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„City marathons and urban governance: Street running as a new urban experience"

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Abstract

This master's thesis in an inquiry about the proliferation and popularization process of large-scale urban street running events in Europe. The thesis aims to uncover some aspects of the relationship between urban governance strategies and municipal policies on the one hand, and the proliferation and popularization of street running events since the 1980s on the other hand. The work approaches street running events in cities from the perspective of sport tourism, and from the point of view that these events, just like other cultural and leisure activities, are part of a larger "festival continuum", which not only provides an endless variety of newer experiences for citizen to chose from, but it also facilitates cities in improving their competitiveness and attractiveness for capital investment and prospective citizens alike. My case studies are focused on Budapest and the Budapest Marathon Festival, and Vienna and the Vienna City Marathon.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have seen the light of the day (and the dark of the night) if not for a number of helpful individuals who supported my work throughout the writing process.

My supervisor, Walter Matznetter has, without a hitch, accepted my very late decision to change my thesis topic in June, just two and a half months ago. I very much appreciate his trust and patience with me. It was actually him, who upon learning that I was a distance runner myself, brought up the idea of an inquiry into how running events in cities relate to urban governance and other related theories. What an idea!

I have exchanged a long series of emails with Andreas Maier from the Vienna City Marathon media team. It was him who provided me with most of the background information I needed to complete the Vienna case study part.

In Budapest, I met in person with László Sátor from the Budapest Athletics Federation and István Máth from the Budapest Sportiroda, both of them added an immense amount of details to what I managed to uncover myself about the Budapest Marathon alone. István Kanizsár from the Union of Budapest Sport Federations helped me clarify factual and structural details with regards to municipal decrees related to street race organization in Budapest.

My gratitude to you all!

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"The spectacle has its roots in the fertile field of the economy, and it is the produce of this field which must in the end come to dominate the spectacular market." (Guy Debord, Society of the spectacle, Preface)

"Just as cities have competed for decades for meetings, conventions, and traditional tourist travel they now compete to host sport events or attract the pursuit of favorite sports activities" (Schumacher, 2012, p. 1)

"Sport, here in its mega-event form, comes to be an increasingly central, rather than peripheral, element of urban modernity" (Horne and Manzenreiter, p. 2)

Introduction

Marathon runs have been part of the modern Olympic Games program since their first edition in 1896, but they did not gain real significance outside of a few grandiose events like the Olympic Games organized every four years. However, the recent trend of the increasing number of large-scale, well-promoted and advertised mega sport events in major cities - a trend that's also a part of a young, yet rapidly developing newer branch of tourism called sports tourism – is, I argue, mainly the result of a shift in economic policies and urban governance strategies. Chalip and Costa (2006) argued that, "Special events, particularly sport events, are being used by destination marketers with increasing frequency to enhance the host destination's brand." (p. 87) The aim of these policies and strategies is multifold though, the formulation and promotion of certain images of the city via city branding being only one component together with the desire to boost local economy as the majority of this type of events are commercially very successful, with the stimulation of other sectors by attracting tourists and media attention (TV, radio, internet live streaming), and finally, with maintaining or reshaping the physical and symbolic particularities attached to the identity of the given city. All this seems to be in line with global trends of increasing inter-urban (and in fact inter-regional)

competition propelled by strategies aimed the improvement of international competitiveness and attractiveness of cities for globally wandering capital, investors and future inhabitants alike (the creative/mobile class). "The city is being reimagined – or reimaged – as an economic, political and cultural entity, which must seek to undertake entrepreneurial activities to enhance its competitiveness" (Jessop, 1997, p. 40) Furthermore, by appropriating large areas of the city and turning them into expansive spaces of consumption and spaces of cultural production, if only temporarily due to the brevity of their span (a couple days at maximum), these large-scale sport events also fit into the general trends of the festivalization (Zherdev, 2014)of the city, the bringing of "cultural industries" (O'Connor, 2000) back to the core, the "creative city" (Florida, 2002) concept and into the discourses on "societies of the spectacle" (Debord, 1994) and "experience spaces" (Klingmann, 2007). Following Klingmann's arguments about the experience economy, Merling et al. (2014) notes "we may ask how city design and urban spaces produce use value, symbolic value or experience value. This means that urban spaces and interventions herein may not only have an important use value and symbolic dimension, but also an experience value" (p. 50) This master's thesis is an analysis of how major street running events as "interventions" that use urban spaces, have become increasingly more popular globally but with a special focus on Europe, as well as it is a inquiry into how this upward surge in popularity and interest both by participants, spectators and naturally entrepreneurs and investors as well, is not by coincidence but to a great extent, a result of the shift in urban governance and urban planning strategies roughly since the 1980s onwards. This shift, is closely related to the developments described by Richard Florida (2002) in his much-discussed and debated work on the concept and phenomenon of the "creative class" and deriving from it, the "creative city", a paradigm according to which the main driver of economic, cultural and political developments is a newly formed/forming creative class that cities must strive to attract and accommodate in order to stay competitive and innovative. I argue, that the embracement and in fact, powerful promotion of large-scale street running events by local governments, is a direct result of this shift, and that these events are similar instruments of

contemporary urban governance as are festivals and other cultural events, that maintain a "happening continuity, galvanizing the cultural life and creating a proper atmosphere of the urban sphere" or "that provide the continuous festival experience." (Zherdev, 2014, p. 6) I have to add, that the level of involvement and the position of municipalities as to the potential usefulness, profit and value generating power of street runs as opposed to the negative consequences cities must "endure" while the events take place - road closures, security hazards, noise and road blockade complaints of other citizens, to name a few - differs from city to city, sometimes staggeringly so. This fluctuation in the level of supportiveness or restrictiveness on behalf of municipalities will be clear after my case study analysis of Budapest and its comparison to Vienna. Furthermore, these variations might be explained by Weed's (2006) point: "agencies and structures that exist in sports and tourism respectively have been established and have developed entirely separately." (p. 226) The degree to which this separateness becomes accented at different city municipalities might by a key defining factor in how much a municipality recognizes the touristic potential in street running events, and therefore how much it encourages, supports and promotes their organization.

In general, with this inquiry of the evolution of the trends of development and proliferation of the largest marathons amongst a few other larger running events in Europe, I am hoping to reveal a new, and under-studied aspect of the processes that contribute to a "dynamics of the city as a venue for events and festivities" (Blin, 2012, p. 266)

Structure, theories and methods

The thesis will begin with a short introduction to marathon running, its history and characteristics, and to its evolution into a popular sport event practiced in cities everywhere around the globe. Then, by establishing a timeline and map of the proliferation process and gradual growth of major European city runs, I will first illustrate on the European scale how these events have been picked up, by virtually every major city. Secondly, in order to be able to connect the development of these

sport events with larger politico-economic and cultural developments specific to local conditions, I am going to analyze in detail the evolution of marathons and other major running events primarily in Budapest. This case study analysis will be supplemented by a somewhat less thorough and shorter discussion on developments in Vienna, so as to give a contrast to the analysis. This will be done in light of the changing local governance policies and strategies related to street races in the given time period (roughly since the late 1980s). The reason why I think this is a revealing and relevant study is because, to my hope, it will shed light on how large-scale sport events are utilized and promoted by city governments - for various reasons that I specify and expound later - not only in leading, global cities, but in most cities exactly because of the economic, cultural and even political potential they offer, which is crucial for urban and in fact regional competitiveness in a increasingly globalizing[1] world. Marathons will be in the spot light since in general, they are the largest street running events that attract most participants and spectators, thereby generating prospective commercial value.

Of course, when it comes to large-scale sport events nothing really compares to mega sport events like the quadrennial Olympic Games or the biennial football World and Euro Cups with regards to size and scale, but I believe, quite a substantial body of literature exists already on those topics and I wanted to focus on something a bit overlooked and less researched, yet that is increasingly relevant and also prevalent in our times. City marathons and city runs seemed to open up a promising path for an inquiry, and when I started looking into the history of a few larger marathons, it turned out that, spare a few like the legendary Boston Marathon for instance, the majority of them did not have a very long history. As I was looking up more marathons and also dag up participation numbers in the past and present, a more or less clear trend began to take shape in front of my eyes, which lead me to the supposition that the present day popularity of city runs cannot be accidental and random but it might be a result of a rather conscious, yet multi-faceted policy agenda aimed at enabling and promoting events in the city, and in fact to promote

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1 Following Neil Brenner's (2004) argument, I use globalizing and not globalized in order to emphasize that globalization to me is a constantly unfolding *process*.

the city itself. I say multi-faceted policy agenda because, as it turned out during the research, there is a variety of institutional and administrative actors involved depending on the particular running event organized, for instance the local municipality, city municipality, regional municipality, police and fire departments, as well as international, national and local sports organizations, public and private actors.

For the theoretical part of my thesis, I am applying different theories in tandem with each other. Firstly, the use of grounded theory seemed a plausible option from the beginning, since I have started with empirical observations (compiling of a dataset of the largest marathons and their inauguration date) without prior theories or a clear hypothesis in mind, and then I went on to filter down some kind of relationship or tendency observable in the data sets that needed explanation. 'The central tenet of a grounded theory approach is that theory emerges from the data rather than constraining it" (Weed, 2006, p. 227) My first observation was that, spare a few of them, the longest history any of the most successful and popular urban marathons could claim was four decades at best. It was the 1970s that saw the emergence of the first ones - Berlin (1974), Amsterdam (1975), Paris (1976) Barcelona and Madrid (1978), Stockholm and Istanbul (1979) - mostly walking in the footsteps of the New York Marathon, in which many of the European race organizers participated themselves before putting together their own races. The second observation was that, from the 1980s on, urban marathons popped up like mushrooms everywhere in Europe. Half marathons, though organized more or less since the first marathons, began to be especially popular since the 1990s, often organized together with marathon events, or separately as spin-off races at other times of the year. Splitting up these two races (marathon and half-marathon) and organizing them at separate times is often a strategy of the city and organizers to attract prospective runners and audiences twice a year instead of only one running event. Thirdly, contemporary street running events, including but not limited to marathons and half marathons, are now accompanied by a number of different supplementary events - that have not always been part of the scene – that

accompany the main race during the event in order to increase the participants base and diversity. These include shorter runs (10k, 5k, etc.), children's run, wheelchair events, relay runs for teams, corporate runs for business employees, charity runs, roller skater races, and so on. Finally, and related to the previous point, contemporary street running events are, in increasing number, advertised and packaged as complete festival events with musical and cultural performances set up on stages along the race course. The Rock'n'Roll Marathon Series, a global marathon "tour" with heavy North-American presence, is an excellent example of this latter trend. Even its name carries the clear message of a "festivalized" mass sport event.

After and along these initial observations, I have moved on to find theoretical and conceptual frameworks, in which these particularities and trends could be explained. As for one, sports tourism came to my mind as a plausible and rather obvious route to approach the above observations from. If one is familiar with the scene of larger marathons and city runs, with the large number of participants, many of them non-locals, that have to be managed, accommodated and entertained, it is also relatively easy to make out the link to tourism. Tourism basically involves a journey somewhere, where the traveler spends a given amount of time, and in the meantime he or she consumes food and drinks, uses and buys various goods and services, visits different sites and, if the trip spans a longer time, he or she needs accommodation for overnights stays. Sport tourism is a particular branch of tourism, where the reason of traveling is to pursue a sport or to participate in a sport event in a different location. (Gibson, 2006, p. 1). Therefore, one of the **main conceptual axes** of my thesis is *sports tourism*.

On the other hand, it is inescapable to discuss the institutional and administrative level of such events as local public institutions play crucial, in fact enabling, role in the realization and organization of such grandiose events, which involve large chunks of the urban fabric, often requiring the closing off of entire parts of the city from motorized traffic for hours and even from pedestrians partially, as well as the

deployment of a number of other security measures[2]. What, then, motivates city municipalities to organize city runs and how has this motivation and involvement changed through time? To find an answer to this question, I will first of all reflect on the Greater London Council discussion of the early 1980s, which were some of the first indicatives of urban municipalities' realization and shifting attitude with regards to the importance and value of cultural/creative industries. The cultural, social and economic potential sport events and sports in general possess is enormous, it is enough to think about the football culture in Europe, a multi billion dollar enterprise that often binds people together more than any other form of self-identification with a group of people or system. Therefore, I think it is justified to treat sports as significant contributors to cultural and creative industries. Thereby, the concept of urban governance, together with the cultural industries and creative city concepts, will serve as a kind of **secondary axis** to the thesis. These theoretical and conceptual categories will be explained a bit more in detail soon.

Empirical part

As one of the first steps of the thesis writing process, I have compiled and analyzed a database of the largest and most popular marathons in Europe. The list of indicators is organized in Excel, and some of the indicators will be visualized for an easy and quick overview. The Excel sheet will not be included in the thesis because in itself it is not so informative, only in the larger context of the thesis, but it is available in the Appendix (Appendix B). I have dedicated quite some time to collecting data on a variety of indicators in order to gain some sort of analytical comparability between the races and to be able to visualize the tendencies and trends clearly visible in numbers. For each race, the dataset starts with the name of the race, which usually contains a title sponsor and the **location,** the latter is with bold characters in the data set. Some cities organize multiple events, like in the case of Krakow, which has established a second annual marathon run recently, so there is two Krakow

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[2] This latter is especially important since similar events involving large masses of people are easy target for terrorist attacks as in the case of the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings, in which 3 people were killed and more than 260 injured, many of them severely. ("What we know of the Boston bombing", 2013)

marathons in the table. Then, the second and very telling indicator is the **date of inauguration** of the event. When looking at the date of first editions at the whole of the database, a clear tendency can be established with regards to the time-scale of the proliferation process of street runs in general, which really started picking up in the early 1980s. Another indicator is the **time of year** (day and month) when the event occurs, which is relevant in the sense that it shows the distribution of races throughout the calendar year. Some race dates are very consciously selected so as to avoid conflicts or proximity to other larger, more popular marathons but it very much depends on the target community. In any case, the exact date is of course highly influenced by seasonal weather conditions, as one of the key external factors of marathon running is temperature, especially when it comes to elite/professional runners. Since the marathon takes several hours to complete - 2 hours and a few minutes for elite runners but up to 4-6 hours for amateurs – the temperature at which this exercise with an extended time span is performed is crucial. Based on scientific studies and long-term statistical data analysis by such institutions as the *French National Institute of Sport, Exercise, and Performance* and the *Association of Road Racing Statisticians,* the ideal temperature for elite marathon runners seems to be around 4-6 °C. For hobby runners, considerations and preferences differ significantly from those of the elite, but it is safe to say that temperatures between 10-20 °C are most favored as few like to try themselves on the 42 kilometer run under a scourging sun or in biting frost.

> "A marathoner running 2:05 is consuming more than twice as much oxygen as a 4:00 marathoner, and thus generating more than twice as much heat -- so of course you'd expect the faster runner to prefer a cooler day." (Hutchinson, 2014)

Anyhow, this makes, mid-spring and mid-fall marathons the most preferred ones for elite runners, which necessitates serious schedule coordination on behalf of race organizers, especially for those who want to showcase their marathons with outstanding elite performances.

Moving back to my database, one the other indicator that played pivotal role in my analysis are **participation numbers**. Since besides discussing the proliferation

process of marathons across Europe, I am trying to reflect on the increasing popularity marathons enjoy as well, participation numbers are key to establish temporal comparability. The yearly breakdown of participation numbers is only going to be done in a few cases, primarily in the case study cities, as I have limited amount of time and space, but the participation number evolution during the years seem to be representative of most street runs. There is a few issues with participation numbers however, firstly that they are not always available, especially not for every single year since the establishment of the given race. Secondly, most marathons require pre-registration, but the registered number of participants does not equal the actual number of people that showed up at the starting line on race day, while naturally a good amount of people never makes it to the finish line after starting the race. The issue is that only a few races have elaborate and yearly record of all three categories. Thirdly, some races indicate the numbers with regards to the marathon event only, some others would list participation numbers as a sum of all participants in the marathon, half-marathon and other supplementary events (5k, 10k, children's run, etc.) organized together with the marathon, and this obscures participation numbers a bit. If one wants to reflect on the size of a marathon run only, then they would have to look strictly for the participants in the marathon event, however, I am looking at the whole phenomenon since I want to show how it is not only about the marathon run anymore but about the whole event together with the supplementary events, of which the marathon is the flagship run. Wherever I could, used the most recent figures for the total number of participants (not only the marathon race) but it was not always possible. Where I surely know numbers are only for marathons, it is indicated with an asterisk (*) in the data set.

I furthermore found it informative to show direct participation expenses, so I have a column for marathon **application fees** for the most recent editions of each race. More popular races tend to be more expensive, however, application fees also depend on the country and city hosting the event. Larger, economically more important cities are usually more costly in general. Based on how early one applies, there are different tiers with increasing price ranges as the final application deadline approaches. The London, Stockholm, Berlin, Athens, Rome marathons are

amongst the most expensive ones with regards to last chance (closest to the event day) applications while smaller ones, like one of the Warsaw marathons, the Kosice, Lodz and Bucharest marathons cost significantly less money. Higher participation fees might mean the exclusion of some from taking part. The column is simply to show this aspect of differentiation, too.

The column dedicated to the **largest sponsors** of the event and type of business of the sponsor is indicative of the type of companies and businesses most active in financially supporting street races in return for a wide range of advertising and marketing gains. Not only are giant advertising boards scattered all along the race course in huge parts of large cities, the media coverage, including TV, radio and all forms of internet based airing possibilities offer huge potential for advertising and marketing options. The sponsors included in the database are current sponsors, as during the years, they often change, but they can still give a strong idea of the type and general portfolio of supporters. Therefore, the largest sponsors row is worth having a look at in Appendix B)

The questionnaire

In addition to the database, I contacted some of the race organizers and municipalities via questionnaires and interviews in order to get an insight into the motivations, difficulties and challenges, and anticipated gains and losses caused by city runs, also into how organizers think the races contribute to the development, integrity, thriving, and so on, of the respective cities. Most marathon races included in my excel data sheets have been contacted - 38 in total - but only three of them have got back to me with their answers, which is a pity but the answers still shed light on some important characteristics. The answers were integrated into my arguments and discussion in different parts of the thesis, while the complete answers can be found in Appendix A) after the bibliography. The following questions were included in my inquiry:

1) Since when is the event organized in the city, what was the rationale when the race was first organized? Was there an example to follow, what inspired the race?

2) What messages and values does the race promote? Did this change with time since its inception?

3) Why do you think a race in the city is interesting and relevant, especially in the contemporary urban context? How does running connect to the city and to urbanites? Why would a city municipality be interested in organizing such an event?

4) What do you think were the major factors that lead to the growing popularity of street races (prize money, fame, TV, etc.)? If you had to single out a time period (year or decade) when things started to change for the better for street races in general, what year would that be (e.g. 1950, 1980, 2000)?

5) If you think about the "image" or particularity of a city, would you say a street run can contribute to that image, why or why not? You can use specific cities or examples related to your race.

6) What do you think makes a good street race, what makes it popular and successful both for elite/professional athletes and for amateurs/hobby runners?

7) What are the pull factors for the public, what attracts people to go and watch a race, how can you involve more people?

8) Can you list the major actors and institutions involved in the organization of the race? How smooth is the organization process, which actors are easier and harder to come to terms with

9) Does your race have a strong competition by other street races? Which ones and for what reason? How do you cope with that competition?

10) Are there any other street running events or series that your race is in cooperation with, do you organize other street races? Does a cooperation help? How?

11) Do you think there is a number of street races, which are becoming super popular and successful compared to others? What do you think makes them so successful?

12) If you had to start organizing a race from scratch right now, based on what criteria and factors would you chose a location (city) and what would be the most fundamental characteristics you would establish for your race?

The questionnaire was somewhat modified when sent to official public institutions or actors like the *Budapest Culture, Tourism, Sports, Public Education and Social Policy Department* within the Budapest Municipality, in order to shift focus to issues more relevant from municipal perspectives like pros and contras of organizing such large-scale sport events, difficulties of realizing the events, security and transportation issues, image building, and so forth. Unfortunately, I have not received an answer from the municipality.

Selection procedure for studied races

Based on what did I chose the marathons I studied and compiled data about? What kind of sites and mediums were used for recommendations and based on what characteristics are these marathons on the various sites evaluated?

According to the website of the Köln marathon cited in a paper by Anke Strüver (2010) "alone in Germany, almost 200 marathon events await travel-loving runners. In addition to that, there are numerous half marathons, 10 kilometer runs, relay runs, and skating events"[3] (p. 232) Therefore, it was obvious that I had to narrow down the study to a selected group of them. On the other hand, I do believe, that even after the selection process I finally resolved to, generally valid arguments and tendencies could be distilled as to why, and how city running has become so fashionable and prominent of an activity. So, based on what information did I build my database, why certain marathons or runs were chosen, why were others left out?

