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Road Running as a way of fashion: The running body, Governmentality and Urban space
當路跑成為一種時尚：路跑的身體、治理與都市空間

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INTRODUCTION

The road running is spring up

One of the famous sportswear brand- PUMA’s first night run (featuring on neon-color PUMA running gear) was held recently which drew sixty-thousand people to register while there are only 7 thousand opening for Taipei Spot. It was at 12:00 A.M. on the other day before the activity that PUMA opened the registration online and PUMA’s website went down quickly as there were sixty-thousand people doing the registration simultaneously. Many runners still could not register for the event successfully after many times of trying…

This news indicated some points as following:

First, compared with other genres of exercises, running is a more easy way to execute. It does not require people to be sports experts but only requires people to have body in good condition. Running thus remains the most popular exercise type throughout the years.

Next, based on Chiu and Pi’s research (2005), road running events are held by Taiwan government before 1980, and corporations started to sponsor even to hold running events after mid-1980’s. We can see diversity is growing in road running events from Taipei ING International Marathon, China Motor Corporation International Marathon to recently Fubon(bank) Taipei Marathon, Mercury Corporation Public Welfare Cup Road-running… and so on. We also can detect tourism and international elements involved in events such as Penghu Chinese People International Marathon, Taroko Canyon Marathon. In Taiwan, there are also marathons that have district features involved, for example: district religious elements involved Beigang Mazu Cup Marathon, or marathons that entails environmental friendly concept- NGC World Earth Day Road Running Competition. Road running

1 http://udn.com/NEWS/SPORTS/SPO2/7760047.shtml 2013/03/14
United Daily News: "neon-color PUMA running, runners were complaining"
races seem to be one of the most beneficial ways for both corporations and local government to promote.

We can put our focus on those famous sport brands like PUMA, NIKE, adidas, Mizuno. They have their own sports shoes, clothes, sweat pants, and other products. For their business, they launch a marketing plan via website, Facebook fan pages, posting regularly information and activities about road running to construct a fancy fashion image. Finally, road running clubs are one and one after emerge in Taiwan. Road running is not only happened on the playground but on the road. As well as, Corporations and government in sequence use a variety of knowledge, technology, the self-discipline of runner, and consumerism, so as to link daily practices of runners together with urban space.

In the past researches around road running have often discussed the implication of marathons on body physiology from the aspect of sports physiology (Huang, 2004; Lin, 2005; Huang, Chang, Chen, 1993). Even more researches used the enterprise-supported marathons as examples, discussing the relationship between findings, participation and satisfaction, and the issue about using marathon as the tool to market tourism and sports (Chiu, 2012; Lin, 2005; Huang, 2012, Huang, Chen, Lin, 2007; Chang, Chiu, 2011). However, there are only limited papers that look at the relationship between marathons and urban space. Therefore, this research will focus on (1) the experience and feeling those road runners have when they are participating in road runs and road running competitions, practicing how to interact with the urban space. (2) how has the road runner's body been disciplined to be suitable for sports by those means and the country's. When road running having already become a trend, how has the micro-subversive of the body as the space happened via participating in a road running. And at last, (3) draw a picture of a new urban space discursive through discussing the relationship between spaces, enterprises, the nation and the individual's body.

Lefebvre in 1960's to 1970's did a serious of the critique of everyday life and urban study. We can borrow from Lefebvre’s triad of the production of space theory in “The Production of Space”, to analyze running body, governmentality and urban space. That can bring existing research a whole new idea.

Lefebvre points out “social space is the social production”, and this statement have four meaning: (1) natural space is going to vanish; (2) society will produce it own space; (3) analysis from the production of things in space to the production space itself and (4) space (and the production space, form, representation) has its history(Wang, 2009: 3). In those discussions, we should survey Lefebvre’s triad of the
production of space theory (Lefebvre, 1991:33):

(1) **Spatial practice**: which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In term of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and specific level of performance.

(2) **The representation of space**: which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relation. It’s conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planner, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is **lived** and what is **perceived** with what is **conceived**. This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conception of space tend towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs….in spatial practice of neocapitalism, the representation of space encourage the maneuver of spaces of representation (ibid., 38-39).

(3) **Spaces of representation**: embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representation spaces).

