

# Geographies of running cultures and practices

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## Abstract

Running is inherently geographical, with spaces, places, movement and bodies central to the practice. Running has captured the geographical imagination over the last decade and this paper reaches across such work to provide a state-of-the-art synthesis of the geographies of running. The review is structured around six key themes that characterise contemporary running geographies and demonstrate the value geography and running bring to each other: (1) different running practices; (2) theorising and researching running; (3) senses, experiences and embodiment; (4) running, space and place; (5) events; and (6) technologies and objects. The paper concludes by considering what is next for running geographies by highlighting three new avenues: (1) further engagement with digital geographies; (2) the runnability of places; and (3) diversifying who does running geography and who it studies.

## KEYWORDS

culture, exercise, materialities, places, practices, running, sport

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

Running is a foundational form of human movement with a long history throughout which countless cultures and practices have developed around the act of putting one foot in front of another at speed. Over the past 10 years, there has been increasing international attention to running in geography and adjacent fields, reaching something of a critical mass, which this paper takes stock of, offering a synthesis of running geographies.

[Corrections added on 23 September 2022, after first online publication: Grammatical errors have been corrected throughout the text.]

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While running is not entirely new on geography's agenda—it notably played a central part in Bale's development of sport geography from the 1970s, exploring the intricate relationships between running, space and place in running cultures (2004)—attention to it increased significantly from the 2010s, changing its qualities too. Whereas Bale often focused on elite athletes—for instance, in Kenya (Bale & Sang, 1996)—recent work has expanded the focus to everyday, leisure and amateur forms of running too, in parallel to wider developments within geography, particularly cultural geography. Newer theoretical movements, such as the mobilities turn, non-representational theories and practice theories, have all thrust greater attention upon everyday active practices and many scholars have found running a productive practice through which to channel their thinking and explore a whole range of geographical phenomena. This new interest in running also reflects that active mobilities and physical activity are now hot topics in relation to sustainability, liveability, individual and public health, as well as having beyond-utilitarian importance, such as in creating joyful and meaningful lives. In short, running matters, and over the last decade, geographers have increasingly explored how, simultaneously revitalising geography's role within interdisciplinary sport and physical cultural studies.

The reviewed work on running geographies in this article is often transdisciplinary and especially influenced by research into the sociology of the body and sport, particularly the work of Allen-Collinson and Hockey. Not only are there strong connections between the fields but the lack of pre-existing conversations in geography prior to the mid-2010s meant that current running geographies looked to other disciplines for inspiration and dialogue. As such, this article primarily focuses on geography's contribution to the running literature by reviewing English-language work (a personal limitation, rather than a limitation of the field—see Madoré & Loret, 2021 for an example beyond the *lingua franca*) published by geographers or in geographical outlets around the world whilst also drawing productive connections to other fields (as are commonly found in transdisciplinary running studies—Latham & Tan, 2017). While this is a discursive review, we have systematically searched a list of 90 geography journals, as well as on Google Scholar, for papers about 'jogging' and 'running'. Most of the identified articles are discussed or referenced in this article.

For geographers, running is both a research tool and subject, and a practice of increasing interest and influence. This paper brings work from across this spectrum together to discuss what it tells us about the geographies of running themselves and the field of running geographies. This is a timely intervention for geography but one with wider relevance too. Societal interest and engagement with running is ascending, with increasing participation rates and recognition of the significance running has for individuals, for public health, and for the mobile life of places. A thorough understanding of contemporary running geographies can underpin support for a practice with such importance in public and private lives. Our synthesis offers this and is structured around six key themes that dissect and capture contemporary running geographies, both as a field and object of study: (1) different running practices; (2) theorising and researching running; (3) senses, experience and embodiment; (4) running, space and place; (5) events; and (6) technologies and objects. The paper concludes with some considerations as to what is next for running geographies: avenues that could sustain momentum within the field while advancing it in new and more critical ways.