I really wanted to focus on marathons at the first place because they are the largest and most recognized long distance running events on streets. In this regard, my primary source of research has been the *International Association of Athletics Federations* (IAAF), the largest supranational organizing body and authority for athletics events. I figured the IAAF would be a reasonable starting point when trying to identify major running events in Europe since it has the most authority and oversight over athletics events in the world. Although the IAAF is primarily concerned with elite and professional athletics, the qualities and requirements for

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[3] Original text in German: "Fast 200 Marathonveranstaltungen stehen dem reiselustigen Läufer allein in Deutschland offen. Hinzu kommen zahlreiche Halbmarathons, Zehn-Kilometer-Läufe, Staffelwettbewerbe und Inline-Rennen"

street races to be included in one of the three label categories – gold, silver, bronze – they qualify races with upon fulfilling certain conditions, pay respect to other considerations: inclusivity of women, diversity of participating athletes with regards to nationality, and so forth. (IAAF road race labels, 2014)

I have also been using other websites to get a clearer idea of how many street races are organized and in what parts of Europe. These websites are generally more inclusive, some of them attempt to list all possible smaller and medium sized races across Europe, and the numbers are truly immense. Just to get an idea, the *Ahotu Marathons* online race calendar indicates nearly two thousand 10 km street races in Europe for the 2016-2017 calendar year[4]. Of course, there is a good number of other street races that are even shorter or where emphasis is almost entirely shifted from *competition* or *challenge* to *fun* and the *experience*. I cannot possibly discuss but a couple of them in detail in my thesis but they deserve attention when it comes to the "festivalization of the city" and the "urban experience". The *Color Run*, a so called "paint race" is one of the best examples of this type of running event, with its primary purpose being made very clear on their website: "This larger than life party is equipped with music, dancing and massive color throws, which create millions of vivid color combinations. Trust us, this is the best post-5k party on the planet!"[5] Its first edition debuted in the United States in Phoenix, Arizona in 2011, and having grown into a global phenomenon, there are more than 200 cities in over 40 countries participating at the moment, which makes it one of the largest event series globally.

On top of the web sites, I am also using race calendars from the popular monthly *Runner's World* magazine and the quarterly *Distance Running Magazine,* a print managed by the *Association of International Marathons and Distance Races* (AIMS) and the IAAF together.

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[4] http://marathons.ahotu.com/calendar/10-km/europe
[5] The Color Run (website) http://thecolorrun.com/about/

Why focus on marathons?

The reason I thought choosing the largest marathons for case study analysis would make sense, is because they supposedly are organized on "large-scale" for the exact reasons I am trying to identify and find facts for: they are ideal for showcasing certain ideas, values, symbols, brands, etc. Why?

Because they are big enough to guarantee potential commercial and symbolic power for the organizers, sponsors, authorities to be worth investing in, and secondly for participants and audiences to be worth traveling farther away for, sometimes even crossing continents for a single marathon race. I imagine, a race would be much smaller with seriously limited potentials for these purposes if it was solely oriented towards more professional and elite runners (instead of mass consumers), or if the race course had not presciently been defined in a way that attracts the highest possible number of participants and tourists by capitalizing on the given pull factors of the city (already existing image, touristic attractions and sites). The largest marathons, such as the Boston Marathon, New York Marathon, Berlin,

Figure 1 Marathon Majors Applications. Usually around 40-60,000 applications are accepted to these races. Source: Hill (2015)

Tokyo and London Marathons are quasi brand names in themselves due to the media attention, reputation and popularity they have accumulated during the years in both professional and amateur circles. Registration in these latter races are limited and based on a lottery system because of constant oversubscription.

Case studies

As for case studies, I am going to analyze two cities, Budapest and Vienna, list and describe the major street running events taking place in them, elaborate on the evolution of the primary races since their inception (marathons), visualize the evolution, and introduce the interview findings with the local organizers,

municipalities and private actors. The focus will be on Budapest, as it seemed to be a great option for a case study as much for the language familiarity, as for the number of larger races taking place in it, and some of the connections I had through being a runner myself. I picked Vienna for the other case study, mainly because it is relatively close and similar in size to Budapest yet there seem to be particular differences between the two cities in how their respective authorities relate to the phenomenon of street races, how or how much they support (or not) the organization of such events, and so on. However, Vienna is going to receive somewhat less attention than the Budapest part, as a kind of control case study. The reason for this is that I could find much less on the official working of race organization dynamics between public and private actors than in the case of Budapest, which is partially due to my limited German knowledge but apart from that, also because there seem to be less regulations directly relating to street running in Vienna. I will illustrate that in the appropriate chapter. The comparison will give my research a good edge.

I will look at the following aspects: short history of the development of primarily, the marathons, but also other large-scale or important street running events and how these developments relate to urban governance in their context. How have the marathons grown in popularity and how were they promoted and by whom during the years until they became such giant events in the present? Some of the marathon websites offer valuable insights for my analysis, since they often contain long lists of extra offers for the applicants as well as for the spectators. Of course many of the extras are for extra fees, that attract more diverse crowds, whole families, disabled and handicapped people, etc., while also promoting various activities in the city, which not only show how these events have developed into a huge money-making and branding machinery but also reflect the commodification and complete commercialization of particular activities (running in this case) and, although only temporarily, whole parts of urban spaces during the time of the event. For example, in case of the Paris Marathon, some of the extras include the following: Paris Breakfast Run; Personalize Your Medal; Your Race Video; Beteaux-Mouches Cruise;

VIP Experience Pass; VIP Support Pass; Souvenir Frame; Poster of the Race; Pasta Party; Souvenir Web Shop[6]. Since significant sections of the sites are dedicated to promoting site seeing and touristic activities with link to official tourism websites, the marathon websites also reflect how these sport events have become organic parts of the tourism industry, more particularly sports tourism. Most frequent links found on the website are those introducing national monuments, museums, what to do in the given, tours and guides, and so forth.

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[6] http://www.schneiderelectricparismarathon.com/us/registration/participate

Theories and concepts

To the questions of how urban street races become so popular on the one hand, and of what dynamics we can observe between public authorities and sport event organization, the answer lies somewhere at the interception of sport tourism, urban governance, and the "festivalization of the city" concepts. They have all together contributed to the present day characteristics and situation of street running races in cities. Of course, there might be a number of other factors that played important role in the overall process of popularization of street races, for instance, the enormous changes that society went through socio-economically, perhaps even more importantly, culturally and with respect to lifestyle, since the late 1960s is indispensable: people have more disposable income, more free time, less physically demanding jobs (thereby more need of physical activity), changes in attitudes towards individual self-fulfillment and identity formation, etc. Though they could be studied separately as well, and my thesis revolves around a different focal point, namely the relationship between street races and urban governance, and within this framework, the role of street races as urban experiences.

Sports tourism and large-scale sport events

How do marathons and street runs fit into the agenda of tourism?

Although traveling for sport purposes is not a new phenomenon, in academic circles, the notion of sports tourism have started to gain new momentum since the 1990s. Gibson (2006) notes that, since the 1990s "seven specialist books… and several editions of tourism and sport journals have been devoted to sports tourism."[7] Sports tourism is a quickly developing branch of tourism that focuses on a wide range of

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[7] Books: J. Highham, *Sport tourism destinations* (2005); T. Hinch and J. Highham, *Sports tourism development* (2003); S. Hudson, *Sport and Adventure Tourism* (2003); B. Ritchie and D. Adalair, *Sports tourism: Interrelationships, impacts, and issues* (2004); M. Weed and C. Bull, *Sports tourism: Participants, policy and providers* (2004) D. Turco, R. Riley and K. Swart*, Sports tourism*: (2003) J. Standevan and P. de Knop, *Sport Tourism* (1999)
Journals: *Tourism Recreation Research*, 22 (1) (1997), *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 4 (1) (1998), *Visions in Leisure and Business*, 18 (spring 1999), *Current Issues in Tourism*, 5 (1) (2002), *Journal of Sport Management*, 17 (3) (2003), *European Journal of Sport Management*, 5 (3) (2005)

sports activities and events that are organized in a location different from the participants' original location meaning that participants in the event need to travel to a certain destination and spend some time there. Family members, friends, fans, sports enthusiasts and other visitors might be interested to come along and watch the event and some of the events are organized in a manner that offers the possibility of participation in complimentary or side events intended to involve more people from the audience. Therefore, a differentiation can be made between active and passive sports tourism. Gibson, then, defines sports tourism as a "leisure-based travel that takes individuals temporarily outside of their home communities to participate in physical activities [active sports tourism], to watch physical activities [event sports tourism], or to venerate attractions associated with physical activities [nostalgia sports tourism]." (p. 2)

Although this definition gives a good general sense of the relation between the three intercepting fields of leisure, traveling (tourism) and sports, it unfortunately is insufficient to explain one very important aspect of sport inspired traveling, because it only considers sports tourism as a leisure activity. This totally downgrades the role and weight of traveling and participation in sport events not for leisure purposes but as professional or serious (paid or simply someone who does it more seriously than just as a hobby) athletes. It overlooks the fact that many sports activities were pursued by athletes first, then popularized and turned into activities for mass consumption. Professional athletes and athlete groups pursue long months of traveling from one location to the next to compete at races and meets in different locations within their respective racing/meet season, or for training purposes.

After the long months of preparation season (usually from fall to early spring), a specialized street runner might travel all across Europe from late spring till early fall, to compete at a chain of street races and earn as much money as possible, or sharpen his shape for a particular race. American track and field athletes often spend the whole summer in Europe wandering from track race to track race since the USA track season - being heavily influenced by the academic calendar as the primary track races are those involving university student athletes - finishes when the academic spring term does, in late May and early June, leaving US athlete no

choice but to travel to Europe for more races, which start exactly late May/early June. Similarly, other sports, for example the tennis Grand Slam tournaments, the Formula 1 series, or Athletics Diamond League, touch down at various locations around the globe, yet the participating athletes doing the whole traveling to all event series locations would not fit this notion of Gibson's indicated above, because they are not leisure inspired travels.

One other form of traveling for sports purposes seems to have been even more understudied and left out of analysis yet: traveling for training purposes (for training camps). Although Thwaites and Chadwick (2006) considers this form of sport guided tourism briefly when analyzing sport tourism from a "service quality perspective", their analysis remains mostly concerned with marketing logics and customer perception variables for service quality. They use a slightly different definition than Gibson, that better fits the kind of sport inspired traveling that is however not for leisure purposes. "De Knop and Standaven describe sport tourism as travel for non-commercial (holiday) or for commercial (non-holiday/business) reasons to take part or observe sporting activities." (p. 190) Thwaites and Chadwick then go on to discuss and critique some characteristics of a sport and holiday resort in the Canary Islands based on what service improvements the resort made in order to appeal to a certain customers base (e.g. race bikers). Anyhow, if one considers professional sport as a form of business (a profession), it could be considered under the umbrella of traveling for "commercial reasons" (business) but it has to be added that not every athlete gains significant profit from his sporting activities during their career. They pursue their sports not as a hobby or leisure activity, but as semi-professional or amateur athletes. Clearly, some theoretical and methodological difficulties arise when trying to classify this form of sport tourism where the purpose is training related.

A very particular example from personal experience can demonstrate the above mentioned, training inspired, location-dependent travel. There are very well known training locations depending on each sport, but generally for the same reasons: better weather conditions, certain desired facilities or topographic advantages, or just the clear separation from the outside world to focus solely on training, etc.

Countries that stay warmer in winters are popular destinations for all outdoor sport enthusiast, for instance Spain and Portugal are primary destinations for runners in Dember and January. In endurance sports, like distance running, distance swimming, biking, and so on, high altitude training - about 2000m or higher above see level - is very prominent amongst elite athletes. On high altitude, the air is thinner - there is less oxygen in the air, plus air pressure is lower too – and the body acclimatizes to the new conditions either by producing more red blood cells that are incremental in oxygen transportation in the body and/or by transforming the metabolism of the body, both of which are vital factors in sports performance. Upon returning to sea level, the athletes gain a competitive advantage for a short period (usually around 10-14 days) before their red blood cell concentration and altered metabolism returns to normal, usually this is the time when the athletes have their planned, important races. What is more though, is that there is a limited number of places that have the required conditions for high quality training such as facilities, proper accommodation and food, not to difficult topographical characteristics (a place too mountainous, too humid or with tropical rain all the time is not optimal for example), relatively easy to reach location, acceptable level of security, and so on. Talking from a runner's perspective, we are always looking for high plateaus that are possibly at around 2000-2400 meters altitude because plateaus tend to stretch out on relatively flat areas ideal for longer, extended runs as opposed to mountains where steep uphill and steep downhill paths alternate, and climbing too many mountains or hills at this altitude while running in an oxygen-scarce environment is increasingly strenuous. Food security is always a crucial aspect in the African

countries as a poisoning can ruin the whole training camp. These prerequisites leave a few popular high altitude training destinations for runners to choose from, which I have indicated on Figure 2. They are the following: Flagstaff in Arizona, Albuquerque in New Mexico and Mammoth Lakes in California, all in the USA; Mexico City and St. Louis City in Mexico, Dullstroom in South Africa; Iten and Eldoret in Kenya, Addis Ababa and Sululta in Ethiopia, Ifran in Morocco, St. Moritz in Switzerland and Fount Romeu in France (see image). Most runners on the competitive level do go to one of these training spots at least once a year for at least three weeks but very often for longer than a month, and the absolute elite goes to training camps every two months, so about 3-4 times a year. Some even purchase property in one of these areas where they can stay when there and rent out when absent. High altitude training camps present a very particular type of activity with a considerable amount of "tourists" involved, yet as far as I know, this area has been mostly unexplored by researchers.

Figure 2 Popular locations for high altitude training

Going back to the general concept of sports tourism, it usually includes day trips, which have a relatively lower impact on the local economy, but also overnight stays with lengths depending on the span of the event. Marathon runs tend to be organized earlier in the morning, which necessitates arriving in the organizing city at least a day before the race, but some runners would anyways spend a day or two in the organizing city to acclimatize to local conditions and to properly rest before the "big day". Like other forms of tourism, the economic benefits of sports tourism are wide-ranging, some generated directly from the event, for instance via the

participation fees, sponsorships, advertisement, broadcasting rights and so on, while other benefits are more related to traditional touristic aspects that generate revenues from accommodation, restaurants, shops and retail, merchandise, museums and sightseeing visits and so forth. Furthermore, the money spent at these sport events contribute to the local tax base and employment figures as well. (KPMG, 2015; Strüver, 2010) What is more, similarly to tourism, these events tend to disregard economic hardships, meaning that they are organized in spite of economic downturns and difficulties as well, adding a relatively resilient segment to the local economy. Consider for example the remark made by Gerhard Wehr, one of the main figures behind the Vienna City Marathon organization, in 2009, one year after the burst of the housing market bubble that sent shockwaves through the world economy. "27,829 runners have registered already. This is the second highest participation in the history of the event, just behind last years record when the 25th jubilee edition has been celebrated. As there was a very long and hard winter in Austria and many people and countries feel the impact of the economic crisis, we at the VCM team are very happy with this." (Gearing up to the start of the Vienna City Marathon, 2009)

The benefits, thereby, encourage cities to compete for hosting such activities. In this respect, large-scale or mega-sport events such as the Olympic games, Football World Cup, European Cups, or major marathon and streets races, enjoy special attention and interest by cities, especially within the framework of sports tourism simply because their sheer size offers enormous financially, culturally, political gains. According to Maurice Roche, mega-events are "large-scale cultural (including commercial and sporting) events, which have a dramatic character, mass popular appeal and international significance." (Horn and Manzenreiter, 2006, p. 2) Horn and Manzenreiter go on to note that "central features of contemporary mega-events are firstly, that they are deemed to have significant consequences for the host city, region or nation in which they occur, and secondly, that they will attract considerable media coverage." (p. 2) Although in most cases marathons and other street races do not quite qualify as mega-events in terms of scope and scale, their largest representatives, which gather quite large participants and audience base like

the London or Berlin or Amsterdam Marathons do impact their cities significantly, both physically and in other terms, for instance economically, politically and culturally.

Sports tourism, creative industries and cultural policy

So how do marathons, half marathons and other city runs (street runs) relate to the shifts in urban governance and urban public policy models? I argue that, running and sports in general have become part of practiced mass culture and thereby, a product of mass consumption, which on the empirical level can easily be seen from the databases and graphs I have created on the popularity and frequency of large-scale running events in Europe. Otherwise, one only has to visit public green or off-traffic areas – larger parks, woods, etc. – to see for themselves the ever-growing number of running, an in fact, sports enthusiasts. People running on thread mills behind steamy windows in the winter have become commonplace scenes when walking on the streets. Besides the increasing number of privately organized running clubs, large sports brands manage their own running groups in cities world wide, like the Nike+ Run Club or Adidas Running. Usually they organize events like common runs in the city as a form of team building, while also doing product presentations paired with test runs, in-store show trials on treadmills and so on. In general, these events offer perfect opportunities for the brands to advertise their products and expand their market share (shoes, clothing, watches, other running gear, apps and software).

But if street running is a subject to, or a commodity, of mass consumption, then it represents a huge potential that city governments can capitalize on when thinking about advancing their economic, political and cultural agendas. In this sense, I will summon the help of the concepts of cultural industries, and/or creative industries, in order to find the link that connects urban governance to running, and street races. According to Hesmondhalgh and Pratt (2005), the policy discussions at Greater London Council in the early 1980s[8] were the first major public suggestions that, first

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8 These suggestions not implemented in London, especially since the Greater London Council was disbanded in 1996 and London was administratively reorganized. Nevertheless, the ideas presented

of all, acknowledged the economic potential (income, employment generation, taxes) but also the cultural and political importance of a variety of professions and occupations that had hitherto been outside the public domains control, yet which have represented considerable economic weight such as TV and Radio broadcasts, films, music, galleries, publishing, and so forth. The GLC's aim was to actively support and promote, in a way democratize cultural production and distribution, and at the same time, to develop a 'popular democratic' approach to financing these popular activities. Therefore, it is mostly from this moment on that municipalities start actively supporting, promoting and founding these professions and activities in order to bring back economic activities to the core of the cities that were abandoned by the middle classes for the suburbs. I argue that the culturally and politically productive power of sports (broadcasts, sport fan clubs, international representation of national sport teams, etc.) places it together with the same group of activities and professions that were picked up since the 1980s by municipalities, collectively called the cultural/creative industries. Hesmondhalgh and Pratt go on to note that, "while some clustering strategies are limited to artistic-cultural activities, most of them incorporate many other leisure and entertainment elements – bars, health and fitness complexes and the like." Furthermore, "The concept of the 'creative city' grew out of 'cultural quarter' policies, fusing it with tourism, 'flagship projects' such as festivals, and a more general concern with city planning in the name of 'quality of life'" (p. 6)

With this in mind, a connection has been identified and established between municipal policy, sports as facets of cultural production and consumption, and festivals as important elements of tourism. The missing link - that between sport events and festivals – is partially provided by Zherdev (2012), in that according to him, festivals form a quasi event-continuum to provide a constant festival environment, in in which contemporary citizens with ample free time and disposable income and with expectations beyond traditional consumer services, can

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at the GLC discussion, which were intended to find a way the revitalize worn-down inner city neighborhoods after deindustrialization and the middle-class withdrawal to the suburbs in several larger cities, they were picked picked up a redeveloped the by other municipalities in the UK like Sheffield, while other cities in Europe were trying to deal with the issue in similar ways.

indulge in all year round. Blin (2012) completes the missing link towards running as a festivalized activity, arguing that, besides the current hype around running, "the festive staging of these events has greatly contributed to the growing popularity, given that runners are all the more attracted to them since they are not strictly athletic. Transformed into major festive and popular events, these races play a truly significant role in stimulating and promoting local communities. That is the reason why Councils, aware of the tangible and intangible benefits of these events in a context of competition between cities, are involved and play an ever-increasing active role in their organization." (Blin, p. 266)

There is another approach worth mentioning, and it is city branding. As I will show later in the case studies, marathon routes especially in larger, more important cities, are designed deliberately to showcase various sites, characteristics and values of the given city. One can consider a well-planned marathon course as a 42 kilometer guided tour to the most important touristic and cultural sites as well as important development projects and assets the city has to offer. Because of the media attention larger street races enjoy nowadays, they are one of the most feasible means and most successful strategies for city branding purposes. According to Chalip and Costa (2006), "A brand is a type of shorthand for a product. With city branding, what you try to do is create that shorthand so that when people think of your city, they automatically think of what is best about it... [the brand] refers to the overall impression that the destination creates in the minds of potential tourists, including its functional and symbolic elements... A recognizable brand facilitates a tourist's choice of destination because it encapsulates what the destination has to offer." (p. 86-87) I have found a remarkable quote in Vienna City Marathon info brochure, which fits very well with the city branding aspects I just discussed. The brochure quotes *The Man Without Qualities* by Robert Musil, an early 20th century Austrian writer: "Cities are recognizable by their gait like people, in the way movement goes back and forth in the streets." (Infoheft, 2016, p. 7) Festivals and flagship projects, if harmonized with one another and with the larger, long-term agenda of a city, play a crucial role in this "back and forth movement" on (or of) the streets.