Lefebvre’s triad of the production of social space theory can approximately conceptualized spatial practice-perceived, the representation of space-conceived and space of representation-lived (ibid., 38-39): spatial practice hide the reality of social space, and it produces social space slowly and stable, meanwhile control and occupy social space. Ordinary person perceived space through sense organs, and that’s production of special position of society and of arrangement of space, also physical space for particular goal. Thus, people can experience the relative of daily facts and urban facts.

The representation of space is the space of scientists, planner, urbanists and technocratic subdividers. They have some constructs to re-organize life and identify conceived. It conceptualized space, at the same it is dominant space of symbolic meaning which predominates the production of space. The last but not the least, spaces of representation is lived space, which belongs to residents and users. Space of representation is dominated space that people only could feel it via passive experience. But people aren’t at their wits’ end, people can try to change, negotiate, and resist
through imagination, besides, it’s also overlap with physical space. Spaces of representation is a cohesion, non-verbal and symbolic system.

Figure 1: The production of space

METHOD

Base on applying the triad of the production of space into road running which is regarded as the distinctive way of moving in city, there are ten people who have had over two times experiences of road running and have the habit of it bounding in their life as the participants. The ten participants got a deep interview individually, and as striking the balance of gender proportion on purpose. Through the road of the data from interviews and the observations of the road running racings holding in city, we can see that because of participating in running races and regularly practices, road runners interact with the urban space in various ways. That closely meets the standpoint of the production of space.

FINDINGS

1. The city traveling of road runners

A couple of friends of mine and I hang out after working if we feel moody, we often start a city traveling by road running with spots and routes decided on our own. This is when we can fully feel and see the different faces of city. Sometimes we get different but familiar feeling from what we usually feel as working in daytime.

(Interviewee A, journalist, male)

Running is boring, so I like to run with many people and to run routes that have many shops which I walked often. It is also because with the speed involved when I running, the city sights became the speedy landscapes.
(Interviewee J, program assistant, female)

In term of the road runner, although they have their rights to choose the venue and track, they eventually have to be in an urban environment. They are inevitable stopping at traffic lights, running away from cars for their safety. Road runners will dispute the right to the road with cyclist and pedestrian. Follow this point, we can find a dialectical between movements and fixed. There are the perception of a serious of routinize behaviors and manners happening in an existing, particular special structure. But those behaviors and manners of runners are not fixed, depend on their practical actions, then make the space and society cohesion. It’s not a single, fragility action, but a relational presentation of social relation.

Furthermore, when a serious of routinize behaviors and manners happening in an existing, particular special structure, it becomes a concept in this time and turns to urban space as a practical field. Human beings are not prisoned by existing, fixed urban landscape, since road runners have equipment with different speed matching and running process to build different landscape of the sense of speed. Road runners’ manuscript network through the proceeding and crossing construct a multi-history which is made of a piece of paths and changeable space (de Certeau, 1984:93). They use their body’s actions, configuring pedestrians, stories, street lights, and traffic lights, even the sound of urban:

Music is important for me when running. If I forgot to bring my iPod, I'll choose to run the routes that have many shops which air energetic music and made me feel active. Sometimes when I run slowly, I can hear people’s conversation and buzz sound coming out from the cars and see the ADs on the wall that is so interesting.

(Interviewee J)

During the running, we can easily realize the visual-based perspective of the urban landscapes. But for the runners, music breaks this stereotyped appearance of city life. Through hearing, people establish a different image of what a city's like.

Runners combine the fixed elements of cities by features, which makes the urban landscapes not only being provided with sense of speedy but also a “shiftable” landscape. The urban landscapes are demolished and constructed constantly during the runners' journey.

In the level of spatial practice, road runners perceived the existing of space, because of the existing of body, the relationship of people, the relation between people and objects in urban. Lefebvre mentioned that the relation between subject and
space of people as some groups or social members, it implies the relation between people and themselves. Social practice presupposes the use of the body: the including hands, limbs, sense organs, and the gestures of works as of activity unrelated to work (Lefebvre, 1991:40). All this discussion focused on urban as an interaction of elements in space. We never thought about when body as space not as elements, what would it like?