## 2 | WHAT IS RUNNING? DIFFERENT RUNNING PRACTICES

Running is a form of terrestrial locomotion where the feet are momentarily above the ground and the pace is faster than walking; this also make it more taxing than walking. Despite these defining features, running is a not a uniform practice and has been associated with different meanings and practices over time from survival to transport, gymnastics, sport, health and experience (Bale, 2004).

Geographers have discussed the changing historical meanings of running, beginning with Bale's account of running as a serious sport throughout the twentieth century. What he called "achievement running" attracted super-fit devotees who joined clubs, ran competitive races where they competed against each other and the clock on a standardised distance, constantly seeking new "personal best times" (Bale, 2004, p. 18). Achievement running's

emphasis on time and personal records also motivates many less talented contemporary runners. Many train almost daily, aspire to become faster, join associations, follow training programmes, and identify themselves as runners, sometimes at the expense of other social obligations (Bale, 2011; Larsen, 2022).

However, not all serious runners adhere to the asphalt world and time-centred ethos of 'achievement running'. There are also more casual forms of running. For instance, Latham (2015) has examined how the jogging movement from the 1960s onwards championed discourses of health, inclusion and light, slow running suitable for an increasingly sedentary and overweight population that seldom moved on foot or undertook physical work while diets had become calorie-rich and chronic diseases flourished. New practitioners were instructed that everybody could learn to jog, and suitable running environments were at the doorstep. Jogging developed new geographies of running that were urban, local and inclusive. It could supposedly be done anywhere and at any time. The new breed of runners learned to run on tarmac and in parks, which "pushed the physically active body back into the public environment" (Latham, 2015, p. 118). Jogging de-sportified running, made it an urban middle-class practice and gave rise to new jogging landscapes (Larsen, 2022; Qviström, 2013).

Geographers (Barnfield, 2016; Cook et al., 2016; Hitchings & Latham, 2016, 2017b, 2017a; Little, 2017; Qviström, 2013, 2017) have recently studied such ordinary or casual running, attending to lived running life on streets (Cook et al., 2016), in parks and forests (Qviström, 2013, 2017), on fitness-centre treadmills (Hitchings & Latham, 2016). They show that many mainly run to be slim, fit and healthy, and they are less likely to identify themselves as runners. Many are reluctant runners who struggle to run regularly because their bodies do not agree with the embodied sensations of running (Hitchings & Latham, 2017b; Little, 2017).

While Cidell notes that: "Running is a particularly unusual form of mobility because it is one of the few where mobility is done for its own sake" (2014, p. 576), it is increasingly being combined with other activities to establish new (variations of) running practices which geographers have explored. Running's role within active travel practices has been studied (Cook et al., 2022) as cultures of run-commuting have risen, often as a pragmatic solution to finding time to run within the competing demands of everyday life (Cook, 2021). Such runners combine transport and exercise in ways that increase the efficiency, productivity and purposefulness of running (Cook, 2022b). Other contemporary running practices similarly aim to do more with running and to put the energy it expends to wider benefit. Examples include plogging where running is combined with litter picking, GoodGym where it is combined with various activities of public and community good (Tupper et al., 2020), charity events and challenges where running takes on philanthropic purposes (Palmer & Dwyer, 2020), art projects where running gains a new aesthetic dimension (Edensor & Lorimer, 2015) and movements that heighten the sociality and social life of running, such as running crews (Latham & Layton, 2020).

Contemporary running is not one thing. There are many ways of running, each with related but distinct practices and cultures that impact the spaces, places and experiences of running. While running as a sport, health or fitness endeavour still dominate geographers' enquiries, a wider range of running practices are being interrogated that emerge from different motivations for running, that take place in different spaces, and that give rise to different bodily experiences and understandings. Different forms of running have different geographies (Cook, 2021; Qviström, 2017; Qviström et al., 2020), a foundational point for the field.