The marathon: the brief history of a long race

I find it informative and helpful to have a glance at the development of the marathon run into a widely recognized, highly prized and increasingly popular socio-cultural event, one that has very strong economic, even political, implications. This overview is important because it highlights the major characteristics of the run thereby revealing its potential in number of uses, while also unraveling turning points in its development into a giant sport event favored and contested for by city governments as it could help shed light on the interplay of various institutional bodies on different levels and functionality.

The historic marathon

The story of the marathon, the longest Olympic running event, goes back more than two millennia into 490 BC, ancient Greece. It was first organized to commemorate the feat of legendary Greek herald, Philippides, a trained runner courier whose name had been immortalized in legends describing the Battle of Marathon fought between the allied Athens and Plataea, and the invading Persian army. Several versions of the story exist based primarily on the accounts of Herodotus, Plutarch, and Lucian amongst others, which, with varying level of accuracy and romanticism, recount two different events related to the 'big run' that took place within the span of a few days. Chronologically speaking, the first account is that of Philippides being sent by the Athenians to Sparta to ask for military assistance against the invading Persians. He covered the approximately 240 kilometers stretch between Athens and Sparta in about a day and a half running all the way, then back. Indeed, a remarkable performance, so much so that its plausibility was tested, but according to the tests, the 240km run could have been done in 36 hours. (Milroy, n.d, online) Milroy also discusses the more widely known account, which is also more connected to the official 42.195 km distance of the marathon run, and it narrates Philippides' heroic achievement of delivering to Athens the message of the victorious Greek army that fought the Persians at the city of Marathon, with a warning that the Persian armada is turning on Athens in a desperate attempt to capture the city before the Greeks

could return. Philippides completed his mission by running between Marathon and Athens, and depending on which route he took, the distance he covered was between 34-41 km. Besides the obvious effort that had to be made to complete the mission, I find this legend rather fascinating as it represents a very particular method of communication, in this case between important cities of the time, Sparta-Marathon-Athens. Of course, the legends leave us with a good amount of questions, for instance, why Philippides, a professional messenger, ran instead of riding a horse for such a long distance. Sunil Gopal (2014) noted on Quora, a question and answer site, that being swift on foot was highly respected in ancient Greece, which might have inspired the core of the story, while it is also an established fact that over longer distances, especially in rougher environments (mountains, hills, forests) a human's performance could equal that of a horse. On the other hand, there might not have been appropriate horses around at the time for him to take. According to Gopal (2014) "It is very likely that the Greek chariot and racehorses, apart from being held sacred as children of Poseidon, were very expensive to be squandered in war. It is also possible that the later Greeks learnt from the Persians in deploying light and heavy cavalry in battle."

The contemporary marathon

With regards to its contemporary form, the marathon run was one of the core events of the first modern Olympic Games organized in Athens in 1896 under the auspices of the freshly formed International Olympic Committee. In the beginning, the distance was about 25 miles, or 40 kilometers, until 1921, when the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF, *International Association of Athletics Federations* at present) fixed the distance at the standard 42.195 km based on the Olympic Marathon route of the London Olympics in 1908. (Peterson, 2010)

The New York City Marathon, first organized in 1970 seems to have been the flagship of marathon runs, an example of a commercially successful event that other cities soon started to follow. Organizers of several present-day major marathons cite the New York Marathon as the source of inspiration. The Frankfurt Marathon Wikipedia entry states that it was 5 years after the NY Marathon kicked off, that

organizers in Germany started thinking of initiating city marathons in Germany as well. The case of the London Marathon is very similar. "Several club members had competed in the 1978 New York City Marathon and never tired of talking about it. They were amazed how different it was to the UK marathons, where a handful of spectators and a few cows watched 20 or so competitors trudge around country lanes." ("News and media: In the beginning", n. d.) Both the Frankfurt Marathon and the London Marathon went on to become some of the largest and most popular, annual mass running events in the world.

Media coverage changes everything

There are a number of indispensable factors that played crucial role in the popularization and growth of marathons, and in fact most sport events. Arguably, the most important one might be the live TV coverage of larger athletics events starting in the 1960s due to the immense commercial value sports possess. TV broadcasting of sport events enabled audiences hundreds or thousands of miles away to visually follow their favored athletes and events in real time. Of course, radio and some TV broadcasting had been around since the 1920s but it wasn't until the 1960s that the spotlight was drawn over the world of athletics as well. Since 1960s TV coverage of major athletics events took off, which generated huge interest due to the commercial value of sports in general. At the same time, the underlying structure of television and radio broadcasting that was dominated by monopolized state institutions until the 1970s, underwent a huge reorganization process primary due to free market pressures. Hitherto state owned channels were privatized, and new, private channels started to pop up like mushrooms.

> "A number of rationales which had sustained a previous era of policy in the communications and media sectors came under increasing challenge in the 1970s and 1980s, including the idea that state-owned monopolies in telecommunications were justified by the need to provide a national utility or common carrier, and the idea that broadcasting was a scarce, national resource, because of limited spectrum space. The successful challenge to these rationales on the part of corporate lobbyists, pro-competition academics and 'liberalising' policymakers unleashed a series of waves of

> marketisation on the media and communications sectors."
> (Hesmondhalgh and Pratt, 2005., p. 7)

This meant an enormous change because a new source of income was introduced to athletics federations, to sports institutions like the IAAF, to event organizers, and to athletes as well, as never-before-seen interest was shown in advertising and marketing through TV and radio commercials and ads. The world of sports was redefined forever, the career in professional sports not only becoming a reality but a highly desired occupation. This resulted in the rapid improvement of the quality of sports as athletes had the time and the stable income now to focus solely on their profession instead of having to do sports on the sideline, after work, or as a hobby. On the other hand, because of the prospective increase of profit from an increasingly popular sports industry, sports organizations and event organizers were also encouraged to improve the quality and inclusivity of their respective events.

BBC reported in 2012, that National Broadcasting Channel (NBC), an American commercial television network that roughly broadcasted a staggering 5.550 hours of the London Olympics, has paid a stiff price for the US broadcasting rights of the 2012 Games. "The network needs as many Olympic viewers as it can muster. Buying the broadcast rights to this year's games, along with the 2010 winter games, cost $2bn." (Douglas, 2012) That $2 billion is the revenue from one broadcast network of one country, the USA alone, and it is paid to the Olympic Broadcasting Services, which has been formed and kept under the auspices of the International Olympics Committee since 2001. The Beijing Olympics in 2008 reportedly had one of the highest ever viewers base on TV in history with an incredible 4.7 billion viewers who tuned in during the roughly two and a half week long mega event at one point, according the Nielsen, a global media analyst and consultancy. Compared to that, the 2004 Athens and 2000 Sydney Olympics drew a 3.9 and 3.6 billion audience, respectively ("Beijing Olympics draw largest ever global media audience", 2008). Live television broadcasting for ever altered the way athletics – and of course other sports – is being perceived by, and portrayed, promoted and conveyed to people on the one hand. This potential has been augmented by the latest technological

developments in telecommunication, more precisely in the addition of internet-based mediums and smart gadget applications to the live broadcasting repository especially since the late 2000s.

In addition to the media coverage that transformed the scene of athletics, institutional changes have also contributed the elevation of the status of athletes to professional and financially independent level. In 1982, the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), one of the highest authorities within the world of athletics, also shifted its focus from amateurism towards promoting professional athlete careers, and the organization created the first trust funds for athletes in 1985. (IAAF History, n.d.) This has played pivotal role in enabling highly motivated and talented athletes whom did not have the privileged status required to have the time and money for serious, full-time training. In fact, increasing prize money for elite marathon runners since the 1990s compared with prize money for elite track athletes have contributed to

The **International Association of Athletic Federations (IAAF) is** a supranational giant sports organization, the highest authority in terms of legal, administrative, management and executive issues within the world of international athletics, and it connects national athletics federations across the globe. It sets the rules and standards of the various sport events and disciplines in athletics and oversees the organization of major international races. At the beginning the IAAF was funded by national member federations plus selling of official IAAF publications, but as the organization grew in size and responsibilities, new ways of financing had to be found. Corporate sponsorship was a feasible solution because interest in major sports evens grew rapidly since the late 1970s (broadcasting, advertisement, all kinds of franchise items, souvenirs and related goods) See short history at http://www.iaaf.org/about-iaaf/history

the transformation of the marathon running scene. 1997 is the first year IAAF offers prize money to athletes at races organized by the association in order to promote the professional athlete career as opposed to amateur preparation.

The *IAAF Road Running Commission* within IAAF has established a system to qualify road races, which serve as indicators for prospective participants. The label system classifies different road races based on various criteria that have to be met by race

organizers who apply for a label. The standards for instance include: participation of a given number of international elite athletes, meaning at least there have to be elite athletes from 5 different nationalities with a certain qualifying time; equal prize money regardless of gender; difficulty of the course; low ecologic impact on surrounding; a specified number of doping tests have to be conducted, etc. (Wikipedia: IAAF Road Race Label Events)

Inclusivity and equal rights to participate

It is worth noting that the marathon running has not always been an all-inclusive run. In fact, it was primarily a men's sport, women were not allowed to officially sign up and race until the middle of the early 1970s. The reasoning behind restricting participation to men was that, women were considered physically unfit for the extended strain that 42 kilometers of running demanded. Several women, including Bobbi Gibb in 1966 and Kathrine Switzer in 1967, both completing the world famous Boston Marathon, raced without proper permission causing outrage amongst the organizers upon discovery of their mischief. In her memoir, Katherine Switzer (2007) recalled a conversation from 1966 he had with friends and cross-country running coach about her idea of running the Boston Marathon

Figure 3 A race organizer (in black) trying to take Kathrine Switzer out at the 1966 Boston Marathon

in 1967:

"[Switzer] – 'Oh, let's quit talking about the Boston Marathon and run the damn thing!'
'No woman can run the Boston Marathon,' Arnie fired back.

'Why not? I'm running 10 miles a night!'

Arnie insisted the distance was too long for fragile women to run and exploded when I said that Roberta Gibb had jumped into the race and finished it the previous April.'" (p. 83)

Both Gibbs and Switzer were true pioneers of the wider emancipatory movement as well, whose sporty struggle not only broke the ground for debates whether women should be allowed into the marathon races, but also whose efforts altered expectations towards female bodily conduct and its spatial implications in the public sphere. A few years later, in the 1971 edition of the New York Marathon, women were allowed to officially enter the marathon race. Ever since, their numbers have steadily been growing, though they usually do not match that of men.

Similarly, by now there is a variety of events organized during the time of the overall marathon event which include wheelchair races, half-marathons, 10k, 5k races, children's run, company/corporate runs, relay events to complete the distance in a group and so on. Besides the emancipatory and inclusivity aspects of the supplementary events, they are also aimed at further expanding the participant base. Naturally, running 42 kilometers is not an easy task at all, it puts a huge strain on the body, and it requires a relatively long time to prepare for even on the amateur level. Furthermore, people under 18 are usually not allowed to enter the marathon runs for health considerations. To get around these limitations, shorter events like 10 kilometer, 5 kilometer and kid's runs were added to the original marathon program in case of almost all marathon races. This has opened up novel ways for the organizers to involve more people but also prospective participants to bring along their families or to simply just compete in the shorter, complimentary events. I believe this, in a way, is also the result of the shifting urban governance paradigm that emphasizes and promotes inclusivity in all spheres of urban life. "A new urban governance will need to respond to the call for the exercise of the right to the city as a strategic approach to combat exclusion. This involves the redistribution of material, social, political and cultural resources, based on the principles of democracy, equality, inclusiveness and recognition of diversity." (HABITAT III Policy Paper, p. 6) Events that reportedly show greater sensitivity to the importance of

inclusivity will have more diverse participation distributions, that involve all layers of society from all walks of life. This in turn can help them build better reputation encouraging further diversification of the event portfolio in the future. Furthermore, it also fertile ground for city governments to extrapolate those values and messages to their respective cities and to embrace street running events as valuable means for increasing their cities' competitiveness and global appeal. In return race organizers could get more support from municipalities by gaining access to larger municipal funds, easier application procedures and lower rent prices for road closures and security resources, and so on.

Is there a hierarchy among marathons and street races?

Although as an informed competitive runner, I knew already from personal experience about major happenings in the running community, my research further confirmed that there existed a number of races that have accumulated unprecedented reputation and popularity during the years. Moreover, not all street races can claim the same kind of authority. For instance, the IAAF entitles qualifying races with gold, silver and bronze status depending on a number of indicators that guarantee higher race quality and experience, while the Association of International Marathons and Distance Races (AIMS) is responsible to conduct official race course measurements to guarantee that courses where official world records can be established are no less then 42,195 km long. The result of this is the formation of a certain hierarchy of marathons and street races. But how can we characterize this hierarchy, and what does its structure tell us about other global processes, for example uneven development, (city) branding, inter-urban competition? On the one hand, the largest and globally most powerful cities appear to attract and/or generate the largest crowd of participants and naturally, audiences too. The World Marathon Majors established in 2006, is the alpha pack of 6 events taking place in New York, Boston, Chicago, Tokyo, Berlin and London standing out as the race series topping the list of all marathons globally. Even the signifier, "majors", is indicative of their anticipated top-notch status. As an interesting but not surprising note, all six cities fare exceptionally well in terms of global connectedness on the charts of the

Globalization and World Cities Research Network (GaWC), a UK based think-thank at the Geography Department of Loughborough University. How does the GaWC index work? "Cities are assessed in terms of their advanced producer services using the interlocking network model. Indirect measures of flows are derived to compute a city's network connectivity – this measures a city's integration into the world city network." (The World According to GaWC, n. d.) In case of GaWC, however, Economic factors are heavily favored over cultural or political indicators. According to the 2012 GaWC report, London and New York are the sole A++ cities globally, Tokyo is amongst the A+, Chicago and Boston along A and A- cities, respectively, while Berlin is rendered a B+ city. One finds similar results at A.T. Kearney's 2014 listing of global cities, a top management consulting firm, which ranks world cities based on five criterion (business activity, human capital, information exchange, cultural experience, political engagement), which has five of the World Marathon Majors cities in its top 20, with Boston just missing the top 20, occupying rank 21.

A.T. Kearney Global Cities Index, 2014 (rankings 1–42)

2014	2012	2010	2008	City	Value
1	1	1	1	New York	61.7
2	2	2	2	London	58.1
3	3	4	3	Paris	52.3
4	4	3	4	Tokyo	47.2
5	5	5	5	Hong Kong	41.3
6	6	7	6	Los Angeles	38.0
7	7	6	8	Chicago	36.8
8	14	15	12	Beijing	35.1
9	11	8	7	Singapore	34.3
10	10	13	11	Washington	33.4
11	9	11	13	Brussels	32.9
12	8	10	9	Seoul	32.8
13	16	14	10	Toronto	32.4
14	12	9	16	Sydney	32.3
15	18	17	14	Madrid	31.8
16	13	18	18	Vienna	30.3
17	19	25	19	Moscow	29.5
18	21	21	20	Shanghai	29.4
19	20	16	17	Berlin	29.4
20	22	22	33	Buenos Aires	28.9
21	15	19	29	Boston	28.6
22	17	12	15	San Francisco	27.2
23	23	20	21	Frankfurt	26.7
24	24	26	NA	Barcelona	26.7
25	32	NA	NA	Melbourne	26.7
26	26	29	23	Amsterdam	26.3
27	29	27	27	Dubai	26.3
28	37	41	28	Istanbul	26.0
29	36	34	32	Miami	25.5
30	30	31	NA	Montreal	25.4
31	25	24	26	Zurich	25.4
32	28	28	30	Rome	24.1
33	27	23	24	Stockholm	23.5
34	33	35	31	São Paulo	23.4
35	34	30	25	Mexico City	23.0
36	39	40	37	Atlanta	22.7
37	31	33	35	Munich	22.4
38	38	38	NA	Houston	22.3
39	35	32	NA	Geneva	21.7
40	40	39	34	Taipei	21.3
41	45	46	49	Mumbai	20.9
42	43	36	22	Bangkok	20.7

Legend: Business activity (30%), Human capital (30%), Information exchange (15%), Cultural experience (15%), Political engagement (10%)

Note: Values are calculated on a 0 to 100 scale.

Figure 4 Kerney's top 42 global cities. Source: Global Cities, Present and Future (2014, p. 4)

Why is it so? What is the connection between global competitiveness and the most popular and largest city marathons? The answer of course is multifaceted that

involves several factors, including the organizing cities' economic strength and population size, their incredibly strong global reputation and image – both, the city and the race simultaneously - that attracts visitors, participants, sponsors, the latter thereby enabling larger financial and networking budgets needed for advertising and paying off the organization costs towards the city authorities (municipal taxes, police and security, transportation and road closure fees, etc.) and the larger and more attractive participation and prize money for professional athletes, and so forth. It is also a matter of prescient and deliberate planning on behalf of public authorities that see these events as priceless opportunities for promoting different aspects of their respective cities, for gathering support and sympathy for various causes, for constructing a strong identity around and with which current and prospective citizens can unite, identify, and stand up for.

Fundraising has become a massive part of all major marathons as well. The London Marathon runners (excluding other fundraising actors) in 2015 "have raised £54.1 million for charity, up from £53.2 million in 2014, which set a new world record for an annual single day charity fundraising event for the ninth successive year." (London Marathon sets new charitable fundraising world record, 2015) In spite of otherwise remarkable fundraiser results, four other World Marathon Major members, the New York ($30m), Boston ($27.5m), Chicago ($15m) and Berlin ($16m) marathons lag far behind the charitable output of the London Marathon (£54.1m = $79m), even if the three American ones would be put together, they would be about $6 million dollars short (Hill, 2015) As a comparison, fundraisers at the Budapest Marathon in 2015 and Vienna Marathon in 2016 generated about HUF 21 million (about $71,000) and EUR 155,000 (about $165,000) respectively[9]. (Budapest Sportiroda, 2015; VCM charity, 2016) Obviously, the size of the marathon, economic power of the organizing city and the region it is embedded in as well as that of participants very much defines the scale of charity fundraisers.

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[9] I used exchange rates from April 15, 2015 for Budapest and Vienna in order for them to be more accurate in relation to Hall's article, which was written on that day.

On the other hand, there is the perspective of the professional elite field that choses a marathon to run incredibly fast times, break world records, qualify for the Olympics and other such events, and of course, to make money. Therefore they care little about touristic attractions, the grandeur, reputation and image of a city and instead decide on their race destination based on other aspects such as race course difficulty (change in altitude over the course, number of sharp turns, overall surface coverage, windiness, etc.) and fastness of a course, and they try to time their races to their actual running form peek. This is not a negligible aspect for race organizers either as showcasing a strong elite field is more attractive for everyday participants spectators and audiences alike, which in turn generate more interest on behalf of prospective sponsors and advertisers. This is supported by the questionnaire answers I received from Vienna and Dublin too: amateurs would like to see and run together with a strong field of elite athletes as well (see Appendix 1).

The importance of expanding prize money pools and different pricing methods have been studied in detail and it is argued to have significantly contributed to a huge reorganization amongst the fastest and best marathons for elite runners.