2. The institutionalized road running races and disciplined bodies

In daily experience, we can definitely perceive the urban texture when we are running. But in the same space and urban texture, here comes very different meaning as the institutionalize road running race for the other ways of presentation:

Joining road running competition, I mean to show the accomplishment that I have exercised and jogged. Other than that I think it’s really cool… everybody runs with the same t-shirts which given by the organizer. The design of the t-shirt is one of the reasons that determine whether I participate in road races.

(Interviewee B, College Student, Female)

I picked up trails that I feel comfortable to run in general. Normally I would have to avoid colliding with the passerby or choose to run at riverside parks. How fantastic it is to attend a road run! The police will make a way for you. It is basically impossible to running in the middle of Ren-ai road or ZhongShan N. and S. road under normal circumstances.

(Interviewee C, College Student, Male)

The reason why I ran a full marathon (notes: the official marathon course is 42.195 km) was because of my boyfriend…… he forced me to do this. He is very experienced in running marathons, but I am a rookie so he wanted to take me to the races. Besides, the application fee is free of charge if we two register together. In addition… runners who are able to finish the line within four hours will get the award money. I would like to take the challenge.

(Interviewee D, Office Employee, Female)

The knowledge of representation of space tends to linkage with formal or institutionalized apparatus of power. In the terms of road runners, the institutionalized road running race change the appearance and meanings of space through variety models, images, words, signs, and concepts, even the authority. That is out of
imagination and conceived of road runners and citizens. For example: all the road running races applied for road right, and there are full of polices on the road; in other words, the power of state apparatus changes people’s experience to space. The organizers will plan routes for preventing road runners from disorder or cheating.

Some interviewees indicated that many races used colorful paper wristlet for the mark of turning point before, but with the advance of technology, more and more large-scale road running race began being equipment with chips for recording runners’ tracks measurably. When runners passed through the destination, the chip would show the results accurately. The organizers also bestowed the same souvenir t-shirt on runners. Based on those important measures, even if tens of thousands of people joined the race, it is well-regulated. The sense of well-regulated proved the representation of space had essentially powerful effect, and played an important role in the production of space. The representation of space intervened in and modified the spatial textures which informed by effective knowledge and ideology. The representation of space is a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for “representation” that will not deathless into the symbolic or imaginary realms (Lefebvre, 1991:42).

As my observation on many road running races, and arrangement of interview materials, I discovered that the urban space itself products a space which belongs planners, enterprises, nation state, after so much institutionalized measures. There is also a noteworthy point that the institutionalized road running races proceed to a huge social engineering to human being body through varied techniques of governmentality. These techniques of governmentality actually discipline runner’s body into gentle, agreeable, well-behaved, and suitable for road running. For instances, we could see drinking sponsors set a booth around the competition ground to advertise their sports drinks. They would tell people that after running road runners would lose lots of electrolyte, they should replenish it by sports drinks which the sponsor supplied. The sponsor also borrowed from all manner of scientific results and the physiological knowledge for convincing road runners imperceptibly how important sports drinks are- especially called it “little common sense”. One of my interviewee suggested that: *I hope the organizers can offer enough sports drinks at the refreshment station* (interviewee G, department of physical education student, male). *All Pocari Sweat you can drink is such a joyful thing* (interviewee J).

Other instances, runners should wear appropriate sports outfit, and bare feet is not undesirable:
I had been the staffer of a road run race once…… If runners intend to run with bare feet, though there is not a regulation about this, the organizer will still ask us to ‘recommend’ them to put on their shoes.

(Interviewee G)

Moreover, the sponsors even hired the entertainers or popular instructors to lead all runners warm-up together. They commonly had a pack of warm-up procedures to give runners guidance how to prepare for warm-up (interviewee J).

Some runners indicated that they will reinforce their own training for taking part in road running races. As you can see, they had gotten discipline not only in races but also in daily training life. Their body is going to become a suitable body via those complicated, interweaving process. Here we should discuss the effect of enterprises, nation state, and new techniques:

(1) **The power of nation state:**

According to “constructing the sporty island” of Sport Administration, Taiwan, it had road running train camp aimed at indigenous people. The courses embraced basic body strength training, breathing capacity and speed matching training, road running guidance, position correcting, and road running etiquette. The goal of this program is activated indigenous people’s inherence in sports².

