to

Table 4, above, for a categorized list of BWMA marathons). As I experienced with

the Baltimore Marathon, all of the race organizers I interviewed, and all of the faster

marathoners I interviewed noted, larger crowds of people both go slower and require

a wider course until the mass of people spreads out naturally with their different

paces. Further, it is difficult to maintain a consistent pace running in a larger crowd.

Marathon organizers try to counter this problem by creating either official or unofficial corrals in the starting area to attempt to group people with similar paces together and sequentially so that the faster marathoners begin the race in front of the slower marathoners. The size and urban-ness of a course also impacts the number of people that might line the course and cheer for marathoners: larger and more urban marathons generally have larger, cheering crowds lining the course.

As Abby, representing a standard charity-focused training program, and the three training guides explain, temporarily, the landscape of marathoning lasts anywhere from 16 to 26 weeks for the standard runner and potentially multiple years for elite marathoners (a category generally not explored in this dissertation). Further, as Abby's sense of time emphasizes, those weeks must be consecutive and thus the local weather for that training period impacts the marathoners' personal landscape. The season in which a marathon occurs also impacts marathoners' evaluation of the racecourse: either extremely warm weather or extremely cold weather, during the training period or on race day itself, may be unappealing to some marathoners. Table 5 shows the month each of the marathons in the BWMA is scheduled for, the six month bracket proceeding race day during which marathoners will need to train (few people run multi-hour training runs – the weekend "long run" – indoors, on treadmills or tracks). The longest run in most training schedules occurs approximately three weeks before race day, so more extreme temperatures about one month before race day have the most significant impact on the training experience.

Table 5. Average Temperatures for BWMA Marathons

Race Name	Month	Avg. Temp	Approximate Training Period	Training Period Avg. Temp
Baltimore	October	58.5° F	May - October	58.5° F – 78° F
Baltimore and Annapolis Trail	May	65° F	November - May	34.9° F – 65° F
Frederick	April	56° F	November - April	34.9° F – 58.5° F
George Washington's Birthday	February	37.3° F	September - February	34.9° F – 69.7° F
Lower Potomac River	March	45.2° F	November - March	34.9° F – 48° F
Marine Corps	October	58.5° F	May - October	58.5° F – 78° F
National	March	45.2° F	October - March	34.9° F – 48° F
Northern Central Trails	November	48° F	June - November	48° F – 78° F
Potomac River Run	May	65° F	November - May	34.9° F – 65° F

Source: Weatherbase.com, "District of Columbia – Climate Snapshot."

Notes: Some marathons shift between two months depending on the alignment of

Federal holidays; in those situations, only the first month is listed.

Ian, an actuary in his late thirties who came to running by training with a

charity group for a marathon, clearly explained the difference, from his perspective,

between training for summer and winter marathons:

In colder weather I found that it was easier to run more. The hot weather, I

found I was very tired quickly. I think it is just the heat. We would get up

early and start running around 6, and many times it was just extremely hot.

The winter part, it's just getting started, because they say you're warmed up

by the first half mile, maybe mile, but I found it was easier to be dressed up,

layered, and to unzip the jacket, as opposed to 100 degrees and a tank and

shorts and you're dying. But, that's not to say that freezing cold was fun. I

do like training in the winter months.

Consequently, for individuals that train for multiple marathons within the same

year, the weather itself changes their experienced landscape, even if little else

changes in their training routine from one training season to the next.

The weather may also impact marathoners' decision whether to run outdoors

or indoors. As Georgia, a graduate student studying engineering in her mid-twenties

explains, the weather itself is her primary criteria for whether she will train indoors

on a treadmill or outdoors as she explains whether she prefers training outdoors or

on a treadmill: "It depends on the weather. If it is nice weather, outside. And that is

above 45 degrees. If it is freezing in the middle of the winter, I prefer inside."

While Georgia has a lower limit on the temperature at which she will run outdoors,

she continues to run outdoors when the temperature is high, even though she must

adjust her running practice: "Sometimes it does. Thank goodness for water: it's

very helpful. But I also can't go as long, so I have to take more walk breaks or just

do a really short distance." For Donald, a lifelong runner who coaches for a large

charity marathon training team, winter does not make him turn to a treadmill for

training. Instead, Donald adds other equipment and continues to run outdoors:

> I hate the treadmill. I've done it, but I hate it. And I like the outdoors. I have
>
> a pair of shoes with the crampons, so I can run on ice and snow. I couldn't do
>
> it this week, the crust was just too hard. But if there is just snow on the
>
> ground, I love them. I love those runs. Runs in the winter are great.

As Georgia and Donald's explanations' show, each individuals' personal

preferences regarding temperature and the differences between outdoor running and treadmill running shape their individual perceptions of and choices in training landscape.

Abby, continuing to speak from the perspective of her fundraising training organization, presents a negative view of running outside during winter and the impact of those decisions on seasonal participation in her charity organization's campaigns. Notably, Abby and I talked in February, and this particular portion of the conversation focused on what her participants struggled with and what their advice consequently focuses on:

> Timing, especially in the winter when you can't really run outside, a lot of people try to get their training over in the morning and they don't want to outside in the cold and dark. So with kids and things like that, this time of year we focus on. That is what I've heard lately. A lot of it is the weather. More of the long runs are on Saturday and […] whether it because of work or religious reasons, they can't do it, so they'll switch it to Sunday and flip flop. And adjust their schedule accordingly. Mainly, a timing thing, and their work.

Abby's statement that "you can't really run outside [in the winter]" starkly contrasts with the enthusiasm for running outside, even in the winter, that Donald, one of her charity's trainers, expressed. In this statement regarding the difficulties of winter training, Abby also indicates another aspect of the temporal landscape of marathon running: the day of the week for the long run. Since long runs last multiple hours, marathoners typically do them on a weekend morning and pressure from family or a

desire to attend religious services often influence which morning marathoners commit to the long run.

Another element that *Marathon & Beyond* incorporates into the detailed evaluation of marathons it incorporates into every issue of the magazine is the sense of history or place of the event. Clearly, this is not an easily quantifiable factor and the history of all on the marathons is not publically available; however, I will give a brief overview of the history of each of the marathons.

The current version of the Baltimore Marathon, beginning and ending in or near the professional sports stadiums at Baltimore's Inner Harbor, began in 2001. Corrigan sports, a professional sports management company organizes the event that is legally owned by the city of Baltimore. The exact course for the race changes annually in reaction to construction and scheduling needs for other institutions in Baltimore and continuous complaints about the hilly nature of the marathon course.

The Baltimore & Annapolis (B & A) Trail Marathon is organized and managed by the Annapolis Striders running club. The majority of the race occurs on the B & A trail. The official race website has finishers listed for every year from 1992 to the present.[52]

The Frederick Marathon was first run in 2003. Corrigan Sport began managing the event for the 2007 race.[53]

The George Washington Birthday Marathon celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2011, so the race was first held in 1961. The race begins in Historic Old Greenbelt,

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[52] Annapolis Striders, "BA Trail Marathon."

[53] Marathonguide.com, "Baltimore Marathon."

but the majority of the race occurs on the roads running through the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) research fields. The DC Road Runners organize and manage the event.[54]

Lower Potomac River Marathon is organized and managed by the Chesapeake Bay Running club. The marathon has results posted for 2005 to the present. The race ends with relative luxury, "Enjoy a post-race hot meal and a waterfront view in the well-appointed dining room of the Paul Hall Center, and linger at your table for the awards presentation. Showers available."[55]

The first Marine Corps Marathon was staged in 1976 to give marines posted in Washington, DC the opportunity to qualify for the Boston Marathon. The race began hitting "capacity" (a changing number over the years) in 1990, and in registration for the 30,000 person field for 2012 sold out in under three years. For many years, the registration process included a lottery. Currently, this event is the fourth largest marathon in the USA and is the "largest marathon in the world that doesn't offer prize money." Its nickname is "The People's Marathon."[56]

The inaugural running of the National Marathon occurred in spring 2006, so the event had only occurred once at the time I interviewed marathoners. While large portions of the Marine Corps Marathon course are in Virginia, the National Marathon is proud that its entire course is within Washington, DC. The race begins

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[54] DC Road Runners, "GW Birthday Marathon."

[55] Chesapeake Bay Running Club, "Lower Potomac River Marathon."

[56] Marine Corps Marathon, "Marine Corps Marathon."

and ends at RFK Stadium and runs near the major national monuments.[57]

The North Central Trail marathon is organized and managed by the Baltimore Road Runners Club. The majority of the race occurs on the North Central Rail Trail. Race results are posted from 1997 to the present.[58]

The Potomac River Run began in 2004. Originally, the race was organized by the Potomac Valley Track Club. The race began in 2004, at that time, was staged out of Belle Haven Park, Alexandria, VA, and ran along the Mt. Vernon Trail.[59]

Racecourses: Length of Time the Course is Open

In addition to designing a course and arranging for a United States of America Track and Field (USATF) official to certify the course, race organizers must arrange with the governments and property owners for permission to use the course and staff various places along the course with volunteers or paid staff members to ensure accurate timing and the safety of marathoners. Since race organizers must arrange for staff, supplies, and equipment to line the course, the race organizers necessarily must also decide how to temporally frame the racecourse for a specific event: what time of day should they start the race and for how long will they allow runners to stay on the course?[60] In general, marathoners do not discuss the start

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[57] Marathonguide.com, "North Central Rail Trail Marathon."

[58] Baltimore Road Runners Club, "North Central Rail Trail Marathon."

[59] Potomac Valley Track Club, "Potomac River Run Marathon and Half-Marathon."

[60] Race organizers must also determine what date within a given season they want to hold their race; however, navigating issues of weather, competing activities other than

time for marathons frequently. Certainly, some people complain about an early or late start requiring either difficult travel to the race start or running at uncomfortable temperatures, but the topic of race starting times is not contentious. The primarily temporal issue is how long the course will stay open. Race organizers my try to limit the amount of time they must staff a course by either requiring marathoners to qualify for the event with a race time under a certain threshold in the previous year or by creating a cut-off time at which point the race marshals will stop keeping traffic from entering the course and/or the race officials will stop recording official times after a certain number of hours.

Most of the events in the BWMA include some form of time restriction. The most infamous time restrictions in the BWMA area in 2006 were the qualifying time requirement for the National Marathon (the race began in 2006, and the idea of a required qualifying time for an event was new to the region) and mid-race course restriction in the Marine Corps Marathon. In order to run a marathon with over 20,000 participants through the streets of downtown Washington, DC, the organizers and the city work together to close the course to traffic. Just before the mile 20 marker, the course crosses the 14th Street bridge, a major traffic choke point. Since the bridge cannot be closed to vehicular traffic for an indeterminable amount of time, the Marine Corps Marathon requires official participants to cross the bridge by a certain time (1:15 pm, which allows runners to run the race with a 14 minute per mile pace). According to the current page of Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) for

sports within the area, and competition for runners among different races is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

the Marine Corps Marathon, which reflects the comments those I interviewed and others I know made about this aspect of the race, this is what the race course organizers say will happen at 1:15 pm:

> At that time, the street will reopen to vehicular traffic. If a runner does not reach the 14th Street Bridge on time, he or she will have to board a straggler's bus which will take them to the finish festival. It is strongly advised to board the straggler bus but if a runner decides to continue on, they must stay on the sidewalks and are responsible of their own safety. [61]

The Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) page for the Marine Corps Marathon does not state whether those that finish the race on the sidewalks will be eligible to receive a finisher's medal, but later on the page is the following statement: "The race is 7 hours long and all runners must reach the finish line by this time."[62] That statement implies that anyone who gets to the finish line within 7 hours is eligible for a finishers medal, so those that risk completing the race on the sidewalk may still be able to qualify as an official finisher.

The National Marathon, on the other hand, has solves the problem of needing to limit the amount of time significant roads are closed to vehicular traffic by requiring participants to submit a qualifying time in a different race. For the 2011 event, the qualifying time was required to be from a race no earlier than the beginning

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[61] Marine Corps Marathon, "FAQ."

[62] Ibid.

of 2005, and race qualifying times were specified for races of the following distances: marathon, half-marathon, 20 K, 10 miles, 15 K, 12 K, and 10 K.[63]

Prequalifying restrictions require marathoners to have participated in previous races. Shorter course closing times place pressure on registrants that, if they cannot complete the race within the allotted time, they may need to face the danger of running with less protection from vehicles or less support from race staff for water and other supplies. Marathoners registering for a race with a shorter course opening time frame and strict requirements for runners to leave the course after that time may also be concerned about being pulled from the course; they may fear shame or disappointment if they are not allowed to complete the course. In 2004, I ran both the Bay Bridge Run and the Annapolis 10-Miler, both events send a "sag" bus onto the course after a specific interval to pull races from the course after a specific amount of time because the race organizers are only allowed to keep the bridges closed for a specific amount of time, and, as a slow runner, I certainly spent the last half of the race literally looking over my shoulder to see if the sag bus was creeping upon me. Consequently, I am definitely hesitant to register for another race for which I only expect to barely make the time cut-off. Functionally, the time limits restrict participation by runners who know they cannot complete the race within the allotted time and those uncertain about their ability to complete the race during the allotted time.

My interviews with four race directors of smaller BWMA race directors demonstrated that these individuals are very aware that time limits and qualifying

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[63] National Marathon., "FAQ."

times discourage marathoners, including those who ultimately would not have trouble meeting the time deadlines, from registering for their races. All four race directors agree that they must implement the time limits in order to keep the logistics of their event manageable. All four race directors spoke to the logistics problem slower marathon runners create for their events. Gerry was proud of his race's time limits:

> I don't want this to sound snobbish, there are time limits with [his race], so you see runners who are more so, with the goal that they are racing that marathon. [...] The time limits are very generous, it is not like it is just for runners who run fast. When you look at the Marine Corps Marathon, which I've done, it is more of an event, there are extras going on in and around the race. You have 30,000 people, and people who are going out just to walk the whole thing. You wouldn't be able to do that with [his race], because time the limit will cut you off at some point. Because our road block permits are not going to allow us to keep the roads open for that long.

Clearly, Gerry believes the time limits for the Marine Corps Marathon are overly generous for true runners. Yet, he also, like the website for the Marine Corps Marathon, must admit that they logistically could not force individuals to leave the course. In admitting some individuals will finish the course without sanction, he is acknowledging that some individuals cannot participate because of their course time limit.

Kim also stated that there "is a movement to have our course closing time limits expanded. Right now we're at 6.5 hours. Actually 6 hours. And people want to

see seven or even eight hours. To allow even more walkers." I asked her if the increase in requests for a longer time limit has been followed by the enrollment of runners requiring slightly more time to finish the replace. Kim provided the following, more complex description of the situation:

> I get e-mails all the time from not necessarily slow runners, but actually faster walkers who want to participate in these events. So, they want to know if they are going to get kicked off. We don't kick people off the course, we open up the course. We say you have to move to the sidewalks and keep walking. So, they finish at their own pace. And we wait for them. And it is not a problem. More and more people are asking to extend it to 8 hours. That is something that we just logistically ... we are not prepared to do right now. That requires a lot of additional staffing.

Lynn provided the most emphatic to my question about whether her race involves a lot of walkers:

> We don't allow walkers. In the guide, it says it is not walker friendly. We have a 6-hour limit. We don't pay for police support. We get a permit. We don't close any roads. It is residential, so we gout out of there early. When we run on the highway for the second half, the shoulders are wide, so we don't need a closure. We do need a cop for crossing the road. He is only there for 2 hours. We're not paying for anymore. We don't want to tie it up. So, we cut it off. So, if you don't make the 11:30 or 12:00 .. .. One guy didn't make it, but another guy made it across. Over 7 hours. But we really don't. One guy predicted 6:30, and I said there are limits. He said,

yeah, he knew. And he didn't mind not getting fed. Then they ask if they can start at 6;00, and I say no. It is dark, you can't start. A marathon is a race. It is not a "let me drop in and get the medal and go" whenever I can. It is a competition, and what really gets me, it is more like people just want to do the course and get a medal. They want to walk, take their time, and it puts a load on the volunteers. [...] Ideally, I would like to limit to 5:30 hours, because even if you're 70 or over, you can do it, there is really no excuse to take 6 hours. [...] We offer a 7 am early bird start for anyone predicting five hours and over, to get to the party. This is a race. So, if you want longer, find another marathon.

Like Kim, Lynn receives telephone calls asking for accommodations for participants that will require a greater amount of time. Lynn added an earlier start to the event to try to accommodate a certain amount people who require more time. Both Lynn and Kim label all of these slower participants as walkers, regardless of how these individuals describe themselves, indicating that the do not consider these slower participants an integral part of the community they are serving. Lynn, unlike the other organizers I interviewed, feels the longer period allowed for the competition is insulting to the nature of the competition; for Lynn, one must be trying to complete the course as quickly as possible in order to be appropriately participating in a marathon. While Julie certainly thinks of marathons as someplace she belongs, even though she both identifies as a walker and knows she will require nearly seven hours to complete a marathon course.

Lynn and Gerry, classic Corrival runners, explicitly structure their events and

their concepts of their events to encourage the faster runners for whom competing for a fast time is important. While Kim functionally cannot accommodate in her event all Pageant runners, for whom the event as a celebratory experience is more important than the event as a time trial, does attempt to accommodate them and does not speak negatively about their desire to participate. Julie, a clear Pageant runner, describes her frustration at the limits she faces in marathon participation because she is not two minutes per mile faster and simultaneously makes sure to remind me that not all "walkers" fit into the slow stereotype that she expects I have heard about from other individuals.

Racecourses: Travel to the Event

As the wide variety of marathons in the BWMA suggests, many certified marathons occur throughout the USA, so when people travel great distances to participate in a marathon it is by choice and not necessity. Certainly, as Bonnie explained, some marathoners choose local events because of their convenience:

> Local, at the time, it seemed like enough time for me to train. I was trying to look for something to focus on, […] There was so much support out there, it was great.

Yet, other runners do not chose to participate in local marathons. Table 5 categorizes marathon participants by sex, median age, and the distance between their self-reported "Hometown" and the BWMA. The table also reports the fasted reported time for 2006 for each marathon.

Table 6. Race Finisher Statistics for Marathons in the BWMA in 2006.

#	Race Name	Finishers (F/M)	Median Age	Fastest (F/M)	Distance Travelled
1	**Baltimore**	T: 2,149 F: 740 (34%) M: 1409 (74%)	T: 37 F: 34 M: 39	F: 2:35:44 M: 2:16:26	1: 1290 (62%) 2: 260 (13%) 3: 376 (18%) 4: 77 (4%) 5: 24 (1%) 6: 47 (2%)
2	**Baltimore and Annapolis Trail**	T: 246 F: 64 (26%) M: 182 (74%)	T: 43 F: 41 M: 45.5	F: 3:10:16 M: 2:29:44	N / A
3	**Frederick**	T: 666 F: 183 (27%) M: 489 (73%)	T: 40 F: 36 M: 42	F: 2:57:17 M: 2:26:43	1: 474 (71%) 2: 105 (16%) 3: 62 (9%) 4: 19 (3%) 5: 6 (1%) 6: 3 (< 1%)
4	**George Washington's Birthday**	T: 147 F: 32 (22%) M: 112 (78%)	T: 46 F: 36.5 M: 47	F: 3:28:33 M: 2:57:57	1: 103 (70%) 2: 17 (12%) 3: 21 (14%) 4: 2 (<1%) 5: 1 (<1%) 6: 3 (<1%)
6	**Lower Potomac River**	T: 129 F: 33 (26%) M: 96 (74%)	N/A	F: 3:21:19 M: 2:37:25	1: 77 (60%) 2: 6 (5%) 3: 32 (25%) 4: 9 (7%) 5: 2 (2%) 6: 3 (2%)
7	**Marine Corps**	T: 20, 879 F: 8,129 (39%) M: 12,778 (61%)	T: 37 F: 34 M: 38	F: 3:00:22 M: 2:21:20	1: 9,467 (45%) 2: 1,317 (6%) 3: 6,803 (33%) 4: 1,978 (9%) 5: 810 (4%) 6: 532 (3%)
8	**National**	T: 743 F: 187 (25%) M: 556 (75%)	T: 41 F: 36 M: 42	F: 2:58:04 M: 2:30:55	1: 465 (63%) 2: 39 (5%) 3: 140 (19%) 4: 43 (6%) 5: 15 (2%) 6: 43 (6%)
9	**Northern Central Trails**	T: 331 F: 107	T: 42 F: 40	F: 3: 15: 45 M: 2:37:27	1: 220 (66%) 2: 45 (14%)

#	Race Name	Finishers (F/M)	Median Age	Fastest (F/M)	Distance Travelled
		(32%) M: 224 (68%)	M: 43		3: 44 (13%) 4: 6 (2%) 5: 6 (2%) 6: 10 (3%)
11	**Potomac River Run**	T: 160 F: 59 (37%) M: 101 (63%)	T: 35 F: 33 M: 36	F: 3:20:11 M: 2:34: 58	1: 102 (64%) 2: 6 (4%) 3: 40 (25%) 4: 4 (3%) 5: 4 (3%) 6: 3 (2%)

Sources:
MarathonGuide.com entry for each race. The data was checked against the individual

races' online archive if the MarathonGuide.com entry was unclear.

Notes:
Race finisher statistics frequently omit age data for participants. The race data

compiler may leave these fields blank or fill the data with a likely invalid number,

such as the age of 0 or 99; therefore, since race data may include outliers, such as 0 or

99, I'm using the median, which is more resistant to outliers than the mean.

In order to get a sense of the distance travelled by the marathoners, I categorized the

distance travelled, based on hometown, by runners. Category 1 includes those with

hometowns in DC, MD, or VA.; 2 includes DE and PA. 3 includes AL, CT, FL, GA, IL, IN,

KY, ME, MA, MI, MS, NH, NJ, NY, NC, RI, SC, TN, VT, and WI. 4 includes AZ, AR, CO, IA,

KS, LA, MN, MO, MT, NE, NM, ND, OH, OK, SD, TX, UT, and WY. 5 includes AK, CA, HI, ID,

NV, OR, and WA.; and 6 includes all runners with hometowns outside the USA.

