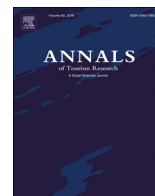


Contents lists available at [ScienceDirect](https://www.sciencedirect.com)

Annals of Tourism Research

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/annals

Running together: The social capitals of a tourism running event

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ARTICLE INFO

Associate Editor: Greg Richards

Keywords:

Running

Small-scale tourism sport events

Social capital

Social networks

Mobility

ABSTRACT

This article discuss the types of social capital that are co-produced and consumed by a host of actors during a small-scale sport event called Etape Bornholm, a five-day tourism running event. We make a contribution to the literature on social capital in small-scale tourism sport events by developing the spatial dimensions of territoriality and mobility as a supplement to discussions of bridging and bonding. Through a qualitative investigation of local organisers, volunteers, runners, supporters and spectators, we show how four types of social capital are involved in making the event happen. The conclusion develops the metaphor of “running together” to conclude on the forms of social capital that are drawn upon and practised.

Introduction

Studies indicate that sport tourism events are tied in with and can produce social capital (Jæger & Viken, 2014; Jamieson, 2014; Misener & Mason, 2006). Misener and Mason (2006) suggest research into the micro-scale processes of creating tourism events to better understand the role of social capital in creating and taking part in them. We discuss the types of social capital that are co-produced and consumed through, and by, a host of actors during the Etape Bornholm, a small-scale sport event that has taken place every summer for the last 25 years on the small Danish island of Bornholm that becomes a much-visited tourist destination every summer (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen, & Urry, 2004). These actors include local athletic associations, tourism professionals, local inhabitants, volunteers, tourist runners and spectators. We argue that they are all involved in co-creating the event, drawing on and, in turn, producing specific forms of “social capital”.

Etape Bornholm is an interesting sport tourism event case because 70% of the 2300 participants are (Scandinavian, but mainly Danish) tourists and these participants are tourists as much as runners. While all sport tourism events have a tourism component, this component is particularly strong at Etape Bornholm despite the fact that it is organised by a local amateur athletics association, called Viking, and there is relatively little “bundling” (Chalip & McGuiry, 2004) and collaboration with tourism entrepreneurs or organisations. That the event is organised by a locally rooted sport association with many active volunteers in part explains why Etape Bornholm is an exciting social capital case.

We show that this event is organised through social capital and that the economic profit is translated into social capital, locally and across the island. We are inspired by work that develops a *social* perspective on tourism (sport) events (Richards, de Brito, & Wilks, 2013; Richards & Wilson, 2005) and show that a social capital lens can help us to understand how social networks and sociability are crucial for organising and experiencing this event. This article thus analyses a case of localised civic entrepreneurship and how people participate in and co-produce the event as volunteers, runners, local supporters, supporters of friends and family members. We explore (1) the role of social capital in producing and consuming this event and (2) how this annual event, in turn, generates positive social effects (e.g. social capital) that benefits the association and the wider island beyond the event and

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throughout the year. This article draws upon and contributes to the literature on (1) social capital and (2) sport tourism events and tourism more broadly. While we draw on Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 2000) as well as tourism scholars' application of their work in order to understand the social networks and sociability involved in this event, we contribute to the social capital literature by discussing this concept in relation to spatial mobility, drawing on recent mobilities approaches to social capital (Bærenholdt, 2007; Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2007; Urry, 2002).

Our case sits well within the specialised subfield of sport tourism (Gibson, 1998; Hall, 2004; Higham & Hinch, 2009; Weed, 2009) that study “non-mega” (Taks, Chalip, & Green, 2015) or “small-scale” tourism sport events (Gibson, Kaplanidou, & Kang, 2012). In contrast to professional mega-events in big cities where people participate as spectators and fans (or as armchair tourists through media coverage) (Chalkley & Essex, 1999; Tzanelli, 2017), in small-scale events people participate as active amateurs or family supporters. Such events are often inclusive, open to the public and to ordinary people who exercise moderately, which is the case with many running events that attract many casual “joggers” (Larsen, 2019a; Smith, 1998). Yet the literature on running events mainly focuses on challenging mega events such as world famous Berlin Marathon (Edensor & Larsen, 2018), London Marathon (Shipway & Jones, 2008) and the Gold Coast Marathon in Queensland, Australia (Chalip & McGuirly, 2004; for exceptions, see Sheehan, 2006; Shipway, Holloway, & Jones, 2013). The focus is on *serious* leisure runners (Stebbins, 1992) and how they increase their “capital” by building up travel event biographies by participating in prestigious international – often urban – running events (Getz & Andersson, 2010; Getz & McConnell, 2011; Green & Jones, 2005; Shipway & Jones, 2007). While Etape Bornholm is a relatively demanding race – participants run a marathon over five days in different terrains – it is nonetheless much more inclusive and less demanding than a one-day marathon and it attracts many “casual runners” (Larsen, 2019a). While mega-events often have negative effects on local places (Smith, 2009, 2015; Shipway, Lee, & Brown, 2018), the literature suggests that small-scale sport tourism events often are sustainable and endorsed by local communities (Gibson et al., 2012; Taks, 2013; Taks et al., 2015). Indeed, our study shows that Etape Bornholm produces forms of social capital that have *positive* implications for the parties involved and the wider society. We begin with a brief discussion of social capital.

