Running as a Middle - Class Sport:
A Case Study of Mari Lari Film in Indonesian Movies

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ABSTRACT

Sport is portrayed as an entertaining activity that various people from different social class like. Any information from sports can be seen through media. Therefore, sports and media are correlated because in general the role of the media is to attract public attention. Other than that, sports have various concepts that can be interpreted symbolically, one of which is by social groups through the mediazitaion. This research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how Mari Lari can represent the sosial class lifestyle. The results show how the middle class is represented through visual cues such as clothing styles, and choice of sports. In addition, this research is expected to be a reference for further researchers who want to review films about sports.

Keywords: *habitus; marathon; mediatization; middle class; running; sports culture*

INTRODUCTION

Marathon running has become increasingly popular, especially in big cities. This is then reinforced by the proliferation of marathon races every month with various forms of competition. This sport then becomes an event that attracts many parties, be it sponsors, organizations, or the media to be used as commodities with various benefits (Larassary, 2020). As an event, marathon running can be an interesting spectacle and even more in demand by various groups in society. This sport is in demand because various media have succeeded in packaging it into an activity that supports a lifestyle and this can be seen from various media shows, both through advertisements, television shows. print media coverage, as well as live broadcasts via social media (Getz & Page, 2016).

Films about sports have emerged as a genre that focuses on ceremonial events, athlete figures and sports-related themes, utilizing the fun, challenges, drama and experiences of sports (Schroeder & Seaman, 2018). David Rowe in his book entitled "Sport, Culture, and Media" distinguishes between sports on television and

film, television tries to recreate reality in the depiction of a sporting event and film brings the fictional world to reality which leads sports to human existence (Carnicelli, McGillivray, & McPherson, 2016). For a film about sports to be successful it must contain the elements that make other films successful, namely by connecting a story that can appeal to a wide audience. Sports films use sport as a way of exploring a relationship based on values, identities, social issues and life dilemmas. To convey the story, sports films draw on a set of techniques and codes that can be recognized in the form of storylines, acting by actors and actresses, shooting or background of the film. Sports films are also able to bring an emotional atmosphere to the audience so that through this media it is hoped that the audience will love a sport even more(Kim, Cheong, & Kim, 2016).

Sport-themed films are common in Western countries using various narratives and diverse backgrounds such as hero characters, togetherness, struggles, and so on. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the popularity of films

about sports has grown in recent years. Indonesian films about the sport include (Cox, 2017) about the life of a boxer, Nesbit & King (2010) about the biography of badminton player Liem Swie King, Komari & Prasojo (2020) about karate, *Hattrick* (2012) about futsal, and *Mari Lari* (2014) about marathon running.

Sports and media are correlated because in general the role of the media is to attract public attention. The process of mediatization in the field of sports, especially marathon running, involves the relationship between the mass media, society, and sports institutions. Mediatization, according to Stig Hjarvard (2013) is a concept used to explain the continuation of media logic in various fields, such as politics, culture, religion, and also sport. It is the logic of the media that makes sport a public consumption with very diverse interpretations. One of media that can show to the society the interpretation of sports is film. Sport, film, and the media more broadly all play a critical role in the explanation of sports, both as a tool of sustaining hegemonic authority and as locations showing the contradictions inherent in its preservation.

Departing from the introduction above, this paper focuses on how sports is mediatized in the film *Mari Lari* (2014), a film about urban youth told through the story of a new marathon runner. The film was directed by Delon Tio who also directed 'Where the Road Meets' the Sun movie. The film itself is produced by Yasha Chatab as the founder of Indorunner community under the Nation Pictures company and gained several nomations for "Piala Maya" and "Piala Citra". The film is starred by Dimas Aditya (as Rio) and Olivia Jensen (as Anisa). The story revolves around Rio Kusumo, the son of a former running athlete, who used to be a pessimistic young man. After his mother's death, Rio is determined to make his father proud by taking part in a marathon. He is determined to take part in the marathon for his mother (Hanan, 2017).

To further discuss the concept of mediatization, the author analysed *Mari Lari* to unpack the symbolic differences between social classes through the visual cues urban life depicted by the atmosphere of Jakarta's social life, types of work, and urban infrastructure. In this paper, the author shows how through sports mediatization, the film Mari Lari preserves social class distinction.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Sport as Social Life Representation through Film

Sport is an arena of patterned behaviors, social structures, and in- terinstitutional relationships that holds unique opportunities to study and understand the complexities of social life. The existence of sport must be explained in terms of something more than simply the needs of the social system or the production needs of a capitalist economy. Sport is created by people interacting, using their skills and in- terests to make sport into something that meets their interests and needs.