### 3 | THEORISING AND RESEARCHING RUNNING

Contemporary running geographies are also marked by developments in theoretical and methodological approaches. While Tuan informed Bale's seminal writing, recent studies—as elaborated below—have drawn upon and extended more lively, corporeal and embodied approaches such non-representational geography (Barnfield, 2016; Larsen, 2019), feminist geography (Burghardt, 2022; Little, 2017; Thorpe et al., 2022), affect theory (Cai et al., 2021; Latham & McCormack, 2017); Ingold's notion of taskscape (Howe & Morris, 2009), as well as rhythmanalysis (Edensor et al., 2018; Edensor & Larsen, 2018; Larsen, 2022). Despite their differences, they focus on the lived, learned,

corporeal, mediated, sensuous, emplaced and sometimes hard-to-verbalise sensations and rhythms of running with others and in specific places and weather-worlds. Others have utilised practice theory (Hitchings, 2021; Hodgson & Hitchings, 2018; Larsen, 2018) to explore accounts of the routinisation of running practices, starting from the basis that practitioners can talk about their running practices (Hitchings, 2012).

Theoretical concerns with the meanings, places and doings of running entail that many running studies are qualitative, though quantitative exemptions exist, such as in GIS or big data studies of where people run (Campbell et al., 2019; Norman et al., 2019; Roberts et al., 2017; Wolf & Wohlfart, 2014; Zou et al., 2020). Traditional social science methods such as surveys and interviews are commonly used by geographers to explore why and how people run (Cai et al., 2021; Herrick, 2015; Hodgson & Hitchings, 2018; Little, 2017). Some have experimented with interviewing-on-the-run, and tackling the fitness and practical difficulties this can introduce (see Cook, 2020). Running with interviewees along their usual routes is argued to build up common ground between the researcher and interviewee and better understandings of the pleasures, pains and obstacles that interviewees experience as researchers are taken into participants' running worlds (Cook, 2022b).

Research about running is sometimes also conducted *through* running and sensuous scholarship. Geographers have adopted 'enactive' approaches that prevail in sport sociology (Sparkes, 2009; Wacquant, 2004) and mobilities (Brown & Spinney, 2010; Cook, 2020; Simpson, 2014; Spinney, 2009, 2011). Here scholarship requires using one's own organism as a reflexive, sensuous research tool, learning the practice one is investigating and training with skilled practitioners in their sporting environment. Expressing this in research has also seen several scholars craft insightful, creative and evocative writings of running based in part on their involvement in events or training practices or biographies (Edensor et al., 2018; Edensor & Lorimer, 2015; Larsen, 2022; Latham & Wagner, 2021; Lorimer, 2012; McGannon & McMahon, 2021; Oldfield, 2020). While these studies involve research with other runners, approaches where researchers draw on their own bodies have obvious limitations and can raise exclusions in the field, prioritising the experiences of some at the expense of others. We return to this in the conclusion.

## 4 | SENSES, EXPERIENCE AND EMBODIMENT

Stemming from this theoretical context, a key theme in running geographies concerns experience and embodiment. Often in dialogue with sociologists (e.g. Allen-Collinson & Hockey, 2011, 2015; Hockey, 2006, 2013; Hockey & Allen-Collinson, 2006, 2019; Smith, 2019), geographers discuss how the intense embodiment of running is felt and how runners inhabit the world. The role of the senses has been a central consideration here, with researchers exploring haptic, kinaesthetic, visual and thermo sensations. Such sensory experiences help runners to evaluate their run and the environments they run with. Barnfield's (2020a, p. 4) study of recreational runners in Sofia shows how people "felt running in certain spaces or certain routes and how they found routes that felt better for their body, they could run more easily, or that gave rise to certain bodily sensations". The senses are central for doing, feeling, understanding and evaluating running and running environments, with Lorimer (2012, p. 83) framing runners as "highly accomplished sensualists" who attune to different grounds, topographies and weather conditions that impact on their bodies and running rhythms simultaneously. However, not all runners are skilled sensualists and some are sometimes oblivious to the environment or actively blocking it out (Hodgson & Hitchings, 2018; Larsen, 2022).