Social capital

The concept of social capital has been used by social scientists to examine and discuss how social groups and interactions work. Yet different writers give the concept different meanings (Portes, 1998). Three of the most prominent figures are Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam, and differences among them and their influence on leisure studies have been discussed by Blackshaw and Long (2005) and Glover and Hemingway (2005).

Bourdieu's sociology explored the (re)production of inequality, power and class privileges through his notions of economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Bourdieu saw social capital as an asset, a property of individuals that allow them to exert power on others, to form powerful networks and mobilise resources:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in various senses of the word. (1986: 248–249).

Those high in social capital can form networks and connect with the “right people” to “mobilise” resources to achieve something. Bourdieu focused on the advantages to possessors of social capital and he understood social capital as instrumental, that is, as sociability for the sole purpose of obtaining access to a resource. This instrumental power-laden approach has, for instance, framed a recent study on informal tourism entrepreneurs that have limited access to resources and are excluded by those in power and neglected in policy initiatives (Çakmak, Lie, & McCabe, 2018; see also Park, Lee, Choi, & Yoon, 2012).

Contra Bourdieu, both Coleman and Putnam (1993, 2000) approach social capital as a public or common good. Coleman (1988) emphasises the individual, rational actor, where social capital is defined through its functions (Blackshaw & Long, 2005; Glover & Hemingway, 2005). He focuses on the role of obligations between individuals in constituting social capital and he suggests the analysis “to unpack the concept, to discover what components of social organization contribute to the value produced” (Coleman, 1988, p. 101). It is precisely such “components” we are analysing as types or forms of social capital.

Building on Coleman, Putnam argues that social capital contributes to societies and communities rather than single individuals. Social capital for him is a communal attribute and it is crucial for getting people to act together. Putnam defines social capital as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions” (1993, p. 167). This approach focuses on the *positive* role of voluntary organisations – including sports associations – in making good societies with meaningful interactions, strong networks and high trust. Conversely, if such associations are lacking or dying out, Putnam would stress the negative impact that it has on the social interaction between people and social capital more broadly. Indeed, *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 2000) decries the rise of solitary bowling at the expense of organised bowling. For Putnam, *Bowling Alone* is a metaphor for an alarming freefall of social capital in America.

Putnam (2000) distinguishes between bonding and bridging. Bonding applies to social capital in close communities where people share identities (such as bowling) and bridging to communities with diverse identities (see also Wilks, 2011). Thus, Putnam makes a distinction between social capital in homogeneous versus heterogeneous social groups (Jamieson, 2014, p. 59). However, he focuses primarily on close communities or what we might call place-specific bonding, and the concept of bridging is not fully implemented in his work with statistical indicators (Crabbe, 2008, p. 25).

Some (tourism) scholars have argued that *Bowling Alone* (2000) is a conservative critique of how people's mobile lives undermine

place-based communities (Richards & Wilson, 2005). Whereas Putnam argues that mobility undermines social capital, Larsen, Urry, and Axhausen (2007) argue that tourist travel and events make people come together and produce social capital. There are strong “compulsions to travel”, and tourist travel is significantly about meeting other people or attending events with strong normative expectations of presence and attention. Heimtun (2007) and Mura and Tavakoli (2014) demonstrate how tourism makes social capital as tourists form and maintain relationships and sociability with significant others. This highlights more broadly that family is one of the most fundamental sources of social capital (Coleman, 1988; Mura & Tavakoli, 2014; Putnam, 2000). But studies also show that sociability can also take place and connect strangers that are brought together through events and tourist travel:

Social interaction is thus a key feature of events, with temporary communities, of varying degrees of cohesion, being necessarily formed for the duration of the event. These event communities may overlap into the world beyond the event, with the event providing a nucleus for existing social relationships to be intensified, or a starting point for the initiation of new social connections which persist beyond the event. (Wilks, 2013, p. 1).

Wilks (2013) suggests that studies need to explore the social impacts of events on all the different individuals, groups and communities that are involved in or affected by the temporary gatherings that events generate. This implies that social capital is not territorially bounded in localised networks, but can also come out of mobile relations. Thus, we agree with mobilities scholars who suggest that society and social capital are produced *through* mobility (Bærenholdt, 2007; Urry, 2007). Indeed, we will show that Etape Bornholm produces social capital through movement and mobile associations.