As Table 5 shows, only the Marine Corps Marathon includes less than 60

percent of its participants reporting a hometown in a state other than Washington,

DC, Virginia, or Maryland. Clearly, something about the Marine Corps Marathon

attracts participants from a greater distance.

Although the marathons themselves are the essential institution for the conversion of one form of capital to another, other institutions also allow the narrating and remembering necessary to create the cultural traditions of marathoning and the conversion of various forms of symbolic capital into each other and into economic capital. Foremost among these institutions are specialty-training stores, organized training groups, structured training plans, which often appear in published texts, and actual training practice.

Institutions: Specialty Running Stores

As was discussed during my interviews with both the organizers and participants who trained with one of the two major charity-focused groups and one of the large non-charity focused groups in the DC metropolitan area, these large training groups hold informational sessions for their runners as well as workouts. During these informational sessions, they bring in staff from local running specialty stores to give their runners advice on shoes and other equipment. These training groups also bring in presenters to speak on other topics such as hydration and nutrition. The training guides also direct runners to visit a specialty running store in order to purchase appropriate shoes and other equipment.

In addition to helping runners find the appropriate shoes, running stores also promote their importance and their services by organizing running groups, training programs, off-season cross-training plans, and even races. Further, some stores also contract their organizational and timing equipment out to run local races. In 2006-2007, the BWMA area hosted twenty-one different running specialty stores. During

that period, three of the major chains--Fleet Feet, Metro Run & Walk, and Pacers—as well as the independent store Charm City Run. The individuals I interviewed had either patronized the same stores or Georgetown Running Co. The following descriptions rely on both my visits and the stores' websites. As the descriptions show, the stores differentiate between newer and more experienced runners and also between short and long distance runners. In addition, the types of authority the stores reference in marketing themselves shows a desire to draw customers from among elite runners who seek additional guidance as well as from novice runners, who are looking for someone who has the patience to attend to their less elaborate needs.

As previously mentioned, the BWMA supports a large number of specialty running stores. Two running stores dominate the district itself: Georgetown Running Co. and Fleet Feet, one outlet of a national chain, locally owned and operated by the parents of DC's past mayor Adrian Fenty. Two chains dominate the close-in DC Suburbs: the Pacers stores in Alexandria and Arlington and the three local Metro Run & Walk stores in Falls Church, Rockville, and Springfield, VA. Baltimore also has a Fleet Feet Sports store and several other stores: Charm City Run, 5K Specialty Running & Walking, and Falls Road Running Store. In addition, several other stores fill the suburbs: Fleet Feet Sports stores in Annapolis and Gaithersburg, New Balance in Annapolis, Racket & Jog in Bethesda and Rockville, Feet First Sports in Columbia, MD, The Athlete in Easton, MD and Salisbury, MD, and Charm City Run in Timonium, MD. The rhetoric the stores use to advertise themselves explain which values they believe they are most likely to be able to convert into economic capital.

The Georgetown Running Co. (3401 M St., NW, Washington, DC) is one

outlet of a multi-state chain with six stores in three states (New Jersey, New York, and Maryland). The welcome note on the company's website describes their target audience: "Welcome to the Running Company, where running is a 'way of life' rather than a passing fad. The Running Company has six locations where the 'walker' through 'hard core' runner can be guided to the sport shoe that fits their individual needs by experienced personnel." Further, as the website explains, the stores' locations explicitly work to avoid congestion, "The store locations have been carefully selected within the downtown areas of selected villages or towns to avoid the congestion of the super malls."[64] The DC store manager Ben Cooke "was a Virginia state champ in high school, and an All-American while at JMU, Ben has over 5 years of running experience. He has over three years at the Running Company. Whether helping out at races, giving clinics, leading training groups, or racing with DC's best runners, Ben is an active member of the Washington running scene."[65] The Georgetown Running Co. has a group run every Wednesday evening at 6:15 pm as part of a "club." Club participants receive 10% off of all purchases at any Running Company location.

   As the excerpted website text shows, Georgetown Running Co. wants its customers to identify with running as a lifelong commitment and uses both the competitive background of store employees and their stores' fundraising successes to establish authority within the community. The midweek training events and the accompanying discount for participants in the runs shows that the store understands

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[64] New Jersey Running Company, "New Jersey Running Company."

[65] New Jersey Running Company, "Georgetown."

that they will most successfully maintain customers through both companionship and discounts.

According to the main corporate website, "Fleet Feet Sports is a group of 70 stores […]. While each store is centrally focused on running and walking, the unique sports and fitness needs of its local market are represented."[66] The "Why Fleet Feet?" section of the corporate website details the fitting process as a methodical, scientific process that must be led by n expert in their "Personal FIT Process" because "We figure that exercise is hard enough. Why not take the time to make sure you have the right equipment?."[67] The Adams Morgan Fleet Feet Sports store in the center of Washington, DC is owned by Jan & Phil Fenty, the parents of DC's mayor. They've owned the store since 1984[68] and have "participated in triathlons, biathlons, cycling races and ultra-distance running events up to 100 miles." According to the Adams Morgan Fleet Feet Sports store's own website, four of the managers are members of the Fenty family. Each staff members' biography identifies their primary sports of interest as well as their history with selling sports apparel. In their "What We Do" section, " the staff emphasize the importance of "function over fashion" and their "pride in individual service" and their willingness to help newer athletes by explaining equipment and providing training guidance. They organize a free 5-mile Fun Run every Sunday morning, and also run a Sunday morning marathon training program, led by "Marathon veteran, Phil Fenty," preparing people the Marine Corps

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[66] Fleet Feet, "Fleet Feet."

[67] Fleet Feet, "Why Fleet Feet?"

[68] Ibid.

Marathon in October and a spring marathon under the auspices of the Fleet Feet DC Road Runner's Club."

Like Georgetown running, the authority of Fleet Feet's staff stems from success in running and organizing training runs is a tool for attracting customers. Unlike Georgetown Running, Fleet Feet's language of taking time to understand customers' needs, advertised interest in sports other than running, and their hosting of a marathon training group, suggest an interest in a broader range of customers — both the less experienced and those who run along with participating in other endurance sports. Fleet Feet's desire to appeal to a broader range of customers is supported by the Baltimore Fleet Feet's strong link to the Galloway training method. The Gaithersburg Fleet Feet store further emphasizes this interest in beginners by organizing and advertising seminars on injury treatment and prevention. The chain's overall interest in building community is also reflected in the large number of links to nearby events and training groups maintained on each stores' website.

The Fleet Feet Sports store in Baltimore Maryland was voted the "BEST Running Specialty Store in the Mid-Atlantic in the Runner's World Runner's Choice Awards."[69] The primary resource linked to by this website is the Galloway Training Program" Members Only Website. Their stores running program is "The Baltimore Galloway Marathon Training program" and it "follows the principles of former Olympian, Jeff Galloway, whose 'Run Injury Free' training process features frequent and systematic walk breaks. This training approach allows athletes of all fitness levels and abilities to accomplish, for many, a lifelong dream = to run/walk 13.1 or 26.2

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[69] Fleet Feet Baltimore, "Fleet Feet Baltimore."

miles and triumphantly cross the finish line!" According to their website, this stores Galloway-based group has prepared people for The Under Armour Baltimore Marathon/Half-Marathon, The Marine Corps Marathon, The Rock & Roll Virginia Beach Half-Marathon, The ING New York City Marathon, The LaSallee Bank Chicago Marathon, The Philadelphia Marathon, and The Baltimore Road Runners Club NCR Trail Marathon.

The Gaithersburg Fleet Feet Sports runs 3-5 mile runs on Tuesday mornings and Thursday evenings. They also host various educational seminars on injury treatment and prevention on weeknight evenings. The store's race calendar features a more extensive list of events, with distances ranging from 5K to a 50 Miler. The store features a Women's Training group, but does not emphasize any specific marathon-targeted training.[70]

Fleet Feet Annapolis opened in should open of the Fall of 2006. Co-owner Scott Broerman is a US Navy retiree. His co-owner, Marty Broerman is a 1991 graduate of the US Naval Academy where she competed in cross-country and track events. She has also participated in the Reebok Olympic Development Program after qualifying for the 1996 and 2000 Olympic trials in the 10,000 meters. The remaining staff members identified on their website are the couple's two children: daughters Annalise and Karoline.[71]

The most beginner — both in terms of adult-onset athletes and youth oriented-store based on the website alone is the Metro Run & Walk chain. The website's

[70] Gaithersburg Fleet Feet, "Gaithersburg Fleet Feet Sports."

[71] Fleet Feet Annapolis, "Fleet Feet Annapolis."

rhetoric explicitly welcomes slower runners or those who embrace a variety of sports, including running. Metro Run & Walk has three locations near DC in Falls Church, VA; Rockville, MD; and Springfield, VA. In addition, the chain has a fourth store in Mishawaka, IN. According to their website, "We specialize in shoes for running and walking and all the apparel and accessories that will make you comfortable on your daily walk or run. The staff at Metro Run & Walk runs, walks, swims, bikes, spins, rows, lifts, hikes, stretches, skis, skates, snowboards, and more. We love the active lifestyle and are here to see that you love it too. Our greatest rewards have come from helping previously inactive people begin a program that ultimately makes them feel better physically and mentally. Remember, there is no such thing as a 'bad runner', and there is no such thing as 'just walking'. We embrace active people of all kinds whether you walk a 45 minute mile, run a 4 minute mile, aspire to walk a mile or run a marathon."[72] The website proudly proclaims the store's support of Rockville Rotary Twilighter. Further, the front page directs viewers to a gallery of photos from the local race the Cherry Blossom 10-miler. The only training program clearly described and advertised on the website is a high school track workout schedule, although the website does direct readers to a collection of photographs of recent running events.

The Pacers website makes grand statements about the company's prominence: "Founded in 1991, Pacers is a running institution in Northern Virginia and has evolved into the premier running specialty stores in the MidAtlantic." Like Metro Run and Walk, the Pacers chain appeals to newer runners and engages with local charities and building the local running community. The store is family owned, and

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[72] Metro Run & Walk, "Metro Run & Walk."

boasts a deep inventory and expert staff. In 2003, a different family purchased the original store in Alexandria and subsequently opened a second store in Arlington, VA in December of 2004.[73] In their "About Us" section, the store boasts about its organizing or managing of two runs, which garnered money for charity: The Gulf Coast Relief Run and the George Washington Parkway Classic 10 Mile and 5K. The store sponsors 10 local elite runners,[74] the Miles Ahead Program that prepares individuals for spring and fall marathons, and 3-5 mile fun runs at the store on Tuesdays and Thursdays at 7pm.

Charm City Run's website gives equal weight to the store's presence as "a running specialty retail and events management company." The two locations both sponsor a middle distance training program for spring races and they also are home to an Official Training Program of the National Marathon (a Spring DC marathon) in conjunction with the Pacers in the DC Metro area. Their upcoming events list items as far afield as the Boston Marathon, and their list of information on "the local scene" includes both motivational events and specific training programs such as "Moms in Motion."

5K Specialty Running & Walking and Falls Road Running Stores, both in the Baltimore area, merged in early 2006. As they claim on their website, "Our goal is to provide each customer with a proper shoe fit by asking questions, providing analysis and explanation of foot type and observing each persons gait cycle." They advertise group runs on Federal Hill, host a group run at the Fells Point shop on Tuesdays and

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[73] Pacers, "Our Story."

[74] Pacers, "Race Team Profile."

Thursdays, and a Long run, with the Baltimore Road Runners Club, on Saturdays. The Falls Road Running Store is the home of the Official Baltimore Marathon Training Program.[75] It recently moved to the premises of the TriSpeed MultiSport Triathlon Academy:

> But our approach goes much further than simply stocking a commodity product that can be found in big box stores or magazine ads. Our staff knows what works, and can help you discover what works for you. [. . .] Inside our doors, you will meet people who run for fun, who run for fitness, and who run to win. You may meet milers and marathoners, tracksters and roadies, and even trail runners and some triathletes who are great swimmers and bikers, but hate to run. If fact, you will meet triathletes who love to run. Our clientele ranges from back-of-the-packers to Olympians. Track coaches send their participants to us, marathon training programs send their participants to us, and podiatrists send their patients to us. And, by the way, a lot of people just walk in all by themselves.

Finally, the store does organize teams, both competitive and recreational, for local running events.

The similarities among all of the stores' approaches suggest that specific strategies are known to lead to a strong customer base: encouraging customers to move from their first event to a lifelong tradition by enabling success, creating the possibilities for participation by organizing running events, and encouraging social networking by organizing training groups and group runs. And, as noted, the stores

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[75] Falls Road Running, "Falls Road Running."

conceptualize themselves as appealing to different segments of the running community, which emphasizes some of the divisions among runners (walkers, "hard core runners," and those for whom running is a "passing fad"): the chain of which Georgetown Running is a part simultaneously states that their goal is to serve those for whom running is a "way of life" and not a passing fad and argues it serves those from walkers through hard core runners; Metro Run & Walk emphasizes that there is no such thing as a "bad runner" or "just" walking (speaking to those who may identify as Pageant runners).

Fleet Feet Sports emphasizes its support of new runners, and perhaps a desire to target the charity-team runners, by promoting Galloway Method structured training groups and featuring beginners' workshops. Conversely, the strong role of these running stores in organizing training groups and serving as a key location for connecting with races or race-training group. Lastly, note that the websites use as evidence of the expertise of store owners and staff those individuals' competitive success, or at least experience; thus, emphasizing the central position of the competitive events to portions of the community.

Institutions: Training Groups

For new runners, the introduction to specific training spaces and the choice of which marathon will be their first are dependent upon the leadership of the training group they choose to prepare with. These training groups also shape individuals' perceptions in other ways as marathon training groups in general and fundraising marathon groups employ specific motivational goals and structures. They require specific resources, potentially very burdensome, from their participants: an

enrollment fee, a specific schedule of activities; and a structure focused towards a limited number of marathons. Further, as each description explains, the non-fundraising training groups allow a very limited number of slots for participants so it is less likely that someone just coming aware of the running community could get into one of these groups. Due to their significant impact on runners' overall experience of marathon training, these groups themselves for significant components of the urban marathon landscape.

According to an article in the *Washington Post'*s *Express* tabloid, three non-fundraising organizations prepare residents of the DC suburbs to race marathons: the Pacers Miles Ahead training program, DC Fit, and the GWU Road Runners. In addition, the article also identifies the AIDS Marathon training program as a charity-oriented training program that is active locally. The article's quick summary of the different programs aptly emphasizes the crucial differences among the programs: the Pacers Miles Ahead program is ongoing with a cost of $25/month; the DC Fit program is a six-month program running, from May to October and costs $85; and the GWU Road Runners is a free, but limited enrollment, 26-week program that begins in May. The AIDS Marathon program, on the other hand, runs three times each year and requires participants to raise $2,700.[76]

Other local running clubs also hold seasonal marathon-preparation programs. For example, Fleet Feet Sports of Adams Morgan runs a preparation for the Marine Corps Marathon from July through the end of October.[77] The Annapolis

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[76] Hallett, Vicky. "Fit: Marathon Plans."

[77] Fleet Feet DC, "Marathon Training Program."

Striders also runs a program to prepare individuals for the fall marathons, especially the Marine Corps Marathon;[78] participation is free, but membership in the running club is required. In addition, because the Annapolis Striders provides volunteers for the Marine Corps Marathon, a guaranteed entry into the Marine Corps Marathon also comes with participation in the training program. As yet another example, the Montgomery County Road Runners also run marathon training programs over the summer to prepare people for DC's Fall marathons: The First Time Marathoners and the Experienced Marathoners programs. Both of these programs cost MCRRC members $100, $150 for non-members, and cap their enrollment at about 200 participant.[79]

The above descriptions do suggest the shape of a typical non-fundraising training program: 4-5 months long, meets once or twice a week for organized group runs on specially selected trails, a required fee anywhere from 0 to $200 fee for participation, and allows no more than 200 participants. In addition to various structures that explicitly encourage marathon participation, running groups such as the Annapolis Striders, the Montgomery County Road Runners, the Prince George's County Road Runners, the DC Road Runners, and the DC Front Runners also encourage marathon participation by shaping their group runs (most frequently their weekend long runs and their weekly speed workouts at tracks) to prepare runners for specific races.

Fundraising training groups are similar, although not identical. The

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[78] Annapolis Striders, "Annapolis Striders Summer-Fall 2007 Marathon Training."

[79] Montgomery County Road Runners Club, "Training Programs."

Washington Post tabloid article explained that the National AIDS Marathon Training Program runs three cycles in the BWMA: A Fall/Winter Program (September 2006 to January 2007) preparing people for the Miami Marathon and Half Marathon; a Summer Fall Program (June to December 2006) preparing people for the Honolulu Marathon or Florence Marathon; and a Spring/Summer Program (May to October 2006) preparing runners for either the Marine Corps Marathon or the Rock 'n' Roll 1/2 Marathon Virginia Beach. The National AIDS Marathon Training Program runs programs in Greater Los Angeles, the BWMA, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Chicago.[80] These groups meet once a week for the weekend long run and runners are assigned to run about 30 minutes twice a week on their own. For the weekend long run, runners are assigned to "Pace Groups" of runners at similar levels of fitness. These groups typically also run together during the final race. The registration fee for a first time participant in The National AIDS Marathon Training Program was $95 for the January 2007 Miami Marathon and the fundraising requirement was $2,700. The fundraising requirement for the Florence marathon was $3,700 and for the Honolulu Marathon was $3,400.[81]

The Leukemia and Lymphoma Society's Team in Training prepares individuals for Marathons, Half-Marathons, Triathlons, and Century (Cycle) Rides. Training groups in the BWMA target the upcoming March, Washington, DC National Marathon, the Country music marathon in Nashville, TN, and the BMO Bank of Montreal Vancouver International Marathon in May, and traditionally, they

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[80] AIDS Marathon, "AIDS Marathon Other Information."

[81] Ibid.

also target the Marine Corps Marathon in October. The programs are 16 to 20 weeks long with a daily training schedule. The fundraising goal for National Capital Area Team in Training activities appears to be $1,500.[82]

In addition to those two large fundraising groups, smaller and more locally run fundraising organizations also train individuals for marathons in exchange for fundraising efforts. For example, the National Parkinson Foundation Movers & Shakers program prepared individuals for the Baltimore Running Festival in 2006. For the Marine Corps Marathon, St. Jude's Heroes, the Organization for Autism Research, Fisher House, the Injured Marine Semper Fi Fund, and numerous other charities organized and motivated participants in various combinations of training.

The two types of programs are similar in that they organize their runners into a specific temporal experience: a long run with a group and shorter, perhaps solitary, shorter workouts two-to-three times per week. The non-fundraising groups more frequently include mid-week group runs in their plan as their host-groups generally already support these mid-week session. The fundraising groups direct their participants to run mid-week, but generally do not host those events.

One set of groups requires a significant monetary investment but the other does not; one set of groups organizes only around weekend long-runs and the other is more likely to also emphasize a mid-week speed workout; one set of groups connects runners with runners who participate in shorter events and the other group exists nearly solely at the marathon distance. One group includes training plans solely for beginning marathons, and the other may have plans for more advanced

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[82] Leukemia & Lymphoma Society, "Team in Training."

runners. Yet, both groups claim to provide runners with all necessary guidance to prepare runners for their first or next, faster marathon; and both groups cluster runners of similar speeds together into training teams led by more experience runners and coaches.

As Diane stated during her interview, some charity groups provide a large amount of support and facilitate group-training runs and others provide minimal support, primarily providing only a system for submitting money and registration to a race. All of the very large charity training groups and all of the non-charity training groups organize at least one training run per week for group runs at a set time. Structurally, then, the larger training groups, whether charity affiliated or not, advertise for individuals interested and able to commit to a regular, weekly social activity. Galloway's book, which I will demonstrate in chapter 4 is heavily linked to charity training groups, also draws in people interested in the set schedule weekly training group. Certainly, the groups draw individuals to the marathon, specifically, as a function of the fetishization of the race length, as described by John Bale:

> Similarly, space and distance can act as a kind of sporting fetish, as witnessed by the seeming obsession of a large number of people to run exactly 26 miles38 yards, despite the fact that it is often more convenient and easier to run half or quarter of this arbitrary distance.[83]

When the draw is specific the fetishized marathon, in part the draw is the spectacle of the event, which is one element that distinguishes the Pageant runners from the Corrival runners for whom marathon running is part of a larger experience of

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[83] Bale, John. *Sports Geography*, 11.

running. Like *Running Times* magazine with its recognizable landscapes and runners, Hal Higdon's book, with its cover featuring racing bibs, and the training programs organized by the local running clubs, speak to those already familiar with the structures of organized running: the Corrival runners. After the individual decides to step int o the field of marathon running and adopts a training plan, from either some media source of by joining a training group, the individual gets familiar with spaces for buying equipment the larger training landscape facilitated by the moisture managing clothes and hydration belts.

Institutions: Training Plans

Although few or no portions of the physical landscape of marathon running belong exclusively to either the landscape of marathoning or even the landscape of running, as even tracks used for speed training also serve as locations for multisport track and field meets, institutionalized forms of cultural capital and forms of economic capital do indeed exist within the physical landscape of marathoning: training plans, which prescribe length and type of individual workouts as well as the length of the training season, the mechanisms for certifying marathon courses by the United States of America Track and Field Association (USATF), and the specific rules marathon race directors apply to the course on race day. Each of these institutions bounds the landscape of marathoning of individuals as well as the communities in which the marathon takes place.

Marathon training plans define specific workouts that grow in length and intensity until approximately three weeks before test day, when nearly all plans recommend runners "taper" by decreasing their exertion in order to encourage

muscle recovery, and may also recommend "recovery" workouts for the week or two immediately following the marathon. Most plans prescribe 2-4 workouts for the workweek and a longer run on a weekend morning. Depending on the plan, the workweek workouts prescribed may consist only of running or may combine both running and non-running cross-training. The plan may also only prescribe a specific workout length, either in terms of distance or speed, or may also prescribe a specific intensity, such as a workout focusing on increasing speed or one focusing on maintaining speed.

Contemporary training plans have been refined through both scientific research and the observational experience and experimentation of the plans' designers as they work groups of runners through the marathon training season with their plans. Marathon training teams distribute the plans to their participants and coaches publish various plans via books, websites, magazine articles, and during face-to-face training sessions.