> "When the Sheikh of Dubai put up $1 million in prize money plus a $1 million world-record bonus in 2008, the Dubai Marathon instantly became one of the world's fastest, despite its desert temps (average high in January, when the race is held, is 75°F[10]). In fact, prize money for road races more than doubled since 1998, while track racing purses have gotten smaller. As a result, runners are increasingly heading straight to the marathon." (Hutchins, October 10, 2014)

There is enormous difference between ways of pricing too: the winner-take-all system, where usually only the first few finishers wins larger sums of money generally result in slower races as competitors try to keep their strength for the final kick to beat their opponents but this might alienate the majority of elite runners looking for opportunities to run real fast times. A pricing system based on the finishers time where it is those who run faster than a given limit receive price money instead of top few finishers increases race quality for the elite and encourages faster, more exciting, and more challenging races for a larger body of

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[10] 74°F is about about 23°C, which is considered very high for running the marathon

elite runners. Figure 3 represents the European part of a study published in *Runner's World* that "examined top-20 marathon times worldwide for each of the 15 years before and after 1998 (600 performances total) to see where fast races were run. Before 1998, 44 cities (indicated by yellow dots) cracked the top 20; after 1998, just 25 did (indicated by green dots). Los Angeles made the list six times between 1984 and 1998, and zero since, while Amsterdam went from two fast results to 31." The reason while the Amsterdam Marathon turned into one of the primary targets
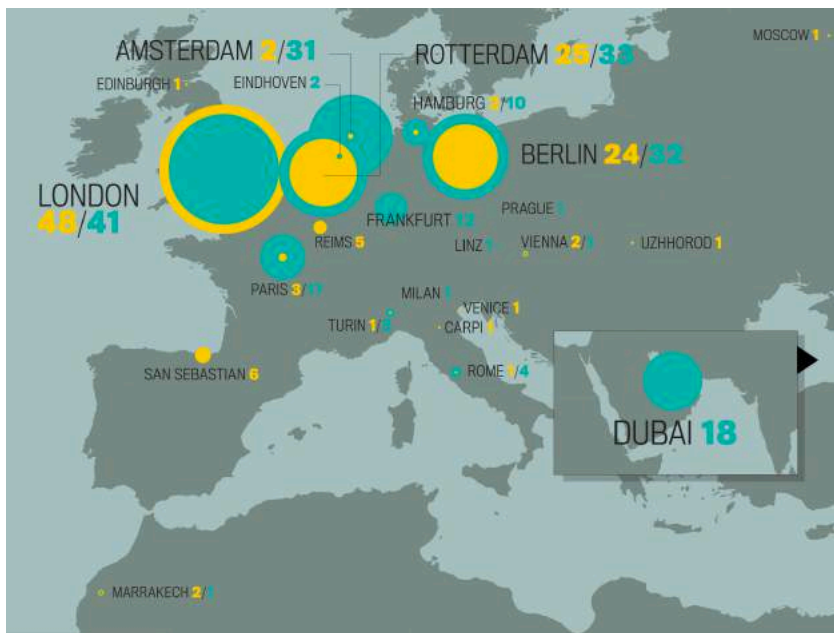

Figure 5 Location and frequency of top marathon results.
Source: Hutchinson (October 10, 2014) *'What will it take to run a 2-hour marathon?'*

for elite runners to perform the fastest times is because Amsterdam switched to a time-based prizing system in 1999, meaning that everybody who run under a predetermined time, for example the course record, received a fixed sum of money. Immediately in that year four runners broke the course record by more than a minute and a half, which is a huge progression in marathon terms. (Hutchinson, 2014)

Related to the quality of marathons for elite runners as well as for everyday sport tourists, is the route and difficulty of marathons. Many of the marathon routes have acquired their current shape later as their first edition, the former course, was often running on out-of-the-city and only the last few kilometers or a fracture of the total 42.192 kilometers were run inside the city. In case of the Zuric Marató de Barcelona, for example, which was first organized in 1978, the old course was changed to its current, purely city marathon shape, in 2001. Interestingly enough, in 2005, the

Barcelona marathon had to relocate again because of a disagreement with the city administration, a disagreement that was settled a year later so the event could be organized inside the city again.[11] A more recent example is the course of the Vienna Marathon: besides other minor alterations in the course, the finish line was changed from inside the Heldenplatz (Heroes Square) to the Ringstrasse in front of the Burgtheater, because organizers thought they could more easily accommodate the growing participants base in the future if the finish line was on the open Ringstrasse. As a side note, the finish is usually the most popular and most exciting area of the marathon. The recalibration involved about 90 different actors. (Kula and Schüler, 2016)

Expos, fairs, promotion events

Most serious large-scale city runs do not go by themselves. They are organized in conjunction with various other supplementary events related to the actual run such as expos, sports fairs, pasta parties and other "get together" occasions. Usually predating the actual race with a few days, they are organic parts the overall experience, or as the official Rotterdam Marathon website claims, "the free exhibition forms *the pulsating heart* of the NN Marathon Rotterdam"[12] On the one hand, they help participants tune themselves onto the race vibes, to meet their friends and other participants in order to share sports related know-how, tactics, what type of shoes and running gear they are wearing and why, what other races they are planning to run in the future, and to organize running groups based on the anticipated race pace in order to help each other through dead-locks and the toughest miles. Besides, the more the merrier. On the other hand, the supplementary events broaden the possibilities for all kinds of marketing, advertisement, promotion, Q&A events, where the largest brands or those companies willing to pay the most for securing a spot at the expo show off the latest products and technologies, advertise future development plans and goods,

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[11] Marato de Barcelona: http://barcelona.de/en/barcelona-marathon.html
[12] http://www.nnmarathonrotterdam.org/event/marathon-sport-expo/exhibitors/

distribute promotion materials, supply participants with last minute advices, and so on.

> "All the major athletic brands are present, as are a multitude of other exhibitors showing and selling everything from retro headbands to the latest GPS devices. One of the biggest stands is devoted to the Virgin Money London Marathon Superstore with this year's range of adidas souvenir and technical clothing" (London Marathon Expo)[13]

Overall, they significantly contribute to the factors that generate more interest for the actual run, for sports in general, while they increase profit as all types of running related products and services are sold. They usually attract larger crowds than the actual race participants' base, and entry is most of the time included in the participation fee. The Paris Marathon, for instance, is combined with the three-day-long Salon du Running Fair, an expo hosting and entertaining over 85.000 visitors and 220 exhibitors annually[14].

Figure 6 Rotterdam Marathon Expo Source
http://www.airporthotelrotterdam.nl/wp-
content/uploads/2015/03/Marathon-Sport-Expo-Rotterdam.jpg

"The Marathon Sport Expo is the live running platform that no runner wants to miss. The Marathon Sport Expo brings together the supply and demand of consumer and exhibitor. The Expo offers anything in the field of running and lifestyle for both, professional runners, and recreational runners, man or woman. The latest innovations, branded

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[13] https://www.virginmoneylondonmarathon.com/en-gb/event-info/virgin-money-london-marathon-expo/

[14] http://www.salondurunning.fr/us/salon/key-numbers

products, information, clothing, shoes, nourishment, health care, gadgets, and entertainment for men, children en especially woman."

(Rotterdam Marathon Sport Expo)

My interviewee at Budapest Sportiroda, István Máth, who is one of the key organizers of the major street runs in Budapest including the marathon and the half marathon, has told me that the expo in Budapest is quite small as the market is not big enough for larger sponsors to invest much in the expo in general. While the hype that surrounds expos at larger and more popular marathons with much larger budget and interest base is usually enormous (for example in Paris), the Budapest Marathon Expo could not garner such an attention and visitors base. Therefore, it is size and functionality within the overall marathon event (and experience) is significantly smaller. According to the Vienna City Marathon's *Panorama* (2016) after race magazine that publishes results, short race evaluation and commentary, 50.000 people visited the two-day long VCM expo, called *Vienna Sport World*. 100 brands from the fields of sport, wellness, health, tourism and media represented themselves with exhibitions via product and innovation promotions, quizzes and games, talks and presentations, race and running advices, personal training programs, etc. (p. 27)

Event series

There is a number of 'sport even series' that deserve a little attention, because they exemplify a clear tendency of cooperation amongst some events, which can be seen as a reaction to and move towards the globalization of street racing both as a lucrative business on the side of production, and as a form of recreational or touristic activity on the side of consumption.

Rock'N'Roll Series (RNR) It is a series of events from 5 kilometer races to marathons, 30 different locations worldwide but with a heavy Northern American presence, plus a few Mexican and Western European destinations. The official website has the following slogan for the RNR series, which very well signifies the intentions of the race series to become much more than just running. "Explore global destinations,

one step at a time. The Rock 'n' Roll Marathon Series combines running, travel and entertainment, providing a world-class event atmosphere for participants and spectators alike." [15] Strangely, this last sentence gets very close to describing their intention with the event series as a sport tourism book would define the concept of sport tourism itself: sport tourism is at the crossroads of sport (running), tourism (taveling) and leisure (entertainment). On the other hand, the whole event is built around the idea of creating and enjoying a festive atmosphere, since the running event is accompanied by concerts from finish to start plus a larger concert at the end to celebrate and have fun together. The Rock'n'Roll Marathon series indicates that even marathons and road runs organize together, like major airlines do, to catch a larger share of the market together (economies of agglomeration/scale).

Color Run "the happiest 5k on the planet": The goal at the founding of the Color Run in 2011 was to combine healthiness and happiness via a unique experience, a so called "paint run". Participants actively take part in transforming the course, the atmosphere and themselves and turn the event into a special experience regardless of the actual running, as they receive different balloons filled with non-toxic and

non-hazardous paint in it, which they have to throw at each other during the event. This results in a community of people, uniquely colored at each race. The Color Run went through rapid growth, hosting events in more than 200 cities located in 40 countries by 2015. [16]

Figure 7 The Color Run in Singapore. Source: www.colorrun.com

According their website, it is the single largest event series in the world at the moment, which exemplifies again how an activity (running) got commodified and

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[15] http://www.runrocknroll.com/

[16] http://thecolorrun.com/about/

turned into an "experience" that can be globally sold as a product of mass consumption.

European Marathons and their evolution

As mentioned earlier, urban street races have not always been so popular and large, nor has the rationale behind organizing such large-scale events remained the same as it was upon their first editions. For example, my Budapest informants at one public sports institution and a private organization specialized in race organization have both argued that running in the city was frowned upon by most people in the 1970s and early 1980s, it was mostly professional athletes who took to the streets in their ridiculous running shorts, headbands and trainers. The motivation driving the organization of the first street races was completely different too, mostly informed by the civil actors' concerns and concepts of sportsmanship, healthy life as a goal and not a means to get participants sign up, getting together, and various causes like protecting/celebrating the city as in the case of Vivicitta Runs, a race series initiative originating in Italy. I argue the it was the early 1980s when the reputation and growing popularity of running events have reached a boiling point, and together with the cultural and creative industries, they have been picked up by city municipalities as well, which I have already mentioned in relation to cultural and creative industries debate.
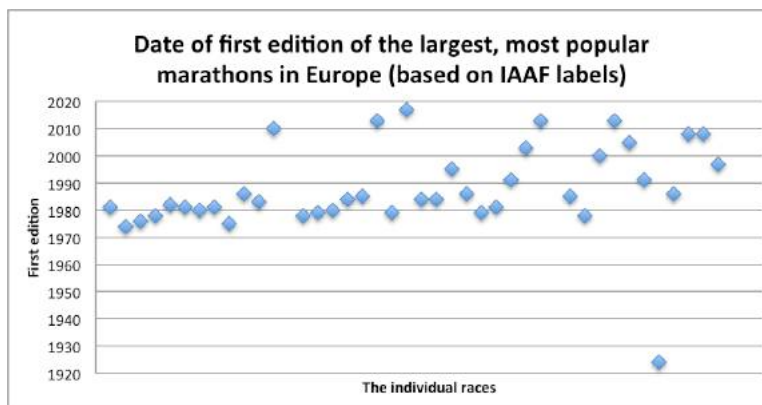

Figure 8 A sample of the first edition of the largest European marathons

As it is differentiable from Figure 8, which I have created based mainly on events that were labeled either gold, silver or bronze by the IAAF in 2016, most European marathons did not appear before the 1980s, except from the Kosice Marathon

down in the bottom right, which is the oldest annually organized marathon in Europe and second oldest in the world after the Boston Marathon[17]. While there is hundreds of marathon events in Europe every year, I thought it would still plausible to organize a representative sample from the IAAF qualified races. The IAAF labeled races tend to be in the group of more popular and larger marathons which also happen to be the older ones as they have ample time to build reputation and a returning participants base, but this is not a rule, of course. For this reason, however, I assumed that the majority of smaller marathons are younger on average than this sample, thereby they would still fit my argument that most urban marathon did not exist before this period.

About two-third of the listed races were first organized in the few years preceding or following 1980. Amongst the first one are the Berlin (1974), Amsterdam (1975), Paris (1976), Barcelona and Madrid (1978), Stockholm and Istanbul (1979) marathons. Interestingly, there was a number of shorter European street races that enjoyed high international reputation and which had already been around for a few years by then: such as the San Silvestre Vallecana Madrid 10 km run (1964) and the Corrida de Huelles 10 km run (1972). I assume these smaller, hightly reputable street races also played an important role in breaking the ice for popularizing running in general and for street races as well. As a recurring theme, the New York Marathon first organized in 1970 and having grown into the largest marathon in the world based on the number of finishers (over 50.000), seems to pop up everywhere as the main source of inspiration for later marathon organizers.

Marathons stood out at the begging, they were the first major street races to be organized, often accompanied by half marathons but it was not until the 1990s that half marathons started to garner the same kind of recognition that marathons had, and it is primarily because of newer funds channeled into street races as well as the changes the IAAF made with regards to enabling amateur athletes to pursue athletics on a professional level, as a career. Half marathons are shorter so they require a bit lighter training, and they can be completed by significantly more

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[17] http://www.kosicemarathon.com/stories-of-nine-decades/?lang=en

people with lower risk of injury. Because they put lesser strain on the body, half marathons can be run more often without complete exhaustion than is the case with marathons. Elite marathon runners usually do not run more than 2-4 marathons a year, because the body needs very long to fully recover after the race. To involve even more people - family members, children, handicapped people, enthusiastic bystanders – wheelchair, handcycle and shorter events like 10-5-2 kilometer runs, relays (teams of six 6x7km=42km), even 400-600 meter runs were added for the smallest one, and these race were usually organized as supplementary events to the whole marathon event. In case of the Budapest Marathon Festival, most of the supplementary or side events are organized on the day before the marathon.

Case Studies: Budapest and Vienna

The case study part of the thesis is dedicated to reflections on how large-scale street running events in Budapest and Vienna, two European capitals in each others vicinity, have been developing and promoted to become important elements of the "continuous festival experience" and of sports tourism strategies mentioned in the introduction and theoretical parts. (Zherdev, 2014, p. 6) As I stated earlier, my focus will remain on the two largest events, the Vienna City Marathon and the Budapest Marathon, but the analysis would be lacking and insufficient without at least briefly discussing other street running events in the two cities as well. Not only to these other events relate to the marathons or the marathon organizers strongly, and are the same policies applicable to them, in most cases they are also examples of relatively smaller (nonetheless significant and important) street races that were introduced later than the marathons in order to fill up the calendar year with other opportunities for sports inspired festivities. Despite the close proximity of Vienna and Budapest - roughly 250 kilometers - and the similar trends in popularity and increasing participation numbers in case of both cities, my findings via the interviews and statistical research have revealed quite different results with regards to the organizational structure, the inter-actor dynamics, and the position, attitude and vision of city municipalities towards the importance and potential of street races and their engagement with the actual organizers of the events.

Budapest

"The new running capital of Europe"

Budapest, the capital of Hungary, has gradually grown into a runner friendly city since the late 1990s. Nowadays, the Margaret Island on the Danube, the City Park

on the side of Heroes Square, the Kopaszi-gát lying on a peninsula on the Danube are primary targets for urban runners that often on the weekends

Figure 9 A snapshot from the umbrella website of the major running events in Budapest. The slogan in the bottom reads "The new running capital of Europe"

completely swarm these locations completely. The Buda Mountains, a little to the outskirts of the city, is favored by long distance and trail runners just as much as those desiring fresh air and a calm and tranquil atmosphere. At the moment, Budapest hosts several major street running events and scores of small-scale races ranging from school races, and minor athletics meets taking place in its vicinity annually. The largest ones are the Spar Budapest Marathon Festival, the Wizz Air Half Marathon, the Coca-Cola Women's Run, the Vivicitta "Protect the City" Run, the NATO Run, and the Mikulás Run (St. Nicholdas Day). Although I am going to mention them all briefly, I will keep the spotlight on the evolution of the marathon and the changing regulatory environment in Budapest.

The city now bustling with running events, has not always been so welcoming nor its citizens so approving of street running. "The first urban runners have been a laughing stock in the late 1970s, and throughout most of the 1980s, often being harassed for not having anything better to do with their free-time than running around like fools" says István Máth, head manager of the Budapest Sportiroda (BSI) (Budapest Sportbureau), the private company that organizes five of the most

popular and largest street running events in Budapest. People have gradually become more recipient and interested in street running, and in this, the role of the BSI organized races played a crucial role. The first major popular run was the Vivicitta "Protect the City" Run and it has been one of the most successful events in Budapest ever since. The Italian Vivicitta name translates to "love the city, long live the city", and its first edition was initiated by Italian running enthusiasts, who spread the Vivicitta run around many European cities.

The changing regulatory framework for sport event organization in Budapest

For fieldwork, I have conducted interviews with three different actors in the city. In person, I spoke with László Sátor, chief secretary of the Athletics Federation of Budapest (BASZ), and István Máth from the Budapest Sportbureau (BSI), while I had a telephone talk with István Kaniszár, media director at Union of Budapest Sports Federations (UBSF), a non-profit social organization. Furthermore, although the Budapest Municipality's Sports Department has not completed the survey I have sent to them, neither commented on my inquiry about their stance and opinion on the value and relevance of street races in the contemporary urban context, they have sent me some important regulatory documents that helped me reconstruct how the regulatory framework has changed recently. The following section is formulated on my findings via the interviews and on official municipal documents I have been sent and that I found.

My visit to the *Athletics Federation of Budapest* (Budapesti Atletikai Szövetég) has been quite informative of the development of municipal policy towards street races since the 2000s. According to my BASZ interviewee, "Budapest confines rather than enables street races". During Gábor Demkszky's time as major (1990-2010) the city has been gradually becoming restrictive towards the number of street races but it did not impose any larger charges on the organizers nor did it try to interfere with the organization process. Demszky, a politician and one of the longest serving majors of Budapest, had been member of the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége or SZDSZ) until the party's dissolution in 2013. The

SZDSZ had been the coalition partner of the Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt or MSZP) that governed the country between 2002-2010. After the currently governing FIDESZ overtook power in 2010, the independent but FIDESZ supported István Tarlós was elected major and he has fulfilled the position ever since.

According to both of my interviewees – from the Athletics Federation of Budapest, and from the Budapest Sportiroda - the administrative procedures of race organization have been getting increasingly difficult since the 2000s. Although they both noted that several restriction measures were put in place already during the governance of the liberal Gábor Demszky, the municipality under Demkszky remained passive with regards to interventions and charging of high fees related to the organization process. Anyone could apply for the rights to organize a race, so called "road usage fees" were negligible and the municipality would give out permissions rather generously up until 2004. In 2004, the municipal decree '763/2004 (IV. 29.)' was put into effect, which marked the first major changes with regards to sport event organization practices.

First of all, street races that involved the use of roads belonging to or related to the jurisdiction of city municipal property (as opposed to district municipality) were classified into three groups along the lines of decree 763/2004 (IV. 29.): Category I, Category II, and "Other" events. Category I is comprised of *running*, *cycling* and *roller-skating* events that need the closure of major roads or roads with significant public transportation operating on them and/or the closure of one of the bridges over the Danube river. Category II consists of races that require the closure of no more than one major road with public transportation on it but no of bridges. Every other race that does not necessitate closure of major roads with public transportation on them nor of any bridges, fall into the "Other" category, which can be organized freely and there is no limit on their number per annum. Though it might not be so visible, claimed my BSI interviewee, several hundred small-scale races are organized on the streets of Budapest every year, most of which fall into the "Other" category. The number of street races in Category I and Category II was maximized at 10 and 20, respectively, comprising the overall thirty larger races

allowed annually. These races require special permission from the Budapest Municipality but they are decided about via open tenders.

In 2012, the 2004 legislation was replaced by the more restrictive '40/2012 (V.8.)' decree of the General Assembly of the Budapest Municipality. According to the '40/2012 (V8)' decree, any sport event that is to be organized on or affecting city municipal property can only be organized if it is listed in the official calendar plan of the municipality. All races in Category I, and Category II, must apply for a place in the yearly race calendar. Keep in mind that there was a change in government both on the national and the Budapest level with the conservative, right-of-the-center FIDESZ assuming power after national elections in 2010 and the independent but FIDESZ supported István Tarlós becoming major of Budapest in the same year. According to all of my interviewees, the municipal sport federations and district municipalities gradually lost their weight in general since the 1989 transition from the socialist planned economy to free market economy, but especially since the late 2000s, they have received less and less money to spend on sports independently from the central administration (and other spending was also seriously reduced too as most functions were centralized nation wide including municipal budgets), and similarly to other centralization efforts of the government already seen in the field of education for instance, the Budapest Municipality's Sports Department was first downscaled then merged together with several other departments to form the *Cultural, Touristic, Sport, Public Education and Social Policy Department* in 2013. This melting pot department of quite differing areas has a common budget, from which it has become progressively difficult to receive funds for independent sport events (i.e. without affiliation to government or municipal officials).