In their discussion of social capital and events, Richards and Duif introduce a spatial component, as they understand bonding as “something shared by those living in the city” while bridging is about “opportunities to link to others outside” (2019, p. 156). However, in our view, such a formulation potentially conflates the bonding-bridging and the territoriality-mobility distinctions, whereas we suggest distinguishing between them analytically. For instance, if mobility, as suggested above, can create social relations, social capital must include the *mobile* bonding of associations (Bærenholdt, 2007, p. 25). Cultural “sameness” or interest can work at a distance or “on the move”, as tourism studies demonstrate in relation to diasporic cultures (Casado-Díaz, Casado-Díaz, & Casado-Díaz, 2014; Larsen & Urry, 2008) and snowboarders (Thorpe, 2012). The implication is that bonding social capital does not need to be rooted in localised places, but can be mobile and across places. Of course, other forms of social capital might be territorially located, or place-specific, but they do not need to be bonding social capital for this reason; *territorial bridging* among different social groups in the same territory is fundamental in modern society. In the following analysis of Etape Bornholm, we distinguish among four types of social capital: “territorial bonding”, “mobile bonding”, “territorial bridging” and “mobile bridging” (see Bærenholdt, 2007; Bærenholdt & Aarsæther, 2002).

Method

While much Putnam-inspired social capital research is quantitative (Park et al., 2012; Zhao, Ritchie, & Ehtner, 2011; and see Crabbe, 2008), other tourism scholars employ a process, practice-oriented approach along Bourdieu's methodology. For instance, Jóhannesson, Skaptadóttir, and Benediktsson (2003) argue that “social capital has to be qualitatively probed, for example by following actors in their networks, in order to understand how people practice their social relationships” (2003, p. 8). In her work on bonding social capital through tourism, Heimtun (2007) employs qualitative group interviews and “solicited diaries”.

We follow in such qualitative footsteps. The main bulk of the research took place before, during and after the 2016 Etape Bornholm. This article is part of a wider study that is concerned with the different sensations and processes involved in the *makings* and *doings* of this running event. (See Larsen 2019a; (Larsen, 2019b), for an account of the landscape and embodied sensations of running this event). Altogether, we interviewed 81 Scandinavian (mainly Danish) runners and spectators – both locals and tourists, “serious” and “casual” runners, young and old – during 41 (mainly group) interviews that lasted between 10 and 30 min. We employed an “opportunistic approach” where runners and spectators were asked for a quick here-and-now interview during the event. We were close to runners and spectators as we were actively immersed – in the tradition of embodied sport ethnography (Sparkes, 2009) – in the event as spectator and runner, respectively. This allowed close-hand observations of, and proximity to, runners' embodied practices and the sociability of the event. Our interviews and observations (in field notes) did not initially focus strictly on social capital but more broadly on why, how and with whom people participate, how they experience the event and Bornholm more broadly.

To understand the social organization of the race and how it ties in with networks on the island we mainly draw on our in-depth interviews with key volunteers, and not least two two-hour interviews with the race director as well as an interview with the destination manager about how Etape Bornholm fits into Bornholm's tourism economy and the role of sport tourism events for the island. We also undertook archive work in the local library and followed the event on social media, but this work is only mentioned in passing in this article.

All the interviews were transcribed and coded. We initially looked for interesting patterns and themes and quickly realised that issues such as networking, obligations to kin, traditions, pleasant sociability and tourist mobility were prevalent when both the organising team and tourists talked about the event, and we then decided to analyse and re-code this material through a mobilities-inspired social capital lens with a particular focus on the bonding–bridging and territoriality–mobility distinctions discussed above. We did several back-and-forth interpretations where we revisited the transcriptions and re-coded the material in relation to the four types of social capital. This way the four types of social capital were specified with the findings of this particular case. Therefore, the analysis below is divided into four sections that each discuss a specific component of social capital production at Etape Bornholm.

Firstly, we discuss the “territorial bonding” of the event by exploring how a local network of Viking runners and volunteers

organise the event in-house. Secondly, we use the notion of “territorial bridging” to discuss how the event mobilises and capitalises on multiple networks of other clubs, citizens and tourism businesses across Bornholm. The third section on “mobile bonding” focuses on the sociality of “running together” and family support. In the final section on “mobile bridging”, we discuss how, for participants with family connections to the island, Etape Bornholm has become a recurrent reunion event, while others have developed an enduring affection for the island through this event.

“Territorial bonding”: local bonding around the event by Viking

Territorially bonded social capital is produced by the Viking athletic club itself. Viking brings together people with an interest in running (or exercise, more generally) and is located in Rønne, the main town of Bornholm, where a third of the island’s 40,000 inhabitants reside. Viking has an impressive 1500 members and is by far the largest and most powerful association on Bornholm.

The early history of this event illustrates, firstly, how travel can generate ideas and how events inspire other events. The present manager is a former elite runner and the idea of making a stage run arose in the 1980s, when he and 14 other elite runners won a trip to participate in a four-day stage run organised by the Danish holiday sports centre La Santa on the beaches and mountains of Lanzarote (Spain): “This inspired me a great deal and ... we kept on for years talking about how it could be fun to have a stage run on Bornholm” (race director, personal communication, 2016). One of them – a Copenhagen-based journalist – wrote a feature article about this event and suggested a similar one on Bornholm. In 1993, a third person, a trainer at Viking, challenged them to move beyond talking, and a closely knitted group of seven Viking runners eventually formed a committee. The first run took place in 1994 with 333 finishers (race director, personal communication, 2016).