Running is also an emotive practice, significant in generating and managing emotions for those who do it, capable of evoking "exhilaration, pain, freedom, anxiety, pride, excitement and euphoria" (Cook et al., 2016, p. 750). Most positively is the 'runners' high'; a seductive yet often-illusive almost transcendental psycho-physical state of happiness, delight and omnipotence that can derive from running (Koski, 2015; Whelan, 2012). Such highs are often counterbalanced by emotional lows, particularly if one's running is slower than desired, irregular, disrupted, or one is running into an injury or out of steam (Larsen, 2022; Laurendeau, 2014). Running also engages people with the world around them in emotionally generative ways. For example, running re-oriented Pearce (2020) to his surroundings in a post-bushfire and new COVID context, which gave rise to anxiety, uncertainty and fear. Yet, running can also be

valuable in managing and dealing with difficult emotions, as demonstrated by the increasing prescription of running for mental health (Chatterjee et al., 2018).

Running experiences emerge in the relation between bodies, movement and others. Concepts of materiality, rhythm and encounters have been used to explore the importance of runners' engagements with objects (Edensor et al., 2018), fellow runners and pedestrians (Cook et al., 2016; Cook et al., 2017), the elements (Larsen & Jensen, 2021) and animals (Merchant, 2020) in this regard. This work demonstrates that running experiences are relational and more-than-human, which can give rise to an embodied politics of running, based on how running is felt differently by different bodies. As geographers and scholars in neighbouring fields demonstrate, there is a notable gendering of running experiences, with women more likely to encounter negative or harassing experiences when running in public (Allen-Collinson, 2022; Brockschmidt & Wade, 2022; Krenichyn, 2006; Witkowski, 2018). Running can also be hard and certain bodily competencies are required to derive pleasure in such pain (Bale, 2006; Larsen, 2022). This can lead to an embodied politics based on ability, familiarity or habit, with newer runners often requiring a transition period to find running physically enjoyable (Griffin & Phoenix, 2016).

## 5 | RUNNING, SPACE AND PLACE

The relationship between running, space and place is perhaps running geography's defining trait, an interest that catalysed and continues to sustain the field. In Bale's approach to sport geography (2003, 2004), this interest was often filtered through sportscapes; specialised spaces designed for running, capable of producing high-quality performances in replicable, generic environments. For instance, athletics tracks are purposefully separated spaces, clinical monocultures dedicated to running fast, apart from the disruptive variables and disturbing qualities of everyday life (Cook et al., 2017). However, recent research holds greater concern for running that takes place in the thick of everyday life and its shared, public spaces and landscapes. How running happens here, the experiences of doing it and the politics that emerge from such spaces and their qualities define contemporary running geographies.

Much work has explored where runners run and what makes an attractive running environment, whether that be indoors on treadmills or outdoors on pavements, tracks, paths, urban or rural (Barnfield, 2020b; Cook et al., 2016; Deelen et al., 2019; Ettema, 2016; Hitchings & Latham, 2016; Qviström et al., 2020). Such work highlights the diverse qualities of a place that can affect running participation and experiences there. For example, the study by Ettema (2016) highlighted the negative impact that poor lighting, loose dogs, undesirable surfaces and interactions with cyclists and cars can have on running practices. More generally, Larsen articulates a "material understanding of running as a mobile place event with a complex ecology of diverse things, corporeal bodies, places and environments" (2018, p. 42) and argues for running as an "emplaced" mobile practice in and across different environments, in which surfaces, topography, the weather, atmosphere, people, objects and animals condition its rhythms and the way people experience it" (2022, p. 20).

