The Rise of New Petit Bourgeois in Indorunners Chapter Surabaya

Lastiko Endi Rahmantyo
Universitas Airlangga, Faculty of Humanities
Dharmawangsa Dalam Selatan, Surabaya, Indonesia
lastikoendi@fib.unair.ac.id

ABSTRACT
Running in Indonesia has begun to spread since the beginning of 2013, accompanied by a decline in the prestige of cycling at the same time. Several sponsors who often hold running competitions captured these hypes. During that year, there is at least one or even more running competitions held by the sponsor in a month. By the development of running in Indonesia, there were some running communities initiated by individual running activists. One of the running communities in Indonesia is Indorunners, which originally established in Jakarta and then spread in various cities in Indonesia, including Surabaya. It is called as Indorunners Chapter Surabaya (IRS), which was established in 2012. With its regular events such as Sunday Morning Run and Thursday Night Run, IRS has nearly 1,000 members spread across Surabaya. Over time, amateur runners who are members of the IRS created a social class that is different from other sports community. The purpose of this study is to see the representation of a class that emerged in IRS. Researchers applied the theory of Distinction by Pierre Bourdieau and consumerism by Michael Featherstone. The method conducted is qualitative method by conducting interviews with key informants and observations. This study shows that social class represented by amateur runners in IRS community is included in the new petite bourgeoisie. The representation can be seen from the consumption patterns, interactions, and self-expression of IRS’ members.

KEYWORDS: Indorunners running community, new petit bourgeois, distinction, consumerism.

Sports trends, both in the world or in Indonesia, depend on the market and consumers who practice them. In 2010-2012, cycling became a popular sport, marked by the increasing number of bicycle sales in Indonesia, the hectic condition of city
parks full of bikers, many fun bike competitions that was held by several parties, the implementation of the Car Free Day and the establishment of bike lanes in several major cities in Indonesia. Those conditions similar to cycling heyday in around 80s. Over time, this trend of cycling began to decline in the early 2013. In accordance to the decline in cycling as popular sport at the time, came running as new trend in sports in Indonesia.

Running is a sport that does not require big investment like basketball or soccer. It only requires stamina and shoes for running, even if you do not have shoes, runners can run in barefoot. The simplicity of running became the idea of establishing one of the largest running communities in Indonesia, Indorunners. Indorunners first established on December 12, 2009 by a media worker named Reza Puspo in Jakarta. This community was founded to spread "the running virus," while making educational discourse to see that running is a healthy lifestyle. Until 2014, Indorunners has already spread its wings in various cities in Indonesia like Aceh, Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Tangerang, Padang, Lampung, Kediri, Pontianak, Balikpapan, Bali, Yogyakarta, Medan, Makassar, Manado. In addition, Indorunners members have spread outside Indonesia like in Singapore, Canberra, San Francisco, Berlin, Bucharest, and Las Vegas (Anggraningrum, Pradekso, Setyabudi, & Lailiyah, 2014). In online domain, the number of members in social media either Facebook or Twitter reached 23,000 members. This community targets the members in the social media to reach 2.2 million members, or about 1% of the population of Indonesia.

Media played a big role in the development of Indorunners as a running community in Indonesia. Indorunners awarded as the healthiest community in 2012 by Magazine Girl and AREA Magazine and by FreeMagz and Nutrifood in 2013. In addition to these awards, there is also a movie entitled "Ayo Lari" which was inspired
by *Indorunners*. It was released in theaters on March 2014. Media coverage of *Indorunners* is massive in both printed and digital media. The publication has made this community establish itself as the largest running community in Indonesia.

*Indorunners* named its branches in other cities outside Jakarta as chapter, for example, *Indorunners* chapter Surabaya. As the second largest city in Indonesia, researchers took the members of the *Indorunners* chapter Surabaya as the object of the research. The researcher assumed that the members of *Indorunners* chapter Surabaya are the second largest number after Jakarta. The number of members of *Indorunners* chapter Surabaya has reached more than 250 people. They have a regular agenda such as Tuesday/Thursday Night and Sunday Morning Run.