However, the event would not have grown over the years without the social capital provided by the loyal support of Viking volunteers, which has given the association the unity, robustness and human resources to organise an event that, for many years, was growing rapidly in numbers. Studies show that the duration of membership is crucial to social trust (Elmose-Østerlund & van der Roest, 2017) and Etape Bornholm is fortunate in having many long-standing members. Among them are a handful of “serious volunteers” (Stebbins, 1992) who, together with the event manager, organise this event (as well as some 20 other smaller cycling and running events) throughout the year. During the race week, they supervise and coordinate 300 volunteers and the daily tasks of handing out start numbers, building the start area, marking the route, preparing and handing out fruit, water and energy drinks, guiding runners, taking photographs and much more. For the event manager, social capital in the form of trust, shared norms and close networks is essential when it comes to working with volunteers. Volunteers are recruited among club runners, and he gets “to know them by running with them” (race director, personal communication, 2018). Such localised trust, norms and networks are needed to design a complex labour-intensive event such as Etape Bornholm.

In addition to bringing people together with a shared interest in running and forming long-lasting friendships, the event needs to make a healthy profit so that Viking can offer cheap membership fees, trips to tournaments in other parts of Denmark, good sports facilities (including a fitness centre) and smaller events for their many members. The accumulation of resources is therefore crucial. The rationale for holding this event has always been making a surplus that could be translated into social capital: “We organise Etape Bornholm to make money for the club” (race director, personal communication, 2016). If the event does not make a healthy profit, the club will struggle to be an inclusive, attractive and expanding leisure association. While the event is financially important for the daily well-being of the association, the race director is more concerned with the integrity of the race and leisure association than with maximising the turnover by providing entertainment and selling food and drinks (only sold on the last day in small measures). In his own words, “He hates events that are money-milking machines.” This also means that their entrance fee and sponsorship deals are their main income. A scholar such as Chalip (2006) might argue that Etape Bornholm’s aversion towards creating profitable “social events” is detrimental to the social and economic leverage of this event. Nonetheless, Etape Bornholm always makes a healthy profit, according to the race director.

While Bornholm is a relatively isolated and underpopulated island with few leisure activities outside the tourism season, Viking athletic association – due to its success with Etape Bornholm – contributes positively to the production of social capital in the particular town of Rønne. Building on the competences, materials and social and economic capital gained through Etape Bornholm, Viking offers extremely cheap member fees and excellent training facilities and arranges daily training sessions and many smaller running and cycling events outside the tourist seasons, and most of these events are frequented primarily by locals rather than tourists.

However, Viking finds it increasingly difficult to recruit enough volunteers. Many of their volunteers are retired people, and retirement age is rising. Moreover, new members – especially young members – are difficult to mobilise. Since they no longer have sufficient human resources, Viking cooperates with other associations in different towns, and this means that they need to engage in “territorial bridging”, as discussed below.

“Territorial bridging”: bridging the event across Bornholm

In this section, we give examples of how Etape Bornholm managed to become a *Bornholm* event that bridges people, places and industries across the island. First of all, the event was designed to showcase the unique (tourist) landscapes of the island in all five (at the time) municipalities (Bornholm is now one municipality) and the very name of the event indicates that this is about Bornholm. Each stage takes place in a new location or town – such as Dueodde Beach, Hammerknuden and the Almindingen Forest – and much of the island is therefore enrolled in the event. This appeals to our interviewees and it mobilises political, municipal and civil support, cooperation and networks beyond Rønne, which again produces social capital across the island. This is, in part, circulated through the

major newspaper which, every year for the last 26 years, has devoted a couple of pages to this event during the event week, where the event is largely celebrated as a unique event of the whole island (based on our archive work).

This has a positive effect when it comes to recruiting volunteers from neighbouring associations, who are paid an hourly salary per volunteer for certain practical tasks. The shortage of volunteers from Viking means that volunteer tasks bridge people from here and there, and the organising committee knows that they can rely on these non-local associations. As one key volunteer says: “The same people wait for our call every year... In spite of the fact that we live on this small island, we only see them once a year, since they live in other places on Bornholm” (personal communication, 2018). This distributes the revenue and social capital of the bridging type across the island. The Etape Bornholm is an event for the whole island, according to another key volunteer: “It has become a unified island event and people are exultant when we show up and we are welcomed everywhere... there are many spin-off effects” (personal communication, 2018). However, the downside from Viking’s perspective, as the race director said, is a smaller surplus and a relationship based more on agreed tasks and monetary exchange than trust, club loyalty and a genuine affection for the event. This is a risk, since the event manager is aware that devoted, knowledgeable volunteers are essential for designing a first-rate event.