Lynn, the race organizer, derisive stated that training for a marathon takes only "a couple of months." Yet, the amount of preparation time varies depending on both the ability level an individual starts with and that individual's performance goals. More specifically, the various training plans ask runners with different abilities and skills to run for different distances and different amounts of time, both per session and number of weeks training. Hal Higdon's training plans span 18 weeks, the Jeff Galloway training plans (26 weeks before the marathon and three weeks after the marathon), and Bingham and Hadfield's plan span 20 weeks before

the marathon and three weeks after the marathon.[84] Abby, campaign manager for the

local chapter of a national charity training organization, explained that her

organization breaks the calendar year into four seasons: "Fall starts in May through

October. Winter starts in late August, early September, through January. Spring

starts in November and their events are in March and April, and then Summer starts

in late January, early February." As Abby listed the events each season targets, she

clarified that seasons are named for the season in which the event occurs; for

example, the Fall season runs primarily in the summer—from late spring (May)

through to the Marine Corps Marathon, typically the last weekend in October. Each

of their seasons last approximately five months or 20 weeks long. All three training

guides and Abby agree training for a single marathon lasts no less than four and a

half months and as many as six and a half months. Higdon, whose plans ask for the

shortest amount of time, clarifies the amount of time required to train for a marathon

in the section of his book on periodization, a more advanced training concept:

> If you're talking marathon, 4 to 5 months is probably enough time for most
>
> first timers. (My marathon training programs last 18 weeks but assume you
>
> arrive at the starting point with some level of fitness). For experienced
>
> runners seeking improvement, 6 months is probably minimum, and 12 would
>
> be better. Former world-class marathoner Benji Durden of Boulder,
>
> Colorado, designed an 84-week schedule for me to use in my book *How to*
>
> *Train*.[85]

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[84] Bingham and Hadfield 244-253; Galloway 35-57; Higdon 351-56.
[85] Higdon, 192.

Higdon's description of the amount of time required to train for a marathon emphasizes that while novice runners need a bit more preparatory time than an experienced runner in order to safely complete a marathon, a more experienced runner will desire additional time in order to make more meaningful gains in performance.

Institutions: Training Practice

The actual practice of marathoning—which is only shaped in part by the other institutions and known complications, such as weather, when those institutions and complications collide with the realities of actual lives—is itself an institution for the conversation of capital. In addition to seasonality, the temporal aspects of marathoning landscapes include the time encompassed by each individual workout, such as the need to schedule the weekend long run that Abby mentioned as well as the mid-week workout. During that four to six months, each runner must commit to hours of training per week. Abby explained the training plan the charity group she works for asks marathoners to commit to:

> The general plan that we give to all of the participants is basically a beginner plan. So, if someone we know is an experienced runner we have a different plan for them. We have that, they just don't put it out there. We don't want people who are new to running to feel intimidated by seeing their [the experienced runner's] schedule next to 5 miles versus 8 or 9 or 10 [for the experienced runner]. […] Experienced runners will just set up a plan to meet their [own] needs. In general, I think that people like the plans, some of the days are adjustable: the days of the cross training. We generally try to do 4

days of running in the week and then one day off, and then the long run and

weight training. So, it is flexible, and some people follow it to the letter but

some kind of look at it and say, my schedule doesn't allow that … I can't do

that, so we always encourage them to talk to the coaches before they make

any adjustments to their schedule and they can work it through with the

coaches. And the coaches are good about that. I think they really do lean on

the coaches for that kind of advise.

Bingham and Hadfield in their training guide recommend runners following their

plan commit to four or five workouts 30-60 minutes long during the week and a long

run on Saturday that grows from five to 20 miles in length.[86] Galloway's programs

ask runners to commit to five workouts 30 to 85 minutes in length and a weekend

long run that builds to somewhere between 26 and 30 miles.[87] Notably, the Bingham

and Galloway plans account for midweek workouts by minutes instead of distance,

like the Higdon plans. The Higdon training plan asks runners to commit to four

weeknight workouts for the intermediate and advanced plans and three weeknight

workouts for the novice plan. Each workout for the Higdon plan should be about an

hour long.

     The descriptions given by Ian, Ellen, and Georgia of their training routines

demonstrates their navigation of the different temporal and training location choices

for marathon training. The different approaches of these three individuals show how

complex the decisions and their impacts become. Further, their awareness of

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[86] Bingham and Hadfield, 236-253

[87] Galloway, 35-55.

different options shows the comparative availability of the options, and their desire

to employ the options suggests the perceived capital—potentially economic,

cultural, or social-- contained within that option.

Ian, who decided to run his first marathon as the fitness part of a larger

project of "starting fresh," which also included moving to a new city and starting a

new job, began training for his first marathon with a charity training group because

several of his friends had recently trained with a charity, notably grounds his

explanation of his decisions in his relationship to a charity group but also explicitly

indicates how he deviated from the charity group's training plan:

> I think I did a typical Team in Training [training plan]. But I was kind of
>
> atypical. I ran 3 times a week, and that included the long one on Saturdays.
>
> Otherwise I did more like machine work, like the elliptical. I don't do
>
> treadmill. I would do elliptical about 3 times a week. I tried to work five to
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> six times a week. I didn't run four times a week, because of my knees at that
>
> time.

For Ian, replacing even one weekday running workout with a cross-training workout

constitutes a deviation from the charity plan. Instead of running four times a week,

which he implies is the standard number of running workouts for his training plan,

he replaces at least one of those workouts each week with an elliptical workout in

order to care for his knees. In another portion of the workout, Ian also explains that

his biomechanics make running on a treadmill difficult and uncomfortable because

he does not naturally run in a straight line. In this explanation, Ian emphasizes how

his body's limitations impact his physical training landscapes.

Ian's replacement of a running workout with an indoor elliptical workout decreases the impact weather has on the temporal aspects of his training landscape, yet since he cannot run on a treadmill, those same physical limitations also increase the impact of the weather on his actual running workouts. While other runners move their running workouts to treadmills in extreme temperatures, Ian cannot. Since he does not run indoors, the season and the relative coolness at dawn becomes important to his training schedule:

> [My favorite time of day to run] became morning. More so, in that it was easier to get it out of the way, also cooler and I didn't have an entire day to come up with an excuse not to run, although once I got into the training, I wanted to run. […] In colder weather I found that it was easier to run more. The hot weather, I found I was very tired quickly. I think it is just the heat. We would get up early and start running around 6, and many times it was just extremely hot. The winter part, [the hard part is] just getting started, because they say you're warmed up by the first half mile, maybe mile, but I found it was easier to be dressed up, layered, and to unzip the jacket, as opposed to 100 degrees and a tank and shorts and you're dying. But, that's not to say that freezing cold was fun. I do like training in the winter months.

As Ian explains, during warm seasons, runners wear very few clothes, fight exhaustion caused by heat, and try to run in the coolest parts of the day. During cold weather, runners layer on clothes and struggle not to either be uncomfortably cold during the first portion of their training session or overheat during the remainder of the session.

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In addition to temperature, the marathoners I interviewed claimed other aspects of their lives both shape and are impacted by their marathoning. Ian is a single man with a professional occupation who came to running later in life and explains that his running discipline comes from the same place as his ability to successfully study for and pass actuarial exams. He describes weather and other things as giving him an excuse to change his workout times or skip a workout.

Other runners feel different elements shape the temporal aspects of their training landscape. Adam, a longtime runner with only one marathon in his history, and a scientist in his mid-thirties claims that his running suffers when he is dating someone or when he has a research grant application due. He even blames a poor performance in one race on training and racing with a girlfriend with less running experience than he has.

Although she was not the only parent I interviewed and certainly not the only marathoner I interviewed who either felt they would need to stop running once they had kids or felt that the kids they currently had impacted their training, Ellen's interview included the most specific details about how being a parent impacts her running. Ellen was also one of the few parents who did not frame her responsibilities towards her daughter as something that limits her success. Ellen is a mother who had been an athlete throughout her life. During the time she was preparing for her marathon, her husband, a member of the army, was stationed overseas.

> I usually run, train, 3 days a week. Shorter runs usually on Tuesday. […]
> When I was in my full training program, I ran 3 days a week. I did shorter runs
> on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Short being anywhere from 3 to 7 miles a day,

twice a week, and then on weekends usually Saturday mornings I would do my

long run. […] I went on the Army Base and all of my training on the

installation. […] All of it outside [and not on the treadmill]. […]

I don't have a preference [for when I train]. When I train is more dictated

by what's happening in my life. I trained for a marathon while my husband was

in the Middle East, so it was taken advantage of whatever moment you have

alone. […] Yes, I have to make sure that my daughter is taken care of. When I

was training for the marathon, she wasn't old enough to be left home alone by

herself. So, I ran during the week, on Tuesday and Thursday. I worked early

hours, so I would leave work at 3:30 and go home and run for one to one and a

half hours, so I could pick her up by the time Daycare closed at 6:00. And then

on the weekends on Friday nights, she would spend the night with friends and I

would get up at 4:00 on Saturday morning and go for my run.

You do what you got to do! How badly do you want this? It was

extremely rare that I was able to run more than 3 times a week, just because

hiring a babysitter was not something I was willing to do, so I tried to work

within the confines of what I had.

In addition to weather, as Ian explains, the accessibility of different training locations

also impacts where he runs and his training schedule:

[My midweek runs were not in the same place as my weekend long runs]

because I lived in Bethesda until April 2006, so I would run in Bethesda, that

would be down Wisconsin, part of the Capital Crescent Trail, but the

opposite direction, going more north. The long runs would be pretty much

downtown.

In this situation, Ian emphasizes how the runnable landscape he lives and works near allows him to incorporate marathon preparation into periods of time where it would not be possible to travel to another place before training. Functionally, Ian's experience demonstrates how his regular, urban landscape becomes an institution that facilitates his marathoning.

Cross-training, preparing for a marathon by doing a physical exercise other than running, allows individuals to train in locations, at times, and with other people not conducive to running. As an institution, cross-training expands the landscapes and institutions available for marathon preparation. The Higdon plans allow some of the workouts to be cross-training instead of running; the cross-training workouts appear in both the novice and intermediate plans with fewer incorporated in the intermediate than in the novice plans. All of Galloway's plans, including the most advanced ones, incorporate cross-training. Weekend long runs for the Higdon plan are anywhere from six to 20 miles long.[88] For slower runners, who may require more than 14 minutes to run or run/walk one mile, a 20 mile long run could require as much as five hours; for faster runners, who might be able to run a training long-run with eight minute miles, a twenty mile long run might require just under three hours.

Based on their personal combination of current conditioning and race goals, runners select from the collection of training plans to which they have been exposed, and in the act of selection they choose particular constraints on the

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[88] Higdon, 351-56.

temporal aspects of their marathon training. In addition, in selecting a plan that does or does not incorporate cross-training, the marathoners' choices also impact the type of landscape they need, and in selecting plans that ask runners to measure time as opposed to distance for midweek runs, the marathoner may consequently impact their options for training locations and definitely impact the individuals' framing of their mid-week workouts.

As noted above, many of the training plans recommend marathoners incorporate cross-training in their preparation. For marathoners with plans that incorporate cross-training, the landscape of marathoning necessarily expands to include the equipment and locations required for that cross-training activity: cardiovascular exercise machines in gyms, swimming pools, and, for Bingham and Hadfield, outdoor areas appropriate for mountain biking or canoeing. Cross-training is so significant to training guide authors Galloway and Bingham and Hadfield that their two books include complete chapters on cross-training. Although Higdon mentions cross-training throughout the book, he only focuses on the subject for a two-and-a-half page segment within a larger section on "Defensive Running Strategies" in which the concept of "defense" refers to strategies for avoiding injuries that keep marathoners from training or competing on race day. Higdon explains that marathoners should include cross-training because it allows them to build or maintain a high level of intensity without risking injury, and he recommends "swimming, skiing, cycling, walking, […] or select nonimpact exercises that mimic running movements."[89] Higdon then illustrates the appropriate

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[89] Higdon, 166.

use of cross-training by describing several individual's approaches; in this explanation, he suggests additional types of exercise; deep water running, wearing a flotation device. Galloway and Bingham and Hadfield suggest cross-training for the same reasons as Higdon, however, they go into great detail about the relative merits of each type of exercise, explain more fully the use of tools such as cross-country ski machines and rowing machines, and fully outline appropriate cross-training workouts. The biggest difference between Galloway and Bingham and Hadfield's approaches is that Bingham and Hadfield describe a variety of outdoor cross-training activities, such as paddling a canoe or mountain biking, while Galloway focuses on facility based activities such as water running and using cardiovascular workout machines in a fitness center. Galloway and Bingham and Hadfield also lump weight lifting and other strength training routines into the cross-training category while Higdon includes strength training as a separate "Defensive Running Strategy." For the training manual authors, the landscape of marathoning includes both indoor and outdoor cross-training landscapes such as pools and gyms.

Together, these four institutions—specialty running stores, training groups, training plans, and training practice—facilitate the embodiment of the cultural and social capital important to marathoning as well as allowing the conversion of all of these forms of symbolic capital into economic capital that allows the cultural tradition to sustain themselves. Along with the essential institution of marathoning, the race courses themselves and the process of selecting one to run, these institutions sit at the center of the field of marathoning.

Chapter 3: Perceptive Aspects of the Cultural Landscape of Marathoning

Overview

As mentioned in the previous chapters describing the cultural landscape creating cultural traditions of marathoning, I identified two different and competing cultural traditions or coherence systems: Pageant and Corrival. As Linde explains, a "coherence system […] provide[s] people with a vocabulary for creating a self,"[90] and my exploration of marathoning shows that non-elite marathoners need at least two coherence systems to make sense of their inclusion of marathoning in their lives. Since the marathoners did not use a specific term to describe themselves, I applied the descriptive labels of Pageant and Corrival to these two marathoning narratives for the sake of clarity in this study. Although neither cultural tradition will be fully explored in this chapter, coverage of other aspects of the landscape requires mentioning the two competing cultural traditions.

Briefly, Pageant marathoners enjoy training for and running marathons for the experience of both training and racing with large groups of people surrounded by a festive atmosphere. Corrival marathoners, on the other hand, seek to improve their marathoning using more standard measures of success such as improving their personal record (PR) for the event or completing a large variety of marathons.

Korr's model for the study of cultural landscapes incorporates the perceptions of participant in the third operation of his method. This operation explores the way

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[90] Linde, *Life Stories*, Kindle location, 2689-3412.

individuals identify with the landscape, their cognitive landscapes, and their specific language and terminology for the landscape.[91] By focusing on this operations of Korr's method, this chapter explores the commonalities among marathoners' narratives creating coherence around marathoning. The conflicts and disagreements among different participants in marathoning will be the focus of chapters 4 and 5, which focus on the Pageant and Corrival cultural traditions respectively.

Whether individuals identify with marathoning and how they map its presence in their lives speaks directly to the individuals' ability to incorporate marathoning into the coherent narrative of their lives. As Coughey explains, the incorporation of a cultural tradition into someone's life history could come in many forms: an individual may know one or many versions of a cultural tradition; the person may know a culture well or may only have a vague acquaintance with the cultural tradition; he may consider the cultural tradition very important or minor in his life; or she may even only incorporate the cultural tradition in her life through a critical and not fully accepting lens.[92] Whatever the individuals' relationship to marathoning, however, the important aspect is that the cultural tradition is part of their lives.

Although this dissertation does not attempt to answer the question, "How can we encourage more people to participate in marathoning or other physical activities?" most of my interview subjects hoped my research would provide them with that information. The marathoners wanted others to experience their sense of joy, accomplishment, and health. The race organizers wanted more people to run their

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[91] Korr, 482, 491-5.

[92] Caughey, 21.

races, and the different training team organizers wanted more people to train with them. This desire to be an appealing, approachable activity is in itself a central element of the marathoning cultural tradition. Further, knowing what attracts people to marathoning or makes them feel like they can succeed in an activity is the first step towards understanding larger aspects of inequality in access to the wealth generated by marathoning institutions and health improving practices of this cultural tradition. Further, exploring flows of capital within cultural traditions of marathoning also suggests ways communities may maximize their own profit or minimize their costs if they wish to accumulate economic, social, or political capital through marathoning.

This discussion of marathoners' perceptions of marathoning focuses on four groups of perceptions and explores some of the things absent or silent in these perceptions. These four areas of perception are (1) Perceived difficulty; (2) Camaraderie; (3) Consuming a marathoning identity; and (4) Gender roles and constraints. The discussion of absences will further explore issues of gender and other aspects of identity that other areas of research on marathoning and sport suggest should be significant elements within the cultural tradition. Throughout this discussion, I will begin to explain the role of the various institutions of marathoning in converting forms of capital within the framework of these cultural traditions.

Perceived Difficulty

One primary cultural concept important to the landscape of marathoning is the question about whether marathoning is difficult. This question forms a central element in many capitalizing narratives within marathoning. As noted earlier during the explanation of the separation of marathoning from other types of running, race director Lynn and others

describe completing a marathon at a slow pace as significantly less difficult than running a shorter race quickly. The authors of two of the training manuals I focused on agree with Lynn's assessment that the completion of a marathon at a moderate or slow pace is reachable by nearly everyone; Bingham Hadfield and Galloway use the accessibility of the event to encourage their readers to commit to training.

At the beginning of the book, Bingham emphasizes that marathoning is for everyone and no longer the sport of the "solitary individual logging in lonely miles along some forgotten highway."[93] After exploring the possibility that race day will be a transcendent experience, Bingham and Hadfield's early chapters addresses the internal question people ask themselves in regard to a marathon before starting, "[C]an you do it?"[94] by labeling it as a question covering for the more accurate question, "Are you willing to take the time to train, prepare, and change your lifestyle?"[95] The way Bingham and Hadfield reframe the question explicitly shows that they think of the marathon as something doable by most people Instead of attempting to provide vague platitudes, Bingham celebrates individuality in describing a path to marathon success: "There is no such thing as the typical long-distance athlete. [. . .] There are different events that appeal to different people. Choose yours [. . .] Knowing why is as critical as knowing where you want to compete."[96] Within this personal knowledge narrative, Bingham and Hadfield emphasize patience and tenacity,[97] and implicitly, by

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[93] Bingham and Hadfield, 23.

[94] Ibid., 23.

[95] Ibid., 23.

[96] Bingham and Hadfield, 34.

[97] Ibid.

suggesting that various personal approaches will work, Bingham and Hadfield distance themselves from any framework which might imply that only a limited amount of people or approaches can be successful marathoning.

The breadth of people Abbey's charity training group recruits also indicates that the institution sees marathoning as doable by a very wide variety of people:

> This time of year [January] we get a lot of New Year's Resolution people—for the summer season. People who maybe just quit smoking and now want to do a marathon and want to work toward a good cause. People who want a training program. People who need to get on a schedule and wouldn't be able to do it themselves. And, there are those people who identify with the condition.

Abbey does not indicate any previous athletic achievement or even solidly great health, as Abbey indicates, they recruit those who have recently quite smoking, as prerequisites for participation. Later in the interview, she explicitly touts the accessibility of the event:

> "[The marathoners] are not out there alone, and anybody can do it. We can take you from the couch."

In light of the near consensus demonstrated in the previously discussed narratives that marathoning is not precisely physically difficult, notably, the individuals I interviewed frequently framed completing the marathon as a significant life achievement or indicated their sense of themselves as not masters' of the task by refusing to give advice to others about marathoning, even after having completed at least one marathon, because they did not feel completing one or two races gave them enough experience or knowledge to talk about something they were successful at.

The value of the marathon as a mark of achievement held for both individuals with no previous running experience and for those with a long history of running: Ian, who began running with his charity marathon training, said, "It would be great if I could say I had done that [run a marathon]" and lifelong athlete and runner Georgia similarly stated, "I always wanted to run a marathon to prove to myself that I could do it." The specific wording used by Diane, a lifelong runner who attended college on a track scholarship suggests some of the concepts accompanying these individuals' identification of the marathon as a significant achievement, "When I heard about the support with the Team, I wondered if I could do it. I had had some problems with my knees, and I just wanted to see if I could do it. Also, I went to Bermuda, and it was fabulous." Diane's statement points to concerns about the limits of her body, which allowed her to run when she was younger, as well as the fundraising target for the charity marathon and its exotic location. Further, by bundling together her desire to complete a marathon to "see if [she] could do it" with her desire to go to Bermuda, Diane suggests that it is at least possible that she frames the marathon as a life challenge to justify her desire for vacationing at an exotic location.

In contrast to their framing their completion of a marathon as a noteworthy achievement, the same type of marathoners reject the idea that they gained any knowledge worth passing on to other aspiring marathoners in the course of completing their first or first few marathons: Adam, who has studied anatomy and run regularly for decades, describes himself as cautious about giving advice to runners, even first time marathoners; Georgia, even though she had run several

marathons, explained that she would give her "opinion" but not advice to those who asked; and Ivey explicitly states that she doesn't know if she is qualified to give advice, but people ask so she gives it.

Ivey, Ian, and Harold did explicitly define situations in which they would be comfortable giving advice. Their scenarios depict when the embodied capital of marathoning becomes eligible for institutionalization and commodification. Ivey explained that she would feel comfortable giving advice to others once she had qualified for the Boston Marathon, which means she feels like should give advice once she is able to run a marathon at a relatively fast pace. Ian will talk to newer marathoners about connecting with other sources of knowledge, but will not give advice about marathoning:

> I feel that I know enough, not running advise *per se*, but definitely where to go look for things, what has worked for me and I do think I can give advise about clothing, body glide, those typical things. Any types of aches or pains, or how to develop a schedule to run - no. I would direct them to other people. I would never… I know what works for me, but that doesn't work for somebody else and so I would never play doctor or anything like that. But I will sit there and say if you are only running once a week, you probably want to get with a coach, or a website, or somebody and see how to change that.