In point of body discipline, sports and LOHAS are becoming a vital value and expanding to nation-wide. Healthy body, Healthy life. Healthy and sports are importance, but as one of my interviewee said: *we human beings have ability to running inherently. Why should we need extra training? Just run!* (Interviewee I). She considers running is an easy way to get health. But as the value becomes the main idea driven by nation state, running seems to be taught. Above the case, indigenous people run in bare feet in their native place, but things have change when they come to city. They need to wear shoes docilely, practice breathing capacity, correct running position, then they can be activated their inherence in sports. It’s very ironic that government costs large budget to deal with a paradoxical policy or ideology.

(2) **The power of enterprises:**

On NIKE’s and adidas’s Facebook pages, there are some information

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about knowledge, skills, and stories all around the world of road running. But the most important information is still about their own brand marketing:

Professional running gear offers more safety and comfort when running. Running in cotton made clothing have low ventilation which does not allow air circulation and running in tights would obstruct breathing and thus affect people doing running. Adidas’ professional running wear are made of light artificial fabric which features light weight and high ventilation. It makes every run a joy and fully enjoyment the fun of all-in when running.

(Aadidas Taiwan Running Fans Page³)

Light-weight running shoes would always be runners' favorite, brand new Nike Free 5.0+ weighed only 173g. It allows you to run freely and move as it wishes. Upper highly ventilated along with soft material used. Nike Free 5.0+ is designed to intimate running barefoot which makes you forget the existence of your shoes.

(Nike Running Taiwan Fans Page⁴)

The body discipline showed in the process of marketing. Even though you are not their brand loyalist, you still unobtrusively accept those ideas of running. Many interviewees point out that running shoes are the most important equipment, especially for non-professional runners. The viewpoint is consistent with the interviewee G’s experience which regard bare feet or inappropriate shoes as lacking improvement.

(3) The effect of new techniques:

The running practicing application programs of smart phone are adopted by many interviewees like Nike+ Running App. Nike+ Running App can count time, play music you like, help accumulate the running mileages, reckon the consuming calories, program a training scheme, and draw your routes into a map by GPS. All these documents are available to output into diagrams and after synchronizing to cloud computing, you can check it all on your mobile or computer anytime. If you are more professional runners, you must have exclusive marathon watch like XT. XT provides many functions including GPS, waterproof, heart rate monitors (runners can monitor their

³ The facebook fans page of Adidas Running Taiwan: https://www.facebook.com/adidasRunningTW
Post day: 2013/04/29  Last review: 2013/05/01

⁴ The facebook fans page of Nike Running Taiwan :https://www.facebook.com/nikerunningtw
Post day:2013/04/15  Last review:2013/05/01
heartbeat), and counter-intuitive (speed matching by heartbeat).

These new techniques turn road running into a routinized particular behaviors. Some female runners who go on a figure-sculpture expressly care about the consuming calories. The private, unique road running experiences are going to turn into diagrams and google maps, but different statistics and routes.

Aside from the effect of representation of the three matters, the power of mutual surveillance by runners should not be underestimated. Runners keep a watchful eye on each other. They not only discipline themselves but also discipline others, and they keep governing others’ social behaviors. Thus, when there are some inappropriate behaviors, it is bothersome:

It’s not hard to find some bothersome people during the races. For example, some women will occupy the route in a line when they are tired. That is really annoying.

(Interviewee H)

Body is no longer an element of space, and it is a process from body in space to body as space. Body goes through a re-organization by effective knowledge and ideology. As the representation of body, they derive from accumulated scientific knowledge, disseminated with an admixture of ideology: from knowledge of anatomy, of physiology, of disease and its cure, and of the body’s relations with nature and which its surroundings or ‘milieu’ (Lefebvre, 1991:40).

The road running races and the daily practices lead the technical and rational knowledge to occupy dominated space. Road running is neither a city traveling, nor a leisure of a gazed urban space. It’s a proper and orderly spatial experience.

3. Road running as a way of resistance

You strive and love to date with the gym; You fully understand that it is more worthy to sweat than to shed tears ; You insist and love your image in the mirror. You know Amazing is your future. As long as you keep moving, you can be gorgeous without putting on any makeup on the face. Jump without habitation, it brings confidence that even wearing high heels could not bring. Every weight lift is accumulating the power of life.