This broader approach to running spaces also provides insights into the transformative potential of places for runners and the varied benefits and pains they may have. What registers these (dis)benefits are felt within will depend on the precise running practice under question and the evolving nature of the space run through; how busy the street is, how favourable stop lights are, what the weather is like and so on. The impacts places have on runners has been explored variously—such as through studies of runners' place attachments (Hinch & Kono, 2018), their performances and experiences (Larsen, 2022; Lorimer, 2012), and their wellbeing (MacBride-Stewart, 2019a, 2019b). One strand investigates how exercising in 'natural' environments can result in additional physical and psychological advantages for runners. Bamberg et al. (2018, p. 273) draw on running studies to reframe such 'green exercise' as how "bodies and physical environments lock into an on-going positive relationship with one another" through regular and "intense corporeal engagement". This demonstrates the co-constitutive and mutually beneficial relationships that can develop between runners, spaces and places.

A critical lens has also been applied to this relationship, asking where and how running fits into spaces not designed for it, what this means for the value placed on running in society and runners' right to space and movement. Such work explores the micro-geographies of how runners negotiate the shared spaces through which they run (Cook et al., 2016; Edensor et al., 2018) and how running often requires a systemic transgression, resistance or reclamation of space to take place (Bale, 2011; Cidell, 2014, 2016; Edensor & Larsen, 2018; McGahern, 2019). The latter highlights how running is emplaced in socio-cultural-political ecologies that make it easier for some to run in particular places than others, as demonstrated in McGahern's (2019) exploration of a Palestinian Jerusalemite running community and Hornbuckle's (2021) work into 'Running while Black'. This demonstrates the ongoing struggles runners can have for rights to space within which to run in contemporary societies.

## 6 | EVENTS

Geographers have also explored running events (often in dialogue with sociologists, such as Green & Jones, 2005; Shipway & Jones, 2007, 2008), contributing insights into how running events are spatially-organised and experienced. In contrast to 'mega-event studies' (Klauser, 2012) where the focus is typically on spectatorship and societal impacts, running geographers have concentrated on the embodied sensations of running, the 'busy organisational hands' and how events rework the usual affordances and rhythms of streets and parks. In an American context, Cidell (2014, p. 573) highlights the 'transgressive' nature of running events by turning streets into running tracks so that runners can "move through space in a way that can only be done at that time". While many running events used to be races solely for competitive serious runners, most have become de-sportified and events for 'casual runners' too.

The scale and nature of these events differ. Firstly, there are smaller events that draw in a few hundred or thousand—mainly casual—runners living nearby. This includes recurrent 'parkruns' in local parks on Saturday mornings across the globe. Studies in the UK and South Africa show parkrun's inclusive, non-competitive nature and how running with others creates casual sociability and a local sense of place (de Vries et al., 2022; Hindley, 2020; Smith et al., 2021). This focus on sociability resonates with Larsen and Bærenholdt (2019) and Vink and Varró's (2021) studies of smaller running events in Denmark and the Netherlands. Races are produced through social capital that enables social ties to flourish and the mobilisation of volunteers, local spectators, recurrent runners, positive place images and local support from politicians and sponsors. Many people, so to say, run *together*, producing social capital amongst those co-present. Drawing on non-representational geography, Larsen (2019) discusses the visceral, sensuous sensations of running a 5-day event on shifting routes in forests, on beaches and towns with different surfaces (sand dunes, trails, smooth asphalt), topographies (flat streets, steep sand dunes and undulating trails), weather-worlds (boiling heat and rain), sights and atmospheres (on running with the weather, see Larsen & Jensen, 2021). This study is concerned with internal embodied sensations of both running-as-sport and running-as-tourism, with the latter referring to how 'tourist-runners' sense sights and landscape while running in foreign places, perhaps with a high pulse or tired legs. Tourism is also a theme in Lisle's (2016) critical study of an extreme running event in the Sahara Desert. She explores how postcolonial and neo-liberal discourses frame how western runners perceive this as an exotic and testing landscape to be conquered.