As Ian's statement demonstrates, he places expertise about physical health and developing an appropriate physical regimen in a separate category from knowledge about where to find the right types of equipment or how to find the correct type of coaching and training plan. Notably, the elements Ian is willing to give advice

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about——types of clothing or equipment that may make others' marathon experience better and recommendations for training plans or coaches—are, in and of themselves, not convertible to economic capital however the items and services Ian will recommend are viable forms of economic capital in which other's knowledge has been institutionalized or objectified into a salable form. During our conversation, Harold put into words the types of things both Ian and Harold are willing to share with others:

> We'll talk about things that work and things that don't work. Most of the training advice is from the coaches […] when there are enough experienced people that it is important to listen to them. On the flip side, starting with my second year, just having done it before, the majority of people in my group have never done a marathon, and they are wondering what it is like, how do you do it … blah, blah, blah. The words of experience. This is what it was like for me, and so I have always enjoyed having that role as well. Hey, this is what I did, I hope it will work for you.

Harold, like Ian, reserves some types of advice for true professionals, but he feels it is appropriate to share the "words of experience" with others. In reserving some topics for experts while valuing their own knowledge as worthy of passing on, Harold and Ian support both the existence of the embodied capital of marathon knowledge and describe how it is converted into economic capital within the institutions that create and market training plans and coaching. A marathon may or may not be "easy" or achievable by all people, but these institutions support the cultural construction that the appropriate training does make marathons achievable

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by all.

At the center of the discourse surrounding marathons regarding their difficulty and who has the embodied or institutional capital to train other for participating in them is question as to whether the field of marathoning contains cultural capital, economic capital, or social capital in any substantial amount and whether any of those forms of capital can be monetized. Within Bourdieu's theoretical framework, Capital is defined as follows:

> Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world. It is what makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle.[98]

If marathoning were not framed as a difficult achievement, then the lack of exclusivity would undermine the structures. If the structures of marathoning have no significant impact on success, then that may suggest completing a marathon is more a result of chance than appropriately guided effort.

Bourdieu further explores the nature of capital and, in this explanation, brings to the forefront the possibility that something cannot be a form of capital if whatever

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[98] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 105.

format the capital is in does not increase the likelihood of success over chance.

> Capital, which, in its objectified or embodied forms, takes time to accumulate and which, as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, contains a tendency to persist in its being, is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible.[99]

Whether any institution does increase the probability of comple ting a marathon would be a great topic for a different dissertation; instead, this dissertation explores a field in which the participants, as the previous narratives demonstrate, do indeed meaningfully improve the odds of success. Without capital in marathoning, the conflict among marathoners over the difficulty of completing a marathon is meaningless. Given the conflict, however, individuals' understanding of the difficulty of marathoning directly impacts the value they ascribe to various forms of social and cultural capital within the cultural traditions of marathoning.

Companionship and Camaraderie

Like the difficulty of marathoning, the value of camaraderie throughout the marathoning experience is also something that marathoners from different cultural traditions do not agree. Since many institutions of marathoning, such as large races or large training teams, explicitly foster camaraderie, valuing camaraderie works like the perceived difficulty of marathoning to smooth the monetizing of cultural and social capital within the cultural frameworks of marathoning.

The opportunity to gain and display embodied cultural capital is one reason

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[99] Ibid.

marathoners become involved with large training groups. Marathoners cite the desire for companionship, the mutual encouragement of other marathoners during training and on race day, as a reason for finding large groups to train with. For these marathoners, companionship is a key tool for overcoming the difficulty of marathon training or the monotony of long hours running. Steve, a single late-thirties, professional who began marathoning through a charity fundraising team, clearly defined the benefits of the companionship of another runner, especially during the weekly long run:

> You cannot make the other person stop, and they're thinking the exact same thing. I find it is great because you have somebody to talk to. It keeps your mind off of thinking about what you're doing, the mileage that you're putting in […]. When I run with people, I find that I am able to complete it. When I was by myself, I would give up. When running with somebody . . . there is that little extra push you need, to show you how to do it. […] It is fun, we can catch up from the week. […] I do like running by myself for the smaller periods, but for the longer periods, I wouldn't do it. I've done 10 miles, but otherwise, I don't think it is that fun.

Steve's description clarifies the value alluded to by other marathoners when they express excitement about training and accompanying others on race day.

Among other characteristics Bonnie described as important for her when selecting a race was the value of the camaraderie of the large crowds that line the routes of the larger marathons: "I like having people on the sides, just kind of cheering you on, I love when there is music." By packaging the camaraderie, the

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training manuals and training teams that recommend training in supportive groups institutionalizing and transforming into an objectified form of cultural capital the act of companionship. Brian, Diane, and Harold, all three of whom fundraised extensively during their participation in charity training teams (unlike Georgia, who provided most of her "fundraising" goal for her charity training team herself), also described the support of those who contributed money to their efforts as offering the non-runners social support to their physical efforts.

During the marathons I ran, I also observed two practices, which my interview subjects also obliquely mentioned, of one specific charity training group designed to invoke both the camaraderie of those providing financial and emotional support for the marathoners and the support the marathoners provide for the beneficiaries of the charities: (1) family members of marathoners travel with them to the race and stand along the course cheering and staffing additional water stations, and (2) marathoners training with some charity groups are assigned a specific beneficiary, for example a person with the type of cancer they are raising money for research to cure, and the marathoners wear the name or picture of that beneficiary on their shirt on race day.

As I will explain, these forms of camaraderie result from the transformation of the institutionalized capital into cultural capital and through their embodiment a further converted into social capital and economic capital that, together, increase the likelihood of success by participants in the institutions that facilitate the transformation of the forms of capital. By increasing participants' likelihood of success, the transformations of capital increase the value of the institutions in terms

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of social, cultural, and economic capital.

By building mutually supportive bonds with other marathoners in a group that runs together for most weekend long runs and, occasionally, mid-week shorter runs. Participants in those groups are socially obligated to each other to appear regularly at their groups' scheduled runs. When runners complete their scheduled long runs regularly, my own experience, the training manuals, and casual conversations with other runners all support the conclusion that they are more likely to avoid injury and be able to run the race and complete the marathon successfully. Further, running with others encourages marathoners to run their target speed for the day: peer pressure and others' motivating presence keeps runners from going too slow and the conversational ambiance of a running group keeps marathoners from running in an anaerobic state, which is too fast for what the training guides purport is the ideal pace for long runs. The other marathoners may also answer newer marathoners' questions about problems they are having in finding equipment, planning weekday workouts, or dealing with a minor injury.

Another aspect of camaraderie comes from those individuals that support the marathoners. Three very different, but often overlapping groups of individuals support marathoners without actually engaging in the athletic activity: cheering spectators, donors for marathoners participating in charity groups, and the beneficiaries of the charities.

Consuming a Marathoning Identity

As the discussion throughout the dissertation demonstrates, marathoners use various terms and identity constructions to label themselves in relationship to running

and marathoning: runner, marathoner, adventure athlete, jogger, and walker. In addition, while some marathoners participate alone, some with social running groups, and some only in the context of running groups affiliated with charities, neither the groupings in which they participate or the self-descriptors accurately label the divisions in how they actively engage in marathoning.

As Jennifer Maguire demonstrates in her research on consumption and athleticism, the diversity of these labels and identities complicates creating and marketing products to marathoners. Jennifer Maguire's body of scholarship explores the mechanisms of consumption, and her early work focuses on consumption in fitness cultures. In her first monograph, Maguire examined the marketing and packaging of specific fitness lifestyles as part of the marketing and running of health clubs and gyms. Other work from the same era includes a consumption-focused motivating structure at the center of health club and gym success. Maguire's study of the fitness lifestyle as promoted through health clubs argues that the clubs succeed by marketing a fitness lifestyle:

> The fitness lifestyle is not just about the inclusion of physical activity, but about the ways in which each of those activities is affiliated with a chain of consumption options and choices that links together types of equipment, transportation, vacation and leisure, and so forth.[100]

Marathoning is not directly equivalent to paying a monthly or yearly fee to join a gym and going there to engage in weight lifting, aerobic exercise on machines, or attending a fitness class; however, health clubs may be part of marathoning and

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[100] Maguire, 119.

certain aspects of training teams, specifically the way they must appeal to potential customers as necessary tools for athletic success, directly mimic the structure of health club membership.

As a low cost and easily accessed institution for defining the cultural traditions of marathoning, the running magazines *Runner's World* and *Running Times* and marathon training manuals create opportunities for individuals to see themselves as potentially successful with running or marathoning, as those very different activities, are depicted in these texts. Brian, as a new runner getting into the sport via a charity training group, first became aware of this tension while viewing running websites and reading issues of *Runner's World* :

> I was obsessed with *Runner's World*. [...] I was on the web all the time with the groups and that was when I discovered that charity runners were a rung below pond scum for "real" marathoners. So, I spent a lot of time responding to . .. look, this is why I do this. And, I have a right to do this too. And, we don't get in your way. You're two hours ahead. [...]*Runner's World*. It sort of talks you into "you can do this, you can do this too." There wasn't an elite runner ethic coming through those pages. It was like, here is a system for doing this. There are articles like that all the time.

Not all of the individuals I interviewed perceived the messages of these texts as welcoming as Brian. The people and commercial items depicted on the magazines' front and back covers may suggest to some that the magazine is not for them (see Table 7 and Table 8 for a summary of the front and back cover contents).

Table 7 Analysis of Magazine Front Covers

Magazine	# Issues	Number of People on the Magazines' Covers Recognizably	
		Female / Male	White / Black / Asian
Runner's World	72	47 / 35	74 / 7 / 1
Running Times	61	34 / 28 (Both 1)	56 / 6 / 1

Table 8 Analysis of Magazine Back Covers

Magazine	Product Category	Count of Covers	Brand Names
Runner's World	Cars	40	Acura, Chevy, Ford, Honda, Hyundai, Infiniti, Jeep, Kia, Land Rover, Nissan, Saab, SRX, Subaru, Suzuki, Toyota, Volkswagen
	Clothing & Accessories	4	Nike, North Face, Timex
	Event	3	Endurance Challenge, Nike
	Food & Beverage	7	Atkins, EAS, Gatorade, Lipton, Michelob, Seattle's Best
	Investment & Corporate Public Relations	5	BP, Citi, TIAAA Cref
	Pharmaceuticals	1	Tylenol
	Shoes	8	Keen, Nike, Saucony
	Travel	3	Mexico, Travelodge, Westin
Running Times	Charity	1	Breast Cancer Marathon
	Clothing & Accessories	6	Nike, PowerSox, Saucony, Under Armour
	Equipment	1	Tanita Competitive Edge
	Event	5	Disney ½ Marathon, Las Vegas Marathon, Marathon of the Palm Beaches, Reno Marathon
	Retail Store	1	Sports Authority
	Shoes	46	Asics, Etonic, Fila, Izumi, Merrell, Nike, Puma, Reebok, Ryka, Saucony, Teva, Velocity, Zappos

As Table 7 shows, both magazines' front covers typically feature single white

individuals running and the magazines depict proportionally more women than the

race data (see Table 6) report participate in races. Further, although the body types of those I interviewed, the body types of the marathoners described in training magazines, and the body types of individuals I observed participating in and volunteering for marathons vary, all of the bodies depicted on the front of these two running magazines are very fit and low in body fat.

Although the bodies on the covers of the two magazines are similarly shaped, *Running Times* and *Runner's World* take dramatically different approaches to presenting the runners and the landscapes in which they are situated. The covers of *Runner's World* typically feature a runner in summer-weight running clothes floating in a vague, featureless background, while the covers of *Running Times* feature runners in clothing appropriate to the mid-American season the issue is published in and shows those runners in locationally specific landscapes. Frequently, the runners on the cover of *Running Times* wear race bibs, suggesting the photos were taken during a competitive racing event. The combined impact of the idealistic running clothes, weather, and landscape of the *Runner's World* covers, when compared to the more physical, reality based covers of *Running Times*, suggests that the former magazine situates itself within a running-fantasy script while the later magazine grounds itself in the lived experience of actual runners.

As Table 8 shows, advertisers who purchase space on the back cover of the two different magazines are not targeting the same audiences. The advertisements on the back cover of *Running Times* focus on athletic equipment and events; the events advertised include only marathons and half-marathons. The advertisements on the back cover of *Runner's World*, on the other hand, include advertisements for

international and domestic travel, foods marketed to improve athletic performance, and a broad selection of passenger cars. In contrast to the advertisements on the back cover of *Running Times*, the advertisements on the back cover of *Runner's World* market more luxurious goods compared to the more essential items focused specifically on running.

Although I explicitly asked my interview subjects whether they read *Running Times*, *Runner's World,* or other running publications, other than Brian, few said anything lengthy about either magazine although most of them knew the name of *Runner's World* (very few knew *Running Times*). The race organizers usually also mentioned the magazine as one of their primary publicity tools and, if they arranged a sponsorship, the source of a free copy to stuff into the bag of free stuff given to each marathoner at packet pickup the day before or the morning of race day.

Implicitly, Brian's praise of *Runner's World* implies that *Running Times* features an "elite runners ethic." Charlie and Lynn's differentiations between the two different magazines also describe *Runner's World* as more appropriate for the unskilled runner while *Running Times* is for elite runners. Charlie, one of my interview subjects who was a runner before connecting with a charity marathon training team to prepare for his first marathon, sees *Running Times* as functional while *Runner's World* is more broadly informative:

> *Runner's World* is more about different takes on things, articles from professionals, doctors. *Running Times* to me is more of a listing of events in the region you're in and has a lot of entry forms and websites to go to, there are some articles in there. If you don't have a lot of reading time, then

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> *Running Times* is probably a publication to go with. But, I like *Runner's*
>
> *World* because it has a lot of really good articles.

Race organizer Lynn sees the two magazines as having different demographic as well

as editorial interests:

> *Runner's World* is more commercial and women oriented. […] *Running*
>
> *Times* is more grass roots, nitty-gritty. They are more into running, and they
>
> don't care about the commercial aspect, they just want to tell you about
>
> running. […] The more serious runner goes for *Running Times,* and *Runner's*
>
> *World* is more glitz.

Together, Brian, Charlie, and Lynn identify two distinct audiences for two very

different running magazines: one audience wishes to be educated and entertained and

another audience that needs to know the schedule of coming events and basic

information about new fitness equipment. These magazines, acting as

institutionalized forms of cultural capital, definitely convert institutional cultural

capital to economic capital more efficiently among some marathoners than among

others.

The training manuals I examined for this study also demonstrate the existence of

dramatically different types of marathoners. The profitability of all three training manuals

demonstrate that they are all efficient converters of economic cultural capital into economic

capital. Rhetorically, Jeff Galloway is primarily packaging the value of completing a

marathon as a goal and the value of camaraderie in reaching that goal. Bingham and

Hadfield, like Galloway, explicitly describe marathoning as an activity accessible to

everyone, but Bingham and Hadfield emphasize individuality where Galloway emphasizes

group participation. Higdon situates marathoning within the context of speed-oriented running at shorter distances. Of course the entire package of a book contributes to its marketability, but most marathon-training guides include a section explicitly motivating individuals to attempt a marathon. Those motivational sections essentially encapsulate the overall goal of the entire book.

In his training manual, Jeff Galloway emphasizes the process of motivating oneself to complete a marathon. In Galloway's worldview, the core motivation throughout consists of both of the forms of camaraderie described by the marathoners I interviewed: camaraderie among teammates and camaraderie of the event, including the cheering crowds. After that emphatic title page, Galloway's chapter on marathon motivation begins with a brief explanation of the roles of the left and right halves of the brain: exploring both the roles the halves of the brain play in keeping one motivated and the ways practicing the discipline of motivated running benefits those parts of the brain and other life activities. After that introduction, Galloway includes an inset listing nine quotes from individuals answering the question, "Why Train for a Marathon?" These unattributed quotes describe how the marathon, as a goal, gives purpose to the rest of the runners' life; gives internal satisfaction; confidence; a structure for focusing on the physical side of life; self-respect; and stress-relief.[101] In sum, Galloway includes motivational quotes from people who are emphasizing the psychological benefits of marathon training over the physical benefits.

After that introduction, Galloway focuses on presenting a training system for motivation throughout the training process. In his view, the "motivation" for marathon running must get his followers through to the finish line on race-day, and not just to the first

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[101] Galloway, 61.

practice session. His approach includes a set of vision exercises, a set of mantras, and a

problem-and-solution set for different circumstances. And, then, he turns to, "The Power of

the Group." Galloway begins his group-power chapter by claiming the 98% success rate of

the Galloway Training Program is really due to the motivation provided by the pacing group

with whom people train.[102] But, Galloway doesn't simply say, find people to train with and

run. He gives training groups explicit instructions. He believes runners should show up to

each session with a story to tell and gives members explicit "jobs" in order to improve group

cohesion. People should all run at a conversational speed, the group should never skip walk

breaks, and running either ahead of the group's agreed on pace or behind it is inappropriate.

Finally, he believes in a team shirt. So, Galloway's primary suggestion for motivation is

social pressure.[103] Rhetorically and functionally, given the worldview of both the

marathoners I interviewed and those I observed while participating in marathons and other

endurance events dominated by charity running teams such as The AIDS Marathon and the

Leukemia and Lymphoma Society's Team in Training, Galloway has transformed the

cultural capital of camaraderie into economic capital and institutionalized cultural capital

embodied within the practices of these charity training teams.

Bingham and Hadfield's book discusses motivation at both the beginning and end of

the book.. At the beginning of the book, Bingham and Hadfield, like Galloway, emphasize

that marathoning is for everyone and no longer the sport of the "solitary individual logging in

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[102] Ibid., 73.

[103] Galloway, 60-72.

lonely miles along some forgotten highway."[104] But, Bingham and Hadfield also carefully emphasize that there is no reason one must commit to training for a marathon to gain many of the same benefits of marathon running: "If being active is your only goal (and that's a very worthy goal), then you don't need any more specifics."[105] Even though this text does explain the value of running without racing, it also suggests that marathon racing itself can become a transcendent experience:

> In a training program, your reward is the race itself. On top of that, sometimes the racing spirits will reward you with a personal best, or the perfect day, or some other extraordinary experience that you will carry with you for the rest of your life.[106]

He then specifically addresses the internal question people ask themselves in regard to a marathon before starting, "[C]an you do it?"[107] by labeling it as a question covering for the more accurate question, "Are you willing to take the time to train, prepare, and change your lifestyle?"[108] Instead of attempting to provide vague platitudes, as Galloway does with the unattributed quotes described above, Bingham celebrates the individuality of the answer, "There is no such thing as the typical long-distance athlete. [. . .] There are different events that appeal to different people. Choose yours [. . .] Knowing why is as critical as knowing

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[104] Bingham and Hadfield, 23.

[105] Ibid., 12.

[106] Ibid., 15.

[107] Ibid., 23.

[108] Ibid., 23.

where you want to compete."[109] Within this personal knowledge narrative, Bingham and

Hadfield emphasize patience and tenacity over the trained motivation scheme promoted by

Galloway.[110]

Where Galloway and Bingham address motivation in a specific portion of the book,

Higdon spreads his discussion of the topic throughout his book, although the chapter "The

Mystique of the Marathon" does explicitly frame the activity as a life-changing

achievement[111] that could assist one in meeting smaller goals such as personal speed records,

recreation, touring cities, and simply personal victories.[112] By not explicitly addressing

motivation, Higdon implicitly targets the book at marathoners who do not need to be

convinced to train for a marathon. He addresses the rewards and motivations of training for a

marathon, as opposed to running it, in the following chapter, "Learning to Love Running."

Finally, for Higdon, the marathon provides the goal and focus for the training using the

words of Dave Dwyer, a runner with whom Higdon ends this chapter:

> The run itself kind of melts along with the other training runs, which have
>
> their moments, too. It is a journey, a long distance of revelation of self, of
>
> accomplishment and of failure, of goals met and those still ahead. After all of
>
> that, the medal is only icing on the cake. It is the inner warmth of the
>
> accomplishment that remains with you, medal or not.[113]

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[109] Bingham and Hadfield, 34.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Higdon, 14.

[112] Ibid., 15-17.

[113] Ibid., 27.

All three authors frame marathon training and racing as a transformative life experience that transforms because it requires the runner to reshape his or her entire lifestyle in order to successfully complete the race in the time desire. Yet, they emphasize slightly different aspects in their discussions of motivation: Galloway celebrates the motivational power of social pressure, Bingham touts the necessity of self knowledge, and Higdon actually celebrates the desire for specific speed goals.

Gender Roles and Constraints

Research firmly demonstrates that women's participation in sport is more restricted by family obligations than men's participation in sport.[114] Further, Vincent Serravallo's analysis of the demographics of New York City Marathon participants explains that while race, gender, and class play a part in individuals' access to marathon running, the actual typical participant comes from an even narrower segment of society: a segment that has control over their daily schedule.

> As we look at some actual data on the participants, however, a very different picture emerges: highly educated men in a small number of professional and managerial occupations are the typical runners.[115]

My interview subjects mentioned that their jobs, school, and family obligations interfere with their marathoning, but others also described strategies for overcoming each of those barriers.

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[114] Kay, Tess, 101.

[115] Serravallo, para 4.

The individuals I interviewed listed family obligations and school as significant constraints to their ability to find the time to train for and run a marathon. Three of the individuals I interviewed made longer comments on the significant impact of children, school-obligations, or a social milieu of other students on people's ability to train for a marathon or raise money to participate in a charity training team. Donald, a middle aged, white male runner, father of two, and coach for a charity running group gave the following response, highlighting issues of age and the burden created by parenthood, to my questions about his observations of change:

> There definitely are a lot of younger people coming out. We get a lot of first time marathoners. Relatively few that are older. Again, there are a lot of obstacles in people's lives to have them run a marathon. Once people start having families and children, you see fewer of those people, because it creates burdens trying to get all of the training it, to participate in a marathon. What we also like to do, obviously, is get a lot of repeat participants, and we do get a lot of that. People who are single and able to run successfully a marathon will often roll from one season to another.

Felice, a female graduate student, reported that her academic advisors frown on her running because it takes time away from her studies. She also sees participating in a charity-training group as beyond her means: she does not have the means and her friends do not have the means. Her description of a "typical marathon runner" further emphasizes her understanding of how her life limits her own participation:

> [An typical marathon runner is] someone with too much free time. I haven't seen too many people on the path who are in their late 20s, early 30s, like

childbearing women. I don't see too much. Someone with fewer commitments. Someone with young children, I don't see out there. I see some young dads, but most of them do not have young children. [...] Usually they are generally fit, a lot of males, not a lot of, like, older guys who are hard core, or women my age, or a smattering of some women in their early 30s or 40s.