This form of social capital is also visible in the way that locals support the event. We interviewed many “cheering locals” who enjoyed contributing positively to the atmosphere of the event by cheering on the runners, but also felt an obligation to do so. As one local said: “It is such a joy to see so many people together on Bornholm – that we are attracting so many people” (personal communication, 2016). Our interviews and observations suggest that there is a generalised sociability involved in the way locals support runners, since they generously cheer on all sorts of runners – but especially those that look jaded and in need of a vocal boost – and not just familiar faces. This engagement is transmitted to and resonates among spectators and it is almost impossible not to be affected and animated by it, which means that most spectators become *active* ones that co-produce the lively atmosphere of the event, as discussed by Edensor (2015) in relation to professional football and Latham and McCormack (2017) in relation to urban marathons.

The interviewed locals were seldom spectators at other running events, associated with a running club or even runners themselves. They – as well as local runners – play their part because the event does a great job of staging the race, injecting civic pride, boosting public life and creating revenue for the whole island. One local appreciated that people of all ages take part: “I like that, and I want to encourage things going in that direction, a community sharing things” (personal communication, 2016). This reflects that the event – in addition to making a profit for the association itself – deliberately aims to contribute to the wider economy and island that has long suffered from depopulation and economic decline. As the race director says:

We want to be more than a run. We want to be a holiday. We will be part of attracting tourists to Bornholm...Yes, our interest is to make money for the club. But we are a part of the society here and know the problems we are fighting. We all have partners who may have been unemployed. Therefore, we need to create something. One of the things with Etape Bornholm I’m most proud of is that we have been able to create two paid positions... Two new paid positions on Bornholm, that is fantastic! (Personal communication, 2016).

While many running events attract runners from afar (Larsen, 2019a; Lisle, 2016; Shipway & Jones, 2007), Etape Bornholm stands out as a unique attraction-event, deliberately designed for tourists; the courses include many of the island’s main sights, and it is promoted as “active tourism”. Being a local actor, the race director is clearly concerned about how the event contributes to the island and how it is perceived by the locals. Like many other local managers of small-scale tourism sport events, he is concerned about the social and environmental sustainability of the event (as discussed in Gibson et al., 2012). Therefore, they have put a cap on the number of participants in order to protect the natural environment and local communities from too many runners and supporters, and the race takes place in the evening to minimise disruption of other tourism activities.

Seen in this light, Viking is not only a leisure association but also a tourism agent that needs to attract tourists, network with the tourism sector on the island and steward the environment. This is because the event takes place in the high tourist season in Denmark and the participants (and their families, see next section) spend at least one week of their summer holiday at this event. Etape Bornholm is promoted as “active tourism” and their marketing highlights endorses the landscapes of Bornholm, as well as many other tourism events and activities on the island (<http://etape-bornholm.dk/en/>). The race director is clearly aware that Etape Bornholm is attractive because Bornholm is a well-known tourist attraction. We may say that Bornholm is the nucleus in an event-attraction continuum (Weidenfeld & Leask, 2016) and that Etape Bornholm would struggle if the charm of Bornholm were suddenly to evaporate.

Etape Bornholm is, at the same time, dependent upon support and “coordinated actions” from the destination as a whole. Partly as a response to their positive impact, Etape Bornholm and especially “active tourism” are now heavily promoted by the DMO (Destination Management Organization) as increasing numbers of tourists experience Bornholm’s dramatic and picturesque landscapes through corporeal immersion rather than just gazing (DMO manager, personal communication, 2016). This reflects a symbiosis between tourism and sports, as tourism landscapes form a platform for sporting events, while sporting events brand places with desirable place images (Jæger & Viken, 2014, p. 133). However, the race director would like to see more commitment from the established tourism sector when it comes to collaboration and product innovation. Chalip and McGuiry (2004) argue that this a general trend with sport event tourism, as there are:

tensions between the perspectives of actors in sporting events and in tourism. Both partners often demand more effort from the other part, since their perspectives are diverse. The unfortunate fact ... is that destination marketers and event organisers often fail to work together in a manner that enables an event to be cross-leveraged with other attractions at its host destination. (2004, p. 269).

However, this section has shown how the event territorially bridges Bornholm and contributes to the making of the event and to Bornholm-as-a-society. It is territorial, since it refers to the island and its inhabitants, and bridging, as it brings together people with different backgrounds and interests for the purpose of creating social capital. More broadly, this ties in with the development of Bornholm as a united “regional” municipality in 2003 (anticipating the 2007 amalgamating reform of Danish municipalities) and wider attempts to tell the good news rather than constantly focusing on economic decline, depopulation and marginalisation. The race director explains that “it was decided three or four years ago to stop talking things down, talking about being marginalised – to try to talk things up. This was a political decision, taken together with the tourism sector” (personal communication, 2018). Here, political discourse and everyday practices work in concert, as these discourses are carried out by numerous people “from below”, contributing to the production of social capital.