Running has become a lifestyle that is increasingly popular, especially with the emergence of *Indorunners* which can be regarded as the vessel for the running fans. As a lifestyle, running will also be a part of the identity of the runners. Furthermore, lifestyles cannot be separated from consumption. This is because conscious or not, our establishment is built through the consumption activity. Either consumption patterns purchase a certain brand, type or specific models and types of accessories can signify our identity. In running activity, consumption pattern can be seen from the purchase of running shoes, running apparel such as costume and other supporting accessories. The consumption pattern may also indicate the members’ social class on the community and it is also a differentiator (distinction) from members and even from other community.

Issue to be discussed in this study is the pattern of consumption that is done by the *Indorunners* members’ chapter Surabaya in connection to running as a lifestyle. From the pattern of consumption, the researchers wanted to see how far the form of
consumption patterns can shape the identity of the members and may even act as differentiator with other members or with other community.

**Distinction**

Sport is a fragment of culture. By looking at the pattern of the existing sports, researchers can give an idea of the culture of a nation. Olympics is a real example. Olympic that is identical with Greece is the initial trigger of the global sporting contest. The development of sports does not only appear in the form of development in its game, but also developments in the form of consumption of the sport doers in which at first only focused on how to improve their performance to other consumptions such as sport apparels and sports cards, that based on research does not bring any significant performance improvement. Some sociologists claim that changes in consumption patterns are caused by the harmonious relationship between sport, media and advertising. Television is suspected to be the most significant medium in the increasing sport consumptions (Horne, 2006).

In line with the development of the sport, as a culture that involves media and advertising, it had already become an object of consumption with diverse consumption patterns. This can be seen as a *distinction*, where the consumption diversity led by many ways and factors. One distinctive characteristic in sports is in the participatory experience from the audience. Bourdieu in Horne stated that these differences bring the sport as a "practice" and as a "spectacle" (Horne, 2006).

In *distinction*, income is not the main factor affecting a lifestyle, but according to Bourdieu, the main factor is *taste*. Selection of individual taste or group is highly influenced by disseminated *habitus*. For some people, this *taste* will form a distinctive lifestyle (Bourdieu in Patterson, 2006). On the other hand, object selected by a particular taste for consumption must also be different. This difference is also
influenced by the meaning of which is owned by the object. Of course, the object of a taste does not have its own meaning, but meaning that you have will always come from the meaning given by the owners’ taste, which generally has greater power than others (Horne, 2006). This also applies to sport. No matter how good a sport is, if not in line with the social and cultural meaning or habitus owners, and then the sport will not be accepted. So it is apparent that the taste of an object, including sport, cannot be separated from the political interests of the power of the owner.

Running as a lifestyle can be demonstrated through a variety of things such as routine run, or special events where there are objects or goods that characterize *Indorunners* as lifestyle runners. The activities include the use of specific shoes for running, accessories, and apparel. Objects that may be required to show their identity will be very likely obtained through the consumption activity. This is because the sport is not meant as just a sport but as a lifestyle (Wheaton, 2004) demonstrated through clothing, stuff, accessories, and appearance obtained through the consumption based on each taste (Featherstone, 2007).

**Consumption Pattern**

In Indonesia context, the idea of consumption has been different post the New Order Era. After its fall in 1998, Indonesia suffered from the Economic Crisis in the same year. Economic Crisis in Indonesia brought a new phenomenon that was beyond the crisis itself. The rapid expansion of consumption, especially changing the idea from “consumption based on necessity” to “consumption based on desire” or in other word consumption which produces feelings of pleasure and comfort (Aiko, 2015). One cannot take the blame for this growing phenomenon other than the “middle class” or can be said as “new middle class.” The position of middle class has changed since mid-1980s, from government officials, military personnel, Chinese traders to educated staff
of large companies, professionals such as lawyers, accountants, and entrepreneurs (ibid).

The new consumption trend has led the new middle class to perform the idea of buying stuff to fulfill their desire.

Consumerism as social practice affected the life of all people, enticing them to surround themselves with all kinds of “discretionary” consumption goods that symbolize “modernity” and urban lifestyles. Thus, with the emergence of the new middle class, rules of social integration changed in Indonesia. Consumption practices as constituting a “lifestyle” were gaining greater significance as marks of social rank, in contrast to socio-economic criteria of classification (Gerke, 2000).