According to (Katzer & Kildyushov, 2018), sport is a very prominent social institution in almost every society because it combines the characteristics found in any institution with a unique appeal only duplicated by religion, and even social lifestyle representation. Usually, the representation of sport in lifestyle of society can be seen through film, media, and other media. Mainstream sports film may depict racial, social class or gender issues, as part of its appeal to a mass audience, but these issues are frequently engaged with critically or provided with a social or historical context.

Mediatization

Conceptually, mediatization does not have a single definition but consists of several views. One of the most used of such definition is the one proposed by Nick Couldry and Andreas Hepp who view this concept from two forms, namely institutionalist and social construction (Gomes, 2016). In the institutionalist view, mediatization is seen as a process in which non-media social actors must adapt to the rules of the media aimed at the logic of production, and its barriers (see Hjarvard, 2008). In summary, it can be said that Mediatization is understood as a theorizing of media transformation over time, focusing on the broad influence of media institutions on practice and technology in various forms of social settings, including politics, civil society, religion, popular culture, and the arts.

Hjarvard (2013) defines mediation as a process where culture and society become dependent on the logic of the media and the logic of society. This process is further characterized by duality in the media which institutionally acquires its status and society at the same time becomes integrated into social life in other social institutions and cultural environments (Hjarvard, 2013). The concept of mediatization itself does not only focus on the effects of media, but on the relationship between changes in communication media on the one hand and socio-cultural changes on the other.

ANALYSIS METHOD

In analysing Mari Lari, the author examined how a particular social class – the middle class – is illustrated indirectly through symbols of clothing, narratives, and

scenes, which in essence is how class distinctions are based on taste, not only on economic status (Gelfand, 2019). To do this, the author uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach that views language as a form of social practice and focuses on the ways in which social and political dominance are reproduced by text and speech (2001). The aim of critical discourse is to analyze "the relations of domination, discrimination, power, and control that are both vague and transparent as seen in language" (Kaufman & Lindquist, 2018).

For the analysis of the film Mari Lari, the author followed (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017) framework on the three levels of discourse analysis, namely text, context, and discourse. At the Text level, the author discusses texts related to language or narrative expressions which are the entrance for deeper analysis into context. At the Context level, the sociocultural situation behind the film was analysed alongside the Text. At the level of discourse, the author combines text and context in relation to the history, power and ideology. By combining Mediatization and Habitus, the author discuss how the transformation of social class tastes difference occurs in the film. The scenes to be analyzes consist of six scenes. Those scenes represent the social class and visual cues urban life in terms of how they look in doing sports (Rannikko, Harinen, Torvinen, & Liikanen, 2016).

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS
Urban Life and Distinction

Marathon running as a sport related to physical fitness is increasing in popularity in urban areas. Several organizers hold running competitions every week and are always enthusiastically welcomed by the community (O'Loughlin, Nikolaidis, Rosemann, & Knechtle, 2019). When viewed from the mediatization concept developed by Nick Couldry, the marathon is only a transformation of a series of events in the world of sports. The running competition is in the series a competition arena which in the previous process started from an institution which was then mediated by a media. The following picture is one of the scenes in the film Mari Lari and if analyzed by critical discourse Fairclough will answer the series (McKay, McEwan, & Baker, 2019).

Figure 1 in this film is the first scene of the "Mari Lari" scene which shows news about sports. The background of the picture is the atmosphere where Rio works in a car showroom, while the scene that follows the picture is when Rio is taking a break from work and reading a newspaper (Scheer et al., 2020).

At the text level, Figure 1 is a newspaper article

Figure 1. Initial scene from "Mari Lari" film

showing a photo of the Minister of Youth and Sports. This text is a message that running is very important for physical fitness and health.

At the Discourse level, while the newspaper article discusses how running can make the body healthy, interestingly, the man who potrayed the Minister of Youth and Sport is actually the founder of the Indorunners running community (the longest running community in Indonesia) who also produces the film. The depiction of Minister of Youth and Sports in the newspaper or has an implied meaning that running is popular.

At the contextual and sociocultural level, Mari Lari film wants to create a healthy lifestyle through sports. Yasha Chatab as the founder of the Indorunners running community wants to make running a part of his lifestyle because he sees this sport as an inexpensive activity. In his statement regarding running, Chatab stated that "We at Indo Runners always emphasize that our activities are fun so that they can be accepted as a lifestyle. We rarely talk about the athletic side, but we emphasize more that we want to have fun, get to meet lots of people and have fun" (Triananda, 2014).

Talking about lifestyle in the Bourdieu concept, it cannot be separated from social class because this refers to what is called a "sense of distinction". This relates to how social class preserves tastes in each of their groups which then symbolically demonstrates their identity (Wolter, Brach, Cronin, & Bonn, 2016). The statement from the founder of the running community, accompanied by a news representation about running in the opening part of the film, indicates that this film is part of the mediatization of the sport of running. Where the audience is invited through the film's logic to exercise as part of the fun and interpret health as a form of differentiation from social groups. The difference lies in the presence of the film community that dominates in every scene plus the storyline of family dramas from the middle social class (Schiele & Venkatesh, 2016).