“Mobile bonding”: networked tourist runners and supporters

We now discuss sociability, networks, norms and obligations in which almost all Etape Bornholm runners and supporters are enmeshed, and which travel along with them. Firstly, much habitual everyday running is practised in solitude and at one's own pace, and running can be seen as something that undermines the social capital associated with collective forms of sport in associations (Atkinson, 2016; Edensor & Larsen, 2018; Hitchings & Latham, 2017). While this is not unfounded, it overlooks how running events such as Etape Bornholm produce communities and social capital among practitioners with a shared interest in running (see also Robinson, Patterson, & Axelsen, 2014). However, in contrast to Putnam's place-based associations, this form of social capital is not territorially bounded, as the majority of runners come from outside Bornholm. Their form of association is mobile; they come together in specific places where they can share their enthusiasm for running – for running with others, even when they run against them.

Etape Bornholm is a unique running event because it lasts five days (most runs are one-day events) and our interviews and observations indicate that this affords enough time and interaction among the runners to get to recognise, know and even befriend each other. Chalip (2006) describes how tourism sport events (especially if they take place over several days) can create pleasurable “communitas”, and this is certainly the case at Etape Bornholm. The atmosphere becomes more and more convivial as the week progresses. As one of us wrote in our field notes:

I clearly sense that the atmosphere and sociability in the corrals have changed. Runners are shoulder to shoulder with fellow “competitors” that they know from the previous two days. People are nodding, sharing anecdotes from the first stages, and expectations and advice for the race ahead. (Cited in Larsen 2019a, p. 12).

The convivial atmosphere was also touched on in many of the interviews. Regulars praise the friendly atmosphere and the many “faces” they know and get to know at this event. As one father says: “You make friends, I think I do, since you run together with the same people, in the same groups. You often end up running together with the same people” (personal communication, 2016).

Secondly, it is not only because people literally run together that they are not “running alone”. Social capital matters to all our interviewees because they travel with significant others and have negotiated norms and “coordinated actions” with them (on family espousal of or opposition to serious running, see Goodsell & Harris, 2011). While runners are often accompanied by family members when they participate in, say, a city marathon (Larsen, 2019a), it is certainly the norm at Etape Bornholm, as most participants travel with their families (even if they also travel with their local running club). This is also the reason why each runner, on average, is accompanied by 1,4 people (race director, personal communication, 2016) and our interviews were mainly with groups. These interviews exposed that participation in Etape Bornholm is a *family* project, even in those cases where only one or two members actually run. This event is so costly and time-consuming, that it is only doable and desirable if non-running family members endorse the idea of spending (parts) of their summer vacation on Bornholm and allocating two to four hours to the event every night (including transport). We may say that (almost) all participants need to negotiate with their families on how they can participate and to what degree their running is allowed to affect them and their joint tourism practices. All the interviewees state that the evening races should not upset other tourism rhythms. Asked about whether they were attracted by the island or the run, a couple explains: “It is a combination; since it is also holiday, it should not only be about the run. We are going places and seeing different things, and have some nice food after the race. It is both” (personal communication, 2016).

Gibson et al. claim that “a consistent finding among sport tourism researchers is that sport tourists are interested in little else other than the sport and it is hard to entice sport tourists to take part in other community activities, including shopping when they are in town for an event” (2012, p. 168). Our interviews indicate that this is not the case at Etape Bornholm, in part because most of the interviewees have obligations to kin. Otherwise “serious runners” tell us that they cannot be “dead serious” at this event, as this is a family holiday, and that they need to do activities that they would not normally do before a race such as going for a long walk or drinking alcohol the night before. They – or their partner – tell us that family clashes will erupt if this turns into a running contest and not a family holiday. The diary of the running author from the third race day, based on a chat with a serious running friend, illustrates such family compromises:

‘What have you been up to today?’ I ask Paul when I bump into him at the starting area. ‘I have been out for a *long* forest walk with my in-laws. Not the best preparation for a tough 7.8-kilometre hilly forest run. But what can I do? This is a family holiday.’

Others prevent it turning into a “running holiday” by spending an extra week on the island before or after the event. Thus, serious runners need to adjust their needs to those of their family members.

However, our interviews exposed that *most* of the runners at the Etape Bornholm are not serious runners, but casual joggers of all



Photo 1.

ages. They partake because they like the multifaceted experience of being active, running on, in and with these landscapes of Bornholm, running with others and being part of an atmospheric and convivial event and community. They also participate because their significant others run and because it has become a family tradition.

Finally, the duty to be a supporter is widespread among many non-running family members, and we learned that many of them are enthusiastic about this task. But they also rejoice in the atmosphere and play their part in this co-production through clapping, vocal support and writing names on the street. As one woman puts it:

It is very entertaining to watch. There are so many people supporting and cheering. ... We usually write on the pavement and get to know so many people. You do not learn their names, but you just know them. It is a little like a giant family. (Personal communication, 2016).