Georgia, yet another student but one who has employment outside of the university, unlike Felice did participate in a charity-training group. She chose a lower cost event than the one Felice had considered with the idea that, if she could not raise the money, she would just pay it herself. And, in the end, she did indeed pay several hundred of the dollars herself.

Yet, the constraints of children and other obligations such as school or a high-pressure job do not necessarily limit participation in activities like marathons. Ellen, a mother who was temporarily raising her child alone on a military base while her husband was deployed, overcame the childrearing obstacles that Donald and Felice allude to. Ellen manipulated her workday so she could run after work but before her daughter's daycare closed and worked out at a gym with childcare. And, her daughter would stay at one of the daughter's friend's house on Friday night so that Ellen could do her long run early on Saturday morning. As Ellen explained overcoming her childcare difficulties and any other possible difficulties, "[O]nce I got over the fact that my husband is just never available because he is in the army, then it just came down to what is in my life and what is in my daughter's life." Ellen also appreciated the shorter events that accompanied the 10-mile race she ran while training for the marathon because, since her daughter was able to participate in a shorter race, it made

the day a more inclusive family affair. Ellen's solution mirrors the type of solutions

Serravallo's research believes male managers use.[116] My interview with Ian reveals

similar coping strategies. Ian, a DC lobbyist, explained that his career and social life

do not interfere with his running because he requires everything in his life to fit into

his well planned schedule of activities and he prioritized his running. So, for example,

if going out with friends on a Friday night would negatively impact his Saturday

morning long run, he would not go on the long run. Shona Thompson's *Mother's Taxi*

study of tennis culture revealed childcare struggles among female adult participants.

Although the study primarily focuses on the role of mothers in getting their children

to and from competitive tennis training and competitions, one chapter of the book

discusses the realities of women who, themselves, want to practice or compete tennis.

Thompson concludes, "Most significantly, these women could play tennis while

caring for their children because their children could be taken with them."[117] The

other women who were at the same practice would trade of childcare and just adjust

their training to accommodate the needs of childcare. Thompson then contemplates

how men do not face the same childcare obstacles:

> On one level, it is argued that the fathers maintained gendered divisions of
>
> labor by being in full-time paid employment. They therefore provided the
>
> capital base for the family unit, an arrangement that ensured the women were

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[116] Serravallo.

[117] Thompson, 129.

'at home' with children and thus able to 'choose' to play tennis during the weekday. [...][118]

Given such divisions of labor, however, what exactly are the divisions of leisure, and how is leisure facilitated for women? Jean's recollection of her return to tennis when her children were young illustrated how husbands may support women's 'leisure' without actually recognizing how it is bounded by childcare.[119]

Whether or not fathers took care of their children to facilitate their wives' tennis depended, in almost every case, on whether or not they also played the sport. If they did not, as was the situation for six of the veteran women, they were not involved in childcare while the wives played tennis.

Tennis differs from running in that the court-based sport facilitates stationary childcare where road running creates obstacles because the location of the activity constantly moves; however, note that it was the fathers more encumbered by recreational activities, in this case also playing tennis, that found time to participate in childcare while those fathers with other or no competing activities that did not participating in caring for children in order to enable full participation in a sport by their wives. So, it is the valuing of the activity as much as the actual presence of unencumbered time that enables the creation of childcare plans that allow for greater participation by women.

As the above quotes show, the presence of children in a family is not the only potential obstacle to marathon participation: school, enough resources to pay entry

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[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

fees and travel to an event, work obligations, or other familial obligations. For example, just like Ian talked about foregoing late Friday or Saturday night events when they would interfere with his long run the next day, Adam also talked about dating making it difficult for him to train because he does not typically end up dating runners and the time obligations of serious training significantly impact the time available for maintaining a relations. Contrary to the general stereotype that women with children are the ones who struggle to balance athletics and their other relationships, both Ian and Adam, single adult men without kids, see their personal lives significantly and negatively impacted by the decision to train for marathons.

Research on the success of relationships among elite triathletes further confirms the conclusions of Thompson's study of tennis and my observations among those I interviewed: in the case of triathletes, the most successful relationships were between two people who competed in the same sport or at least the partner saw him or herself as being an important part of the runners success. As research on the family life of runners[4] and separate research on triathloning twosomes[120] concludes, there are three patterns of allocating the time required for training:

An athlete can either take the time (claiming the right to train and ignoring the impact on the family), but the time (maintaining family commitments and responsibilities, fitting training into the early morning, late evening or during lunch at work), or share the time (exercising together with spouse.[121]

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[120] Brown.

[121] Brown, para. 3.

And, in the narratives of the longtime runners with children that I interviewed, those with children do frequently talk about their entire family going along to marathons, other individuals I interviewed discuss selecting a marathon to run because it was a good location to meet up with friends who have moved away, or yet other individuals talk of selecting marathons because they are located close to family that the runner wishes to reconnect with.

As Charles Brown's research reports, serious athletes are not necessarily without family and relationship obligations:

> Contrary to popular belief that triathletes are single and unfettered, 70% were married and over 37% had children. Fifteen percent of the athletes were single and in omitted relationships.

This appears to be a basically healthy and happy group. Athletes and their partners scored higher than the normal population on the measure of overall family functioning. Their major stress is the lack of time as a couple, which they most often addressed by either setting aside time together or by exercising together.[122]

Further, Charles Brown compared the responses of happy couples with the 17 percent of athletes and 15 percent of athletes who believed training had a negative impact on their relationship and recommended six strategies for dealing with the stress of training on relationships: (1) Talk about the impact of training; (2) Train or exercise with your partner; (3) Make sure your partner feels important to your training; (4) Set aside special time for your relationship; (5) Work together to address issues of household maintenance; and (6) Encourage your partner to stay socially

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[122] Ibid., para., 19-20.

active.[123] The ability to talk explicitly about the impacts of training on daily life and, ideally, pulling one's partner into the experience were the key elements both sets of research revealed for the coexistence of happy relationships and serious endurance training.

As the research article by Barrell et al. on the impact of running on couples concludes, sociologically, in order for women to participate in marathons with the same frequency and involvement level as men, social expectations will need to change:

The data support a great deal of literature which, in recent years, has shown that women do not have the same opportunities to engage in leisure activities as do men. The leisure hours of many women, particularly those who are married and have children, are very often severely constrained by the social expectations incumbent in their roles as wives, mothers, and female employees, as well as by the ideology of patriarchy which pervades their lives at home and work. We have tried to show that these constraints are neither realized nor enacted in a simple or very obvious fashion within the household. The power which men wield operates as a form of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), as an ideological and attitudinal resource which is called upon to take or negotiate their leisure time. Armed with this resource males can claim, and, as we have seen, women can endorse, that men have a 'right' to leisure and that they have physical and sporting needs to fulfill simply by virtue of being male. Women are then expected, and they themselves expect,

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[123] Ibid., para., 12-17.

to recognize the duty they have to support their men's sporting endeavors. Thus, if women's opportunities for involvement in sport are to be expanded, more will be required than merely considering the problems of their access to, and the provision of, appropriate leisure facilities. It will also mean examining the norms and mores which govern social life, both at home and at work, and which are fundamental in determining women's capacities to take advantage of, and indeed create, opportunities for their own leisure and sports pursuits.[124]

As Brown's research shows, if a family chooses to overcome the obligations of their families, both parents can maintain serious workout schedules. Perhaps the two cultural traditions of marathoning can help different groups of people make sense of marathoning in their own lives.

Absences

This research focuses primarily on the ways the narratives engaged by the cultural traditions of marathoning work instead of focusing on the narratives in other cultural traditions that work in opposition to the marathoning cultural traditions. In other words, I did not attempt to examine the broad range of possibilities for thought processes and rational behind the millions of Americans who never leave their couch to exercise; instead, I tried to uncover the ways people overcame the real and imagined barriers constructed by the narratives of other cultural traditions. Consequently, this research could not tackle all aspects of identity and difference that could potentially constrain people's participation. While I did relatively well finding people to interview from various age brackets, racial backgrounds, and genders;

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[124] Barrell et al, 262.

however, as I mentioned in chapter 1, I struggled to recruit interview subjects who were not well-educated and employed in professional careers. Most of my interview subjects, especially those who were not leading a marathoning institution, had struggled to recruit subjects for survey research themselves or had a close friend or family member who had faced that struggle. I also never truly identified a strategy for discussing the failure to complete marathon training with a large number of individuals who were not tightly tied to a social, non-marathoning running group: Brian, who had completed one marathon but dropped out before finishing training for his second, and the training manuals provided my most direct information on the subject. Initially, I had hoped that the magazines would provide some of that insight, however, my interviews confirmed that most of my audience does not read the magazines, much less write letters to the editor.

I weighed approximately 230 pounds and could not even walk three miles when I began training for my first half-marathon, and I had only gotten my weight down to 185 pounds when I began training for my first marathon (Since I am five-and-a-half feet tall, 230 pounds equates to being obese and 185 pounds is right at the boundary between "Overweight" and "Obesity" using the Body mass Index (BMI).[125] I was 26-years-old, and I had not run since a self-study physical education class in high school. Why did I get off the couch? To get in shape. To have a goal for getting in shape. To lose weight. To have something entertaining to do while visiting my family in Alaska the following summer. But, would my reasons transfer to any other individuals?

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[125] National Heart Lung and Blood Institute, "Calculate Your Body Mass Index."

What were the constraints faced me when I began to train? I did not have any children. I was not in a relationship. I was a student, and I was working a job with unpredictable, but somewhat flexible hours. I was struggling to exercise outside at over eighty degrees through a summer in Washington, DC, (as someone raised around winter sports in Alaska, strategies for dealing with heat were much less familiar to me than strategies for dealing with cold). Unlike many people, I had grown up around endurance athletes, including Olympians, teachers who walked five miles to and from work daily, doctors who ran outside in my neighborhood year-round and competed in mountain-pass marathons for the decade-and-a-half of my childhood. But, why did I think I could make that work in my life? I cannot say. I just knew that I had to try something so I would not always be the fat, unhealthy person of my generation in the family. So, I went to a bookstore, flipped through the various running books available (I picked running because it required little equipment, and I lived near two easy running paths), and selected the book that I thought would work for me. I also understood probability well enough know that marathoning must be achievable if so many people completed the races. In other words, the narratives necessary for success in one of the cultural traditions of marathoning was available to me because of my background in a community of casual athletes.

This study did not attempt to ask people who never laced up their shoes and hit the pavement why they thought marathoning was beyond their reach. But, based on my own story, I am not sure how easy that sudden change in thought process would be to study using ethnography and discourse analysis. But, based on my own experience, I may have been able to see myself as a marathoner explicitly because I

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saw other people like me engaging in the activity. I was able to create a coherent narrative of self that included marathoning in my day-to-day activities.

Although I had figure skated competitively in elementary school, tried running in elementary school, took the required gym class in junior high, and snow skied, both Nordic and downhill, throughout childhood, I weighed over 230 pounds and had not attempted a regular fitness program as an adult before I started walking in July 2002. I had spent the previous week with my parents, who were successfully losing weight after my father was diagnose with pre-diabetes, and I decided that I did not want to be the only fat person in the family. So, the next morning, I went and walked around the nearby lake and began watching my calorie intake.

After one month of walking, I felt like I had plateaued with walking: I would not be able to walk any faster so either I would need to walk farther to increase the intensity of my workouts or start jogging. Further, I was watching other people, some pretty out of shape, running on the same paths I was walking. And, occasionally, on a weekend morning, it looked like a group was training together. I went to the bookstore and selected a running training guide with plans for training to run multiple distances.

Several months later, my parents asked when I wanted to come visit them in Alaska during the next summer. My cousin, an avid runner, offered to run the Mayor's Midnight Sun Half-Marathon with me if I wanted to come over summer Solstice, and I agreed. After a successful half-marathon, I registered for and ran my first full marathon that fall because I wanted to continue my running development. And, the spring and summer following that first full marathon, I ended up dating someone who

suggested we both improve our health by training for and running shorter races with each other.

I saw my parents' success at improving their fitness; I had a bit of an athletic background; I was initially successful; my cousin chose to encourage me; as an academic, I was able to select a training guide that supported further growth; I was able to participate in a marathon-event that celebrates a location with which I identify; and I lived near enough to marathoning institutions such as a significant other with similar fitness goals, organized races, training trails marked with mileage, and specialty running stores that I successfully continued my engagement with running beyond the first organized activity. During those crucial first three years of attempting to become an adult-onset-athlete, I was fortunate to encounter multiple entry points into both the Pageant and Corrival marathoning traditions. So, I had the opportunity to reject the Pageant tradition, adopt the Corrival marathoning tradition, and stumble into studying both.

Chapter 4: Pageant Cultural Tradition

During the earlier description of the bounds and institutions of the cultural landscape of marathoning and the perceptions of marathoners, some of the various quotations depicted marathoners using terms like "real runner" or specifically pointing to people who only participate in marathoning via a charity training team. As I mentioned earlier, these distinctions suggest more than one cultural tradition within the field of marathoning. Although marathoners do discuss this divide in practice, there is no consistency in the language used to label the different behaviors. Since the community itself does not have the language to label these different groups, so, for the sake of convenience, I chose the terms Pageant and Corrival. In this chapter I will describe the Pageant cultural tradition, and in the next chapter I will describe the Corrival cultural tradition.

I chose the term Pageant to refer to those marathoners focused primarily on large, city boosting marathons, to which I earlier applied the label "Expo Marathon." As I will demonstrate in this chapter, Pageant marathoners primarily, although not exclusively, prepare for marathons with training teams linked to charity organizations; Pageant marathoners enjoy the camaraderie of others while training and racing; and Pageant marathoners define success in their marathoning endeavors as having an overall high quality experience instead of defining success solely through completion of the marathon itself within a specific amount of time.

To simplify the comparison of Pageant and Corrival marathoners, I will group the characteristics of each of the groups into three topic areas: (1) Defining what constitutes success within the cultural tradition; (2) Defining the ideal training and racing landscape for the cultural tradition; and (3) Clarifying the sense of self and relationship between the individual and his body within the cultural tradition. The clear differences between the Pageant and Corrival marathoners in these three areas makes apparent the existence of these sharply distinct cultural traditions, and exploring the different transformations of capital from one form to another within the two cultural traditions both supports their separation and illuminates the difficulties in applying Bourdieu's theories of capital to forms of cultural heavily reliant on embodied capital accumulated over time by specific individuals.

In his most direct description of the functions of capital, Bourdieu directly describes the structures of cultural capital and their relationship to the body. In this exploration of the nature of embodied cultural capital, Bourdieu correctly emphasizes that this type of capital cannot be instantaneously transmitted from one individual to another:

> Most of the properties of cultural capital can be deduced from the fact that, in its fundamental state, it is linked to the body and presupposes embodiment. The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested

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personally by the investor. Like the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan, it cannot be done at second hand (so that all effects of delegation are ruled out).

> [...]

This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange.

The following description and analysis of the Pageant cultural tradition explores the institutions that confer this form of embodied capital as well as institutions that disrupt Bourdieu's framework by suggesting ways in which the embodied capital may be able to be gifted, purchased, or exchanged. The discussion of the Corrival cultural tradition in the next chapter, on the other hand, will show that cultural tradition's frustration and disbelief in these mechanisms of gifting, purchasing, and exchanging embodied capital.

The transformation of capital occurs within the institutions and mechanisms of marathoning. As explained in the earlier descriptions of the field of marathoning, this field incorporates a number of mechanisms. The most significant mechanisms include publications, both paper and online, training teams, specialty running stores, and the racing institutions. These mechanisms show marathoners how to train for and run a marathon as well as how to incorporate the overall experience of marathoning into their lives.

Success

One of the most striking aspects of the Pageant cultural tradition is that success in marathoning has little to do with completing the race course in a specific amount of time, the type of "Prison of Measured Time"[126] type of success that most studying sport would expect from someone participating in a timed athletic event would expect. As the marathoners' descriptions of themselves and various categories of runners show, a key element of their identity is a lack of obsession with speed.

Georgia, a lifelong athlete who entered marathon running through a charity training group, and 38-year-old newer runner Ian's descriptions of categories of runners, and their places within the categories, explicitly place themselves outside the category of "runner," even though they have both completed multiple marathons. They both acknowledge that speed is not their primary interest, which it should be if they were a real runner, and they instead focus on the larger experience of marathon training.

Georgia's description of the type of people who run marathons provides a large spectrum of motivations for marathoners:

> You have your runners that run it, and then I also think you have others …
> like I started it … who wanted to do it to prove to yourself. You can do it. And
> others who do it for the fundraising aspect; they are in doing it in memory of
> somebody or in a program that means a lot to them

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[126] Brohm, Jean-Marie. *Sport: A Prison of Measured Time*, 1979.

In separating "runners that run it" from everyone else, Georgia's categories emphasize the centrality of the physical aspects of marathoning to "runners" and the peripheral nature of the physical aspects for the other groups.

Ian more explicitly noted the centrality of success in terms of speed and fitness for the "runner" by placing his own desires in contrast to them in his response to the question, "What is the difference between a runner and a jogger?":

I know what I can run, the time I can run it in, so it's not a big deal for me, and for runner's it is a big deal for them, time wise. Like how fast can I get something done, just my perception […] I think it is an attitude and I will say when I was doing my marathons and stuff, I would say I ran the marathon, because that was what I was told to say, but I consider myself a jogger.

Ian's discussion of the motives for "typical" marathoners also emphasizes the individuals' approach to the activity instead of their speed:

I think the typical, the ones that finish between 3 1/2 plus, anybody before that is just not typical. I think that - I don't consider myself to be in the best shape or anything, or have a runner's body or a runner's piece, but the typical is someone who just wants to get in shape, to do something that not many people have done, be it the half marathon or a full. They will be somebody who will truly shift their lives in order to handle the amount of time that it takes to do one of these marathons. It wasn't difficult for me to give up my Friday nights,, because as an actuary I had to take exams and I studied, so I got up early on Saturday to study, so that was easy for me to transition to not going out on

Friday nights. It is somebody who can devote their time to do something like

that. If you can't devote the time, you're not a typical marathon runner.

Notably, Ian did not finish his phrase and give a length of time for completing a

marathon at which the participant would not be "typical;" instead he moved to a

discussion of the overall structure of a successful marathoners' life.

Ideal Landscape: Training

Since Pageant marathoning is heavily connected to institutions such as charity

training groups and, through those training groups, heavily tied to specific training

manuals, these texts explicitly outline the ideal landscape for training for a marathon.

Some of the marathoners I interviewed also had clear opinions on the types of

landscapes they prefer for training. In this cultural tradition, the prescribed training

landscape focuses on the weekend long runs that people do in groups.

Donald and Abby, both staff members for a charity training group, explained

that their groups, like most charity training groups, employ a run-walk training

program; that style of program was invented Jeff Galloway. Jeff Galloway's training

guide *Marathon* as well as his other books and running workshops feature a run-walk

structure. In his training manual, Galloway also provides explicit instructions as to

how members of running teams should interact. Galloway focuses on presenting a

training system for motivation: a set of vision exercises, a set of mantras, and a

problem-and-solution set for different circumstances. And, then, he turns to, "The

Power of the Group."[127] Galloway begins his group-power chapter by claiming the

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[127] Galloway, 73.

98% success rate of the Galloway Training Program is really due to the motivation provided by the pacing group with whom people train.[128]

But, Galloway doesn't simply say, find people to train with and run. He gives training groups explicit instructions. He believes runners should show up to each session with a story to tell and gives members explicit "jobs" in order to improve group cohesion. People should all run at a conversational speed, the group should never skip walk breaks, and running either ahead of the group's agreed on pace or behind it is inappropriate. Finally, he believes in a team shirt. To summarize, Galloway's primary suggestion for motivation is social pressure.

In Galloway's book on running marathons runners are told to look at a specific program if they are a beginner or "If you're with a group, you'll get help in determining which of these time goals is right for you."[129] Within the plans, Galloway gives instructions on picking the appropriate pace, moderating blood sugar levels, and adjusting the length of one's runs within the bounds of the plan. The plans allow no other flexibility.

In addition to prescribing a very specific but generalized training plan, the Pageant cultural tradition also prescribes specific training social settings and landscapes. Given the centrality of the group weekend long run to training teams, especially those focused on fundraising and introducing individuals to marathon running, the runners are encouraged to run primarily on trail networks because the networks can more easily and more safely support larger groups of runners and

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[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid., 35.

support those charity runners in participating in social running, which includes chatting among the runners.

Abby, campaign manager for a charity training group, described the way the group attempts to structure interactions among the members of teams, and then Abby explains why their organization uses this structure:

They get a weekly, Saturday, group training where they do their long runs. During the week they'll get communication. They have us, the staff contact, at least two coaches, sometimes more. And then what we call a team captain - usually an alumni of the program who has done it before. They may feel more approachable than us, or the coaches. We just provide them with the coaches, the staff and the team captains will correspond with them at least once a week, either e-mail or give them a call. And beyond that if they have a question, injury, fundraising, they'll reach out in addition to the group training. It is not mandatory, but highly recommended. It is mostly email, but sometimes phone calls.

[...]

One of the things that we really try to offer and try to tell ourselves is the whole team concept. They're not there alone, and anybody can do it, we take you from the couch. We try to divide up loosely into groups. What we hope is that they'll come back with a great experience, not just completing a marathon, but having met friends, experienced a different group dynamic that they probably haven't before, no matter, unless they have done some kind of a [sport before], it's kind of like people participating in their 30s and 40s, they

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haven't really had the experience or opportunity to meet with a whole new

group of friends. That's what we hope they get out of it.

As Abby explains, the creation of a social network is one of their foundational

motivating mechanisms for convincing runners to either come back again for a

second season or talk their friends into trying their charity training program.

Corrival runner Donald, a coach for a large fundraising training group who

acculturates new runners into Pageant running, spoke to the importance of

companionship during the training run in his discussion of the problem a small, non-

summer training group poses for him, the coach. His comments emphasized the

importance of maintaining a larger group to facilitate high quality group interaction:

It has been more of a challenge with a smaller group. The ones on the fringes,

there might be two people running together, on either end. Occasionally we'll

have somebody that runs alone, and we try to avoid that. That is the challenge

with the small group. In the summer that is less of a problem. It is easier for

people to find a group to run with?