More importantly for street races, the number of Category I races annually was reduced from 10 to 6 and the number of Category 2 races was lowered from 20 to 9 maximum adding up to a maximum of 15 larger street races annually. Based on the 2012 '40/2012 (V.8.)' decree, the applications for gaining a spot in the yearly race calendar are to be handed in to the *Cultural, Sport, Public Education, Health and Social Policy Department.* Furthermore, decree '40/2012 (V.8.)' from 2012 has also modified the road usage fees race organizers are obliged to pay to the city

municipality, however in this respect, it only overrule a previous decision on the road usage fees, put in place by the same municipality in 2011. While until 2012 organizers had to pay 50 HUF/m²/day for roads of primary importance and 25HUF/m²/day (8 EUR cents) for secondary roads, the 2012 ruling fixed a 3HUF/m²/hour (1 EUR cent) and a 1HUF/ m²/hour (1/3 EUR cent) fee for primary and secondary roads, respectively. The marathon uses about 300,000 m² public spaces, for which they are to pay 7.5 million HUF (EUR 25.000) (Futóblog, 2012)

Until 2015, the 2012 modifications were in place but the 2016 calendar year stood out as a special case as the city municipality started working on yet newer regulations and in the meantime they suspended the 2012 modifications. In 2016, the city municipality could arbitrarily decide about giving out event permissions although it mostly followed the 2012 regulations. The 'Call for proposals for sport events in 2016' (A Fővárosi Közgyűlés Emberi Erőforrások, 2015) issued by the *Human Resources and International Relations Committee* of the Budapest Municipality in 2015 is already telling of the changes. Until 2016 Category 1 races were left intact, but the nine races allowed annually in Category 2 from this point on were merged together with races in the "Other" category, which is a significant reduction yet again. All events that were to be organized in the 2016 calendar year must have applied to the municipality for permission in the previous calendar year (by May 2015 in case of Category I races and September 2015 in case of Category II races). The application material is then prepared by the *Cultural, Sport, Public Education, Health and Social Policy Department* and forwarded to the Budapest Municipality's *Human Resources and International Relations Committee* for final assessment. Furthermore, the time of the races had to be strictly outside of traffic rush hours, which means **only** applications that planned races **between 15:00 Saturdays and 15:00 Sundays** were considered. The application file submitted on behalf of the organizers have to include a wide array of documents including detailed, topographical map of the area to be used and traffic, road and public transportation closure plans including plans for how the organizers were going to notify affected citizens about closures; justification for why given race belongs to Category I or II; planned security measures to be taken; summary of the event's

impact and the organizational difficulties assessment from the previous 5 years and how the organizers were planning to overcome them; expected touristic importance of the event including statistical figures from previous years detailing number of foreign participants and the number of nationalities represented, plans for trash removal; whether organizers were planning to use infrastructural elements like the sewage system; and so forth. Further important assessment considerations were as follows (numbering represents order of importance in the assessment procedure):

> **Category I**
>
> 1) Extent of planned public road traffic restrictions (the lesser the better)
>
> 2) Running event has a history (organized in the last 3 years too)
>
> 3) Average of participants in last three years is more than 3000
>
> 4) Event has touristic relevance and value
>
> 5) Environmental regulations are respected
>
> **Category II:** Same as for Category I, except from 3) Average of participants in last three years is more than 1500

<div align="right">(A Fővárosi Közgyűlés Emberi Erőforrások, 2015)</div>

According to my interviewee at the Union of Budapest Sport Federations (UBSF), the 2015 alterations were being reworked in 2016, which will probably be operational from 2017 onwards. In 2016, all sport events were individually considered and decided upon following the guidelines of the 2012 modifications but with possibility to overrule them. The coming 2017 regulations are expected to limit the number of Category I and II races to an overall six from the previous fifteen (six Category I and 9 Category II events). The reasoning behind the curtailment of the number of races allowed annually, is citizens' complaints as well as worries that road closures and public transportation outages during the events are negatively impacting the economic performance of Budapest. It has to be added that Budapest, similarly to other capitals and larger cities has been struggling with serious traffic congestion issues, which is further exacerbated by highly centralized road and transportation infrastructure of the country with Budapest in its focal point.

The change of government on both, the national and the municipal level, have brought forth other measures that signal the will of the reigning FIDESZ party and their favored independent major, István Tarlós, to cement their power, which has significant consequences for the sports life of the city as well. Besides that several departments were reshuffled, merged together with others like the Sports Department or dismantled completely, newer institutions were assigned more responsibilities and powers. *The Union of Budapest Sport Federations* (UBSF) a new sports body operating since 2011, has been delegated more power and jurisdiction in the new political climate. In its Founding Charter (2014) originating from 2005 but last modified in 2014, and its general Organizational Rules (n.d.), the UBSF claims to be a non-profit, social organization. Social organizations are for example labor unions, political parties, various sports associations but not public institutions related to public governance. The UBSF works as an umbrella organization for 42 different sport federations in Budapest. According to its founding charter, it works closely together with the municipality for the following purposes: to help forming community links through sport; to improve status, reputation and quality of sports and sports institutions in Budapest; to help the organization of sport events in the city; to represent, promote and connect member sports organizations in Budapest with international actors; *to help the municipality realize its actual sports concepts and plans; to help applications for and management of European Union funds allocated for sports purposes; participate and help the organization of major sport events in Budapest; to assist the Budapest Municipality in the evaluation of applications for sports funds and event organization; to help member federations in financial and accounting matters; to invest assets gained from sport events and championships organized by member federations based on particular agreements with each member.* (A Budapesti Sportszövetségek Úniója alapszabálya, 2014, p. 3-4) Althuogh the UBSF is a social organization, it claims to work closely together with the municipality in a number of important fields. I have added italics to the second half of the list because in my opinion, those responsibilities assumed by the UBSF provide a bit ambiguous yet quite strong indirect intervention opportunities for the city municipality towards its centralization efforts of rights, responsibilities, and

financial independence of sport federations. The UBSF also organized three of the six possible Category I races in 2015: Way of Knowledge Run A [Tudás Útja Futás], the Budakeszi-Budapest half marathon together with and as part of the Vienna-Bratislava-Budapest supermaraton, that latter of which i will mention later.

My other interview talk besides the Athletics Federation of Budapest (BASZ) took me to the Budapest Sportbureau (BSI), the private actor responsible for organizing the largest and most popular Budapest street running events including the Spar Budapest Marathon, Wizz Air Half Marathon, the Vivicitta Protect the City Run, and the Coca Cola Wake Your Body Women's Run. Besides running events, the BSI also organizes triathlon, biking and swimming events such as the annual Swim Across Lake Velence (the third largest lake and a popular holiday destination in Hungary) in and outside of Budapest. Their events in Budapest – 9 events which included 40 different races – have been attended by 104,820 participants in 2015, according to their 2015 evaluation report. (Budapest Sportiroda, 2015) In the same year, their charity fundraisers have generated HUF 52 million (approximately, EUR 170.000). According to BSI's impact study published in the same report, about 17,500 runner sports tourists (runner + companions) from over 80 different nationalities have come to Hungary to attend their events, whom spent approximately 65,500 nights overall in Budapest accommodations (hotels, hostels, other rented apartments and rooms). Roughly 50% of those sports tourists have come to Hungary for the first time and 70% those surveyed are planning to return in the coming 5 years. They have estimated that the economic impact in 2015 – or "the net economic change in a host community that results from spending attributed to a sport event or facility" (Turco and Kelsey, 1992) - of their three largest and most important events, the Spar Budapest Marathon Festival and the Wizz Air Half Marathon, and the Vivicitta Protect the City Run, was as follows: domestic spending = HUF 2,65 billion (about EUR 8.6 million), total spending = HUF 4.44 billion (around EUR 14.2 million), contribution to the 2015 GDP = HUF 1.78 billion (approximately EUR 5.75 billion)

tax revenues = HUF 880 million (roughly EUR 2.85 million).[18] For participation numbers in the three events, I created a chart (Figure 10) based on data from the KPMG study. All events appear to have grown proportionally in size, while it is also remarkable, that similarly to what I quoted earlier from VCM organizer Gerhard Wehr, they indeed defied economic difficulties that occurred after 2008.
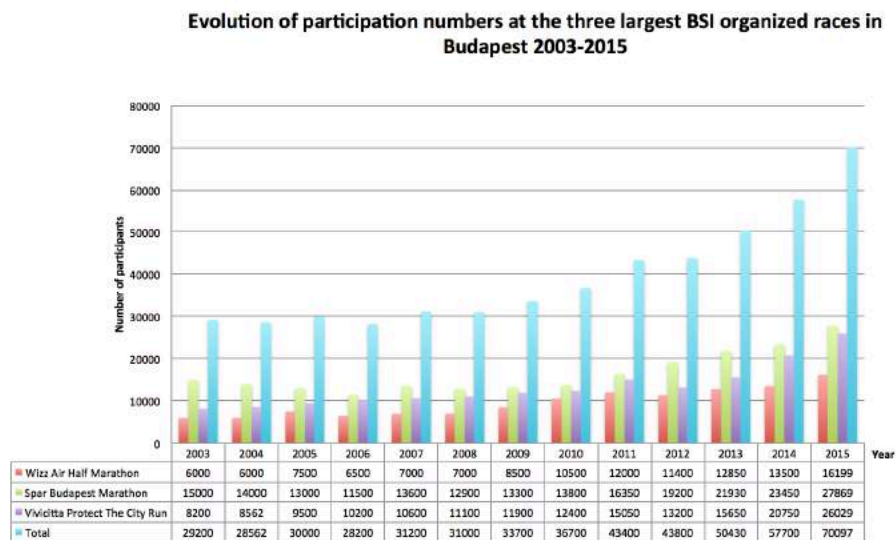

Evolution of participation numbers at the three largest BSI organized races in Budapest 2003-2015

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Wizz Air Half Marathon	6000	6000	7500	6500	7000	7000	8500	10500	12000	11400	12850	13500	16199
Spar Budapest Marathon	15000	14000	13000	11500	13600	12900	13300	13800	16350	19200	21930	23450	27869
Vivicitta Protect The City Run	8200	8562	9500	10200	10600	11100	11900	12400	15050	13200	15650	20750	26029
Total	29200	28562	30000	28200	31200	31000	33700	36700	43400	43800	50430	57700	70097

Figure 10 Participation numbers. Source: KPMG, 2015

The Budapest Marathon

"The Budapest Marathon is truly a unique sport and leisure festival with over 20.000 participants"[19]

The Budapest Marathon Festival is a two-day long event in the middle of the fall, with the side events taking place on Saturday (600m for children, 400m equality run, short 3x2km relay for families and students, mini-maratons of 2.7km, and walking) and the main events held on Sunday (marathon, 10k, 30k, marathon relay). It is an interesting fact, that the Budapest Marathon has been rescheduled to the fall in 1996, until then it took place in the spring, since that date coincided with the other big regional marathons, for example the Vienna City Marathon. The title

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[18] At the current (august 16, 2016 exchange rate of EUR/HUF 309.86
[19] http://marathon.runinbudapest.com

sponsors of the Budapest Marathon have primarily been super market chains like Spar (2009-2015, Kaiser's (2003-2009) and Plus (1996-2003), except in the first nine years, when the historic IBUSZ touristic and financial holding undertook sponsoring activities.

Route of the Budapest Marathon

Although there are alterations in the course quite often to avoid blocked streets or collisions with other events, and sometimes the direction of running is mixed up, usually the same areas of the city are used and affected. The 42.195 kilometer long marathon course starts and finishes at the City Park close to the Heroes Square, it cuts through the historic center of the city along the gaudy Andrássy Street, which separates the 6th and 7th districts and along which the Opera is located. At the Andrássy Street, runners can have a short glance at the Basilica a bit farther to their right before the course goes on and slightly descends to reach the wharfs of the Danube. According to
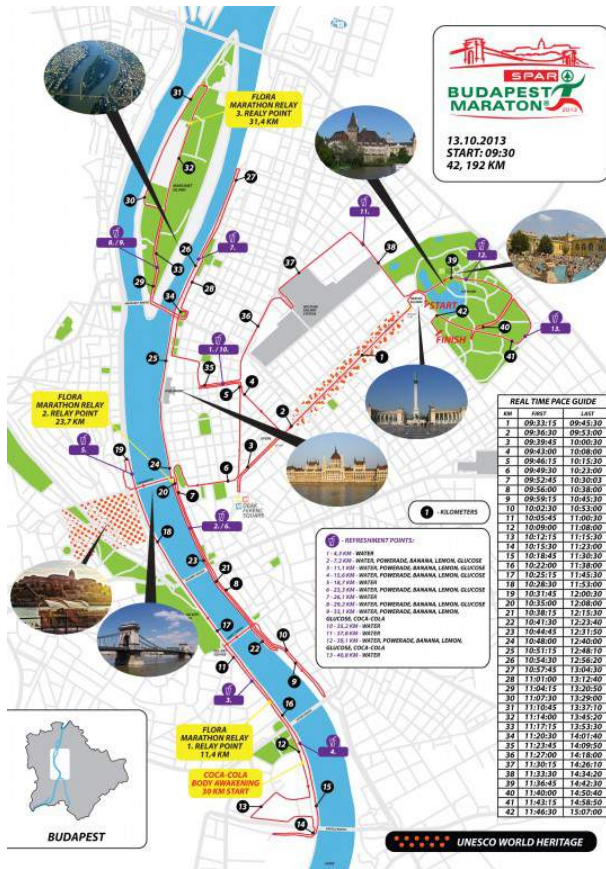
Figure 11 Route of 2014 Budapest Marathon. The small images showcase sightseeing points: (from bottom to top) Chain Bridge, Buda Castle, Parliament, Heroes Square, Széchenyi Bath and Vajdahunyad Castle, both in the City Park, Margaret Island. Source: http://runinfinity.com/

this map from 2012, from the 7th kilometer stone where they reach the river and have a quick glimpse at the Buda Castle, runners continue on the wharfs up until kilometer 28 during which they take two U turns on each bank of the river first in Pest then in Buda. They cross over to Buda via the Liberty Bridge, turn south and pass the Petőfi and Lágymányosi bridges. From then on they turn around and run back north, pass by the Buda Hills and the Elisabeth Bridge below the Buda Castle,

return to the Pest side via the famous Chain Bridge, only to still continue north, roll by the Parliament then eventually reach the Margaret Bridge, which they cross halfway to enter the Margaret Island. They make a lap on the lush and green island, head back towards the city center, then bypass the Western Train Station and return to the 6th district. Before finishing, they make their way inside the City Park, bypass the Széchényi Thermal Bath, and the Vardahunyad Castle representing eclectic architecture, and finally arrive at the finish line on the side of the City Park. There is a separate *Budapest Half Marathon* event also organized by the BSI, which takes place in the spring, and it has a very similar route except that runners do not cover such a large stretch of the Danube wharfs and the Margaret Island is excluded too.

What is striking when going through this course even just in front of my mental eyes, is that it is almost a complete tour of the major touristic attractions of Budapest. Even those few sites that are not included, for example the Dohány Street Synagogue (the largest one in Europe), are easily and quickly accessible from one point or another of the course. Runners spend almost exactly half of the marathon course on the Danube banks, which is interesting from the organizational and the touristic aspect as well. Regarding organizational issues, although the wharfs are used by car traffic in varying intensity depending on traffic in other areas of the city, they are secondary roads so renting them out might cause less traffic stoppage and lesser fees for organizers towards the municipality. At the same time, the wharfs are more or less even, covered by asphalt all the way, and have no turns except from where runners must turn around, which guarantees faster race times and easier race experience for amateurs as well. From the touristic and city advertising aspect, the waterfront offer huge potential, with the Buda Castle, the Buda Hills and the Parliament camping on the Danube banks plus the historic bridges on the river and the overall esthetic view of the architecture and scenery of both Buda and Pest. Organizers could hardly find a better, more representative course than this in Budapest. After the finish, participants can chill out in the City Park or head over to the Széchenyi Bath to recover or warm up in case of rainy, colder weather.
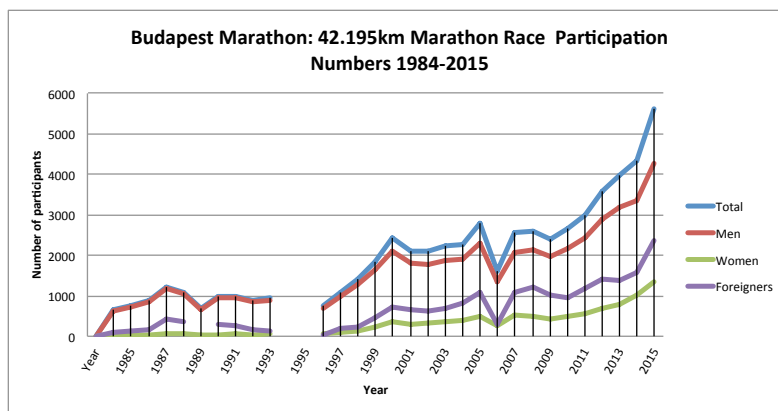
History of the Budapest Marathon

The Budapest Marathon was first organized in 1984 by the Budapest Physical Education and Sport Office (Budapest Testnevelési és Sport Hivatal) a branch of the National Physical Education and Sport Office as an event that would bring running enthusiasts together for the sake of doing healthy bodily exercise in the city. By 1984, several of the major marathons in Europe had been established and their popularity was growing, which was the primary inspiration for the establish ment of the historic race in the Hungarian capital as well. Similarly to most marathons that today boost participation numbers well in the tens of thousands, the Budapest Marathon started out as a relatively small running event but with a stable and strong participants base that gradually grew during the years. Unlike todays wide variety of distances that participants can chose from, at the beginning, besides the marathon distance there was only a half-marathon and a relay for children as side races. According to the *Futanet* website of the Budapest Sportbureau (Budapest Maraton: Versenytörténet, 2015)[20], its first edition counted 625 male and 25 female finishers. Three years into its existence in 1986, the Association of International Marathons and Road Races (AIMS) certified the race course as a credible 42.195 km course suitable for official world record times, the first in Eastern Europe to acquire the qualification. In 1989 (the end of the socialist regime in Hungary), the freshly formed, private Budapest Sportbureau overtook all rights and liabilities for the Budapest Marathon organization process. By 1992, the registered marathoners counted over 1500, with 1300 of them crossing the finish line. The start line was relocated from the current Stadionok out of the center of the city to the very much central Kós Károly Promenade in the City Park, if only for a year before further changes. Nonetheless it was a significant change signaling the growing reputation and importance of the marathon in the life of Budapest. After a short break in 1994-95, because of growing interest in the marathon and side events – the half marathon and 10 kilometer run - the Budapest Marathon returned in 1996 with a base on the Margaret Island, followed by another relocation to the somewhat larger Shipyard

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[20] http://www.futanet.hu/cikk/29-spar-budapest-maraton/budapest-maraton-versenytortenet

Island or Old Buda Island (Hajógyári-sziget/Óbudai-sziget) north of the Margaret Island. In 1998, the marathon start was moved back to the City Park as a high priority event and it has remained there ever since. The last year of the 20th century encouraged over 2000 marathon participants to register, one quarter of them foreigners from thirty three different nationalities. In 2000, registrations almost reached 3000, yet another record. Between 2000 and 2009 participation numbers for the marathon race within the event fluctuated between 2000-3000, then in 2010, more than 4000 participants showed up to complete the 42 kilometer course. The 2011 event saw an incredible 16350 participants in all distances together, followed by a further increase to 19200 participants in 2012, which was an absolute all time record in Hungary for a single sport event. 2013 stood as a year for shattering records once again with a total of 21930 runners, from which more than 4900 chose the marathon distance

Figure 12 Evolution of BMF marathon race participation numbers.

The graph above illustrates the evolution of participation numbers in the single marathon race within the total Marathon Festival. For the complete participation figures for the Marathon Festival – together with the Budapest Half Marathon and the Vivicitta Run, see graph above on page 20. Total is the sum of Men and Women, Foreigners include both men and women. There was no marathon between 1993-95, and no data in 1989 for foreigners. 2006 drop might have been caused by serious and enduring anti-government protests in the whole city at the time.

and 68 countries represented themselves with over 3000 foreign runners in all races. With this number the Budapest Marathon emerged as the second largest sport event with regards to participation numbers just after Formula 1, the sports car racing event. There were 23450 and 27860 participants in 20 14 and 2015, respectively, and with the latter, the Budapest Marathon elevated itself to the largest single outdoor sport event in Hungary. (Budapest Maraton: Versenytörténet, 2015)

The current marathon event includes the marathon race, a 21km half marathon, a 30km "wake your body run", a mini-marathon usually between 7-10 kilometers, a 600m race for children, and relay marathon in teams.

The increasing participation numbers that broke records each year since the mid-2000s went hand in hand with the transformation of the running experience itself. From the second half of the 2000s shorter side events were added to encourage people of all age groups and capabilities to join the crowd of runners. The mini-marathon, and the various group and corporate relay events were added in 2009, while the absolute event experience has gradually been enriched by the addition of different activities and performances for people interested in running, for families with activities for children, etc. All along the course, various artists perform musical and other performances like juggling, small theater plays and so on. The official marathon slogan said, "42 kilometers of running, 42 kilometers of music"[21], and according to the BSI organizers it is not only helping runners get their minds of running when going through the harder phases, it is also a chance for local musicians to gain space and to reach out via live performances to a larger audience.

Figure 13 A group young musicians along the marathon coures, with the Danube behind them.

What is quite fascinating is that the marathon course has become a temporary performance space for all kinds of artist, including amateur, hobby artists who join the event and play music at random spots along the marathon route without the organizers ever having formerly invited them. These performers range from ad hoc individual musicians, small bands and even members of the State Opera staging performances on the balcony of the Opera, which is along the marathon course.