Secondly, geographers have also explored bigger running events, such as marathons in different cities (Cai et al., 2021; Edensor & Larsen, 2018; Latham & McCormack, 2017). They have analysed such events as 'urban spectacles' consuming the city (Herrick, 2015), as affective atmospheres from running on closed streets brimming with vocal support, and as embodied, rhythmic events of hoping for eurythmic flows but often running into arrhythmic torture (Cai et al., 2021; Edensor & Larsen, 2018; Latham & McCormack, 2017). However, such events attract runners from all over the world and can have significant carbon footprints (Castaignède et al., 2021), bringing into question their 'good' credentials (Bell & Cook, 2021).

## 7 | TECHNOLOGY AND OBJECTS

We have discussed how geographers have explored the material worlds and forces—such as treadmills, asphalt, gravel, storm and heat—that in part shape and change environments of running. A less common but growing conversation concerns the technologies that afford and mediate specific forms and rhythms of running. Drawing on actor-network theory, practice theory and non-representational theory, the existing literature shows how the relationships between runners' bodies and the world are mediated by GPS watches, clothing and shoes that allow bodies to breathe, be cushioned and tracked in time and space. 'Travelling light' is essential given the accentuated impact weight and objects can have on running bodies. In some running practices, however, this is not always possible. The need to run with a bag transporting keys, phones, laptops, and clothing distinguishes run-commuting as a unique body-object configuration with embodied implications (Cook, 2022b).

Given the significance on measuring time and distance, timing technologies have long been part of the toolkit of event organisers and individual runners (Bale, 2004). Larsen (2022) discusses how wearable 'smart chips' turn marathon runners into a 'data-assemblage' that enables individual timing of tens of thousands of runners while self-tracking through GPS watches is integrated into much everyday running. Numbers about the body and its movement through the environment (e.g. speed, distance, routes, heartbeat) condition how people run (for instance, disciplining them to run faster or slower, longer or shorter) and appraise their ongoing movement and rhythms; they trust to their watches as much as their heartbeat and breathing when determining their flow and performance (Larsen, 2022). People run in a mediated world where data and numbers overlay haptic and bodily sensations. Data production is part of the environment and mediates how people move through and experience space. As Pink and Fors argue in *cultural geographies*: "while self-tracking technologies might appear on the surface to belong to a quantified world of measurement ... they participate considerably in how people 'feel' or sense in their everyday environments" (2017, p. 376). Moreover, for some runners, studies show how this numerical data has a 'social afterlife' on social media platforms designed specifically for exhibiting 'running sessions' but also for sustaining social bonds, connections and surveillance, friendly or otherwise (Fletcher, 2022; Little, 2017).

Running shoes are another critical object of running. And yet few geographers have discussed them (but on their production, see Barff & Austen, 1993). Drawing on practice theory and Ingold's (2004) work on footwear and 'footwork', Larsen (2022, pp. 87–90) has discussed how running shoes are an extension of a runner's skin and mediate interactions between the runner's lower body and the ground, shaping capacities to run, for instance, providing comfort and absorption when running on hard surfaces and being light and 'propelling' when racing. In this way, "access to the right kinds of materials with the right kinds of properties, can help facilitate participation" in running (Latham & Layton, 2020, p. 860).

Consumer capitalism's embrace of running has made this otherwise sustainable practice somewhat expensive and unsustainable. However, studies show that not all runners buy into this commercialisation and quantification, with some believing that technologies spoil their relationship with the landscape (Little, 2017). As a counterculture, running 'freely' in nature, in cheap clothing, without watches, is championed by some (MacBride-Stewart, 2019b; Salazar, 2020), and perhaps without shoes too, as also promoted by barefoot running advocates (Cregan-Reid, 2016).

## 8 | CONCLUSION: WHAT NEXT FOR RUNNING GEOGRAPHIES?

This review has synthesised current research into the geographies of running, encapsulating the contemporary nature and interests of the field. It is a thriving field that has developed in leaps and bounds over the last decade and one with much left in the legs. We characterise contemporary running geography as attentive to a broader range of running practices beyond elite running, to include various forms of recreational and everyday running that embody different aims, meanings and geographies, including running for sport, pleasure, health, art, sociality, or transport.