[…]

I don't care if it is only two people that run together. They can only run two

abreast on the trails anyway, so it really doesn't matter. It doesn't need to be

any bigger than that. With the larger groups, it is a big pack of people running

the same.

Donald emphasizes that, given the physical space available for running, marathoners

can only run in pairs, but when he is gathering together people to create a successful

team, he needs enough to be able to consistently pair people together.

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Pageant runner Diane, who has participated in a number of different charity training groups and was serving as a mentor for a larger charity training organization at the time of the interview, supports Galloway's contention that the structured, community-focused long runs were key to her success. Specifically, Diane describes her frustration at charity groups that provided only a fundraising mechanism and not the group activities:

In one of [charity training "groups"], I was the only person running. It was not organized very well, some of the things they said they didn't follow through on. Another one, they lost my record for fundraising and told me well, you're a good fundraiser, go out and get some more! So, just the attitude of the people…not appreciative of the effort that I have been going door-to-door for months, and just that type of attitude. Just support, I like a lot of support, just to know that it is there in case I need it. To having the organized runs makes a big difference, it lets you know that even though this is something that I have never done, I can do it, all of these people from different backgrounds, different levels of fitness are out doing it every week - so I can do it too.

The structure of Diane's comment indicates that she feels the lack of others to accompany her while running was equivalent, or perhaps more important, given that she listed that problem first, to a training group losing track of money she had raised. Clearly, the supportive network is a key motivator for her.

Brian, who had a fabulous experience the first time he trained for a marathon with a charity-training group and signed up for a second marathon with the same

group, dropped out of a training program when the individuals could not generate the right level of camaraderie and mutual support:

> The second time around was a difference experience. I finally realized that I didn't want to do it. One, I couldn't reproduce the experience I had [during the first time]. And two, I was running with people who …there were certain things that I had been taught that you don't leave people on the trail and you don't… you pay attention to the people around you …and you know if you're doing something physically demanding. There was a woman in my training group who was fairly large woman, and struggling. We were on the other side of Georgetown. I was with another training group this time, up on Capital Hill, so we were on the Capitol Crescent Trail, or whatever it is - once you go under the bridges at Georgetown. The Canal. At some point, I looked back and had been paying attention that this really large woman in this heat would have been by herself and so I hung back and ran with her. I tried to address that in e-mails to the group and there was just really no response. These were a group of people who were dedicated to what they were doing, and maybe later down the road they developed more of a cohesive sort of team type thing. It was not evident in the first few weeks of the training and I just didn't want to be with them. It's the only way I can describe it.

For Brian, when the two-by-two running fell apart and left a runner alone, he felt disheartened and disengaged. When the other runners on the team failed to show equivalent concern, he decided that he did not want to participate with them. Both

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Brian and Diane chose to leave the groups they were working with when the groups failed to encourage camaraderie and chatting during the long runs.

As Donald hinted in his offhand comment about marathoners only being able to run two-by-two, the physical space a large group of individuals take up during long runs is not insignificant. To have the type of camaraderie the Galloway training plan prescribes and both Diane and Brian report desiring, the space for training must allow enough space for people to run next to each other. In order to allow people to run safely two-by-two, most running groups run along the region's multiuse trails.

Abby describes the process her group's coaches go through to plan the long run locations for the season:

> Almost always the coaches have coached before or train almost full time. A lot of times they'll meet in person or even they'll hash it out in communication. They work together on it, talk through things, and decide a location for that week. When they do their 20 miler, they'll do it out in Reston [on the Washington and Old Dominion trail] or over on the Mount Vernon Trail or try to do something that is not going to be boring for people, but getting the right mileage without hitting the end of the trail traffic4. They definitely work together on it and that's how they check locations, what the mileage needs to be, they set that at the beginning of the season, sometimes there will be adjustments. Like the last few weeks—with the snow, and ice—and the walkers moved into the mall. During the summer, because they wanted more mileage, the runners have gone to trails that are roads that are closed off, like

> Beach Drive to try to make the adjustments. Or run around parking lots for some of the lower mileage.

As Abby notes, the length required for the long run focuses the groups towards specific locations that both will not be boring and will keep the runners free of entangling traffic, pedestrian or vehicular. Further, she notes that when the trails are not clear due to snow and ice, the coaches more frequently turn to traffic free roads or parking lots than to suburban or rural road, which may also be cleared of snow, but perhaps not entirely clear of traffic. In a later comment, Abby described how the two chapters of the training organization she worked with differ in their organization of the weekend long runs:

> Usually, when I was with the Maryland Chapter, they went to the same location every week, it was always this one trail. In this chapter [the Northern Virginia chapter] they rotate around. I think a good trail is one which isn't boring, some hills, just like a little bob, are good to have. Not a completely flat course, out-and-back so that we have coaches, team captains, and staff who check on people, and we make people sign in and sign out and an out and back is better than point-to-point obviously, for logistical reasons.

Abby's desire for a course to vary in elevation, not "boring," and structured to allow the organizing team's support staff to access the trail (ideally out-and-back so that each support staff member can serve as a checkpoint at two points in each runner's long run) brings to the point the importance to charity running teams of the density of the trail network in the DC metropolitan area.

Yet, multiuse trails are not necessarily trouble-free space, which explains why the coaches, Abby explains, also look to roads closed to traffic, malls, or other spaces for training. Brian clearly describes the social problem created by single-file running and the negative impact other types of users have on the long run experience:

> It was such a part of the [charity group] training process is that you're bonding with people, people you'll run the marathon with. Single file doesn't always work for bonding - so there might be two of us or three of us, and then some biker comes along and he decides that he needs to maintain speed on a course that people with children and strollers, rollerblades and runners and everybody and they just weren't very nice.

Like Brian, I also experience frustration with runner-bicyclist interactions. Since I trained to run a marathon alone, I did not risk collision with bicyclists while running; I risked colliding with the packs of charity runners while training for a bicycling century. From the perspective of a slower cyclist who cannot keep up with traffic enough to ride on the road, the packs of charity runners were scary obstacles for my use of the trails. From the perspective of a bicyclist, two-by-two runners take up significantly more space than either single runners or single cyclists; often runners in charity groups run more than two abreast; and the rows of people switch groupings – changing the length of any given row – with minimal warning.

Ideal Landscape: Racing

At the time of our interview, Kim was the race director for a marathon just moving from small to mid-sized. Her description of the changes she made to attempt

to attract an Expo-sized audience effectively explains the features marathoners look for in these events:

> The course wasn't the greatest, and to me, a marathon is much more than just the 26.2 miles. It is about learning about the city, the vendors, the expo, having fun afterwards —celebrating. And the original [version of the marathon she organized] had nothing to do with that. The expo was a six-foot table with the packets here and a lady selling a "cat's Meow" pin at the end of it. There was no party afterwards, no vendors. When you have run through a blizzard and you got an apple and some cookies that you had to buy, and people resorted to stealing them I think. There was no coffee or soup or anything to warm up these people, and I thought that was just a poor reflections on what [the city] has to offer. There are so many businesses that could have been happy to do that.

In a long description of the steps she took to improve her race, Kim listed a set of achievable amenities beyond those previously mentioned, such as a pre-race expo, vendors, an a post-race party: technical fiber race shirts, elaborate after-race foods, bigger and more permanent mile markers and other signage, and portable toilets at every water stops.

Several of the marathoners I interviewed agreed with Kim's assessment of the desirable features of a large marathon. Georgia describes what she likes about the Marine Corps Marathon course and marathon courses in general:

> The course is very nice, mainly flat with a few hills. D.C. is a pretty city to run through. I really like that, the time of year, the weather was perfect. It is

mainly supportive—Haynes Point was awful, there is nobody that goes out there pretty much, so pushing your self to get through that part was hard. Just the scenery preoccupied my mind. I didn't do it with any music. […] 'Course for me, I am personally not a hilly person, that's one reason I really liked the Marine Corps. Where it is located. The more they have music or entertainment all along the course, that's very attractive. Cheering sections. I do... I check out the courses before I register. I look at the elevations. I get the information from the website on the marathon.

Ian, who has run several marathons with charity groups, in describing what he likes about specific marathons gave a list of characteristics similar to both Kim and Georgia's lists of characteristics:

I like the people cheering you on, it was interesting, my parents didn't know what to expect when they came to watch me and my two friends when we did Disney. But they had the best times screaming names of people on shirts and how they [the other marathoners] would light up when their names were heard. I have cheered, of course, because I've been team captain [for my charity group] for events. Like when I did Virginia Beach, I also continued to train with [the portion of] my team that did Marine Corps. I did not run Marine Corps, but I trained with them. Being on the sidelines screaming their names, I know how much energy you get when people scream your name and cheer you on, and there is even more energy when it is someone you know that has come out to cheer you on. So, people just clapping and telling what a good job you do is pretty much what does it for me.

Kim, Georgia, Ian, and Hannah all listed exuberant, cheering crowds along the course and a festive atmosphere as the primary features that made a marathon appealing to them.

The size of the cheering crowds that line a course that Team in Training has selected for its national campaign is amazing. As a longtime resident of Anchorage, AK, home of the Team in Training destination event "The Midnight Sun Marathon and Half-Marathon," I was astounded when I ran the half-marathon and saw people affiliated with distant Team in Training groups lining the course through remote areas of Anchorage I had not previously imagined filled with crowds. Thousands of non-runners had travelled with the training teams from all across the United States to watch the race and support the runners.

Participation rates in the BWMA area marathons, described in Table 1, reflect the above criteria for marathon selection. For Pageant marathons, the Baltimore, Frederick, Marine Corps and National marathons are the urban marathons with at least some cheering crowds; the Marine Corps marathon is regularly a destination marathon for charity groups; the National and Baltimore marathons have smaller, but still significant training groups affiliated with them.

In addition to large cheering crowds, the Mayor's Midnight Sun Marathon in Anchorage, Alaska, and the Marine Corps Marathon also generate interest because they are located in areas that interest potential marathoners purely as tourist destinations. Although Ian, Harold, and Diane both also indicated that the exotic nature of the location of the marathon made a race more appealing, Georgia spoke most clearly about the appeal of those exotic locations for her when she is choosing a

marathon: "I want to start doing more international ones. One is the area of travel, and I think running in a different country and in a spot you're not used to, helps preoccupy your mind while your mind while you're on the course." Ian, unlike Georgia, has already had the opportunity to run in spectacular locations. Ian was almost speechless in describing the appeal of exotic locations:

> I've run some really amazing races, and they all were great in their own way. But, I truly loved the … especially Rome … you're running amongst all of the ruins. I think the scenery as you're running … and then you have Alaska, which was beautiful, which was the scenery. Bermuda was just amazing You ran around the island, the scenery was the ocean. In Paris, you had all of the monuments that you ran by. Rome, all the monuments. Disney, all of the parks. Virginia Beach, that was fun, you had people screaming, pretty much the scenery.

"The scenery" — Ian summarized his most important aspect of a marathon course in those two words.

As I mentioned in the discussion of the amount of time courses are open in Chapter 3, the list of races in Galloway's training guide only includes one characteristic about races other than the marathon's location: the number of hours the course is open. As I explained above, Galloway's advice is central to the Pageant cultural tradition, and so it is not surprising that Julia, a realtor who also organizes a non-charity focused marathon training group and sees herself as a "walker" (as opposed to a "runner") engaged in marathon culture, spoke directly to the impact of

time restrictions on her selection of events in her response to my question about how she selected events:

> Well, the first one I didn't pick, it was my friend [and] the training program [and what they] let us do. The second year, the reason that I entered [the Baltimore] was because that was the 9/11 year and we thought the Marine Corps might be cancelled. So, we went to Baltimore and did it. Then, the DC Marathon, I really wanted to support that program. […]
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> [I'm not going to run the National Marathon] . . . I want to support them and do it . . . but they are just too fast for me and have a cut off time.

Julie's discussion shows how the complexity of peer-pressure, training group, and practical concerns (in this case, the potential of security requirements causing a race to be cancelled) interplay with the participants' understanding of whether they will be welcome in the event. Julie would like to support the National Marathon, but cannot even register for or attempt the event because it requires participants to have finished a race with a qualifying time before registering for the event (at a 16 minute per mile pace, Julie would probably finish a marathon in just under seven hours). She also finishes her statement with the "defensive" assertion about faster walkers (an 11 minute mile pace should mean the walker could finish the marathon in 4 hours 48 minutes) in an apparent need to defend against blanket statements about the slowness of walkers.

As I explained earlier in the discussion of the pressure Lynn faces to increase her course's six-hour time limit was echoed by Kim, who, unlike Lynn, was trying to expand the size of her race: "[There] is a movement to have our course closing time

limits expanded. Right now we're at 6.5 hours. Actually 6 hours. And people want to

see seven or even eight hours. To allow even more walkers." I asked her if the

increase in requests for a longer time limit has been followed by the enrollment of

runners requiring slightly more time to finish the replace. Kim provided the

following, more complex description of the situation:

> I get e-mails all the time from not necessarily slow runners, but actually faster
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> walkers who want to participate in these events. So, they want to know if they
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> are going to get kicked off. We don't kick people off the course, we open up
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> the course. We say you have to move to the sidewalks and keep walking. So,
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> they finish at their own pace. And we wait for them. And it is not a problem.
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> More and more people are asking to extend it to 8 hours. That is something
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> that we just logistically ... we are not prepared to do right now. That requires a
>
> lot of additional staffing.

The time limits for marathons in the BWMA and Kim's explanation of the situation

demonstrates that managers of Expo races face difficult decisions as they try to

appeal to more marathoners, but also struggle to handle the greater logistical needs of

a longer event.

Pageant runners seek a race that gives them the emotional support of cheering

crowds lining the race and races that stay open long enough so they can complete the

event even if they run over a six hour marathon. They also seem to prefer events

staged at exotic locations they might otherwise wish to visit as a tourist.

In addition to defining success and ideal training and racing landscapes in very specific ways, the Pageant cultural tradition also allows only a certain amount of self-determination and flexibility. Because they rely more on experts, or, perhaps, in order to be able to rely more on experts, participants in this cultural tradition use a very restrictive body of training plans, select from a limited number of marathons, and depend more on experts for advice regarding their equipment and other decisions. Because thy have limited choices, answers to their questions and packages that make their decisions for them can be institutionalized and converted to economic capital.

The institutions of Pageant running, such as Galloway's training manual and the charity training teams, focus on very few training options. Further, these institutions do not encourage marathoners to adapt training plans or make their own, educated decisions from among a set of plans. Instead, within this cultural tradition, marathoners are told to ask a coach—a person containing social capital—to select the appropriate training plan.

Abby, a charity program manager, describes her charity's training team's basic program and their management of more-advanced runners. Notice that they do not encourage new marathoners' curiosity about what experienced marathoners might do differently:

> The general plan that we give to all of the participants is basically a beginner plan. So, if we know someone is an experienced runner, we have a different plan for them. We have that. [The coaches] just don't put it out there. We don't want people who are new to running to feel intimidated by seeing their

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schedule next to [the other plan]. 5 miles versus 8 or 9 or 10, I think that … in

general, for those who have never run before … I think experienced runners

will just set up a plan to meet their needs.

Decoding Abby's statement. She's stating that they want to make sure that the

beginning runners blindly follow there program, while they expect that the more

experienced runners to just adapt the program to meet their needs, if necessary, so

providing a second program is not essential. Abby's description of her charity's

training plans continued with a brief outline of the content of the plans:

Some of the days are adjustable. The days of the cross-training. We generally

try to do 4 days of running in the week and then one day off, and then the long

run and weight training. So, it is flexible and some people follow it to the

letter but some kind of look at it and say, my schedule doesn't allow that I can

do that - so we always encourage them to talk to the coaches before they make

any adjustments to their schedule and they can work it through with the

coaches. And the coaches are good about that. I think they really do lean on

the coaches for that kind of advise.

Her evaluation of how people react to their inability to incorporate the training plan

into their schedule reinforces the lack of autonomy assumed among the charity

group's participants: She wants them to and expects that they will lean on the coaches

for advice on adjusting the plans.

In his training manual, Galloway tells marathoners to look at a specific

program if they are a beginner or "If you're with a group, you'll get help in

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determining which of these time goals is right for you."[130] Within the plans, Galloway

gives instructions on picking the appropriate pace, moderating blood sugar levels, and

adjusting the length of one's runs within the bounds of the plan. The plans allow no

other flexibility.

Even Bingham and Hadfield's training guide, which seeks to appeal to very

new marathoners that may not be tightly tied to a larger group or the Pageant cultural

tradition, includes eight training plans and three chapters explaining the biological

rational behind different components of the plan. Bingham and Hadfield explain, "We

can't assign a one-size-fits-all training program to everyone who reads this book. But

we can guide you in making the right decision by helping you choose the right

training program for you."[131] And, although Bingham and Hadfield do educate their

readers on why specific elements exist, they demand strict adherence to their training

plans:

> You have to get it clear in your mind that the sequence is absolutely,
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> positively sacred. If you miss a workout, it's gone forever. That's why you
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> must choose a program that suits your lifestyle and that you can stick with
>
> over the long haul.[132]

The Bingham and Hadfield book grants that its readers should be able to be taught

how to select the appropriate plan for themselves, but then requires them to follow the

program exactly.

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[130] Galloway, 35.

[131] Bingham and Hadfield, 47..

[132] Ibid., 97.

All marathon training plans that the marathoners studied for this dissertation might review schedule the longest weekend long run for approximately three weeks before race day because a combination of scientific and experiential study has concluded that marathoners should taper their total weekly and long run mileage for the three weeks leading up to race day. Consequently, if a group of people wish to run their long runs together on a weekly basis, they need to be planning to race on approximately the same day (alternatively some of the marathoners in a group could run slightly different distances for each long run). Further, if marathoners wish to cheer each other on during the race itself, or gain support from each others' family and friends, they need to plan to run the same marathon. Due to these constraints, large marathon training groups design their training sessions for one or two specific marathons each season. Thus, marathoners planning to train with one of these groups do not truly get to choose the marathon they will run; instead, they must select from among the marathons supported by the training group.

> Ian, who began marathoning with a charity training team but now trains for some marathons with charity training teams and trains for others alone, describes his decision process for selecting marathons when training with a charity and when preparing without a charity team. In that explanation, he depicts the significantly narrower nature of the decision he makes when selecting a marathon he will prepare for with a charity group:
> I picked [the Walt Disney World Marathon for my first marathon], over the other choice. I think it also had something to do with the fact that I had family

in Orlando, and my parents said they would come down and cheer me on. I

did Disney.

Ian's response shows his acknowledgement that, given the need to work within the

structure of the marathon-training group, he could only choose between two

marathons. But, his choice was influenced not only by disinterest in the other choice

but also by his interest in having his family come down and cheer him on. In

describing his selection of his second marathon, Ian speaks directly to the mechanism

of the charity training team: "I signed up [for my second marathon] when I found out

the coach that I had was coming back for the fall." Ian's personal connection to the

coach and the desire to work with that coach, regardless of the marathon his team was

training for, directed Ian's choice of event. Harold, who also began running through a

charity group, had also planned to train independently for his third marathon, until he

realized his preferred charity group and a coach team were preparing people for a race

in Florence. Ian and Harold willingly restricted either their choice of marathon or

their choice of training environment because of the packaged nature of those two

decisions within their cultural tradition.

Marathoners within the Pageant cultural tradition are also not encouraged to

make independent choices regarding equipment, such as shoes, clothing, or water

bottles. Since the Pageant group runners do not have a strong background in athletic

endeavors, charity-training teams instruct their marathoners to go to specialty running

stores to purchase shoes and other equipment. The training institutions instruct them

to listen to the guidance of the experts at the stores, instead of the guidance of reviews

of equipment in running magazines. Brian explained the level of detailed instructions he received from his charity training team:

> They recommended places to go buy shoes. […] [The staff at the specialty running store] had you put on the shoes, and you went out and you ran for them. And the guy watched you and watched what your feet were doing. [The store staff members] made recommendations based on what they observed. That information came from the [charity] marathon office. What kind of food to eat, what kind of power bars. The kind of things that would make the training easier.

Where Brian rigidly adhered to his team's guidance throughout the training process, other runners report beginning with the team's guidance and then branching out from there as they gained knowledge. For example, Georgia began by following the guidance of the charity's coaches, as presented during a training seminar, but branched out to asking friends and other runners as she and her friends gained experience through multiple marathons: "I'll ask runners, friends that I know enjoy running a lot; other marathon runners. I asked in the training program, or I'll just go out on my own and try something." Georgia describes a progression of first listening to experts whose social capital was confirmed by the institution she was invested in, then she began consulting experts she herself had identified, and, lastly, she began making her own decisions. Julie and Abby both describe organizing the type of seminar Georgia refers to. They both see these seminars as key elements in getting their runners prepared to safely train for and run a marathon.

Underlying the existence of the seminars and the training groups' instructions

to their runners to go to a reputable specialty running store and follow the store

clerk's advice for purchasing shoes and other equipment is the understanding that

these participants do not know enough about running to select the appropriate

equipment without detailed guidance. The charity's recognition of the store's as sites

of learning further endorses the primacy of the specialty stores within the landscape

of Pageant running. Georgia clearly understood that she was looking for guidance for

someone she knew institutions would recognize as experts: when I asked her if she

felt able to give advice about marathoning, she gave the following, carefully framed

response: "I'll answer questions, but I'll just tell them that this is my opinion, I won't

tell them this is the advise I give you and you should follow it. But, I'll give my

opinion." I asked her what type of person would be qualified to give advice, and she

responded, "If you are a certified trainer probably."

Capital

In the Pageant cultural tradition, the social capital rests in the coaches and

managers of the charity training teams and the staff and ownership of the specialty

training stores. In addition, the training teams, specialty training stores, publications,

and marathons themselves are institutionalized forms of capital that are converted to

economic capital when individuals enroll in the training team, purchase equipment

from the specialty training stores, buy a publication, purchase something after seeing

an advertisement for it in a running magazine, or register for a marathon. Lastly, in

the Pageant environment, where camaraderie during long training runs and on race

day is important, the embodied cultural capital rests not only in the ability to run the

appropriate distance and speed but also in the ability to be good company to other

people you are training with.