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[21] http://www.futanet.hu/cikk/khirek14alpalavalo-mindenkinek-8211-avagy-42-km-futas-42-km-zene

This aspect, together with the facts that people dress up in creative outfits more and more frequently and in growing numbers for the events, as well as the tendency of artists, celebrities, theater and TV actors, and groups of various occupations like fire brigades, policemen and policewomen, national guard, etc. to participate forming their own groups for the races is very much telling of the huge transformation the marathon event has gone through since its foundations. According to my interviewee at the Budapest Sportbureau, another incredibly popular aspect of marathons and street running events nowadays is charity fundraisers, which generate large sums of money for various causes. This charity aspect, furthermore, attracts and appeals to a lot of public figures and artists who see these events as good opportunities to publicly contribute to good causes as it boosts their reputation and image.

Other remarkable running events in Budapest

I find these events very important to mention in order to illustrate how, many of the contemporary running events shift their focus from the bodily exercise and running to the fun, experience, and festival aspects of the events. This shift of focus, where running ceases to be the ends and instead it becomes the means, enables organizers to utilize running as a healthy and all the more appreciated physical activity for a variety of cultural, political and social causes. The examples below give a very good sense of this diversity.

NATO Partnership Running Festival: "it is more than running, it is an experience."[22] The slogan is quite telling about what this run is really about: to strengthen ties amongst the NATO allies and to raise awareness about its importance and mission. Members and families of the Hungarian national army may join the event for free. The 2016 edition of the run claims to be more scenic than ever with a new 10km and 4km route on the Buda side of the city that showcase the Buda Castle, the Tunnel at Clark Adam Square, the Chain Bridge the Parliament (a view of it from the

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[22] NATO Futás: http://natofutas.hu/

opposite side) amongst others. Besides the running races, the event offers the following activities: Hungarian folk music and dances; interviews with the Olympians guests about their experiences of Rio 2016 Olympic Games; Central Orchestra of the militrary; military Support Brigade Special Parade Group; a drone exhibition; health advisory services and sports equipment and sportswear exhibitions. The NATO Run is managed by the Athletics Federation of Budapest. All in all, the NATO Runnig Festival is a theme-based event with particular activities related to the NATO and the Hungarian military.

Day of Europe Run: this event is a combination of a running race and a general European Union day that celebrates the accession of Hungary to the European Union in 2004. Runners complete a course that is altered every year to represent the number of years since the membership started, meaning 12km in 2016. The course of the run touches twelve landmark development and renovation projects in Budapest that were financed from European Union funds. The event was commissioned to the Union of Budapest Sport Federations by the European Commission Representation in Hungary. They are not only expecting competitors "but also those enjoying sightseeing while running."[23] Besides the running event, there are activities all day long for those interested in EU affairs, also for families and children.

Way of Knowledge half marathon (Tudás útja félmaraton): The Union of Budapest Sports Federations organized the event and it derives its theme from wisdom and knowledge generated at the six major universities located in the city. It is classified as a Category I event, with its main run covering a 21km route and its side race spanning 6 kilometers. The half marathon run starts and finishes at Semmelweis University, the oldest medical university in the country, at it crosses over the Danube staying along the embankments of the river, while the 6km run touches the six important universities Budapest gives home to including Eötvös Lóránd Science

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[23] http://ec.europa.eu/hungary/events/2016/20160413_12years12kms_run_hu.htm

University, Budapest University of Technology, the Corvinus University, Central European University, the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church and Semmelweis University.

Underground Run in Kőbánya's Cave System (<mark>inlude image</mark>): Kőbánya is the X. District of Budapest, its name means ''quarry''. The underground run is an experience orieted, theme-based run, an event organized by BBU, with the aim of raising awareness about the istorical importance of the X. district as a prominent mining site of Budapest from the 17th century until 1890, when mining was discontinued for security reasons, with lime stone and clay being the main resources mined there. The intricate system of mines and underground tunnels have caused problems in the second half of the 20th century due to collapses and landslides. From the 19th century on, Kőbánya became an important wine growing site as well. The Underground Run offers a glimpse into the cave system while it also touches historic landmarks in the district such as the Csősztorony (Keeper's Tower) and the two most prominent hills, where wine was grown in the past.
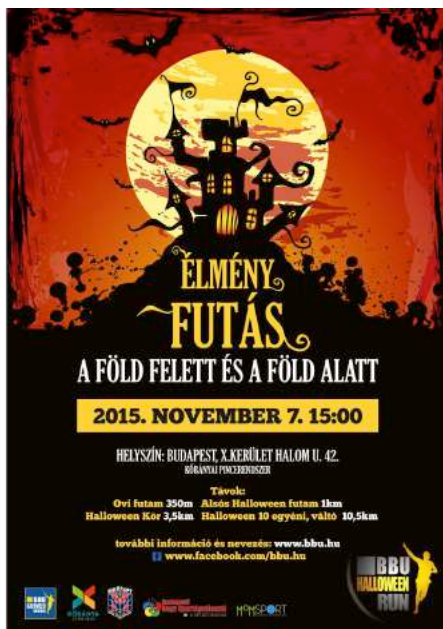
Figure 14 Source: Union of Budapest Sport Federations http://www.bbu.hu/#kepek

Halloween Run „An experience run: above and under ground" reads the poster to the left. The Halloween Run also in Kőbánya, is similarly an experience oriented, theme-based run. Halloween settings are out along the course to guarantee a spooky environment, and the course features underground parts like the Cae Run. Runners are encouraged to put on fitting costumes may win gifts at the end.

The BBU also organizes a new years eve run called "*Szilveszteri futás*" with the same concept in mind as the Silvesterlauf in Vienna.

Meanwhile, three weeks earlier on the 6th of December, runners can join the Mikulás Run (Saint Nicholas Run) of the Budapest Sportbureau commemorating Nikolas of Myra, the historical Greek figure and saint, who was thought to secretly distribute gifts especially to poor kids and their families. His figure is well-known in the Christian world, also known as Santa Claus or Sinterklaas in other countries.

As a side note and finishing thought to this section, Budapest is going to be the European Capital of Sports in 2019, an award assigned to a municipality with a population over 500,000 by the Brussels based European Cities and Towns of Sport Federation. The award works the same way as the European Capital of Culture program, which offers an opportunity for the selected cities to promote their particular cultural assets.

Vienna

Vienna, the capital of Austria, presents a somewhat different example in a number of ways. Although the Vienna City Marathon (VCM) started in the same year and with more or less the same amount of participants than its Budapest counterpart, the kind of regulatory restrictions and difficulties do not seem to have occurred in the same manners as in the case of Budapest. The VCM has grown faster and it became about 50% larger than the Budapest Marathon Festival, but I have to add that the Budapest Marathon has separated its half marathon race to create a separate event for that a few months earlier, while the VCM has the marathon and half marathon races together. Although regulations got stricter, according to my interviewee, Andreas Maier, there are no regulations in Vienna like the ones I have discussed already in case of Budapest, rather, each race organization application is evaluated by the municipality one by one. "I'm quite sure, that no such document by the municipal government of Vienna exists. They rather decide on a case to case basis", said Mr. Maier.

Amongst others, the most popular running spots in the city include the Prater, where many of the races take place as well, the Donau Kanal and Donau Island, the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, and more to the outskirts of the city the Lainzer Tiergarten and Swarzenbergpark in the western mountains. The online running portal, *Runinternational* lists 18 different running events in Vienna[24], almost half of which many of which are organized in the Prater, an immense park formerly part of the royal hunting ground, mostly for practical reasons: it is large green are that befits runners more while it keeps runners from obstructing vehicular traffic in the city. Besides the most prestigious Vienna City Marathon, there is another two small marathons organized annually, the Herbstmarathon and the Frühlingsmarathon, which take place entirely in the Prater and attract a few hundred participants each.

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[24] http://www.runinternational.eu/maps/austria#wien

The Vienna City Marathon enjoys very strong municipal support since its inauguration in 1984. Though the idea to organize a popular marathon for amateurs emerged in 1982 based on the examples from already successful marathons like the ones in New York, Rotterdam and Berlin, in 1983 the municipality could provide the necessary support for the event so only a smaller marathon was organized, confined to the dimensions of the Wiener Donauinsel. In 1983, all parties – the municipality, sports federations, and private actors and sponsors got together and hammered out and agreement and plans for a real city marathon to debut in 1984. (Die VCM-Story seit 1984, 2016)

Vienna City Marathon

"The Theater of Emotions"

> The Vienna City Marathon is a major and multifaceted international event and is of great importance to the city of Vienna – from an athletic, economic and touristic standpoint. Vienna is renowned for its culture, music, theatre, architecture and history. The Vienna City Marathon takes a modern slant on these themes and brings them together to create an impressive sporting experience. (Infoheft, 2016, p. 4)

The quote above is from the welcoming words of Andreas Mailath-Pokorny, the City Councilor for Culture, Science and Sport as published in the official VCM information brochure (Infoheft), and I found it a very concise and accurate summary of what this sport event means for Vienna. The Vienna City Marathon, also debuting in 1984, similarly to the Budapest Marathon Festival, started out as a smaller race organized around the principles of a healthy lifestyle. At its first editions, there were 794 participants overall, 769 men and 25 women. With roughly 40.000 participants from 120 nations around the globe in 2016, and the 400.000 spectators along the marathon route, it has grown into one of the largest and most popular sport events in Austria, and it is also considered one of the fastest marathons in Europe. The event is organized by the Enterprise Sport Pomotion GmbH, on behalf of the Sport und Athletic Club of Wien (SLW).

The Vienna City Marathon event consists of the marathon race, a half marathon and a relay marathon race, while there is a handful of side events like the shorter children's marathon, school relay, and so on. The motto of the race is "Run Vienne-Enjoy Classics", which refers to the marriage of modernity with the classical traditions, values and treasures of the city via the Vienna City Marathon event. The course binds the newest and most modern areas of the city (Donau City with the DC Towers) with the historic inner city and farther out with the Schnönbrunn Palace. As it is usual nowadays with marathons, the VCM also has a yearly changing theme. Compared to Budapest, which featured as "The New Running Capital of Europe", the VCM had the above quoted "Theater of Emotions" as its theme. The former imperial center and capital stands in its grandeur, a compelling setting indeed, for the tens of thousands of actors who come together to take part in the grand play, the Vienna City Marathon, while more than 400.000 people stand by (and an other 600.000 watch on TV). (Infoheft, 2016) Yet the audience is also invited to become active actors by cheering the participants on and trying themselves out in the side events as well, just like in a real theater. The "Experience running like never before" message in the official information brochure illustrates yet again, how much weight the experience itself has gathered throughout the years. (p. 43) In the questionnaire I sent out, Andreas Maier from the VCM organization has emphasized how important a role other aspects play for amateur and the audience apart from just the running. According to him, it is essential to offer side events for all age groups and families, also for people with disabilities, while other services are also standard now such as big screens and large stands to follow the race on, interviews and live commentary, food and drinks, music, other live performances along the course for entertainment and so on. (Appendix A) A remark from a participant in the Cologne Marathon illustrates another facet of this experience: "when I am running in New York, I would like to see things, but when I run in Münster, I want to be seen."[25] (Strüver, 2010, p. 236) For her, running in New York is a completely different experience than in Münster, In New York she wants to see and experience the city

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[25] Originial text translated from German: "Wenn ich in New York laufe, will ich was sehen, wenn ich in Münster laufe, will ich gesehen werden"

via running the marathon, while in Münster, a small city in Wesphalia, Germany, she knows and enjoys being in the spotlight as a runner of the marathon that is clearly an important happening in a relatively small city. In the first case, the city itself, New York, is just as much part of the total marathon hype as the process of running, the runners and the spectators are, while in Münster the emphasis is more on the run and runners themselves.

Route of the Vienna City Marathon

Marathoners start out westwards, from the United Nations headquarters, which is next to the Donau City development site, a flagship of the Vienna Waterfront Development project, and thereby a relatively new area for mixed residential, office and retail use on top of the now covered A22 highway along the Danube. Runners pass over the Donau Island via the Reichsbrücke (Imperial Bridge) and upon reaching the amusement

Figure 15 VCM marathon course. Source: Infoheft (2016)

park of Vienna at Praterstern, they take a 90 degree turn under the well-known "giant wheel" and the "worlds highest chained carousel"[26] to continue southeast to enter the Prater. At the Ernst Happel Stadion - about half way in the Prater – they take a turn southeast to get to the Donaukanal, from where they move on northeast to finally reach the city center and get on the Ring from the direction of Schwedenplatz. Yet in the middle of the Ring, around the Opera, they turn southeast and leave the Ring via the

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[26] http://www.praterwien.com/en/attractions/details/a/prater-tower/#.V8dniJN95sM

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Karlsplatz, pass by the Vienna Secession, an important landmark both architecturally and with regards to Vienna's cultural history, follow the Wienzeile and leave behind the Naschmartk and the Flohmarkt (flea market), an important open market site of the city, then continue westwards, towards the Schnönbrunn Palace. After filling their lungs with fresh air generated in the parks of the former royal summer residence, participants climb their way up on the Mariahilfer Strasse and eventually reach Westbahnhof. From Westbahnhof they descend on the second part of Mariahilfer Strasse, the longest shopping street in Austria, until they reach Museumsquartier, a large expansion of cultural and leisure venues including the Leopold Museum, Museum of Natural History and Museum of Art History as well as the Kunsthalle, then they continue northwards to run by the Volkstheater and pass behind the Rathaus (City Hall). Their northwards push goes on until Friedenssbrücke (Peace Bridge), where the runners cross over to the Donau Island and move back southeast along the Donaukanal to make another, longer loop in the Prater, going all the way to the Lusthaus, and important historic landmark. From the Prater, at 35 kilometers into the race, they reach for the Donaukanal again, the same way as they did 30 kilometers earlier in the beginning of the race, and head for the Scwedenplatz and the Ring with small alterations compared to their previous round. Once on the Ring, the final 2 kilometers come, and this time they go all the way to the Town Hall, in front of which they pass the finish line (a few years earlier they finished on the Heroes Square (Heldenplatz) in front of the National Library.

The same is true for the VCM as for the Budapest Marathon Festival, in that the marathon course covers the majority of the most important touristic attractions and landmarks in the city. According to my VCM interviewee, Mr. Maier, "A running event is great platform to promote a city in an emotional way. To do so, a running event has to include the popular landmarks of a city." (Appendix A) Moreover, the 'Run Vienna-Enjoy Classics' event slogan could not be more accurate to describe what this race course is designed for: it is an invitation for a historic tour in the city, as the course connects Vienna' present and future – the ongoing Donau City project, and the unfolding Waterfront Development - with various phases of its past – the Prater, Donaukanal, Ring, Schönbrunn Palace, Town Hall. Yet parts of a city that

represent symbolical, historic value are not static, they are also in a constant change, it is enough to look at the Donaukanal, a centuries old development itself completed in phases in order to regulate the Danubue, and its present day function in the city as a popular recreational and leisure space with trendy bars, some of the with beach sand, ship restaurants, night clubs. Chalip and Costa's (2006) says a brand "refers to the overall impression that the destination creates in the minds of potential tourists, including its functional and symbolic elements. A recognizable brand facilitates a tourist's choice of destination because it encapsulates what the destination has to offer." (p. 86-87) Looking at the VCM - but also the Budapest Marathon Festival - from the city branding perspective, large-scale city runs seem to be the perfect means for a municipality to promote the whole of their cities through this one, large, representative event, the 42 kilometer marathon.

Participation numbers and figures of the Vienna City Marathon

The following charts illustrate the evolution of the Vienna City Marathon
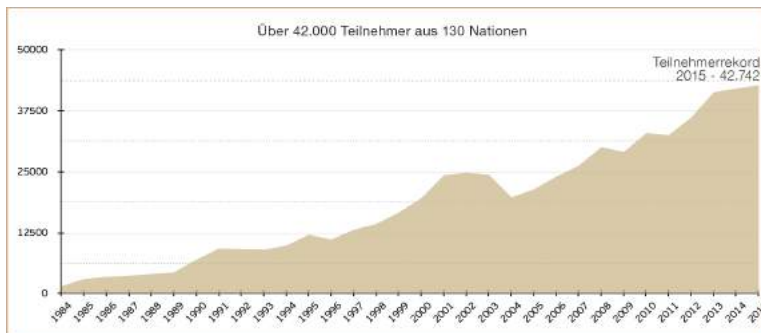
Figure 16 VCM overall participation numbers. A new record is indicated for 2015. Source: Vienna City Marathon history (online)

participation numbers. Figure 16 illustrates the evolution of participation numbers in all races within the VCM event, including the marathon, half marathon, relays, and shorter events all together. It very clearly shows how participation numbers more than tripled in twenty years since 1995 until 2015. Only the marathon and the Frühlingslauf (somewhat shorter than a half marathon) was organized since 1984, relays started in 1995, while school relays and children's short marathon was added in 2002, and the half marathon started to be organized instead of the Frühlingslauf in 2005. Figure 17, a self-made graph, shows the breakdown of participants that *finished* the Vienna Marathon in each year. It is not the actual number of people who started the

race because there is always a percentage (about 15-20%) of people who cannot finish the race.
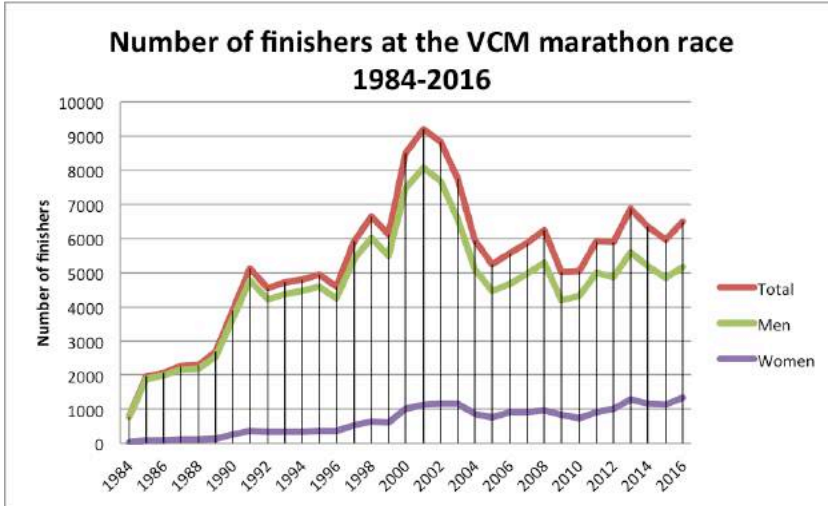
Figure 17 Evolution of the number of finishers at the marathon race of the VCM

I could not find an explanation for the big spike between 1999-2001, so the only thing I can think of is, that in the last year of the previous millennium (1999) and the first one of the new one (2000) an outstandingly larger amount of people may have felt like trying themselves in something truly challenging, as participation numbers started to plunge afterwards and return to previous levels. What is more interesting on this chart is the evolution of women's share of participants: although still only a fraction of that of men, it has increased steadily to reach over 20% by 2016.
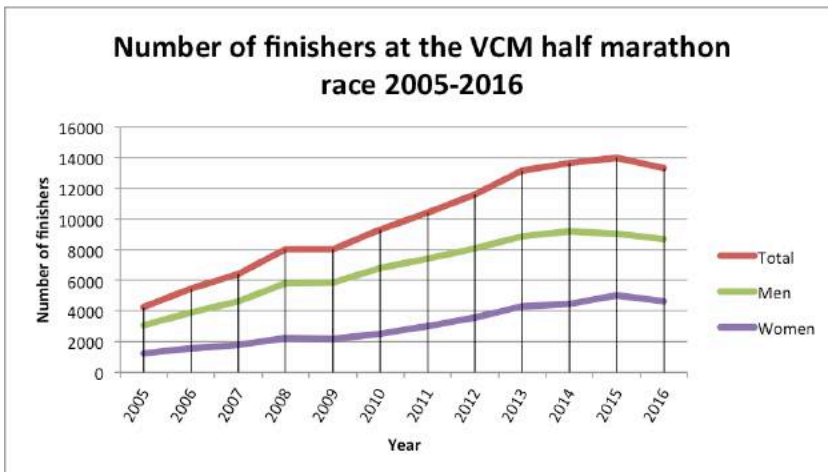
Figure 18 Evolution and break down of number of participants in the half marathon

This trend has been developing a bit differently in case of the half marathon race, which can be seen on Figure 18, another graph I prepared, where women's

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participation has reached about 35%, which is mostly due to enormous difference in the two distances, and the amount of training and physical condition it requires. The half marathon is more in reach for anyone who is able to jog 60-70 minutes as those runs can be then extended to a 100 minute or two hour run (which should cover the half marathon) easier than to run a complete marathon that usually takes somewhere between 3.5-5 hours for amateurs to finish, a huge strain on the body indeed. It shows that the half marathon, though also very much challenging, is more appealing to women than the complete marathon.

Other remarkable running events in Vienna

As it was the case with Budapest, there a high number of fascinating running events in Vienna, which are relevant in the context of running as a new urban experience on the one hand, and also events that are part of the "festival continuum". Vienna has to offer. The list of course is not exhaustive, but it very well represents the various themes and causes around and for which a running event can be organized.