("3/8 Sweat together, Amazing together” slogan )
This is an activity held by one of the most famous sport brands Nike. A various kind of events, including road running races, were conducted by them on the Taiwanese Women’s Day (8th March). These activities aim to emphasize new value of female, with the training session and outfits provided by Nike, they successfully built a clear image of the modern female, which is also the special impact that most of the women are pursuing nowadays in the consumer society. However, from another perspective, those subjects who have the ability to shop these products and have been set as the main targets, were also flawed and contradictive. Wang (2012) argued in his research, “The Governance of Pedestrian Space and Walking Mobility in Taipei City”, that there are complements as well as conflicts among different pedestrians. For instance, subjects who tend to walk faster on streets would have more possibilities to collide with some wandering shoppers. Subjects -road runners- usually have city roaming and spatial writing as de Certeau’s saying (ibid., 31), and there are similar situations occurred in road running races:

We girls once occupied the street during our rebellious phase, just like we are doing Occupy Wall Street. It is just that we put on some makeup and wearing fancy sports-wear and running in populated Gong-Guang district. How do I describe that….we feel like we are different from the silly girls who put on a lot of make-up

(Interviewee B)

I don’t have fixed time getting off of work, so I don’t have much time to jog. I don’t usually warm up and put on my sports-wear right after off work and running home. I warm up by running slowing and then speed up. But there are people who must have to warm up and stretch out, so railings, stairs and electric polls becomes spots that people doing the stretch. Sometimes people clustered on front of subway exit and the whole groups of people would just stretch there.

(Interviewee A)

As you can see, the main subject of the consuming society has a discipline body, wearing a road running outfit that is expected by the sports brand sponsors. But through make ups and streets that occupied by consuming behavior, peculating the function of those already-exist urban facilities. Both self-discipline body and resistance to the urban space, demonstrating the characteristics of denying admit the authority of the space of representation. Addition to the slips and gaps of spatial writing in daily life, some unconsidered behaviors have usually emerged during the road running races:
I have participated in a road running competition held by temple and the married women often run the wrong path because they can’t follow up the group as they are so exhausted. After they got lost, they just quit and just go to the finish line by the short cut and waiting for others.

(Interviewee E, Office Employee, male)

Like last time I ran with a group of friends, we brought flags (rainbow flag) designed by our own. There are always people who would intentionally cut t-shirts to vest to seduce people…we called it men-hunt, and some girls would wear mini-skirts to run to compete with us!

(Interviewee F, Community Worker, male)

Sometimes I stop to re-apply sunscreen or go to 7-11 to get sports drink during the road running,……

(Interviewee D)

It is very common to take photos while running, especially in tourism type of road running activities. I took photos like crazy while I was running Taroko Canyon Marathon.

(Interviewee J)

Even if an appropriate road running race controls urban space and is riddled with the net of power, the runners have their own ways to make the effect of discipline inactive or break down. For example, gays in Taiwan, when they are exercising, they usually wear tank top, keep eying with each other as well as constructing masculine. Consequently, the same, collective souvenir t-shirts barely show their muscle, so they tailor those collective t-shirt in variety faces. They also equip with rainbow flags for the power of queers. There are also some in-organized resistant forms heckling the planning and management of the organizer. Left the regular routines for buying a drink, running the wrong routines, or taking a shortcut directly are all unusual behaviors. We should regard rigorously those unusual behaviors as a serious thing.

Space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence its space belongs to ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’. Although this is dominated - passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and divert. The dominated space still overlays body as space, using of its objects in symbolic. Then, the spaces of representation tends toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1991:39). Those trifling and insignificant things are very important for road runners to connect with society and construct the world.
The road runners created a new performing space, it includes body practices, activities and performances. Those processes probably are relative to their individual life histories, or the relationships and embeddedness of particular moment and inter-subjective space (Mansvelt, 2005:91). Here, we can see that authorities are the capillary permeation, meanwhile, authorities are also subvert, consult and flow back and forth. The only product of space of representation is symbolic work. Those are usually unique, sometimes they carry out the trend of aesthetics, and lead to a series of demonstration and invasion into the Imaginary after a period of time (Lefebvre, 1991:42).

Figure.2: In a road running race, various rig-outs absolutely escape the domination of the presentation of space.