This great shift of social class has caused a group of people who do not have the significant purchasing power to follow consumption pattern of the middle class. Aiko addresses those people as the “pseudo” middle classes (Aiko, 2015). This pseudo middle classes follow the pattern of the new petite bourgeoisie, who stand apart from the old petite bourgeoisie and the working class in its attraction for the most naïve aristocratic qualities (style, distinction, refinement) in the pursuit of expressive and liberated lifestyles (Featherstone, 2007). They have specific characteristics as mentioned below:

The new petit bourgeoisie has a sense of ease and confidence in his body, the petit bourgeois is uneasy with his body, constantly self-consciously checking, watching and correcting himself … The new petit bourgeois is a pretender, aspiring to more than he is, who adopts an investment orientation to life; he possesses little economic or cultural capital and therefore must acquire it. The
new petit bourgeois therefore adopts a learning mode to life; he is consciously
educating himself in the field of taste, style, lifestyle (Featherstone, 2007).

Thus, the pseudo middle class’ lifestyles is correlated with the nature of new petite
bourgeoisies, and therefore it applies to the idea of the combination between sport and
lifestyle and its followers.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method applied was qualitative method, while the data was
obtained from interviews and observations.

Data Source

Primary data in this research were interviews with key informants and the
results of observations. While the secondary data source is in the form of textbooks,
articles related to sports and identity, and the news in the media about Indorunners.

Technique of Data Collection

Interview

Purposive sampling was conducted in the interviews. Indorunners does not
have a formal organizational structure; therefore, the researchers only interviewed the
head, the public relation, and the members who regularly follow the regular running
schedule.

Based on the criteria, the researcher has interviewed four informants. Interviews were conducted only once on each informant. To maintain the
confidentiality of informants, the researchers decided to use coding for the key
informants and informant. Interviews were conducted for approximately 45 minutes
on each informant. Further details about key informants are as follows:
1) RP, Female, 33 years old, interview date May 21, 2015, two years with
Indorunners.
2) RF, male, 30 years old, interview date June 11, 2015, two years with *Indorunners*.
3) PA, female, 22 years old, interview date May 21, 2015, two years with *Indorunners*.
4) CP, Male, 30 years old, interview date October 7, 2015, two years with *Indorunners*.

From the questions, the researcher wanted to find out how the informants make meaning of running as a lifestyle. Researcher was also trying to discover how consumption can be used as a marker of their identity as a runner. Finally, the researcher wanted to find a *distinction* between *Indorunners* and other running community.

**Observation**

Observations were carried out on a routine running schedule, on Tuesday / Thursday Night and Sunday Morning Run. Observations have been done twice: on Sunday in the Car Free Day Darmo on March 8, 2015 and Thursday at Delta Skate Park on June 11, 2015 at 20:00.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

*Indorunners* Surabaya was established in 2012 when an avid running fan named Chris Paul initiated this idea with his three friends. Not long after the initial establishment, especially after the launch of *Indorunners* Surabaya Facebook Page, its members increased drastically to thousands of members around Surabaya. This increasing number of members did not lead *Indorunners* to force rules for all the members, instead its followed the regular running schedules that was made before. The members decided to have their running schedule on Tuesday/Thursday night and Sunday morning. Night was chosen considering most of the members are white-collared employees who usually finish their work in the afternoon. In their running
activities, runners are divided into several roles. Captain and marshal are the key person on each running activity. Its job is to create and guide running routes, while marshal’s job is to make sure that no runners left behind, its position is always on the back line.

Interesting facts about Indorunners Surabaya are the division of members based on age and location. In most community, all members are united into one community, but in Indorunners case, it is not the same. Members who live in western part of Surabaya created their own nickname for their school of runners SUWER stands for Surabaya West Runners, while for those who live in eastern part of Surabaya founded SUMER stands for Surabaya MERR Runners. MERR is a famous bridge connecting parts of eastern part of Surabaya. Meanwhile, based on their age, members whose age under 25s creates a different running community named KENDOS (Kentol Mbledos). Kentol Mbledos is a Javanese language, which has a meaning of thighs that explode, referring to their running activities. Although they create their own running communities, but they still consider themselves as part of Indorunners.

Running races is important for the runners to construct their identities. Although Indorunners members consider themselves as amateur runners, but in order to show achievements in running, they tend to follow running races. Before following a race, members do have some special preparations in order to finish the race. The preparations can be in a form of creating their own training method until upgrading their running gears. Here, the idea of petite bourgeoisie appears in the development of Indorunners members.