VCM Winterlauf Serie (Winter Running Series): This event series is an official pre-program of the Vienna City Marathon with the primary aim of helping prospective marathon runners prepare VCM in April as well as to further popularize the event and running in general. It consists of a half marathon, a 14km and a 7km race, which adds up to the total marathon distance, and the three races take place in the Prater in January, February and March, one in each month.

Frauenlauf (Women's Run): this event in Vienna has its counterpart in Budapest, the *Wake Your Body Women's Running Gala*, both of which have attracted over 10.000 participants in their last editions, which is a considerable crowd, though Vienna seems to be way ahead with its 30.000 participants (it is more than the total participants of the

Figure 19 Frauenlauf. Source: Vienna City Marathon website

Budapest Marathon Festival). While running in general has gradually grown in popularity, the proportion of women represented at marathons remained quite low until the end of the 1990s, when it slowly started growing, but it still lags far behind that of men except from a few events like the New York Marathon, which boosts the remarkable figure of 40% share of women. It is around 20% at thee VCM and 24% at the VCM and the BMF, respectively. These running events for women attempt to balance out this discrepancy and to bring more women into the world of running while they usually have an underlying cause or awareness raising campaign like the fight against breast cancer.

Figure 20 Worldwide Wings for Life Run locations. Source - Wings for Life Run: Locations

Red Bull Wings for Life Run in Vienna 2016: The Wing for Life World Run is a huge global charity run organized by the Wings for Life research foundation in May, and it takes place simultaneously in an overall 34 different cities around the planet. All money earned from the participation fees goes to spinal cord research to help those with spinal chord injury. Its motto is "Run for those who cannot", which besides the charitable aspect, has a very strong political connotation to it too. The race has a bit different concept than a regular running event with a clear starting and finish line: competitors and the Wings for Life Run start at the same time and they are followed by a Chase Car that increases its speed at set intervals, whoever is passed by the car is out of the race and the race finishes when the last racer is caught by the Chase Car (could be after over 50 kilometers) Since its inception 2 years ago, more than 135.000 people participated in the event in 40 different locations. What is most fascinating for me in this run is not in the "event (festival) continuity" it is part of with other events organized during the year, but rather the perspective that I would call "event

simultaneity." Participants in this race are scattered around the globe, but they are active part of the same event, for the same cause and with the same set up and rules. This type of events could add and interesting twist to Benedict Anderson's (2006) "imagined communities", where even though members of a nation (community) have no face-to-face contact with each other, and also cannot know every other member of the community for practical reasons, they still identify with and imagine themselves as being part of their community, thus nations are social constructs. With globalization unfolding at its fullest, new communities and via newer means can form, exists and function for and around the strangest causes.

The Silvesterlauf: Last year was the 40th edition of of the 5.4 kilometer long race organized traditionally on the Ring on the 31st of December. The theme of the run is naturally, new years and saying goodbye to the yesteryear. On top of the normal 5.4km race, there is Nordic walking, and categories for people with dogs, and people in "heavy weight" category. The more than 3000 participants in the Silvesterlauf is quite remarkable. Participants are encouraged to dress up creatively, usually some companies participate in common team uniforms, and those with the best costumes receive special awards at the end. The race is held in the morning but there is music, a raffle to win various gifts, and

Figure 21. Team Wiener Linien, the public transportation company of Vienna, representing the major sponsor and partner of the Silvesterlauf. Source: http://www.walters-sportseiten.at/Bilder/Laeufe/2012/26.silvesterlaf/silvesterlauf.2012.38.gif

other festivities afterwards until the late afternoon as a celebration of the past year, with champagne, hot tea, mulled wine and hot chocolate to keep people warm. The image of the Wiener Linien Team is a very good example of how companies can use these events for team building, corporate image building within and outside the company, and advertising as well.

Vienna Night Run: another charity event on behalf of *Light for the World*, an international NGO founded in Vienna in 1988, with the aim of raising money for those with cataract in their eyes in Africa. The course is 5 kilometers long and it takes place on the Ringstrasse, a very much symbolic choice with all the grandeur and light shower the area offers under the umbrella of the night. "In the foreground of this event it is not the hunt for seconds and minutes, but the joy of solidarity and of doing sport together. A run together on the beautiful Ringstrasse in Vienna, while giving the gift of eyesight to someone."[27] The number of finishers in 2015 was 14,719 (6,964 men and 7,755 women), which is significant and the field consisted of runners, Nordic walkers, wheelchair, hand bike and other handicapped participants. The Night Run is an excellent representative of a running event organized completely around charity, a common cause for helping others, and the high rate of participant turnout shows that the charity aspect indeed has a huge potential when it comes to event organization.

Figure 22. The Millennium Towers. Source: http://www.millenniumcityrun.at/de/millennium-tower-run/tower-run-up-light

Millennium City Run and Tower Run up: it is a new initiative in the 20th district of Vienna at Millennium City shopping and residential area that includes the 171 meter tall Millennium Towers, one of the largest buildings in Austria, which was developed in 1999 to greet the coming new millennium. 2016 was the third edition of the event, where "regular" runners can chose from a 10k and a 5k race in the area. The real challenge waits for those who are willing to climb the towers: "Competitors can choose to run up the tower once - Millennium Tower Run-Up Light,

[27] Original translated from German: "Nicht die Jagd nach Sekunden und Minuten steht im Vordergrund, sondern der Spaß am gemeinsamen Sporteln und die Mitmenschlichkeit.Gemeinsam die 5 Kilometer lange Runde um die schöne Wiener Ringstraße laufen und nebenbei Augenlicht schenken!"

843 steps - or three times - Millennium Tower Run-Up Extreme, 2529 steps"[28]. Runners start from the bottom with 10-second intervals and absolute finishing times at the 48th floor's terrace count towards the actual competition. What I find extremely interesting is how this running event is utilizing the peculiar manifestations of contemporary urban architecture, namely skyscrapers and high-rise buildings. It is truly a unique experience and a unique approach to contemporary urbanity as well.

The Vienna-Budapest-Bratislava Supermaraton
Where the two cities' running space converges

On a fascinating note, there even existed a supermarathon since 1990 between, first the two cities of Vienna and Budapest until 2005 (Vienna-Budapest Supermarathon), then also including Bratislava (Vienna-Bratislava-Budapest Supermarathon) covering a staggering 320km distance that showcased all three cities (plus more than three dozen small towns, not to mention the few hundred kilometers of countryside in between). It was to be completed individually or in relay teams, of which the individual winners were exceptionally highly priced. The race was discontinued after 2009 due to financial difficulties and plummeting participation numbers. The race was organized again in 2011-2013 by a new organizer team that welcomed bikers and roller skaters to participate as well, but since then, the event has been at a deadlock again. In 2013, the bikers were invited to complete the "historic tour" that introduced them to the historical and cultural peculiarities of all 42 towns on the way, and that the organizers claimed to have exceptional touristic value ("Bécs-Pozsony-Budapest Ultramarathon és Kerékpártúra", n. d.) The race, similarly to other marathons and large-scale running events, has strong charitable aspects as well.

Even though the Supermarathon has been facing financial difficulties and sinking participation numbers, it is a good example of local-regional[29], inter-urban and

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[28] http://www.millenniumcityrun.at/de/millennium-tower-run/tower-run-up-light
[29] By local-regional I mean, that the event exceeds the limits of a local event by far involving multiple cities and smaller towns, but it does not cover whole regions like Eastern-Europe or Central Europe.

international cooperation for an event that covers multiple days of sportsmanship and coming together of people from different cultural backgrounds, that attempts to showcase historical and cultural characteristics of not only one city but a larger local-region that included scores of smaller towns too, while it also has significant charitable functions. With more efficient organization, stronger marketing strategies, and a more creative and diverse pool of attractions and events for prospective participants, the Supermarathon still has the potential to become a larger, local-regional event that gains the popularity it deserves. For instance, introducing different themes such as food and wine specialties at serving stations along the route, musical and clothing traditions of the involved localities and so on, or using smartphone apps with games related to the event could enrich the experience and to build an identity and image for the race.

Comparison of case studies

What can I conclude from the two different case studies? In what aspects do street running events and urban governance relate similarly and differently in Vienna and Budapest? How did the concepts of the "fesitvalization of the city" and "running as a new urban experience" play out in the two case study cities? How do my findings relate to my original hypothesis?

Besides the recreational aspects, the cultural and economic, and even political potential of street races is undeniable. Indeed, most municipalities have realized this potential, and jumped on board to capitalize on this, however municipalities have other concerns too, and one has to keep in mind that running and sports are not equally important for all citizens either. There are always those whom find road and bridge closures, street blockades, noise, the crowd, etc. irritating and unnecessary…

The VCM and the Vienne City Half Marathon is organized together in April, whereas Budapest has its Budapest Marathon Festival (BMF) in the middle of the fall, and a separate but equally important half marathon in the spring. Vienna marathon grew a bit faster and larger, but from 1996 onwards, participation of women is higher by about 20-30% in the Budapest Marathon. Both the VCM and the BMF elevated themselves to be the single largest sport events in Austria and Hungary with over 40.000 and around 30.000 direct participants, respectively. While the VCM is a one-day event (marathon, half marathon, relay marathon, 4.2km and 2.km youth run) the BMF has its main program (marathon, 30k, marathon relay, 10k) on Sunday and its side events (children's races, students races, short relays) on Saturday. Although the ideas for both events came from individual sports enthusiasts, who were inspired by already well-established marathons in Europe and in the world, both events started out with heavy public involvement in the organization and executive processes. In case of Budapest, the main initiator until 1989 was the Budapest Physical Education and Sport Office under the branch of the *National Physical Education and Sport Office,* which was controlled by the then still socialist state

apparatus. In case of Vienna, it was the *National* and the *Viennese Athletics Federations* that took the lead in cooperation with the Viennese municipality. By the end of the 1980s both events were organized and managed by private companies specialized in sport events. Yet organizing such a large-scale event in the center of important cities, requires the cooperation of dozens of institutions and actors. As I mentioned in case of the VCM route modification in 2016, the process involved more than one hundred different actors starting from the police, the fire department, public transportation, district municipalities and organs, NGOs, private investors, and so forth.

The fact that there is a variety of races with differing disciplines and themes organized scattered throughout the year in both cities seems to support the theory of festivalization of cities in a number of ways. Because there is an abundance of running events, they can be distributed in the calendar year in such a fashion as to form the "festival continuum" described by Zherdev (2016) in themselves, even without other festive events. From regular marathons, to shorter runs, new year's runs, women's runs, St. Nicholas day runs, NATO run, runs celebrating the city (Vivicitta), or those greeting the spring or parting with the summer, there is an endless list of themes and causes serving the interest and desires of running enthusiast, be them hobby runners or professionals. On the other hand, urban street runs are not only about the runners and their audiences, but just as much about about the cities where the runs take place. City runs provide the perfect means and channels for municipalities to generate and promote positive values, to shape or reshape the identity of their cities and citizens, and to build and promote an image that is more attractive to global capital investment and prospective citizens as well as to convince state officials to invest public national funds in their localities.

Furthermore, street running events generate considerable economic and touristic value. The KPMG consultancy estimated, that the 17500 tourists from more than 80 different countries that attended the events organized by the Budapest Sportbureau in Budapest, spent 65.500 nights cumulatively in accommodations - hotels, hostels, Airbnb, etc. - in Budapest. Similarly, according to the Vienna City Marathon website,

sports tourists from 125 nationalities participated in the event, and they spent 80.000 nights in Vienna accommodations. These running events are not only well utilized to boost tourism in lower-season time (April in Vienna and late September/early October in Budapest), they also reach out to people from quite diverse backgrounds. On top of this latter observation, the charity aspect of sport events is becoming increasingly popular, which was emphasized by both, my Viennese and my Budapest, interviewees as well. The charity fundraiser output of World Marathon Majors I have mentioned in the first half of the thesis is staggering. However, it has also became clear, that different municipalities regard street running very differently, and so is their inventory and degree of interventions as well as their engagement and permissiveness towards race organizers very different.

Through the case studies of Vienna and Budapest, I have attempted to shed light and emphasize these differences in order to show that the urban street running scene is not so homogeneous as it seems, and a number of different factors and underlying forces (municipality's attitude, prevailing governance strategies and means, private organizers aim, touristic potential, etc.) in tandem shape their characteristics. Interestingly, according to a study ordered from *Eurobarometer* (2014) by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Education and Culture, Hungarians are significantly less satisfied than Austrians with local authorities' engagement in providing their citizens with sufficient opportunities to practice sports. To the statement 'Your authority does not do enough for its citizens in relation to physical activity' the answer options were 'Totally agree', 'Totally disagree' and 'Don't know', and a survey was done in 2009 and 2013. In 2009, 26% of those who answered the survey in Austria agreed (meaning they were dissatisfied with the municipalities efforts), 63% disagreed and 11 % did not know, while in Hungary 35% agreed, 52% disagreed and 13% had no idea. In 2013, only 27% of those interviewed in Austria chose 'totally agree', 68% disagreed and 5% did not know what to answer, while in case of Hungary 46% agreed, 43% disagreed and 11% had no idea. See Figure 23. (p. 65)
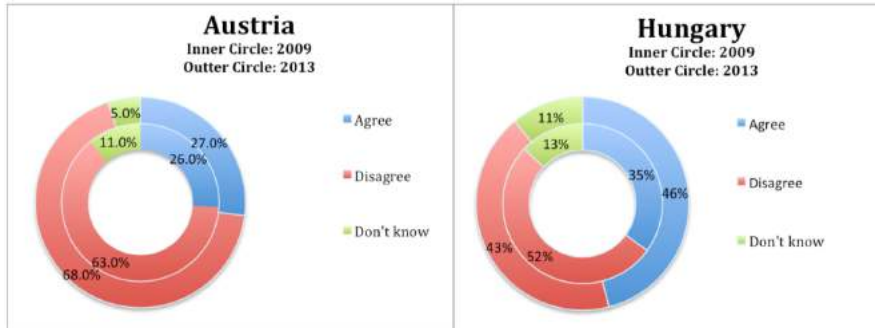
Figure 23 Satisfaction with public authority's effort to improve facilities and opportunities for physical activities in Austria and Hungary

It has to be added, that these figures relate to the national level, and included people of all age groups and sexes, and they might not correspond to realities on the urban level in Vienna and Budapest, especially since they are capitals of high economic, cultural and educational standing. The findings, nevertheless, seem to be in line with what I have uncovered from interviews and the legal documents with regards to the enabling or restrictive stance the two municipalities take when it comes to street races (running). In light of this, the Eurobarometer statistics appear to further support the finding that the Budapest Municipality is less positively engaged, turns less attention to, and sees lesser potential in organizing or enabling the flourishing of mas sport events than its counterpart in Vienna.

Concluding remarks

In summary, what can I conclude from the databases, interviews, questionnaires and case studies that I have made and compared? How did my findings turn out compared to my hypothesis and initial ideas? What could be improved, what directions are worth pursuing for further research?

Looking back on the thesis in its entirety, I believe, I have made a number of valuable observations and explored some aspects of urban street running events that have not been studied much before, especially in relation to the festivalization of urban spaces and the shift of focus from services to experiences. However, the thesis has obvious weaknesses, which derive partially from the fact that this aspect of urban street races has not been studied much and I had difficulties with finding the right approach to conduct this inquiry, especially in such a short time after changing my thesis topic three months ago. Secondly, my intuition and presumptions took me in a certain direction and this defined the way I looked at the topic, but after conducting most of my research and already well into my engagement with the collected material, I have realized that my presumptions did not always hold water. How did this happen? After familiarizing myself with the scope and scale of urban street races in Europe (the quantitative part) and before going deeper into the case study analyses, I had quite strong suppositions as to what caused the popularization and proliferation of urban street races in Europe. This supposition was that, most of the sport events are the result of straightforward urban governance policies instituted by local municipalities to boost global attractiveness and competitiveness of their cities. I had the conviction that the increasing number and size of the events cannot be but orchestrated and tightly overseen by public (local municipal) bodies in a top-down manner. As it turned out, however, this is not the case at all, or not to the degree that I imagined it to be the case. There are strong variations as to the level of municipal involvement in organizing, managing, promoting and supporting of sport events in their jurisdiction on the one hand. On the other hand, there are similarly big differences in how

municipalities relate to and see these sport events in terms of their usefulness, and their potential to generate economic, political, cultural and social values especially in light of the responsibilities and possible counter-effects these events may require and generate, for instance road and public transportation closures, security risks, non-participating citizens complaints.

Based on varying policy frameworks and trajectories, some city municipalities, like Vienna or London, Berlin and New York to name a few, see huge potential in street races as tools and channels through which a large crowd can be reached, or that can be used to promote a certain image and character of a city to investors and prospective citizens alike, a city that might appeal to new citizens while it reinforces certain local values that are crucial for local identity formation. And then I have not mentioned the economic potential these events reportedly present, which was clear from the KPMG impact study in case of Budapest. Other city municipalities, however, appear to be less concerned about the enormous potential urban street races present, and besides basic regulatory measures, their contribution to the organization and executive aspects is negligible like in the case of Budapest. On the other hand, Budapest was a very good example of a city, where even though the municipality does not actively support such events, they still thrive in spite of the increasingly restrictive regulatory and administrative environment. This means firstly, that in such cases as Budapest, private actors are much more involved in the organization and promotion process, and secondly, that in lack of public support and involvement, it is private actors who influence and define the characteristics of sport events the most.

This way, I have to conclude, that the direct urban governance triggered popularization and proliferation aspect I suspected and tried to underpin, is more valid in certain cities, less so in other cases. The London and Paris Marathons for instance, or the Vienna Marathon at that, are enjoying visibly more support and interest on behalf of the municipal bodies than it is the case with the Budapest Marathon. This is clear from the scope and scale the races are organized on as well as from the type and manner of promotion materials and strategies deployed by municipal institutions (increased level of connection and involvement of tourism

departments for example). A thorough website analysis of a given marathon and or larger street running event can be very much revealing about this latter aspect. The interface of the sites and the amount and type of supplementary information provided for marathon runners, companions, and spectators with respect to the race, accommodation, local information sites, guides, site seeing activities, local attractions, etc., are quite telling of the touristic aspects of the running event, and the events integrity within the municipality's broader urban development agenda.

At the same time, where municipal interest and supportiveness is lower, it is also possible that these processes, though similarly unfolding as in other parts of Europe, they are not primarily orchestrated by the same group of actors - in case of my initial supposition, the omnipresent and all-caring municipal structure - but rather by a number of different private and civil actors and groups who have previous experience and good knowledge of street running events and their potential in other cities. The fact that several marathon websites and organizers claim to have been inspired by other marathons, where they personally participated, supports this argument as well. Therefore, the process is fueled by different dynamics of public, private and civil partnership across different regions and localities. Especially my Budapest case study underlines this latter observation.

With regards to the festivalization aspect and the wider formal and practical matters of urban street running, it can be concluded that there is a very strong and visible tendency towards a diversification of the running event portfolios, meaning that running events are becoming less focused on the actual physical exercise aspect of running while a variety of other aspects like the running experience, theme-based experiences, supplementary activities emerge in the foreground of the running event. It is also an interesting new trend to promote running events as festivals. The adjective and indicator "festival" used in sport event titles like in case of the Spar Budapest Marathon Festival or the NATO Partnership Running Festival are excellent examples of this. The organizers are inviting people to more than just a run and then going home. These festival running events usually have a longer time span, supplemented by various other activities like pasta parties, expos, food and wine tasting, music and other performances sometimes on multiple stages along the race

course and at the gathering area after or before the race. Furthermore, theme-based and experience oriented events like the Halloween Run or Underground Run in Budapest or the Silvesterlauf and the Millenium Tower Run up in Vienna, are all the more prevalent and increasing in size, and they open up new ways to involve and inform people about various topics, themes and causes, while they also encourage more intense engagement with the fabric and story of cities the events take place in.

How could the research be improved, what areas could me researched more or separately?

My study was limited to the cases of Budapest and Vienna, two capital cities with similar size and location. It would be a huge addition to study how the processes I analyzed in Budapest and Vienna are unfolding in London, Paris or Berlin. A more thorough study could be conducted that analyses on the European scale, which municipalities, and with what type of policy agendas, are more supportive of such sport events and which are not. What informs the decision and policy making process? Can we make a map of it and what can we conclude from that map?

On another note, I believe the training camp aspect of sport tourism could add a very fascinating and understudied side to the whole sports tourism debate. At the same time, the charity aspect of sport events is becoming increasingly relevant too, which opens up a new research path related to a more and more important aspect of mass sport consumption.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Questionnaire and results

Name of the race: color code applies to all answers!

- Hamburg Marathon

- Dublin Marathon

- Vienna Marathon

13) Since when is the event organized in the city, what was the rationale when the race was first organized? Was there an example to follow, what inspired the race?
Answer:

Hamburg: The first Marathon in Hamburg was in 1986.