Supporters also get to know each other and they form an affective community – “a giant family”. Another contribution to such mobile bonding social capital comes from cheering (repeat) tourists that, despite not knowing specific runners, appreciate the event and play their co-productive part in it. They clearly sense that their contribution is eagerly longed for by runners who high-five and wave at them or respond with a smile if they can mobilise the energy in the moment. All our interviewed runners mention that the spectators create an electrifying atmosphere of exuberant support and give a much-needed boost when fatigue kicks in and crushes one's willpower. The climax of this atmospheric support and affective uplifting is on the final stretch of the fourth day, when the scene resembles the Tour de France, with exhausted runners ascending steep hair bends with names written on the tarmac and throngs of noisy spectators (see [photo 1](#)).

This section has demonstrated that Etape Bornholm runners are not “running alone”. Runners and supporters produce social capital through bonding together around their common enthusiasm for the whole event. This is a mobile form of bonding, since the event brings people from different places together. They are bonded by a mobile association of other runners and networked with their friends and family members, which also means that this is a family and tourism event as much as a running event.

“Mobile bridging”: connecting with Bornholm

In this section, we combine ideas about “mobile bridging” (Bærenholdt, 2007) and “compulsion to place” (Urry, 2007) to discuss how tourist runners use Etape Bornholm as a way of connecting with Bornholm as an affective place that one cares for, returns to and invests in. Larsen et al. (2007) advocate for a social capital approach that puts a premium on how networks and norms structure much tourist travel by claiming that a considerable proportion of tourism scholarship wrongly “conceptualizes tourists as free-floating

individuals seeking to maximize their hedonistic pleasures". In doing so, they fail "to notice the many obligations that choreograph 'tourism escapes' which are more or less binding and pleasurable obligations requiring intermittent face-to-face copresence" (2007, p. 247).

Our analysis of this kind of social capital based on obligations with and commitment to certain places and people is, firstly, inspired by the conspicuous fact that many of the interviewed runners and supporters are regulars at this annual event and "week 30" for them means Etape Bornholm. This was an initial surprise, as the sport tourism literature claims that running events lose their appeal once they have been "completed-and-collected" (Axelsen & Robinson, 2009; Shipway & Jones, 2007). Clearly, Etape Bornholm must be more than a running event and once-in-a-lifetime-experience. Some regulars explain that they have developed a deep affection for the island – partly through participating in this annual event. Since Etape Bornholm is designed for "the tourist gaze" (Urry & Larsen, 2011), regulars can enjoy running *and* Bornholm together. Our "return interviewees" dwell on and are affectionate about Bornholm, and some have invested in second homes. The community of such tourist runners is defined through their common interest in and engagement with running *and* Bornholm.

Secondly, we also interviewed second-home tourists for whom it had become a tradition to attend parts of Etape Bornholm despite not cheering on particular runners. Even with this weak relation to Etape Bornholm, they become involved as committed co-producers of the event. A second-home owning couple explains:

This is a very good initiative. Bornholm has a very good capacity for attracting things over here, and it is something that we can support. In fact, we have to drive around and watch a least one more stage of the run. (Personal communication, 2016).

They are enthralled by the capacity to host such a massive event and appreciate the runners' determination, the conviviality among the runners and supporters, and the civic pride and élan that this event signifies and mobilises. Social capital is produced through this commitment of enthusiasm and support, where participation becomes a norm and an important contributor to the coordination of social relations as part of the wider making of Bornholm society. More broadly, such engagements cross-cut distinctions between locals and visitors, through practices of "living like a local", thus reshaping the meaning what is "local" and a "tourist" (Russo & Richards, 2016).

The third source of inspiration is the finding that many of the regulars we interviewed were born and raised on Bornholm and/or have family members living there, which in part reflects that depopulation – especially of young people – has haunted the island for decades. They tell us that they use Etape Bornholm to reunite with – literally bridge – "absent" family members who live in different parts of Denmark and to make a connection – a sense of affective belonging – to one's childhood home. Many people born on Bornholm live in other places and it is important for them to "come together" at Bornholm events such as Etape Bornholm. While such participants figure as tourists in the event statistics, they are, to some extent, travelling home rather than away. The mobile bridging social capital produced through this event allows "displaced" people to connect with their homeland and dispersed family. As one woman says: "This is a family tradition. My husband comes from here. He is number four out of five siblings. It is a tradition that we all meet here in week 30." Her husband expands:

My mother died some years ago and she was the one in charge of gathering the family. So, when she passed away, we needed a new routine for meeting up This is why it became a tradition that ... week 30 is reserved for this event. We are scattered all over the place – and we love to come back. As a departed 'Bornholmer', it's nice to come back. (Personal communication, 2016).

While this is also about the social capital and ties within families, this cross-cutting of family tourism and sport tourism multiplies social capital, since the same event has multiple functions, meanings and "reasons to go" (see Zhang, Huang, Green, & Qiu, 2018 for a similar finding in relation to college tourism sport events).

This section has shown that Etape Bornholm is something more than running and even tourism, as the event has become a tradition for many families. Forms of social capital beyond the territorially place-bound and the bonded common identification are produced. Vacationing families with different aspirations are metaphorically "running together" and produce social capital, bridged through mobility. Some are regulars because they have become affectionate about the event and the island and may have invested in a second home. Others – especially those with a family connection – use the event to "exercise" their social capital with "significant others", and this is why there are strong normative expectations of attendance in some families.