We have also detected a shift in how running is approached. Contemporary running geography is distinctive for its interest in the doing and experiences of running, influenced by a range of lively theories, sometimes researched by being on the run, and occasionally expressed through animated and energetic writing. These traits infuse the topics that enthuse running geographers, such as the four substantive themes we structured this review around: senses, experience and embodiment; running, space and place; events; and technology and objects. Together this work has transformed our understanding of running practices: what they are, how they take place, and the contributions they make to individuals, societies and places.

Running has moved beyond a niche interest in geography, blossoming into a valuable component of geographical work and thinking. The wealth of running work is cohering into a something of a distinct geographical sub-discipline, but one that is still young with many opportunities to develop. We welcome the continued growth of the field, extending its interests more deeply and expansively. Doing so would strengthen the contributions running is making not only to its current core within social and cultural geography, but also to health, urban, mobility, and sport geographies as well as boosting geography's role within interdisciplinary sport and physical cultural studies, and the emerging running studies field. Perhaps what geographers contribute most uniquely to running studies is our abiding interest in space and place. In understanding running, geographers have brought a crucial emplacing to the field, exploring how running and runners—mediated by objects and technologies—are affected by the spaces they run with, how spatial contexts impact runners' experiences, and how running affects their relations with places. Geographers' attentiveness to the co-constitutive relationship between running and places results in an attunement to how runners inhabit, understand and engage with the world, as well as how they affect it, which are crucial for understanding contemporary running practices.

We end by highlighting avenues down which future work could valuably progress, advancing some threads within current running geographies. Firstly, there are the roles and implications of technology in running. Despite the digital turn (Ash et al., 2018), few geographers have yet contributed to this debate. In particular, self-tracking (e.g. GPS watches), augmented-reality and virtual reality (e.g. *Zwift* where runners run as an avatar in a virtual world via smart treadmills) seem ripe for further investigation by geographers and their analyses of how bodies, experiences, places and movement are mediated by such technologies and their socio-cultural-political-geographical implications. Geography's role in the digital humanities can also rethink how we understand, work with, research and use such technologies in ways that are expressive, artful, and full of life (Fahd, 2022).

Secondly, whereas there is much debate about walkability in planning, this is less the case with running (though see Deelen et al., 2019; Ettema, 2016; Latham & Layton, 2020; Layton & Latham, 2022; Shashank et al., 2022). Geographers could formulate research-based ideas about runnability and design principles that will make streets, parks and forests as well as events more runnable and inclusive. We need to know about how different runners experience different urban and rural environments and in different weather conditions.

Thirdly, there is a need to diversify who is doing running geography research and whose running practices are studied. This not only impacts whose experiences are accounted for but also what focus those accounts take. Currently, running research is mostly undertaken by scholars from universities in the minority world who are often runners themselves (see *I'm a Running Researcher* blog series - Cook, 2022a). Therefore, running geography mostly reflects certain biases inherent to the running populations in such countries, emphasising the perspectives of white, youngish, middle-age, middle-class, able-bodied and cisgendered runners over the experiences of others who run or may desire to. Future research should understand a wider range of runners, their experiences and practices: people with disabilities; the elderly; the young; black, asian and people of colour; queer; transgendered; people of different shapes and sizes; and running cultures beyond the minority world where practices, discourses and contexts of running may differ (Crawley, 2020). Greater diversity can also be introduced by engaging those with more varied relationships to running, such as non-runners, wannabe runners, reluctant runners, novice runners, lapsed runners and those who hate it (Hitchings & Latham, 2016, 2017b). Running geographies tend to be positive, but more critical perspectives would help advance knowledge of how running does and does not take place differently for different



people and why. Such work would nuance understandings of running geographies and enable the benefits of running to be more widely harnessed and realised.

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## CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors report no conflicts of interest.

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