Characteristics of the petite bourgeoisie are treating the body as a marker, not as an instrument. Therefore, this class is a pretender, who dreams beyond his capabilities, investing in their lives, they also have a small economic capital, so that
they feel the need to raise capital. This class is consciously learning in the areas of
taste, style, and lifestyle. Individuals who are on the petite bourgeoisie is trying to
maximize and try sensations available, try expression, searching for identity,
presentation, and appearance. That makes this class as ‘natural’ consumers
(Featherstone, 2007).

Runners’ consumption pattern marks the idea of petite bourgeois within them.
What is meant by consumption is not just limited to the consumption of goods, but
also the consumption of information. The pattern of consumption is done to get higher
status among other members. Status in this sense is not interpreted in a narrow meaning
only on the social or economic status, but also the symbolic status of Indorunners
members.

Consumption of information that is often done by Indorunners members is
about how to improve the ability to run. This activity was usually done while they were
resting after running. Apart from talking on how to improve their ability to run, both
in running or breathing techniques, they also talk about how to reduce the risk of injury.
Distribution of such information can also be seen as a way for members to improve
their status, both in terms of the contributors or recipients of information. The
contributors are normally experienced amateur runners, but sometimes
athletes/running coach who happens to join in the community also distributes the
information. The contributor will be considered as someone who 'knows' the pros and
cons of running so indirectly it would increase their symbolic status. Finally, the
recipients, if successfully practiced the knowledge, they will improve the ability to run
that led to the improvement of social status in the community.

The other consumption patterns that can be seen from the Indorunners
members are when they upgrade their running gears (apparels, footwear, watches,
socks, T-shirts, etc.). Although at first they did not tend to upgrade the gears, but while they are in the community, they tend to upgrade. At first, they did not assume that the running gears are important, but as time goes by, some of them consider that upgrading the gears is a must thing to do if they want to improve performance, either psychologically or physically.

Dengan pakaian dryfit yang saya beli, itu benar-benar kerasa. Wah ini pengen gila-gilaan, ngerasa pede, ngerasa wah diliat orang, keren, larinya harus jago.

Terus pas lari di gunung, bawa hydro bag, ngelewatin pendaki, wah kaya sombong gitu. (wawancara dengan CP, November 2015).

With the dry fit clothes that I bought, it was really affecting. I felt awesome, confident, and cool. While running in the mountains, carrying hydro bag, passing the climbers, I felt a bit arrogant. (Interview with CP, November 2015).

There is a pattern that is significantly associated with the consumption patterns of the petite bourgeoisie, with little economic capital can get something which value exceeds the costs. Before running is considered as a lifestyle, some members bought original running gears with a very low price.

Dulu 2013, orang belum tau sepatu newton. Tapi saya tau itu merek keren. Teknologinya yang ada klip depannya, jadi depannya kaya ada haknya. Waktu itu harganya sekitar 1,8 juta. Nah saya beli yang bocoran dari pabrik Indonesia, itu dapat sekitar, mereka masih belum tau harga sepatu, jadi mereka label itu sekitar 250 ribu (wawancara dengan CP, November 2015).

Tapi semakin dalem lagi di Indo-runners tambah nemu yang nggak mahal karena sepatu merk Nike belinya di Warehouse, new balance di Warehouse, yg harusnya 700 berapa jadi 400 (wawancara dengan RP, 2015).
Bisa dapate info murah tapi apik. Jadi ada kayak sepatu itu, harga di counter bisa sampe 2 juta. Di temen-temen itu bisa dapet 700 (ribu)....(wawancara dengan RF, 2015)

In 2013, people did not know the Newton brand. But I knew that it was an expensive brand. The technology was the *front clips*, like heels in front of the shoes. At that time, it cost about IDR 1.800.000. Well, I bought that from its factory in Indonesia (leaked version), it cost around IDR 250.000 (interview with CP, November 2015).

The longer being in *Indorunners*, I did not find expensive gears. I bought Nike in the Warehouse (name of a sport apparels store in Indonesia), New Balance in the Warehouse, which discounted from IDR 700.000 to IDR 400.000 (interview with RP, 2015).

(In *Indorunners*) we can get a lot of information on discounted gears. Like in official counter, the price is IDR 2.000.000, while in my friends it can get the same item for IDR 700.000 (Interview with RF, 2015).