Dublin: Since 1980, its first running. To have a major marathon in the city.

Vienna: First edition took place on 25 March 1984. Plans to hold a city marathon in Vienna started in 1982. Inspiration came from the New York City Marathon and the Marathons in London and Rotterdam, both established 1981. Runners and sports enthusiasts wanted to hold a marathon race. They got support from the Austrian Athletics Federation and the tourism industry.

14) What messages and values does the race promote? Has this changed with time since its inception?
Answer:

Hamburg: The Marathon in Hamburg combines popular sport and high-performance sport.

Dublin: The Friendly Marathon is our message from the start.

Vienna: In 2005 Vienna's cultural heritage as the "world capital of music" was integrated into the marathon. The claim **"run vienna – enjoy classics"** was created. The combination of sports and culture provide a unique experience to runners. **On a general note,** the Vienna City Marathon underlines: Running unites societal and cultural differences and brings people of different colors, races religion and nations together. The Vienna City Marathon and all other national and international running events are a testament to the peaceful coexistence of runners with different backgrounds.

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Ten thousands of people come together at great personal costs to achieve personal goals without having to resort to violence, racism or discriminations. Running is also a very important role in today's society for health purposes.

The Vienna City Marathon has started **manifestos** called
- "Clean Running"
- "Move your Kids"
- "Charity – with emotion and conviction"

to underline important values. Runners can sign these manifestos to show their support and are asked to act accordingly.

Each year the Vienna City Marathon sets itself a motto or a "theme of the year". This is in line with the overall claim "run Vienna – enjoy classics" but is not necessarily constricted to it.

Examples:
2006: Run Vienna – Enjoy Mozart (250th anniversary of Mozart)
2010: 2500 years of the Marathon Myth (Battle of Marathon, 490 BC)
2011: A Kiss Moves the world (connected with the famous painting "The Kiss" by Gustav Klimt)
2015: We are Europe
2016: Theatre of Emotions (new finish area in front of Vienna Burgtheater & running as an expression of a wide range of emotions)

15) Why do you think a race in the city is interesting and relevant, especially in the contemporary urban context? How does running connect to the city and to urbanites? Why would a city municipality be interested in organizing such an event?
Answer:

Hamburg: The residents of a city go out on the course at the day of the event and support the runners. So they represent their city. Many residence (more than 2000 at the Haspa Marathon Hamburg) are volunteers and so they are directly involved in the event. For the city are such big sport events important, because there are many runners from other cities/countries (national/international). That is why this events are also important from a touristic point of view.

Dublin: It brings tourists into Ireland and many Irish into Dublin for the event.

Vienna: A city running event attracts much more visitors than an event elsewhere.

A city marathon combines modern lifestyle with a traditional, historic city environment.
It shows the organizational abilities of a city to handle tens of thousands runners and visitors
Running in a city environment produces iconic images of the city

16) What do you think were the major factors that lead to the growing popularity of street races (prize money, fame, TV, etc.)? If you had to single out a time period (year or decade) when things started to change for the better for street races in general, what year would that be (e.g. 1950, 1980, 2000)?
Answer:

Hamburg: There are a lot of different factors which lead to the growing popularity of street races, for example: Good and professional organization of the event, people take more care of their health, people like the competition at the event, people like being part of a big event.

Dublin: For us from 2002 on wards as we also added a race series into the schedule.

Vienna: **Live TV broadcast** on Austrian television since 1989 was very important for the popularity and acceptance of (marathon) running in society.
Local heroes: Austrian runner Gerhard Hartmann won the race three times in the early years, including 1986 thereby setting a long standing national record of 2:12:22
High class competition and prominent runners: even if the VCM is not among the absolute top of marathon events in terms of records and finishing times, it has produced a number of great performances and featured prominent runners. (Gidamis Shahanga's 2:09:28 in 1990 was a world class performance at that time. VCM winners include Moses Tanui and Abel Kirui. At the half marathon Haile Gebrselassie is a three time winner in Vienna. In 2012 he competed in a unique "catch me if you can" race against Paula Radcliffe).
General developments in society: Jobs have become physically less exhausting, but there remains a need for activity. Life demands more and more flexibility from people. Running is the perfect answer for this because of its simplicity. It is not restricted to a certain time, place or announcement. Running is the very basic way of movement of human beings. It supports physical and mental health.

Which periods?

The 1980s showed a running boom. Many of the still existing big city marathons in Europe have been founded in the early 1980s.

Around 2000: was a marathon hype in Austria. Booming figures in marathon running. It became part of the life style. Politicians, business men, actors, …. – everyone wanted to run a marathon

Present: More runners than ever before take part in running events in Austria. Not particularly in marathon (42.195 km), but in shorter distances up to half marathon.

17) If you think about the "image" or particularity of a city, would you say a street run can contribute to that image, why or why not? You can use specific cities or examples related to your race.
Answer:

Hamburg: If the street run has a certain size, it can contribute to the image of a city. Probably everyone (doesn't matter if runner or not) heard of the New York City Marathon. For other street runs, there are probably more the runners and the people, which are interested in sports, which connect the street run with the image of a city. They probably connect their experience at the running event with the image of the city.

Dublin: we use the friendly marathon and this reflects the people of Ireland

Vienna: Certainly yes. A running is event is great platform to promote a city in an emotional way. To do so, a running event has to include the popular landmarks of a city (in Vienna: Reichsbrücke, Riesenrad, Oper, Schönbrunn, Burgtheater, Rathausplatz ….). On the other hand: If you would just run on the Donauinsel or in the Prater, you don't show the images of the city to the runners and the public.
As mentioned above, the VCM tries to combine the cultural heritage of the city with a modern running experience.

18) What do you think makes a good street race, what makes it popular and successful both for elite/professional athletes and for amateurs/hobby runners?
Answer:

Hamburg: A good organization, a fast course (ideally along the sightseeing highlights), a special course, many spectators, good atmosphere along the course, good reputation of the event.
The venue can also be a magnet. There are a lot of runners, which try combine a run with a vacation in the region. So it is important what the city/region can offer the runner (and also for the partner).

Dublin: a good route, water stations, entertainment,

Vienna: **Elite athletes:** price money / appearance money. Experience of the people in charge in organizing elite races (pace makers, race plans). Fast course.

Hobby runners: Overall experience of the event. Atmosphere, fans, attractive course. Image and history of an event. Offers and side events (also running events) for all abilities and age groups / families. Good and trustful organization is a must (expo, road closures, clothes transport, refreshments)

19) What are the pull factors for the public, what attracts people to go and watch a race, how can you involve more people?
Answer:

Hamburg: Many spectators of the street runs know a runner or they like to see runners from the elite field. A supporting program (like music bands, cheerleader, event spots) can also be pull factors to get people to the event/course.

Dublin: when they have friends or relations in the event it makes it a must see event/

Vienna: Attractive elite field. Amateur runners they know personally. Good presentation of the race (big screens, stands, interviews, live commentary, action), food & drinks, live performances

20) Can you list the major actors and institutions involved in the organization of the race? How smooth is the organization process, which actors are easier and harder to come to terms with?
Answer:

Hamburg: There are many different actors involved in the organization of the event, like the police, the sports office, paramedics, etc. If the event is established the organization process is more or less an established and smooth process.

Dublin: Actors ? Dublin city council, Dublin Bus, Gardai, Dublin fire brigade, fingal co co, DLR co co, south Dublin co. co, Luas,

Vienna: There are more than 100 public authorities and institutions involved. Most important for the Vienna City Marathon organization team are the Vienna Police and the municipal department for traffic. Each year new challenges arise as both the event and the city evolve, but there is generally a good co-operation.

21) Does your race have a strong competition by other street races? Which ones and for what reason? How do you cope with that competition?

Answer:

Hamburg: In our region there is only one big, international marathon. So the competition is on national/international level. This is a motivation for everyone and there is a big offer/a benefit for the runners.

Dublin: a number of marathons in Ireland now, but we pride ourselves on quality and leaders in technology, and service.

Vienna: The running calendar in spring is full with events, in Austria and internationally. So basically there is strong competition, but on the other hand, each race contributes to the growing and the strength of the running scene. A strong running scene is good for any event, big or small. A good and varied offer of races attracts new runners, visitors and sponsors that get interested in running. So we don't see particular races as opponents to the Vienna City Marathon. Each race has to be as good and attractive as possible.

22) Are there any other street running events or series that your race is in cooperation with, do you organize other street races? Does a cooperation help? How?
Answer:

Hamburg: In addition to the marathon we organize three other street run events in Hamburg. There is no cooperation with other street run events in the moment. However, it is an option for the future.

Dublin: we have a race series ourselves.

Vienna: The VCM is organizing a "Winter Running Series" in Vienna. These are preparation events for the Vienna City Marathon. Three races in January, February and March, distances 7 / 14 / 21.1 km.
There are no formal co-operations with other street running events, but we have good contacts with other organizers for mutual support and to exchange views.

23) Do you think there is a number of street races, which are becoming super popular and successful compared to others? What do you think makes them so successful?
Answer:

Hamburg: In the moment the company races are very popular. Colleagues run together as a team so it is very good for the team building. That is also why many companies support this kind of street runs.

Dublin: Big City events are very attractive

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> **Vienna**: Races like London, Tokyo, New York, Berlin Marathon have reached something like a "critical mass". They are not only sold out, but overbooked. Reasons for this: History? Big cities? World wide appeal?

24) If you had to start organizing a race from scratch right now, based on what criteria and factors would you chose a location (city) and what would be the most fundamental characteristics you would establish for your race?
Answer:

> **Hamburg**: Important is an attractive/special course so that the new street run event has something unique compared to other events. The team characteristic would also play an important role.

> **Dublin**: a good route

> **Vienna**: A location, that has a strong global charisma
> A race with a clear message (e.g. charity)
> Up to date presentation in real and in social media

Appendix B) Detailed datasheets with selected European marathons

Major European Marathons							
Name of Marathon	Year established	IAAF Standard	Nr. of Participants	Part. Fee in EUR	When?	Main/Title Sponsors	Type of Main Sponsor
Virgin Money **London** Marathon	1981	Gold	39000	70-100	23-Apr	Virgin Money	Finance, Banking
BMW **Berlin** Marathon	1974	Gold	36000	98	25-Sep	BMW	Auto Industry
Schneider Electric Marathon of Paris	1976	Gold	57000	80-115	9-Apr	Schneider Electric, Asics	Energy Management
Zurich Marato **Barcelone**	1978	Bronze	13000	61-73-84	12-Mar	Zurich Insurance, Asics	Insurance
Maratona di **Roma**	1982	Gold	100000 incl. 4k run	50-60-70-80-90-120	2-Apr	Acea, New Balance	water, energy and environment managaement; sports equip
BMW **Frankfurt** Marathon	1981	Gold	/25000	65-75-85-99	30-Oct	BMW, Mainova, Aiscs	Auto Industry, regional energy services, sports equipment
SSE Airtricity **Dublin** Marathon	1980	none	11000*	70-80-90	30-Oct	SSE Airtricity, Asiccs	energy company (wind farms)
NN **Rotterdam** Marathon	1981	Gold	40000		10-Apr	Nationale Nederlande	insurance
TCS **Amsterdam** Marathon	1975	Gold	13000*	70	16-Oct	Tata Consultancy, Mizuno	IT Service and culsulting; sports equipment
Haspa Marathon **Hamburg**	1986	Silver	15000*	65-75-85	23-Apr	Haspa, Mizuno	banking (savings bank), sports equipment
Athens Marathon	1983	Gold	43000 (2015)	30-45-100	13-Nov	Opap; Wind Hellas, Adidas	gaming: lottery, sports betting; telecommunication, sport e
Brighton Marathon	2010	Bronze	18000	55-68-80	17-Apr	American Express, High5 Sports Nutrition	financial services, sports nutrition
Rock'n'Roll Marathon de **Madrid**	1978	Silver	10000		23-Apr	EDP, Huawei, Adidas, Ibercaja	energy serv., Electronics, sports equipment, banking and fin
Asics **Stockholm** Marathon	1979	none	18500	84-100-126	3-Jun	Asics, SJ AG	sports equipment; train company of Swedish government
Telenor **Copenhagen** Marathon	1980	none	12000	90	21-May	Telenor,Nike, High5	telecommunication, sports equipment, sports nutrition
Asics **Florence** Marathon	1984	none	10000	40-55-65-80	27-Nov	Asics	sports equipment
Orlen **Warsaw** Marathon	2013	Bronze	20000	22-34	24-Apr	PKN Orlen	oil refinery, petrol retail
PZU **Warsaw** Marathon	1979	Silver	10000	60-80	25-Sep	PZU	finance
Birmingham Marathon	2017	none			17-Oct		

Name of Marathon	Year established	IAAF Standard	Nr. of Participants	Part. Fee in EUR	When?	Main/Title Sponsors	Type of Main Sponsor
Spar **Budapest** Marathon	1984	none	27860 (2015)	60-65-75-80-100	9-Oct	Spar, Coca-Cola, Adidas	super market, beverages, sports equiptment
Erste Vienna City Marathon	1984	Gold	40000	69-89-99	23-Apr	Erste, Wien Energie, Coca Cola	banking, energy company, beverages
Volkswagen **Prague** Marathon	1995	Gold	10000*	52-78-93	7-May	Volkswagen	Auto Industry
EDP R'N'R **Lisbon** Marathon RTP	1986	Gold	12000	40-55-75	2-Oct	EDP, Vodafone, RTP	Entertainment;energy company; telecomm.; plastics
Vodafone **Istanbul** Marathon	1979	Gold	25000	24-36-48	13-Nov	Vodafone	Telecommunication
EDP Marato **Valencia** Trinidad Alfonso	1981	Gold	17000	40-50-60-75-90	20-Nov	Trinidad Alfonso Fundacio, EDP	non-profit org., energy company
Hajj **Hannover** Marathon	1991	Silver	20000	49-68	9-Apr	Haj (Hannover Aiport)	airport
DOZ Marathon **Lódz** with PZU	2003	Silver	7000	18-40	18-Apr	DOZ, PZU	pharmacy, finance
Orlean **Warsaw** Marathon (2nd in Warsav	2013	Silver	8000*	18-23-27	24-Apr	PKN Orlen, Tag Heuer, Asics	oil refinery, petrol retail, watches, sports equipment
Zurich Marato de **Sevilla**	1985	Bronze	13000*	24-49-73	21-Feb	ABC, Caixa Bank, Zurich, New Balance	news, banking, insurance, sports
Zurich Marato **Barcelona**	1978	Bronze	16500	61-73-84	13-Mar	Zurich, Caixa Bank, Asics	insurance, banking, sports
Milano Marathon	2000	Bronze	13500	49-59-69-79	3-Apr	Adidas, Suiss Gas, Europ Assistance	sports, energy provider, car hire
Bournemouth Marathon	2013	Bronze	7300	62	2-Oct	High5, Strathmore	sports nutrition, drinking water
Harmony **Genève** Marathon for Unicef	2005	Bronze	9500	69	8-May	Unicef, Harmony,	UN, fitness and healt promotion
Lattelcom **Riga** Marathon	1991	Bronze	20000	27-38-48-59	15-May	Lattelcom, Nordea, Adidas, Rimi	internet and telecommunication, banking, sports, superm:
Kosice Peace Marathon	1924	Bronze	10000	30-35-40-50	2-Oct	Getrag, Metlife, USS, RWE group, Adidas	transmission for cars, insurance, steel company, energy
A.S.D. **Venice** Marathon	1986	Silver	15000	45-55-65-75	23-Oct	Garmin, Enervit, Asics	gps watches, sports nutrition, sports equipment
Marathon Alpes-Maritimes **Nice-Cannes**	2008	Bronze	15000	45-50-60-70	13-Nov	Caisse de'Epargne, Sketchers	banking, sports equipment
Raiffeisen **Bucharest** Marathon	2008	none	14000 (2015, over:	38-44-50-56	9-Oct	Raiffeisen, Adidas, Volkswagen	banking, sports equipment, car industry
Rhein Energie **Cologne** Marathon	1997	none	17500	66-75-80-85-110	2-Oct	Rhein Energui	energy company

Appendix C) Datasheet for the marathon race in the Budapest Marathon Festival

Budapest Marathon Participation Numbers						
Year	Total	Men	Women	Foreigners	% women	% foreigners	% man
1984	650	625	25	101	3.8%	15.5%	96.2%
1985	739	714	25	130	3.4%	17.6%	96.6%
1986	889	850	39	169	4.4%	19.0%	95.6%
1987	1230	1166	64	415	5.2%	33.7%	94.8%
1988	1097	1049	48	343	4.4%	31.3%	95.6%
1989	676	653	23		3.4%		96.6%
1990	1000	964	36	301	3.6%	30.1%	96.4%
1991	996	945	51	255	5.1%	25.6%	94.9%
1992	879	837	42	169	4.8%	19.2%	95.2%
1993	958	900	58	117	6.1%	12.2%	93.9%
1994							
1995							
1996	738	680	58	44	7.9%	6.0%	92.1%
1997	1068	969	99	187	9.3%	17.5%	90.7%
1998	1407	1267	140	223	10.0%	15.8%	90.0%
1999	1838	1626	212	469	11.5%	25.5%	88.5%
2000	2444	2097	347	729	14.2%	29.8%	85.8%
2001	2089	1796	293	668	14.0%	32.0%	86.0%
2002	2098	1786	311	612	14.8%	29.2%	85.1%
2003	2234	1864	370	677	16.6%	30.3%	83.4%
2004	2273	1889	384	813	16.9%	35.8%	83.1%
2005	2792	2296	495	1089	17.7%	39.0%	82.2%
2006	1619	1349	270	285	16.7%	17.6%	83.3%
2007	2577	2060	517	1095	20.1%	42.5%	79.9%
2008	2598	2123	475	1215	18.3%	46.8%	81.7%
2009	2388	1962	426	1010	17.8%	42.3%	82.2%
2010	2658	2179	479	953	18.0%	35.9%	82.0%
2011	2984	2426	558	1174	18.7%	39.3%	81.3%
2012	3585	2884	701	1395	19.6%	38.9%	80.4%
2013	3991	3196	795	1373	19.9%	34.4%	80.1%
2014	4348	3338	1010	1591	23.2%	36.6%	76.8%
2015	5604	4259	1345	2370	24.0%	42.3%	76.0%

Appendix D) Datasheets for the marathon and half marathon races in Vienna

Vienna Marathon Participation Numbers					
Year	Total	Men	Women	% Women	% Men
1984	794	769	25	3.1%	96.9%
1985	1967	1885	82	4.2%	95.8%
1986	2070	1985	85	4.1%	95.9%
1987	2269	2173	96	4.2%	95.8%
1988	2278	2181	97	4.3%	95.7%
1989	2686	2543	143	5.3%	94.7%
1990	3901	3647	254	6.5%	93.5%
1991	5123	4774	349	6.8%	93.2%
1992	4548	4227	321	7.1%	92.9%
1993	4719	4377	342	7.2%	92.8%
1994	4782	4461	321	6.7%	93.3%
1995	4952	4591	361	7.3%	92.7%
1996	4604	4247	357	7.8%	92.2%
1997	5912	5385	527	8.9%	91.1%
1998	6660	6020	640	9.6%	90.4%
1999	6112	5504	608	9.9%	90.1%
2000	8493	7484	1009	11.9%	88.1%
2001	9215	8088	1127	12.2%	87.8%
2002	8831	7672	1159	13.1%	86.9%
2003	7739	6584	1155	14.9%	85.1%
2004	5942	5089	853	14.4%	85.6%
2005	5233	4473	760	14.5%	85.5%
2006	5581	4674	907	16.3%	83.7%
2007	5880	4972	908	15.4%	84.6%
2008	6251	5285	966	15.5%	84.5%
2009	5021	4199	822	16.4%	83.6%
2010	5051	4309	742	14.7%	85.3%
2011	5914	5005	909	15.4%	84.6%
2012	5892	4873	1019	17.3%	82.7%
2013	6.877	5.587	1.29	18.8%	81.2%
2014	6.348	5.188	1.16	18.3%	81.7%
2015	5.971	4.849	1.122	18.8%	81.2%
2016	6.501	5.175	1.326	20.4%	79.6%

Vienna City Half Marathon Race Participation Numbers					
Year	Total	Men	Women	% Women	% Men
2005	4.261	3.044	1.217	28,56	71.4%
2006	5.479	3.907	1.572	28,69	71.3%
2007	6.405	4.621	1.784	27,85	72.1%
2008	8.024	5.792	2.232	27,82	72.2%
2009	8.055	5.862	2.193	27,22	72.8%
2010	9.319	6.828	2.491	26,73	73.3%
2011	10.421	7.405	3.016	28,94	71.1%
2012	11.607	8.058	3.549	30,58	69.4%
2013	13.132	8.855	4.277	32,57	67.4%
2014	13.659	9.183	4.476	32,77	67.2%
2015	14.006	9.012	4.994	35,66	64.3%
2016	13.316	8.673	4.643	34,87	65.1%