Figure 2. Rio just joined the running club by giving his running program

In another scene (Figure 2), the symbolic taste distinction is made even clearer. The picture above shows a scene where three *Mari Lari* characters are having a conversation. With the position of the body and the characteristics of the clothes worn, it can be seen the level or level of a hobbyist from marathon sports.

At the Text level, the narration in the scene is the figure of Rio who as a new runner asks about the running program. With notes using paper Rio listens to comments from the program he made. Meanwhile, Reza, who is in this film as an experienced runner, gave some input from the program. It appears that by wearing the Indorunnes Running community clothes, Reza gives some notes and motivations so that Rio wants to join the community so that he can improve his running. Meanwhile, the female figure, Annisa, who invited Rio to join the running community, became a liaison with Reza and suggested that she follow his program and be diligent in joining the community.

At the Discourse level, the picture scene seems to give the discourse of an amateur runner who is learning to become a runner who symbolically seems experienced. That impression can be seen from the clothes and bodies of the runners in the scene, where Rio's posture and clothes don't look like experienced runners. Meanwhile, Reza and Anisa from the picture show that they are experienced runners, the characteristics are found in the accessories on the sleeves for the cellphone holder to make running easier and also the clothes they wear appear to have a very proportional body posture which indicates that they are runners. Not only that, in that scene, Reza's style of speech also looks like a teacher and a role model for runners. Meanwhile, Rio bowed slightly in a rather low-key language so that he seemed impressed that joining this community would become a runner who was programmed with the target. The audience through Figure 2 can already judge that the difference in runners

who have been constructed with many experiences is experiencing Distinction with attributes, speech style, narration and body position.

At the Contextual or Sociocultural level, the scene, when associated with the concept of Habitus Bourdieu, has a function as a distinction from social structures. In that scene, the structure is found in the accessories worn and the body posture shown in the picture above, the difference here is to create a distance between experienced and new runners. As the backdrop for the scene, the Indorunners community runners gathered for a night run. The gathering place for the run was in a shopping center in Jakarta and the camera angle was directed towards the mall area before showing the three figures above. The atmosphere of the mall in the middle of the city with stylish runners indicates that exercising is also a style so that the value of fitness or health is exchanged by the value of lifestyle. It is through this that the public cannot openly interact more intimately with the community, the role of the running club in the end only becomes a driving part of the commodification of sports. In the class distribution of sport so that according to Bourdieu sport has a symbolic function whose translation of social differences is translated into the logic of the field and an expression of the cultural value. Sport in this case is seen as a form of capital that produces profits in difference (Flemmen, Jarness, & Rosenlund, 2018).

Figure 3. Scene when Rio joins a running race for the first time

Picture 3 is a scene where Rio is taking part in a running competition for the first time. In this scene, Rio arrived late before the race while Anisa and Reza had already arrived.

At the text level, the narration in the picture is how Reza and Anisa have a dialogue asking each other about Rio's position, who hasn't arrived yet. When he was present, he was asked about the food he consumed before joining the competition, Rio then replied that he had not eaten breakfast. Reza, who is constructed in this film

as a professional runner, then offers Rio bananas to eat because he has to eat first to take part in the competition.

At the Discourse Level, the scene in Figure 3 further emphasizes the Distinction between runners. Where the atmosphere of the competition and the clothes worn, it can be seen that there is a difference in a more different figure. Complete attributes ranging from hats, glasses to clothes seem attached to Reza and Anisa so they seem very suitable for runner style, while Rio is quite simple but with a new look on his face. The picture conveys that in order to become a runner to be more comfortable, the attributes worn can indicate that.

At the Contextual and Sociocultural Level, The picture further clarifies the position of social status distinction which in this case is the way of sportswear when participating in a running competition. Clothing has a big role in determining a person's image. Clothing is the outer skin of the body that confirms and shows identity and has symbolic value. People often make judgments about social values, based on what other people wear (Logg, Minson, & Moore, 2019). As a cultural phenomenon, clothing can be understood as social practices in which class relations and class differences are made meaningful. Clothing is the basis for the formation of these social groups and individual identities within the group, and not merely a reflection of them. Thus, the attributes and clothes in Figure 3 can been seen as symbolic forms of distinction from the side of sports.

Symbolism of the Middle Classes

A more specific form and signifying differences in tastes in terms of social class is visible in the scene in Figure 4. The scene analysed here is when Tio Kusumo, played by (Doni Damara), Rio's father, does a morning run and passes through the gate of his office.