Conclusion

This study of the multiple actors involved in Etape Bornholm has highlighted how social capital "enable[s] participants to act together" (Putnam, 2000, p. 664). We have suggested that it is possible to combine insights from the three main social capital theorists, Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam. Bourdieu's approach, rooted in social practice theory and a qualitative methodology, is necessary to understand *how* the complex (multiplex) practices are involved in social capital work. Coleman and, especially, Putnam make crucial points in stressing some of the positive functions of social capital as a public good. However, inspired by mobilities scholars, we have argued that these classical social capital approaches are insufficiently mobile, and we have adopted a fourfold approach to social capital that takes movement seriously. It has thus been central for our analysis not only to investigate the local organising actors but also the "mobile" volunteers, organisers, runners, supporters and spectators.

We now develop the metaphor of "running together" to conclude on the forms of social capital that are drawn upon and practised at Etape Bornholm. *Contra* Putnam's worries about *Bowling Alone*, we have shown how Etape Bornholm, like many other small-scale tourism sport events, generates social capital as people are "running together" in multiple ways.

Firstly, in the section on "territorial bonding", we showed how this event would not happen, or be successful, without a core

planning group at the local association of the Viking athletic club that, metaphorically speaking, “run together” and know how to orchestrate the movement and trust of 300 volunteers from different associations who undertake all the necessary preparatory work required for making such an event happen. There would be no racing without the coordinated movement of such “unsung heroes”.

The metaphor of “running together” highlights how this event mobilises the society across the island, as shown in the second section on “territorial bridging”. Viking needs to mobilise the wider island not only to secure sufficient human resources but also to secure civic support and avoid public resistance and opposition, so common in other tourist places. Etape Bornholm contributes economically to the sports associations involved and the tourist economy, and also with civic virtues such as trust and reciprocity between people and a sense of place. This event is itself a performance of “efficiency” through “coordinated actions” (Putnam, 1993, p. 167). People volunteer, run and cheer together. The event depends on this engagement, which also means that it is ephemeral and vulnerable. If there is no common ethos and enthusiasm, the run collapses. Locals know such uncertainties and they therefore appreciate and support the event, despite the fact that running events close off streets and therefore restrict their movement on race day (also discussed in Cidell, 2014; Edensor & Larsen, 2018).

Thirdly, we have seen how runners are drawn to this event because it connects individual runners in a shared affective space of non-commercialised hospitality and intense sociability of mobile bonding. It powerfully transforms running from something solitary and habitual into something that is not only eventful but also social and associational, and thus might inspire runners to bond social capital locally by running “with others” and joining an association.

Finally, we discussed “mobile bridging” in relation to obligations and commitments to Bornholm. This is especially so for extended families that originate from Bornholm but only meet up intermittently because they now reside in different parts of Denmark.

Although our analysis has treated the four forms of social capital in isolation, they often work in synergy and the different actors acknowledge each other's contribution. For example, runners sing their praise – in our interviews and on Etape Bornholm's Facebook account – for the hard-working, affable volunteers who ensure a hospitable and well-organised atmosphere and efficient event, while Viking's core volunteers explain how such recognition motivates them. Likewise, locals and second-home owners acknowledge Viking's ability to organise this event and make things happen on the island. However, Viking's effort also depends on the other forms of social capital produced by other sports clubs, by people from Bornholm, by runners from elsewhere, their families, spectators more broadly and so on. Therefore, the four types of social capital are what Coleman calls “multiplex relations” that allow “the resources of one relationship to be appropriated for use in others” (1988, p. 109). This multiplex character of social capital is connected to the point that social capital remains available after the sequences of problem-solving from which it emerged (Coleman, 1988, p. 108). However, Putnam argues that most forms of social capital “become depleted if *not* used” (1993, p. 169) and accumulates as it is being used. In other words, social capital is mobilised in the making of this event and has value during and beyond the event, but the value does not persist if runs are not repeated or if the social capital is not used and reproduced in other settings. And we can suggest that it seems that the synergy of the four forms of social capital produces so much cross-cutting moral commitment and expectation, that the race *has* to be repeated.

We end by suggesting that there are four specific factors that make Etape Bornholm a good example of this kind of cross-cutting, multiplex “running together”. First, as hinted at in the literature on small-scale tourism sport events, the combination of motives for participating in this type of *sport tourism* events adds significantly to multiplexity. Second, the *small-scale* character of the event, also discussed in the literature, helps cross-cutting relations, since people easily come into contact with each other across their different roles. Third, the spatial *location* of the event in several places on an isolated and attractive island *and* the temporal *extension* over five days amplify the intensity of social relations. Fourth, the fact that this event is organised by a *non-commercial* locally embedded association strongly facilitates engagements between organisers and participants, since they are not firms versus customers, but fellows *running together*.

Acknowledgement

we would like to express our gratitude to Etape Bornholm for participating in our interviews and giving us permission to use the photograph included in this article

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