Such consumption patterns indicate that *Indorunners* members are included in the petite bourgeoisie that is trying to raise capital in the areas of taste, style, and lifestyle (Featherstone, 2007).

In addition to the upgrade of the running gears, *Indorunners* members also struggle in their own way to upgrade the ability to run better.

*Sebagai runner, kita bukan hanya melawan diri sendiri, tetapi juga melihat runner lain sebagai pemicu untuk terus lebih baik. Biasanya dengan melihat catatan waktu di race. Ikut Indorunners untuk media latihan untuk bisa ikut race, tapi bukan sebagai training plan untuk liat catatan waktu. Tapi wadah*
untuk orang-orang yang pengen tau lari dan belajar olah raga lari (wawancara dengan CP, 2015).

As a runner, we are not only challenge ourselves, but also see another runner as the trigger to be better, which usually can be seen in race record time. The reason to join Indorunners is for training media and to be able to join the race, but not as a training plan to challenge the racing time. Indorunners is the vessel for those who want to know and learn the running (interview with CP, 2015).

Before competing in a race, members usually prepare themselves first, because the race has become a place to demonstrate the result of their exercises. Indorunners is a place to practice for members who really want to make an achievement in running, even though they realize that it is impossible to compete with athletes. This was revealed by the CP,


"the target for amateur runners and athletes are different, since the training is also different. So the target will never be the same because amateur runners will never be able to match the athletes"(interview 2015).

In addition to CP, RF also revealed that the gadget upgrade was also influential in improving his running quality. Gadget was more to measure results of the exercise (interview 2015).

As said by Featherstone, the petite bourgeois identifies their selves through lifestyle of intellect and strives to spread the ideas of the intellect to a wider audience (2007), it also applies to the lifestyle of Indorunners members. The intellects lifestyle meant here is seen on how an amateur runner who never get official exercise like an
athlete must be able to design his own training method to improve their performance. The exercise method is often obtained from the internet and thus adopted with the needs and capabilities of amateur runners. After their capabilities increase, the members will share their experience to other members.

*Indorunners’* pinnacle of their achievement is when they get endorsements from sponsors. By getting it, it will directly improve their social status, at least in the community. In addition, as a marker of the petite bourgeoisie, it is a sign that the runner is an individual who is popular and was followed by other *Indorunners* members. For sponsors, it is one of the strategies to increase the consumption from a community.

**CONCLUSION**

With approximately more than 1,000 members, *Indorunners* Surabaya established itself as the largest running community in Surabaya. Like any other community, although all those 1,000 members registered themselves as *Indorunners* members, but they are not always join *Indorunners* regular schedules. To maintain the egalitarian hierarchy in *Indorunners*, it does not have the structured organization in its management system. Within its own distinctive management system, *Indorunners* has managed to maintain the members’ harmony. As egalitarian as it is, there is still an act of seniority within the community. The seniors, the members who joined *Indorunners* longer than the others, are claimed as unofficial ‘leaders’. These leaders are the people who give lesson to the juniors to run better.

The notion of be better in running is important in a community, especially in a community in which achievement is needed to raise the social class. In running, the idea of achievement can be in a form of finishing/winning official running races. Considering their amateur status as a runner, the members are creating their own method to be able to finish the race. This process of creating method is a process of
collaboration between members; it usually starts from the seniors who give tips and tricks on how to survive in running races. This information consumption is one of the characteristics of petit bourgeois, apart from other consumptions done by the members.

Running gears are also being the marker of social class in Indorunners. Social class in Indorunners is not always seen as an advance in wealth matters. It is also seen in a form of achievement done by the members. If a member has won/finished a race, therefore, they will have the burden to maintain that achievement. In order to maintain the achievement, there is a need to upgrade their running gears to be more advance and better. They claim that by wearing upgraded gears, it will improve their capability in running. Consuming upgraded running gears is one of the notions of petite bourgeois who are not confident with themselves and are always moving forward to gain more respects.

In conclusion, the distinctive characteristics created by Indorunners are unique. They have managed to strive as a community with thousands of members. It is difficult to maintain the togetherness and solidarity among members, but Indorunners has proved that in order to maintain them, Indorunners has to be flexible in enforcing the rules within this community. The idea of egalitarian leadership is needed in the case of Indorunners. Finally, for further research, the case of Indorunners in other cities in Indonesia may serve another finding, which may be interesting to look at.

REFERENCES