Chapter 5: Corrival Marathoning

The Corrival term refers to the second set of marathoning narratives used by marathoners who primarily participate in either Basic or Boutique marathons in order to experience the competitive environment. For this group, the spectacle of the Expo marathon is less appealing; instead, this group seeks an event that allows them to run their time goal for the marathon or accumulate marathons based on specific criteria. The Corrival runners also tend to be more engaged in lifelong fitness and local running groups that organize races of various lengths. I am using the term "Corrival" to describe this group explicitly because the act of competing next to other runners is the key element for these runners.

While marathoners within the Pageant cultural tradition depend heavily on institutions, such as charity training teams and specialty running stores, to guide their selection of locations for long runs, their choice of marathon, and many of their other choices, marathoners within the Corrival cultural tradition gather information from various sources and, over time, build their own expertise. As Donald's biography and Julie's general description of how her charity training team selects and places coaches, the Corrival cultural tradition is the primary training location for the experts the Pageant cultural tradition needs to survive. In order to show the differences between the two cultural traditions, this chapter explores the same three aspects of the Corrival cultural tradition as the last chapter explored about the Pageant cultural tradition: (1) What constitutes success within the cultural tradition; (2) The ideal training and racing landscape for the cultural tradition; and (3) The sense of self and relationship between the individual and his body within the cultural tradition.

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Success

Most of the marathoners I interviewed who speak from the perspective of the Corrival cultural tradition have completed multiple marathons. Since they have completed multiple marathons, they no longer run simply for the first time "I can do it" achievement that some of the first-time marathoners reported. In her explanation of how she selects the marathons she does run, Lynn explained that she runs marathons in order to qualify for the Boston Marathon. Further, she spontaneously moved from explaining her own motivation to making derisive statements about marathoners motivated by crowd support:

Time of year, trail marathon, you want a fast one to qualify for Boston, I'm always trying to qualify for Boston, so I won't pick a trail one. Airfare, lodging. I ran Phoenix, it was a new one, I don't like to run inaugural marathons, they usually have logistical problems in the beginning. Look at the course, if it says semi-fast and flat, then okay it is a good one. And the location. If it is local, like Northern Central, that's a nice one, it's flat. New York, Chicago, Marine Corps, just kind of stay away because it is hard to get in for one, and after that it is just too crowded, unless you can get to the front. But if you're running a pace, it is just too crowded, dodging and weaving and all of that, and so I prefer the medium size marathon. I don't care about crowd support. A lot of people complain that your marathon doesn't have crowd support - and I tell them on the website there won't be - they can't believe no

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one showed up - but the thing about directing a small marathon, you have to like being in a small marathon. It's not a three-ring circus, and if you like small marathons, you don't even like the people out there. If people want to come out and cheer you on, fine - but don't expect every one in the high school to cheer you on, that's not why you run a small marathon. If they want that they should go to the Marine Corps.

Lynn is motivated by speed; success for her is running the race quickly enough to qualify for the Boston Marathon. As I explained in a previous chapter, Lynn also refuses to cater to slower marathoners and believes those slower marathoners should not be proud of their accomplishments.

While Lynn races purely for speed, the other marathon organizers I interviewed, Kim, Frank, and Gerry, race both for speed and to complete the fifty-states challenge. Frank and Gerry have already completed at least one marathon in each of the 50 states. Kim is still working towards the goal of running on marathon in each of the 50 states. Gerry well represents this group of runners in his description of how he selects marathons:

Right now I look for races that … for the ones that I really want to set a goal for, like a marathon, right now I'm not sure how many more I'm going to run, because I'm getting older. So I look for ones that are interesting, interesting course, nothing too extreme either too flat, downhill, or up 1000 foot hills, rolling hills through the length of the course, but something that looks like an honest course, something I can train for and go for a P.R.

For runners not invested in achieving a speed goal, the idea of running one (or two, or three) marathons in each of the fifty states is a common goal. Kim explained that her marathon sees a lot of participants from farther away because individuals who wish to complete the double- or triple- 50-state challenge use her event as the second or third Maryland event (after the Baltimore Marathon or the now-defunct Marathon in the Parks). They reflect example of productive, collective goals for marathon running. When marathon runners select events due to their perception of the destination as appealing or desire to complete one marathon in each state, Keinan and Kivetz theorize this behavior reflects a desire to collect novel or unusual experiences because the individuals want their running activities to be productive.[133] The 50-state challenge, like speed goals, is therefore not about experiencing something but about getting a specific, measurable result as a product.

Ideal Landscape: Training

Corrival runners emphasize the importance of the proximity of a training route to their homes and the convenience of the timing of group runs, if they participate in them. Since training occurs more frequently alone or in smaller groups, the training landscape of Corrival runners is more varied. These runners more frequently report training on treadmills or on neighborhood streets instead of on specific multi-use trails.

As significant as where the two groups report training is which training sessions the two groups reported on when asked: the Pageant runners emphasized

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[133] Keinan and Kivetz, 947.

their weekend long runs while the Corrival runners usually talked first about their mid-week runs and then moved to discussing their weekend long run location or spoke of the two types of training in the same breath. Ivey, a woman who began running with shorter events and runs in part as a social activity with her friends gives a typical example of how the Corrival runners select training locations. Ivey lists the logistical aspects individuals, without the support of a large training infrastructure, must think about as they plan runs:

> For long runs the trail is like Rock Creek Trail, Capitol Crescent Trail, for short runs we go around the neighborhood. Sometimes we do speed workouts on the tracks.
>
> […]
>
> I like trails, so you don't have to worry about cars and crossing streets. Also, it is easier to get there and meet my friends. We need a way to come back to our cars, so Metro accessible; it is something to consider. Also, things like bathrooms and water fountains are other factors.

As Ivey explains, multiple criteria influence the decisions she and her friends make about training locations: (1) avoiding cars and crossing streets; (2) clear meet-up point with parking; (3) either an out-and-back or loop trail or transit back to the cars; and (4) convenient access to both toilets and water. This list echoes the list of criteria Abby gave for the locations her charity training organization chooses for their large groups. While members of groups can let the groups' organizers do the research and make the decisions, independent runners must do this themselves.

Unlike Ivey, who never trained with a large training group, Harold began marathoning with a large charity organization and only later began planning his own training. As he transitioned to training with a charity group to training independently, Harold and his friends ran shorter races and tried out running groups associated with local clubs, such as the DC Front Runners, and local stores, such as the Pacers. With those groups he began to train on different landscapes:

With [the] Pacers [store training team during weekday runs], a combination of downtown and running trails, one to get to the other. In Clarendon, we would run for a mile to get to the Crescent Trail. The same thing with Old Town, just a mile to get to Mount Vernon Trail and then come back. On weekends during the training season this year [with a charity training group], it has been starting on the Southwest Waterfront and running up through the Mall, then by the Kennedy Center, up the Potomac, on to the Cap. Crescent Trail until we hit turnaround point and come back. A weird combination of urban and trails.

In addition to calling the routes "a weird combination," Harold also gave an in-depth critique of these types of training routes:

The nice thing about the trails is that you don't have to worry about crossing streets, crazy tourists, cars. Dislike is that, and this is more the W&OD and not the Capital Crescent, the number of cyclists that go so close to the divider line that even if you're single file and moved over, you almost get clipped. While it is very pretty, it is also isolated, and not much to look at. That's one of the things that I like about running in the urban area, much more going on,

much more to see, but that's of course a disadvantage. You can see a mad

truck driver coming in on you. On the way out it would never be a problem,

we would be early and nobody was there. Then coming back there are tourists

getting off buses, and it is a big mess.

Unlike the Pageant marathoners, who also complained about interacting with cyclists

on multi-use trails, he is capable and interested in comparing and contrasting the

multi-use trails with urban streets. Harold's explanation of what he does and does not

like about each of the training routes clarifies that, although the charity group was

running along city streets during its weekend long runs, they were using routes

generally recognized as "pedestrian" and subject to high volumes of tourists traffic.

Unlike the Pageant marathoners, Harold recognizes that the pedestrians are traffic,

like cars, that make training difficult.

Adam, who has no history with charity training groups but some history with

more general running training teams, desires a training location even more functional

and less encumbered than either Ivey or Harold. Adam emphasized, like many of the

other Corrival runners, that he really likes having access to a treadmill to facilitate

high quality training when the weather outside is not great. Adam also wants to be

able to quantify his runs:

For training I need an indoor space and an outdoor space, if] I have a

neighborhood or a rural area, not suburban so much, because it feels synthetic,

to run in prefab houses and there is nothing natural about [that] running. I like

to see a tree, I don't know why that is. It needs to be greater than 3 mile loop,

because you could run around the block a million times, and it is not good

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training and there has to be variations, so you have mile makers that you pass. If I had like the Beltville Research Center, has the ideal. That's plenty rural, moderately hilly and I can map out my options of 3, 4 1/2, 5, 7 , 13.5, 17 miles.

Corrival runners must do their own course research. At least two other marathoners made comments similar, at least in aspects, to the quotations I included from Ivey, Harold, and Adam. Like Adam, many of them talked about different tools and strategies they used to determine the length of their runs and their pace. Like Harold, many discussed the need to balance safety, entertaining views, and different types of traffic. Like Ivey, many did not want to travel very far for their various workouts.

Another element of the training landscape that Corrival marathoners must consider is whether they will do their training runs, especially their long runs, alone or with a group. Although many of the Corrival marathoners do their long runs alone, they are not all happy that they run alone. Corrival marathoners choose to run alone because they see the various running groups as inconvenient or unworkable in their lives. In many cases, these runners see the running groups as running at inconvenient (or unclear) locations, running at inconvenient times, or consisting of individuals with incompatible goals and/or paces.

So, for the Corrival runners, the conflict between having someone to push them or social time, the usual benefits runners see in running with a group, and having more time running or more time running at the pace they, as individuals, need for the best possible use of their workout time. In addition to specifically contemplating whether group running is a good use of their time, something that

Pageant runners do not question, the Corrival runners also speak specifically about the decision making process for planning runs, while among the Pageant runners, only the organizers work through that thinking process.

Most Corrival runners examine various training plans before selecting one and many will even customize a plan by combining elements of other plans. Further, these runners are significantly more likely to incorporate at least two quality workouts into their training weeks: a long run on the weekend and an interval or speed workout, sometimes on a track, midweek.

Corrival runner and race organizer Gerry displays the most independent, speed-oriented of all of the individuals I interviewed as far as designing his training program. Gerry has a personal coach, and other than the personal coach, he gets advice from the following sources:

> There are other people that I run with and we all talk to each other as far as what one person is doing compared to somebody else, and you get ideas here and there. I subscribe to *Running Times* magazine. I'm the list serves of several running related Yahoo Groups.

Where Corrival runner Ivey described the types of items that runners must consider while planning a training course, Adam described more specifically his functional needs alongside his aesthetic needs. Adam emphasized, like many of the other Corrival runners, that he really likes having access to a treadmill to facilitate high quality training when the weather outside is not great. Adam also describes required a sense of how long each of his runs is:

[For training I need an indoor space and an outdoor space, if] I have a neighborhood or a rural area, not suburban so much, because it feels synthetic, to run in prefab houses and there is nothing natural about [that] running. I like to see a tree, I don't know why that is. It needs to be greater than 3 mile loop, because you could run around the block a million times, and it is not good training and there has to be variations, so you have mile makers that you pass. If I had like the Beltsville Research Center, has the ideal. That's plenty rural, moderately hilly and I can map out my options of 3, 4 1/2, 5, 7 , 13.5, 17 miles.

Corrival runners must do their own course research. They like knowing how far they have run. They value getting a high quality workout year around, even if that requires them to run inside on a treadmill. They do not like interrupting their training by needing to stop to safely cross roads.

Although many of the Corrival runners do run alone, they are not all happy that they run alone but choose to run alone because they see the various running groups as inconvenient or unworkable in their lives. In many cases, these runners see the running groups as running at inconvenient (or unclear) locations, running at inconvenient times, or consisting of individuals with incompatible goals and/or paces. Cathy, who once worked at a specialty running store and now participates in adventure racing events more than she marathons, explicitly pointed out the tradeoff she has to make if she travels any real distance to train: "Convenience and location. Oftentimes I think they meet in a location that I feel that, if I have to drive in 10 minutes that I should be running instead."

Ideal Landscape: Racing

As suggested by the perceived audience for *Running Times* and the emphasis of that magazine, as reported by interview subjects, on announcing upcoming races, Corrival marathoners find the magazine useful for identifying marathons to run. Higdon's audience is the Corrival runner, who the author might believe have other places for finding information about races and the skills for determining the criteria relevant to them individually when selecting a race. His silence on race selection criteria conveys his assumption that runners will create their own criteria and do their own research. Bingham's co-author, who is a professional running coach lending her voice of traditional-running-authority to the book, does hint at the possibility that people might value different things in marathons. Hal Higdon in *Marathon: The Ultimate Training Guide* does not give any guidance to his readers about what type of marathon to select for a first or subsequent race.

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Gerry, the director of a race sitting on the border between a large Pageant event and a Basic marathon and an avid runner of races of multiple lengths, described the difference between participating in something as big as the Marine Corps Marathon and a much smaller race:

In [the race he organized], it is a smaller race, you have—I don't want this to sound snobbish—there are time limits with [the race]. So you see runners who are more so, with the goal that they are racing that marathon. They are there to do the best they can, and they are there to race it. The time limits are very generous; it is not like it is just for runners who run fast. When you look at the Marine Corps Marathon, which I've done, it is more of an event, there are extras going on in and around the race. You have 30,000 people, and people who are going out just to walk the whole thing. You wouldn't be able to do that with [his race], because time limit will cut you off at some point, because our road block permits are not going to allow us to keep the roads open for that long. Or, to be very honest, we didn't cut anybody off, you can still finish by getting up on the sidewalk, obey the traffic laws, pedestrian crosswalks and traffic flows and we can only do so much. Where as Marine Corps allows close to 8 hours to finish. So, you have, I don't want to say dedicated, any one that goes out and runs a marathon, 26.2 miles has dedication and drive, but the goal of doing [his race] is to qualify for Boston, to make a particular time and the best numbers possible. The other person is just there to do it, to enjoy it, have fun, get 26.2 miles in, it doesn't matter how long it takes.

Gerry's explanation highlights a crucial difference between the Pageant and Corrival

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participants: from the perspective of someone in the Corrival group, those who do the larger races are not truly trying to race their fastest race. And, due to the impediment the crowds are to speed, truly, the only racers that will have their best times in a very large race are those that are allowed to start at the very front, in advance of the crowds that usually reduce one's pace until people space themselves out. And in the very largest races, such as the Marine Corps Marathon, the slowness caused by the crowds may last the majority of the race. So, from the perspective of a person in the Corrival group, those who do only Pageant events are not trying for their best times, their goal is some measure of fun.

Felice, who had significantly less experience marathoning than Garry, described the appeal of marathons in exotic locations, even for a Corrival runner for whom speed is important:

> "In fantasyland," I'll just do one [marathon] in every state. You see people run in those shirts and it looks so cool. So, I'm planning on planning vacations around marathons. […] As I get more money and then the same amount of flexible time, I'll try to plan vacations around marathon times. I'll try to run the marathon, like the Great Wall of China Marathon, and spend a week traveling in China besides.
>
> […]
>
> I like marathons with a lot of people. I like big marathons, I don't like trail running; I spend most of the time making sure I'm not tripping on something. So people, a cool medal is always a plus, a city I want to go to, but … like Austin, TX I don't want to go to … but Prague, I loved it, and I want to go

back. And it would be the excuse to do something new. All of the big major cities in Europe, I would like to run through Europe.

[…]

I like spectators, but I also like chunks where there are no spectators, because they get annoying. It is nice to have people around when you're feeling either really good or really crappy, but it is also good to not be around screaming people for 5 hours. I like to chill out for a while, so I like a balance between spectators and silence. I like road races. I don't like trails or grass. I like flat trails, but none of this woods stuff. I don't really notice any of the sites, although they say the Marine Corps is the race of the monuments, but I couldn't even tell you where I was. I could be staring at the Washington Monument and wouldn't know it, because I zone out for large chunks of time. I don't care if there is anything else around me.

Felice's description of choosing races based on location because of the time she could spend at the destination outside of her competition time while Pageant runners view the race itself as an opportunity for sight seeing. Felice likes races that allow her to run smoothly and quickly. And, although she appreciates a cheering crowd, when she is running, she is there to run. During the race, Corrival runners are more interested in running than in taking in the sites.

In describing her selection criteria, Cathy, a Corrival runner who has been running for about one year, explains both the tangible and intangible elements she used when choosing among all of the marathons in the country:

I chose that destination based on temperature, travel, 'cause I had never been

to that location before. […] My girlfriends were all able to join me, and we

could do it as a girls' trip. It was very easy getting a flight, getting my

transportation, from the hotel, to and from the airport. It was economically

feasible. The entry fees weren't that expensive. The flight wasn't that

expensive.

Like Cathy, several of the Corrival marathoners I interviewed selected a race because

it was conveniently located to combine with visiting friends or family.

Biologist and Corrival runner Ivey's explanation of how she selects a race

shows that the presence of crowd support may not be unwelcome to Corrival runners,

but other support elements are requirements too:

I first check out the map, and for example the Marine Corps goes around the

Mall and I think it is cool. The crowd support and also well organized it is, are

there enough water stations and aid stations. […] Ideally I like to have it every

2 miles, but sometimes it is hard, but ideally at least every 3 miles.

Note, that unlike the Pageant marathoners, Ivey explicitly mentioned water stations as

a necessary item. I doubt that the Pageant runners do not need water, but since those

marathoners do not select their own events they do not risk competing in an event that

does not incorporate that type of support. In fact, in the half-marathon that is part of

the Mayor's Midnight Sun Marathon festival in Anchorage, Alaska, the water stations

are spaced a bit too far apart for one of the charity teams, so the team runs its own

team-members-only aid station on the race course.

Within the Corrival cultural tradition, runners do still select event locations in order to arrange time with family members, explore notable tourist destinations, and meet goals such as completing a marathon in each of the fifty states. But where Pageant runners do so as part of a script in which the celebratory environment of the event is part of their motivation for marathoning, Corrival runners select specific, non-local events as part of the standard tourist narratives as well as through a desire to make the recreational activity productive.

Self & Body

While Pageant marathoners are encouraged to trust experts and take the experts' guidance in selecting marathons, training plans, training locations, and equipment, Corrival marathoners may get advice from experts, but they also develop their own expertise and make decisions for themselves. Hal Higdon training manual begins with a narrative description of the typical training week,[134] includes a brief single grid of his novice plan, [135] and then launches into five chapters of explanation on how to design more complicated training plans to improve one's running. The Appendix for the guide includes five plans for progressively more experienced runners; however, he characterizes these plans as "basic guides" that can be enhanced by other information online or in the book. The book then proceeds to give guidance on what can and cannot be changed in any given plan.[136] Unlike Galloway and Higdon and Bingham's strong language prohibiting adjustment of plans and

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[134] Higdon, 81.

[135] Ibid., 82.

[136] Ibid., 351-56.

Galloway's suggestion that marathoners consult someone else for help in selecting a plan, Higdon guides his readers so they can learn to adjust training plans as necessary.

Ian, who otherwise embraced Pageant marathoning, did not strictly follow the charity group's training plan. As he speaks about his decisions, he clearly recognizes that he was breaking the norms of his community:

> I think I did a typical [charity] piece. But I was kind of atypical. I ran 3 times a week, and that included the long one on Saturdays. Otherwise I did more like machine work, like the elliptical. I don't do treadmill. I would do elliptical about 3 times a week. I tried to work 5 to 6 times a week. I didn't run 4 times a week, because of my knees at that time.

So, based on the feedback from his body, Ian customized his approach in a way he recognizes as both non-standard and unusual within the context of his charity training team.

Bonnie described how she goes about gathering and selecting information in order to create a training plan appropriate for her:

> I have downloaded a couple of training guides, how much you should run each day, each week, and I follow one of them.
>
> […]
>
> I did a search, there is one that the History Chronicle put out … a guide for running races. It might be old, but it's on how much you do on any given day. The other one was New York Marathon, and it was a running guide for them in 2001.

Bonnie selected a specific training program, which she described as the New York City Marathon training program (most likely this is Hal Higdon's program based on his longterm affiliation with the race), after comparing the program to other easily accessible programs. In addition, her casual and unspecific reference to two plans, including an older one, and only a vague awareness of the expertise behind the plan demonstrates that the expertise held in the plan was not nearly as important to her as the expertise Pageant marathoners see in their plans.

Even when they turn to experts for advice, Corrival marathoners still build their own knowledge and expertise. Gerry was working with a personal coach, yet he also gets advice from the following sources:

> There are other people that I run with and we all talk to each other as far as what one person is doing compared to somebody else, and you get ideas here and there. I subscribe to *Running Times* magazine. I'm the listserves of several running related Yahoo Groups.

Although Gerry is so concerned about maximizing the efficacy of his training speed that he has hired a coach, he still asks other runners for advice, keeps track of the running magazine most runners perceive of as appealing to more-elite runners, and also chats with a larger online community about training approaches. So, Gerry looks to a professional, a larger professional perspective in the form of the magazine, and a variety of peers through face-to-face and online relationships.

As with training plans, Corrival marathoners also build the same personal expertise about equipment. Adam has a preferred source for data, but whichever

institution, specialty store sales person or magazine, is his authority, he plans to
discuss and debate:

> [I get information about equipment] from those sales people. It is hard for me
> to read about it in the running magazines. It seems like every 3 or 4 years they
> change, and I like to access a person who is a marathoner to talk about
> running shoes.

Bonnie learns about equipment through direct experience: "Usually I go to a running
store to figure out what shoe will work best for me and sometimes I buy them there.
[…] I've asked people what they've used, I've seen people in other races." Felice reads
a variety of material and sometimes asks experts at a specialty running store for
advice: One of my friends works at Metro Run and Walk, so she is helpful. *Runner's
World* has information, but mostly I go to the store a read the tags … like three hours
at REI flipping through things.