All the evidences indicate one thing, subjects are not unassuming, well-behaved, they will display resistances via all kinds of disorders. The space of representation is alive: it speaks. It has an affective core or center: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations, and thus immediately implies time. Consequently it may be described in various ways: it may be directional, situational or relational, because it is basically qualitative, fluid and dynamic (Lefebvre, 1991:42). Lefebvre also lead us to focus on the critique of the everyday life. Through emphasizing on ‘critique’, it turns into surveying the revolution of everyday life (Harvey, 2005:66). As Gramsci’ saying: "When we all change ourselves, adjust ourselves, it makes us change and adjust

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5 Jacques Lacan’s theory which about the three level of psychoanalytic analysis: the Imaginary, the Symbolic, the Real.
our core complex relationship …then realizes that environment is the entire relationship which we all participated in (ibid., 64).”

Up to now, we need to stop to think one thing. When we would call it change, revolution, resistance against from discipline measures, that is in what kind of meaning? How do we know those rebellions, resistances are not just like a flash in the pan? What if those rebellions really are just unnumbered trajectories, which yield our right to the city to capitalism and nation. We have to let the right to the city belong to us, and vice versa.

4. The production of space in capital logic of road running

The organizer of institutionalized road running races is from government to enterprise. This kind of change is not just a healthy scheme, enterprise won’t invest amount of money for no reason. I borrow from Lefebvre’s theory, namely implied that the production of space sustains the existing of capitalism. I necessarily explain how does capitalism work in space, and relative with the tiny things in daily life, furthermore.

As mention before, road running races are held by Taiwan government before 1980’s, and after mid-1980’s, enterprise started to play an important role in road running races. 1980’s was also the homing of conservatism in the international, and emerged the popular of Neo- liberalism. Developed countries were confronted the crisis of capitalism, all of them were seeking solutions to be reconcilement. The famous Marxist Geographer David Harvey thought capitalism could not survive without geographical-expansion and spatial fixed (Harvey, 2001:25). Those famous sports brand are so incessantly diligent operating Asian market that they want to open up a whole new market in non-capitalism countries. In Harvey’s point, when capitalism encounters over-accumulation, the one reason is the lack of commodities demanded, so they need new market in other places (ibid., 26). Although that is not directly relative to the production of urban space, it is the main idea about analyzing how the production of space produced particular conditions. Maybe most people do not think anything wired about polices clear the way, apply for the road right. The powerful state apparatuses associate with police forces to intertwine brand marketing, body discipline all together. Then, it produces a dominated space for capital accumulation.

As such, it is very reasonable if I use 1980’s to discriminate the government as organizer from the enterprises as organizer.
Further, the commodity chains of road running peripheral products twist together with the context of local, social life, system of knowledge, and spatialness, so that it’s both globalization and localization. As the aspect of consumerism, the pair of running shoes display, marketing, and final consumption, are anchoring on runners’ body. For runners’ the autonomous of body, retails, advertisement, and consuming places are deeply influential in the final commodity chain (Mansvelt, 2005: 110-112).

No matter the road running itself or road running races are not happening over and above our life. We need to admit that everything in producing-consuming process is involved in the circulation and accumulating of capital, and the process shows up in the form of commodity just right in front of us. Through the chasing of product niches and division of labor, they embody the discourse and ideology of capitalism doctrines. Then, body is not only the discipline subject but the tactics of circulation and accumulating of capital. All we can’t escape from those conditions (Harvey, 2005:63).

Reviewing the analyses before: (1) spatial practice-the city traveling of road runners: running is in an existing, particular special structure, is the perception of a serious of routinize behaviors and manners. It’s changed by people’s practical actions, and makes the space and society cohesion, a relational presentation of social relation. It’s a different ways of experiencing urban spaces. (2) The presentation of space-the institutionalized road running races and disciplined bodies: the road runners’ body as a space and the production of urban spaces by road running races are becoming dominant space through the power of nation state and enterprises, the effect of new techniques and the self-discipline. (3) The space of presentation-road running as a way of resistance: subjects are not always well-behaved, rather they will resist via omnigenous disorders.

Above all, I extended a critical Marxist political economy analysis, which it explored one thing that from body to urban space, to the production of space of global capital is crossing various geographic scales and times, and is the social relative territories of creation and reproduction.

CONCLUSION

The Politic of Road Running

If we see road running races and runners’ body as triple-independent analytic viewpoints which I dealt with foregoing concepts, we will easily link the representation of space to dominant space, and regard spaces of representation as resistant space, that are irreconcilable production of space. We need to set those spaces of representation and representation of space together which coexist, concord
or interfere with them (Lefebvre, 1991:41).