At the Text Level, the image above is part of the scene when Rio's father did a morning run from home and had time to pass through his office gate. In front of his office, Tio just stopped measuring the time or distance that had been traveled while the security guards only paid respects because of his father's position as a manager. At the salutation, Tio didn't say hello, just looked at the clock and then immediately started running again.

At the Discourse Level, the scene presents a discourse about the differences in social structure in activities. It is illustrated that the security profession in the picture still plays a role in guarding the office. Meanwhile, Tio's professional position as a manager seemed to be enjoying her free time by running. This symbolizes how the middle class is active with their free time and workers are quick to move for their needs.

Figure 4. Scene of Rio's father running through the gate of his office

Figure 5. The scene of Rio getting a job evaluation from his superior

At the Contextual and Sociocultural Level. Social class in Bourdieu's view does not rely on historical thoughts or political economy alone but on class practices that include tastes, ways of dressing, and various social choices in everyday life. The example in the picture and scene above is a form of legitimacy of social class where the runner is a figure from a certain class through a company position while security guards are workers with lower structures in the company.

In another scene (Figure 5), the social status of the main character - Rio – is shown more clearly. At the Text level, the image above shows Rio wearing a suit and tie. In the scene above, Rio gets advice on how to be a good salesperson from his superior . Rio is expected to be even better at doing marketing activities.

At this Discourse Level, the scene above represents the type of work in urban areas with supporting clothing and work locations. While the social groups of urban workers are included in the middle class, according to Richard Robison's categorization in his book "The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonalds and middle-class Revolution" (1995), "in the structure of the New Order's political economy (Orba), consists of intellectuals, technocrats, professional managers,

lawyers, NGO activists, political party activists, student activists, and middle-aged entrepreneurs" (Wati, Primiana, Pirzada, & Sudarsono, 2019). The image above depicts a professional manager who is educated and has experience in sales.

At the contextual or sociocultural level, this is closely related to the history of social class in Indonesia, especially the middle class. The middle class during the New Order era became the state agent to support development ideas. This is evidenced by Suharto's policy of bringing many middle-aged, technocratic, academic and professional people into government power (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2021). After the New Order, this group was also still given space as an economic buffer that was targeted for consumption, despite having a critical history in government. The presence of a middle-class figure in the film is further strengthened by the movie producer Yasha Chatab's argument "We want people to get used to it and make it a part of their lifestyle" (The Wall Street Journal, 2014). From this statement, it is clear that this film is trying to target the middle class, showing how marathon running is the hallmark of the urban middle class.

Figure 6. The scene when Rio meets the Advisor lecturer

Figure 6 shows how education acts as part of the symbolic capital. At the Text Level, the scene in Figure 6 is the atmosphere when Rio meets his lecturer regarding the thesis he is making. At that moment, what was discussed was he development of his thesis. This scene is part of Rio's life to pursue his education.

The discourse contained in the picture is that education is one of the capitals to improve a career. This discourse has appeared since the beginning of the scene from the film Mari Lari, where Rio as a sales marketing for a car company always never reaches the target. This film seems to construct that career, work, education, and hobbies are a part of the life of urban people.

In Bourdieu's view, education is included in

cultural capital. School is a manifestation of the culture of the dominant group that controls economic, social and political resources, this embodiment works as a reproductive strategy for the dominant group. Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured for those who already have economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to benefit those who already have cultural capital, in the form of the habitus of the dominant cultural faction. In this way, the dominant habitus is transformed into a form of cultural capital that is taken for granted by schools, and acts as the most effective filter in the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society. So that educational institutions are a place for the upper class or dominant group to preserve their values. Thus, schools are artifacts of the dominant social and cultural faction. Richard Harker (1990) says that traditionally, some groups have used the school system to reproduce their class position (various middle-class factions), while others have not (farmer groups, traders, working class) (Harker, 1990, p. 56).

CONCLUSION

Mari Lari is a film from the Indorunners community which aims to promote this sport to the public. The marathon was then mediated through a film which, according to the producers, was aimed at the middle class. Conceptually, mediatization in film is a space for the running community to expand sports to the public, but because the concept has broad links between sports institutions, media, and media logic, it has a significant impact on consumption. The author argues that this film is not just a running campaign, but another form of pop culture that targets the middle class, with the mask of running a marathon. The logic created by the mediatization of this sport is how fans of this sport consume accessories, clothes, shoes that get space through the community to run.

Research on the mediatization of sports or the study of sports is still not widespread in the academic world. This article is expected to be one of the academic references to study sports, especially regarding sports mediatization. The development of research in this area still needs to be continued to other focuses on sports. This paper is expected to be a reference for further researchers who want to review films about sports.

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