Adam says he prefers talking to people to reading magazines, implying that he
does mull over the reviews in the magazines frequently enough to recognize the
complexity of the advice they provide. Bonnie states that she weighs the advice of the
store clerks with the experience of user's she knows. And, Felice draws upon both the
knowledge of her friend who is a staff member at a store and the magazine, but, in the
end, she also uses the product information on the clothes and products along side her
own hands-on examination of the products. All three of these purchasing strategies,
which are pretty representative of the strategies I observed while buying stuff from
running stores, require the runners to foster the knowledge within themselves so they

can make appropriate decisions, while the Pageant approach places the trust in the knowledge of the training institution.

Capital

In the Corrival cultural tradition, the social capital rests in individuals who qualify for the Boston Marathon or have completed a large number of marathons, such as those who have made the fifty-states challenge, as well as the coaches and managers of the charity training teams and the staff and ownership of the specialty training stores. In addition, given the discourse from the specialty running store websites suggest that their staff members are from the Corrival cultural tradition. The training teams, specialty training stores, publications, and marathons themselves are still institutionalized forms of capital that are converted to economic capital when individuals enroll in the training team, purchase equipment from the specialty training stores, buy a publication, purchase something after seeing an advertisement for it in a running magazine, or register for a marathon. But, in addition, Corrival marathoners are more likely to purchase additional training plans so they can compare them, invest in personal coaching, or compete in many more marathons of a more diverse set. In the Corrival cultural tradition, where camaraderie is less consistent, the embodied cultural capital rests more dependably in the ability to run the appropriate distance and speed but also in the ability to be good company to other people you are training with.

Capital in the Corrival cultural tradition differs significantly from capital in the Pageant tradition in two specific ways: (1) Just completing a marathon is not going to garner embodied cultural capital in the Corrival cultural tradition; instead,

runners need to complete either a large number of marathons or complete a smaller

number more quickly. (2) Corrival marathoners accumulate embodied cultural capital

by becoming more knowledgeable and independent in preparing themselves for

marathoning.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As Linde explains, "In order to exist in the social world with a comfortable sense of being a good, socially proper, and stable person, an individual needs to have a coherent acceptable, and constantly revised life story."[137] The flourishing competing marathoning cultural traditions of Pageant and Corrival marathoning give people the opportunity to find a marathoning approach that fits in their life. Recently I had the opportunity to watch someone new to marathoning navigate the institutions and begin to determine her relationship to the cultural tradition. Her explorations of the marathoning cultural traditions occurred over the winter of 2011-2012, so some elements of her experience differ from those within the time period of this study; however, watching her navigate these cultural traditions confirmed my analysis of marathoning during the 'Oughts.

In the fall of 2011, my coworker Natalie began training for her first half-marathon. Natalie had previously hiked relatively long distances and bicycle commuted, but she still felt the need to us a training plan to guide her half-marathon training. Natalie decided to run a half-marathon as a relationship-building vacation activity with an out-of-state friend, who was in training for an Ironman Triathlon. Once she had selected a training plan, Natalie also struggled to figure out how she would train through the cool DC winter (Should she wear warm clothes and run outside? Should she join a gym and run on a treadmill?).

In seeking a training plan, instead of trusting her own knowledge of working with her own body through hiking and cycling, Natalie embraced the cultural

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[137] Linde, *Life Stories*. chap. 1, para 2.

tradition, more prominent in Pageant marathoning than in Corrival marathoning, that training for a half-marathon needs to be a specific task and the preparation process requires a specific script. That Natalie's friend plans to use the half-marathon to help her prepare for a longer race reflects the development of the half-marathon as an event: as several of the race organizers I interviewed explained, they created half-marathon events in order to build their marathon event or to replace their marathon event when it struggled to compete with a slightly later full marathon. Finally, as Natalie struggled to figure out whether she could wear the clothes that would allow her to be comfortable outside and select routes for outdoor running or whether she could handle the boredom of treadmill running, Natalie enacted the same struggle with fitting runs into their weekly lifestyle as most of my interview subjects.

About halfway through her twelve-week training plan, when her long runs were roughly six miles long, Natalie began trying to run with training partners for her weekend long runs. Natalie found her partners through online meet-up website for runners in Washington, DC. As she tried to match paces with another person, she realized that her better than 10-minute mile was faster than many "runners" run and, due to the accountability created by running with another person, dehydration will slow her down after about four miles.

Natalie's use of the internet to connect with training partners is one of the new developments that emerged after my study period. At the time of my research, the internet was just beginning to be an effective location for social networking connection, so training teams and chance interactions on training trails were more important. As she began running with other people, she experienced the conflicting

positive pressure of accountability but also the negative pressure of the need to compromise in schedule and speed with another person (a number of my interview subjects referred to each of those problems). Lastly, in struggling to figure out if she could select the appropriate clothes and hydration equipment for outdoor running, Natalie engaged with the commoditization of marathoning equipment. She ended up purchasing a variety of different items online, trying them on and returning the products that did not work (a process significantly less likely to take place during my study period). Her decision to purchase clothes designed for running outside at 40 degrees Fahrenheit, a running-specific hydration belt, and reflective gear, demonstrates her belief in the need for these commodities.

Just weeks before the race, Natalie came into work complaining of pain in her foot and asking for advice. I asked her a few questions about the severity of the pain and how it had started and confirmed her thoughts: she needed to go see a podiatrist or orthopedist specializing in sports medicine. I gave Natalie the name of my podiatrist and the name of the podiatrist my marathoning friend uses (The friend was recovering from a stress fracture in his foot at the time, so I knew he had an active relationship with a podiatrist). After a couple of visits with podiatrists, X-Rays, and an MRI, Natalie spent a week in a walking boot and then wore her running shoes during the day while taking several weeks off from her training regimen. In the end, she could not run the race with her friend, instead she watched, and then she had to decide whether to register for another race. Since she was walking around with a walking boot, Natalie received questions about her injury from both colleagues at work and strangers on public transit. Natalie was surprised that runners, both friends

and strangers, who learned how she had been injured, launched into their own running injury stories. Further, the runners kept asking about whether she had registered for another race, even weeks after the injury. In deciding to turn to a medical professional specializing in runners and later participating in running-injury narratives, even against her will, Natalie further supports the idea of longer distance running as something distinct from other physical activities.

Because the rest of the trip was paid for, Natalie and her husband went to cheer her friend running the race. Natalie made two observations about watching a marathon: first, watching a multi-hour race is not terribly exciting, so the only way to stay entertained is to cheer for all of the runners, and, second, runners do actually appreciate cheering, especially when the person can call out the racer's bib number or name (people write their names on their bibs or shirts so people yell them while cheering). In deciding to cheer for her friend, Natalie and her husband confronted the conundrum that is marathoning as a spectator sport: you spend hours standing outside, waiting for your friend, and then you only see him or her for a couple of moments. So, the majority of spectatorship for marathoning involves cheering for people you may not know. Spectators who come to the event with some sort of connection to a larger training team at least have multiple people to watch for, but others must try to seek a connection with strangers during the race. Training guides and teams suggest marathoners write their names on their shirts so that strangers can cheer for them, and marathoners are also encouraged to respond well to spectators yelling out their bib number. The entire experience is about spectators cheering for whomever is in front of them, regardless of the actual "success" of that runner.

Finally, Natalie had to decide whether to register for another marathon. Her husband asked why she felt the need to register for an organized race: why just not run the distance on her own? In addition, looking at the available races, she learned that most half-marathons and marathons occur in spring (April or May) or fall (September/October/November). And, training for a fall race in the Washington, DC area requires running in high heat during the summer, running indoors on a treadmill, or getting up very early to run near dawn. Where Natalie first encountered the cultural tradition of marathoning at the instigation of a friend who welcomed the company, her second examination of the schedule forced her to face the true logistical struggles of marathoning in the mid-Atlantic: it is hot during the summer, and registering for a race is seldom cheap. Even months after her injury, she has not yet run a half-marathon.

I am not disagreeing with Natalie's approach to marathoning. In fact, her approach resembles my approach from nearly a decade ago more than the approaches of my interview subjects. Certainly, however, neither of us prepared for our longer races without engaging directly with the institutions of marathoning and the commodities designed to feed those institutions. Further, both of us rejected the approach and institutions of Pageant marathoning as something requiring too large financial and time investments. Lastly, neither of us seek to be "great" (meaning fast) marathoners or people who complete one marathon in each of the fifty states. In other words, we are both very poor converters of capital: neither of us seek to accumulate any form of capital through marathoning and neither of us are significant consumers of marathoning capital of others (other than my dissertation research, of course). Yet,

we both turn to the institutions and narrative structures for guidance. In that light, Bourdieu's formulation of capital becomes a very week theoretical model: it barely acts or reacts.

In Chapter 1, I explained that I had five specific research questions. I wished to address. Question 1 asked, what cultural divisions exist within marathons and marathon runners? As I have shown, two distinct cultural traditions exist, Pageant and Corrival, within the field of marathoning, which is separate from the larger universe of marathoning.

Question 2 asked, how do different approaches to marathons and marathon running impact the appeal of the activity to potential participants? As I have shown Pageant marathoning is easily accessible to non-athletes both because it requires a lower level of fitness and because it does not require its participants to think of themselves as leisure. Lastly, the Pageant approach to marathoning packages the act of marathoning as a fun, leisure activity that can include the entire family.

The Corrival cultural tradition allows for more flexible training schedules and plans. It also encourages others to develop expertise so marathoners can adapt their training plans or race choices even more extremely in order to fit marathoning into a larger range of obligations. In addition, the Corrival cultural tradition requires less financial investment than the Pageant cultural tradition.

More generally, the approach one takes to participating in marathons may significantly impact the social benefits and physical benefits of marathoning. As my description of how the competing cultural tradition of running impact their participants' lives, Jennifer Maguire's explanation of the far reaching impact of the

fitness lifestyle promoted through commercial fitness centers accurately summarizes the relationship:

> The fitness lifestyle is not just about the inclusion of physical activity, but about the ways in which each of those activities is affiliated with a chain of consumption options and choices that links together types of equipment, transportation, vacation and leisure, and so forth.[138]

The Corrival cultural tradition initially welcomes a smaller proportion of potential marathoners. However, once someone is part of the cultural tradition, the Corrival cultural tradition helps runners build the skills to participate in marathons independently and fit marathoning into a wider set of lifestyle choices.

The Pageant cultural tradition is much more welcoming of less fit individuals and reaches out through social networking to encompass people who otherwise might not try marathoning, but does not necessarily build skills that allow independence and flexibility (whether the flexibility helps individuals work running into their busy lives or work around physical limitations of their own body). Gruneau notes a similar problem in his analysis of youth hockey: he argues that structured youth hockey limits the amount of unsupervised time children have to truly experiment and cement their knowledge of new skills.[139]

Only by recognizing the existence of both cultural traditions and encouraging both can the maximum number of individuals be encouraged to begin marathoning and continue with athletic endeavors, either marathoning or another related sport.

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[138] Maguire, 119.

[139] Gruneau, *Hockey Night in Canada*, 157.

Although categories of individuals may have less access to marathoning due to social structures that make marathoning less welcoming, by employing the appropriate cultural tradition those individuals may be able to find the tools to make the exploration of marathoning, or another sport, feasible.

The benefits of sports participation go beyond improving one's physical condition. Brian Wilson argues that the exposure to a variety of cultural activities, options, and influences, including sport, seems to place less emphasis on social class, race, ethnicity, gender, or location in constructing their individual identity throughout their lives.[140] Tess Kay, in an article synthesizing other existing research on gender as an element of social exclusion for sport, concludes that sport may very well help women, especially those otherwise "socially disadvantaged," find the tools to overcome institutional structures of oppression.[141] Consequently, understanding how different types of marathon experience may encourage participation may suggest how to increase access to the benefits of participation in this type of sport to all. In this situation, two very disparate audiences find their way to marathoning through the different cultural traditions.

The third research question asked, what insight can popular magazines, popular training guides, participant observation, semi-structured interviews, cultural landscape study, and the official records of marathon races provide on the cultural practices and cognitive landscapes of marathoning? Although all of these different methodologies provided some insight into the field of marathoning, but only the

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[140] Wilson, 65.

[141] Kay, 106.

semi-structured interviewed provided some insight into Pageant marathoners who otherwise do not engage with the other institutions. More detailed documentation from the charities themselves would provide clearer, although heavily mediated information about the Pageant cultural tradition.

The fourth research question asked, how can Bourdieu's theoretical framing of capital assist in untangling the complexities of the institutions and practices that make up that constitute the cultural traditions of marathoning? To casual observers on the outside of the field of marathoning, practices of non-elite marathoning may appear cohesive; however, as I have shown, two distinct cultural traditions exist and each of the cultural traditions recognize different forms of embodied cultural capital. But, more interestingly, a portion of the marathoners move from one cultural traditions to another or constantly move between the cultural traditions, existing natively in one and functioning as institutions in the other. Bourdieu identifies the movement from one school to another as a form of capital conversion:

> [S]hifts from one genre, school, or speciality to another, quasi-religious conversions that are performed 'in all sincerity,' can be understood as capital conversions, the direction and moment of which (on which their success often depends) are determined by a 'sense of investment' which is the less likely to be seen as such the more skillful it is.[142]

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[142] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" n18.

So, the two cultural traditions are not only economically intertwined in that the one, the Corrival cultural tradition, provides staff for the Pageant cultural traditions' institutions and the Pageant cultural tradition make up a significant portion of the customers for Corrival cultural tradition's institutions, but they also exchange capital simply in the movement of some marathoners, like Harold and Ian, from the Pageant to the Corrival cultural tradition as they gain experience and decide they wish to be more independent and knowledgeable.

Bourdieu also recognizes that the investment of so much cultural capital in the embodied forms of running achievement and camaraderie, the two forms active in the two cultural traditions, creates complications for the smooth exchange of capital:

> This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus, cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange). It follows that the use or exploitation of cultural capital presents particular problems for the holders of economic or political capital, whether they be private patrons or, at the other extreme, entrepreneurs employing executives endowed with a specific cultural competence (not to mention the new state patrons). How can this capital, so closely linked to the person, be bought without buying the person and so losing the very effect of legitimation which

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presupposes the dissimulation of dependence? How can this capital be concentrated-as some undertakings demand-without concentrating the possessors of the capital, which can have all sorts of unwanted consequences?

In the Corrival cultural tradition, embodied cultural capital is not overly concentrated. Although race organizers, very fast people, or people who have completed a high number of marathons do embody more capital than other people, their status is at least potentially in the reach of all people within the cultural tradition. Further, since members of the cultural tradition are encouraged to act independently, these marathoners are not dependent on the institutions of the cultural tradition for all achievement. They are only dependent on the race organizers and the race certifiers for creating the opportunity for them to excel. In the Pageant cultural tradition, on the other hand, embodied cultural capital is concentrated in charity-training-group-coaches, iconic training plan designers such as Jeff Galloway, and the institutions that broker access to the large marathons for which the easiest path to registration for the oversold races is raising thousands of dollars.

The cultural traditions are indeed separate, but they compete for limited slots in popular events. These slots in races are limited because the resource drain caused by significantly increasing the number of participants causes marathons to limit their number of participants by capping the number of "bibs" issued for the race below the actual number desired by the market. Although at least some portion of most of the events in the DC area eventually "sell out," the most notable example of restricted bibs is the limiting of the Marine Corps Marathon to 30,000 participants.

The limiting of bibs to a smaller number of participants becomes a farther targeted act of violence of the Pageant cultural tradition against the Corrival cultural tradition when a significant portion of those bibs are reserved for runners registered to raise money for charity and train along with a charity team. Certain portions of the bibs for most races are reserved for a combination of charity training groups and local racing organizations that volunteer to provide publicity and or race support.

The limited number of bibs for the Marine Corps Marathon appears in the different ways those I interviewed spoke about getting to participate in the Marine Corps Marathon. Those who participated in a charity training group simply spoke of participating in the race. Those who did not enter the race via a charity training group emphasized how they fared in the online sign up process. For example, here is how Ellen described her registration for the Marine Corps Marathon:

> A few weeks later, registration for the 30th Annual Marine Corps Marathon
> opened. For the first time in 30 years, it was not linked to a lotterly like New
> York City. It was first come, first served, fort 30,000 who got to run. [...] And
> that was my way in, not having the lottery, they did it first come, first served.

And, indeed the first come, first served approach continues in Marine Corps Marathon registration. Registration for the 2011 event, also limited to 30,000 people, sold out "in record time" in 28 hours and 4 minutes.[143] A *Wall Street Journal* article on the Boston Marathon's popularity and controversy surrounding the looser qualifying times for women than for men, explicitly describes the competition for the

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[143] "MCM History."

21,000 available slots in the event growing so fierce that the New York City marathon could, perhaps, occur too late to qualify entrants for the Boston Marathon:

> The record demand for Boston slots has much to do with the exploding popularity of marathons in the U.S.: The 10% growth in participation last year was the largest spurt in 25 years. The number of runners who qualify for Boston now far exceeds the available places (excluding about 5,000 spots reserved for charity runners).[144]

Although the focus of the article is on preferential qualifying times allowed for women, the author mentions the spots reserved for charity runners because this is another pool of potentially available spots for an oversubscribed race. Race slots are limited resources, forms of embodied capital with different meaning to the competing cultural traditions. Ideally, in the Corrival cultural tradition, the bibs should be handed out entirely based on merit (whether women should be given a more lenient qualifying time is debatable). For the Pageant cultural tradition, handing the bibs for the Boston Marathon out to people who raise the minimum amount of funds, is appropriate.

Functionally, however, these conflicts about bibs and the struggles regarding the embodied cultural capital of different individual institutions undermine the stability of both of the cultural traditions. Different individuals, like Brian or Lynn, commented, individuals from the competing cultural traditions sometimes see each other as without worth. Brian feels that Corrival marathoners sometimes view him as

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[144] Helliker, Kevin and David Biderman, "It's Time for Women to Run Faster: Boston's Crowded Marathon Prompts a Gender War; Why Females Get an Extra 30 Minutes."

"dirt," and Lynn simply cannot understand why slow marathoners are even proud of each other. Although the two cultural traditions depend on each other economically, they do not structurally support each other in maintaining the narratives of their independent cultural traditions. Without a meaningful model of constructively competing cultural traditions, the ways in which more people can interpolate themselves into an activity cannot be easily recognized or understood. As we try to understand ways to increase athletic activity or other voluntary participation in specific activities, we would benefit from access to these tools.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Subjects' Basic Demographics and Running

Characteristics

#	Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Approx. Age Started Running	# Marathons	Runner or Marathoner First?	Current Role	Corrival or Pageant
1	Abby	F	Asian; Pacific Islander	32	N/A	N/A	R	Campaign manager for a charity training group; Runner	P
2	Adam	M	White	41	16	1	R	Runner; 10K race director	P
3	Bonnie	F	East India	37	29-33	1	R	Runner	C
4	Brian	M	African American	47	39	1	M	Non-runner	P
5	Cathy	F	White	34	33	1	R	Runner	C
6	Charlie	M	Hispanic	43	High School. Restarted in 30s	17+	R	Runner	C
7	Diane	F	African American	42	12	~ 5	R	Runner; Assistant Coach	P
8	Donald	M	White	54	High School	Many	R	Runner; Coach	P
9	Edward	M	Hispanic	28	5	1	M	Runner	C
10	Ellen	F	White	31	High School. Restarted 2 years ago.	2	R	Runner	Both
11	Felice	F	White	24	High School	3	R	Runner; Assistant Coach	C

#	Pseudonym	Sex	Race	Age	Approx. Age Started Running	# Marathons	Runner or Marathoner First?	Current Role	Corrival or Pageant
12	Frank	M	White	63	33	Many	R	Runner; Race Director	C
13	Georgia	F	White	24	Always. Picked up in college	2	R	Runner	P
14	Gerry	M	Mexican Amerian	40	18	10	R	Runner; Past Race Director	C
15	Hannah	F	White	28	37	1	R	Runner	C
16	Harold	M	White	33	27	6	M	Runner; Assistant Coach	P to C
17	Ian	M	White	38	For the 1st marathon	3	M	Runner	P
18	Ivey	F	Asian	37	33	3	R	Runner	C
19	John	M	White	34	N/A	0	N/A	Paid Sporting Event Manager (not a Runner)	N/A
20	Julia	F	White	39	For the 1st marathon	Run 1	R	Training Group Organizers; Marathon Walker	P
21	Kim	F	White	36	Junior High Track	20+	R	Race Director; Runner	C
22	Lynn	F	Eur-Asian	51	Late 30s.	~12	R	Race Director; Coach; Runner	C
23	Monica	F	White	33	25	5	M	Runner	P

Appendix 2. Interview Subjects' Economic Factors.

#	Pseudonym	Household Size	Income Range	Education	Occupation
1	Abby	2	50,000-75,000	Masters	Campaign Manager for a Non-Profit
2	Adam	1	75,000-100,000	PhD	Biochemistry
3	Bonnie	1	100,000+	MS	Engineering
4	Brian	1	75,000-100,000	Trade School	Office Manager
5	Cathy	2	75,000-100,000	MS	ESL Teacher
6	Charlie	2	75,000-100,000	BA in Management	Non Profit (Director
7	Diane	4	100,000+	Masters	Education. Counseling, Computer Science, Math
8	Donald	4	■■■■	MS	Engineering
9	Edward	2	100,000+	Working on PhD	Student (Genetics)
10	Ellen	3	75,000-100,000	Bachelors (Part MS)	Emergency Management
11	Felice	1	< 30,000	Graduate Student	Engineering
12	Frank	2 (now, had kids)	■■■■	■■■■	■■■■
13	Georgia	5 (Group Household)	100,000+	Masters	Substance Abuse Counselor
14	Gerry	Married with Kids	■■■■	BS	Science
15	Hannah	2	100,000+	Masters	Social Work
16	Harold	1	59,000-75,000	Bachelors	Education Media
17	Ian	1	100,000+	2 Masters	Actuary/Lobbiest
18	Ivey	2	100,000+	Masters	Biology
19	John	■■■■	■■■■	■■■■	Sports Management
20	Julia	1	50,000-75,000	Realtor	Realtor
21	Kim	4	■■■■	MS Student (Physicians Assistant)	Student. Race Director

#	Pseudonym	Household Size	Income Range	Education	Occupation
22	Lynn	████████	████████	High School	Admin Assistant/Model for Art Classes
23	Monica	2	50,000-75,000	Masters	Campaign Manager for a Non-Profit

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