But why should we set those spaces of representation and representation of space together? What is the meaning about? As the post-structuralist thinking, my article indeed deemed the aesthetics of commoners, the body practices, imagination that qualify for political power which can resistant and unmask the dominance relationship. However, on the other hand, the political power likewise would be aestheticized and romanticized, just like that some runners would regard the special costume play as general eye-catching result, rather than the politic appeals. Those special costume play and unusual behaviors are only carnival-type spectacle, as transient and ephemeral as a fleeting cloud. The presentation of space is an abstractive knowledge or ideology, but it may help commoners or people who under domination to recognize clearly situations and to find themselves own position. So, the presentation of space although is the production of dominated knowledge or ideology, it unnecessarily is a dominated space. The same logic, space of presentation is symbolisms, desires, aesthetics and un-coded body, but it is no guarantee of resistance.

For the purpose of discussion deeply, we better regard both the presentation of space and space of representation as a struggle field, which vested interests and resisters can not ignore it. So that can interpret the intrinsic dialectic of the presentation of space of and of space of representation:

1) **The dialectic of the presentation of space:** The presentation of space not only shows the effects of various techniques, knowledge as domination and control in the institutionalized road running races, but also masks one fact that marketing and commodities de facto are fixed tactics for solving the capitalism crisis through state apparatuses and ideology. Meanwhile, when road running races as the presentation of space, they created a temporary spatial practice. Thus, runners look like under a domination and control, but as a matter of fact, in another way, they diverted the road right of polices and organizers. Ten thousand people ran together to practice impossible in usual experience and to emancipate unspeakable imagination, dreaming, and constraint: “The Fubon Taipei Marathon was really glorious! That was an enjoyment and unspeakable cheerful! (Interviewee H)”.

Above all, we can call this “**resistant the presentation of space**”.

2) **The dialectic of space of presentation:** In the level of space of presentation, the body practices have displayed the possible of disobedience, domination escaping through desired, pleasure, happiness and banter in the gaps of powers. The body practices are the born, developing of burgeoning knowledge and
ideology. Taking one step ahead, when nonverbal symbolic system, signs, and expressions which be regarded as resistant potential diverted or linked to nation power and capitalism, and reorganized and consolidated into spectacular the presentation of space, that becomes the aesthetic fixed of solving unmarketable commodities, capitalism crisis for encouraging capital accumulation. At this time, space of representation resupplies the reference object of dominated space, and suddenly bodies and the potential of desires are nothing left.

Above all, we can call this “dominated space of representation”.

Alongside the viewpoint of critical political economy (or the logic of capital) and the production of space, we have already surveyed how did the road running races produce different spatial scales which from bodies to streets, and to urban, then to cross-regional, even to global scale via various powers. Obviously, I especially settled on the body scale, to concerned about the practice of back and forth powers in dominating and be dominated. The critical political economy (and the bodies in representation of space and the “representation” of urban space) uses some conception of ideology, hegemony, domination to explain how did the ruling classes deceive and hoodwink ruled classes, and how did the ruling classes use state apparatuses to discipline people’s bodies into well-behavior bodies for maintaining social order and reproducing social relationship. But the critical political economy can not deal with something more difficult and complicated situation, in particular individual conscious and experience.

Turning interest to cultural study would be a good way to handle those more difficult and complicated situation. The politics of representation in cultural study coped with so much complicated implementation and struggle of power. The politics of representation discussed many ways of representations (like words, images, works of art, social actions…etc.) and how do those representations becoming the field of power implementation and struggle, social categorization construction, identity and differences emergence. The politics of representation remained me that the meaning of representation was not used as ruling tools, maintaining vested interest, rather than it was a struggle field. People had agency which they were not always well-behavior, and obedience, and the agency showed in different faces. For instances, under the representation of mainstream value, people world find different interpretative abilities or create the abilities of new representation. Lastly, the representation would (re)construct the reality, and would change the cognizance of what the reality really is.

6
But we couldn’t regard this constructive reality as the false (or fault) ideology. If we did this mistake, it would lose the forces which could change the cognizance of what the reality really is. The constructive reality itself is a social force via representation.

When it comes to body action in the representation of space and space of representation, we should focus on intrinsic dialectic of the two, and also especially pay attention to those tiny, natural space diversions and body performing. As subjects turn into performing subjects for explaining how do the things and (commoners’ and expert) knowledge keep becoming the power geometry in daily life, and how do those actions cross the time and space to respond (Mansvelt, 2005: 150).

This article tried to analyze the specialness of road running, and put it in the urban space to construct different urban discursive downward scale and upward scale. Finally, I went back to focus on road runners’ body experience. I definitely confirmed that although the body experience didn’t change the whole social structure, it still showed road runners’ agency which escaped from the constraint of social structure. I set road running as the geography of practice, emboddedness, performing, and traveling, and did not restrict consuming to special place and space, or to the terminal commodity chains, the process of self-identity, or the practice of subjectification. I also did not restrict consuming to the symbolism of commodity and the diversion of materiality in daily life, or only following the history of commodity. We should link consuming knowledge to body practice, performing and flowing in different situation, and then give them power. It pushed us to use different perspectives to deal with social and urban space.

My writing did not address the subject of female or gay, it only touched upon the practice of running. Due to the limitation of the design of the interview, they could only occasionally express their special experience in the process of answering the interview questions. Furthermore, most of the interviewees are persons who have beneficial class attributes, which makes it hard to present the tension of class difference in the production of space. It would be a topic for further research.

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APPENDIX

The background of interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>Road Running Races Joined Before</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Taipei Freeway Marathon&lt;br&gt;Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>College student</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>PUMA neon-color Night Running&lt;br&gt;NIKE Marathon for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>College student</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>PUMA neon-color Night Running&lt;br&gt;Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Salary men</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Salary women</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Taipei Freeway Marathon&lt;br&gt;Marathon held by some Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Community worker</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Taipei International Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Physical Education student</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ponghu International Marathon&lt;br&gt;Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Cram school teacher</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon&lt;br&gt;Tarako Canyon International Marathon&lt;br&gt;Super Runner Seiko Marathon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Graduated student</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Super Supau Marathon&lt;br&gt;NIKE Marathon for Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Project-Appointed Assistant</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Taipei Fubon(bank) International Marathon&lt;br&gt;Tarako Canyon International Marathon&lt;br&gt;&lt;strong&gt;ASICS RUN&lt;/strong&gt; Marathon&lt;br&gt;&lt;em&gt;Samsung&lt;/em&gt; Running Festival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
相片處理・照片集錦：

![相片處理](image1)

![照片集錦](image2)
Certificate of Presentation

Kang-Hao, Fan

In Recognition of Contribution to
2013 19th Asia-Pacific Tourism Association Annual Conference
"Innovative Development for Asia and Pacific"

July 1-4, 2013
Bangkok, Thailand

Dr. Tinekchai Chutaimong
Paper Session Chair, 2013 APTA Conference
Letter of Acceptance

May 23, 2013

Dear Kang-Hao Fan,

It is my pleasure to officially invite you to the 2013 Asia Pacific Tourism Association (APTA) Annual Conference which is scheduled to be held in Bangkok, Thailand from July 1 to 4, 2013.

Your full paper entitled, “Road Running as a way of fashion. The running body, Govern mentality and Urban space” has been chosen as a standing presentation paper for the conference through a blind review process. Your paper will be professionally edited and published in the Conference Proceedings.

On behalf of the Conference Organizing Committee, I would appreciate if you would attend the conference and present your research work during the conference. More information regarding your presentation schedule and requirement will be coming your way shortly. Updated details regarding the conference are available from the 2013 APTA Conference website (www.aptaconference2013.com).

Congratulations and looking forward to seeing you at the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Therdchai Choibaensuk
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心得：

能在研究所生涯中，出国用非自己的母语报告是一件考验，也是一件值得回忆的事。从把论文翻译成英文，到准备口头报告，全程都必须使用英文，再加上期末诸多报告的冲突，现在回想起来真是甜蜜的负担。

虽然属于我的报告只有一个下午，但报告前几天我都很紧张，深怕自己准备不足，不过，实际报告的时候，没有太多的意外，都在我的意料当中，只有听众的发问让我比较措手不及，但还是顺利的回答完成。第一次的出国发表体验，尚未尽善尽美，有待加强。希望以后还能有机会出国发表。