

“I did It Merely for Taking Photos and Seizing Unlimited Freedom”: The Ideology of Rooftoppers

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Abstract. Recently, rooftopping actions got more and more thrilling and undoubtedly could jeopardize the rooftoppers. This could not hardly be understood as a mere hobby since they had (intentionally) put their lives at risk of death. Thus, this article examines the ideology of rooftoppers making them insist on doing rooftopping although some of them underwent severe punishment and bad experience. Fifteen Indonesian rooftoppers were shortlisted by using ethnographic approach and snowball sampling technique. In addition, six foreign rooftoppers were approached using netnography. Hermeneutics was utilized to analyze the data, comprising of in-depth interview with the informants and their pictures and videos obtained from either the informants directly or their Instagram accounts. Both Indonesian and foreign rooftoppers showed their persistence and perseverance in their rooftopping performance. They shared similar ultimate goals, namely taking hard-to-replicate pictures and seizing unlimited freedom at the rooftop.

Keywords: extreme selfie, rooftopping, urban culture, urban exploration, urbex

1. Introduction

The rapid development of information and communication technology (ICT) in recent decades has changed the patterns of communication and humans' behaviour. Nowadays, communicating in video-call mode is ubiquitous. Thanks to optical fibre and mobile internet, mobile phones have undergone an extraordinary transformation in their appearance and functions, such as for having banking transactions, accessing entertainment, becoming a GPS and so on. Therefore mobile phones have changed some of human's behaviours having been established for hundreds of years. Based on a survey conducted by two well-known mobile phone manufacturers, Sony and O2 in 2013 about people's behaviour when urinating or defecating, it was found that $\frac{3}{4}$ of people in the world use smartphones while sitting on the toilet, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of men choose to use a toilet seat rather than a squat toilet so that they can still use smartphones according to Sony and O2 as cited by Lemma (2017).

One of the attractions of smartphones is the presence of social media applications. Various social media development companies are competing to create and develop their flagship applications. Proven in the last fifteen years, social media has developed very rapidly. Starting with the emergence of the first online social media, IRC (1988) which became popular in the 1990s (Hendricks, 2015), Friendster (2002), then followed by MySpace (2003), Facebook and YouTube (2005), Twitter (2006) and Tumblr (2007)

based on History Cooperative (2015), WhatsApp (2009) and Instagram (2010) (Bruner, 2010). The emergence of much social media makes smartphone users more active and intense in communicating through social networks. They are increasingly sharing life with other smartphone users. de Lima (2015) states that if there are still people who do not have a profile on social media today they are said to be out of date.

Today a person is easier and more comfortable in expressing himself, his feelings or activities through photos or videos uploaded to social media. Based on research, many people feel challenged to upload photos of themselves to social media as stated by Suler (2015, p. 179). On social media, a person can be freer to express what is being thought, felt or done. Social media has become a new medium for individuals to express and represent themselves according to Qiu (2015, p. 443) as well as forming virtual self-identity due to the increasing intensity of online social media users' activities (Ganda, p. 5). Gündüz (2017, p. 86) asserts that with social media ordinary people can share photos or events with a much more audience by building digital/ virtual self-identities without recognizing geographical boundaries, whoever they are and where they come from as Ogidi (2015, p.1) adds. According to Turkle (1997), the formation of self-identity in the virtual world occurs along with the more often a person interacts through social media, more particularly through selfies uploaded to social media such as Instagram.

The selfie photo using the #selfie hashtag was first uploaded to Instagram social media on January 16, 2011, by Jennifer Lee. Then on the same day, Instagram began introducing the hashtag # (Testa, 2013, par. 2). Since then more than 73 million selfies have been uploaded to Instagram and the hashtag has experienced metamorphosis into various types such as #celebrityselfie, #carselfie, #bestieselfie and #bathroomselfie as asserted by Bysani (2014). Since 2002, #selfie has been used more than 57 million times and every day no less than 55 million photos are uploaded to Instagram as stated by Laird (2013, par. 2-3).

Seen from the way how and where a selfie is taken, it has undergone an extraordinary metamorphosis. As if bored with ordinary selfies, selfie performers start taking selfies in unusual ways and take uncommon locations, namely in extreme and dangerous places. Then comes the term dangerous selfie (extreme selfie) or also known as killfie as Mohn (2017, par. 1) suggests, which is a selfie that can endanger the safety of the performer, such as selfies taken on the roof of skyscrapers, selfies on the edge of a cliff, selfies on railroad tracks or even selfies with animals savage or also called "weapon of self-destruction".

According to Lamba, Bharadwaj, Vachher, Agarwal, Arora, & Kumaraguru (2016, p. 1), 127 victims died of selfies during the same period. The phenomenon also shows an upward trend, from only 15 people in 2014 to 39 people in 2015 and even 73 people died due to selfies in 2016. According to Lamba et al. (2017) most extreme selfie victims were caused by falling from a height. Moreover, based on a survey conducted by researchers in collaboration with the All India Institute of Medical Sciences and published in the August-September 2018 issue of the Journal of Family Medicine and Primary Care, 259 people have died worldwide due to taking selfies in extreme places (dangerous) during the period 2011 - 2017 as cited in Miles (2019, par. 1); in the BBC News (2019, par. 1)

and Chiu (2018, par. 2), from only 3 cases in 2011 to 93 cases in 2017 as mentioned by Rappold (2019, par. 9). The data above is merely a snapshot of many cases of death due to extreme selfies. Researchers believe that the actual number is much higher based on Yahoo News (2019). The extreme selfies taken on the rooftop is popularly known as rooftopping (#rooftopping and #rooftopper two popular hashtags commonly used on Instagram).

Based on the facts aforementioned, there are two important points that make this research important to be conducted, first, there have been many fatalities due to rooftopping in nearly all over the world, but this does not make the rooftoppers stop from doing rooftopping; second, most of rooftoppers are illegal and therefore they are liable to be get penalties and sanctions when they are caught. However, these cannot stop them from doing rooftopping. Both of these phenomena become very interesting and need to be investigated since we are feared if this will bring adverse effects for adolescents to join rooftopping without sufficient knowledge or experience, to cause more casualties. This article examines what ideology is embraced by the rooftoppers that it can make them insist on doing rooftopping although they risk their life and sometimes undergo severe punishments and penalties.

2. Methodology

Fifteen Indonesian rooftoppers were shortlisted by using ethnographic approach (Spradley, 1979 and Crang, 2007) and snowball sampling technique. The technique is used since it was very difficult to enter the rooftoppers' community. A key informant was approached and persuaded to approach the other rooftoppers. Many of the-will-be informants were afraid of being approached since they suspected me as a policeman or security officer. Contacts with the key-informant were made by using Instagram Direct Messenger (IDM). Through the key-informants, I could get in touch with his 13 friends who are also rooftoppers and made all of them trust me that I am just a researcher researching rooftopping. The persuasion is very challenging since it took time and made me anxious; first to convince the key-informant and second to reinforce the key-informant to convince his friends. Once they all got convinced and agreed, I united them in a WhatsApp group. This made it easy to arrange a meeting with them to have an in-depth interview. The interview took place at a hotel lobby in Jakarta. It lasted from the morning until evening and continued in the next morning. I made them feel comfortable and convenient while awaiting their turn to be interviewed and during the interview so that I could get more reliable information as I had expected.

Another informant was interviewed through WhatsApp text messenger due to the distant domicile and convenience of him. He was very cooperative since I knew him on Instagram. Results of the interview with are the first primary data.

An ethnographic approach is applied since this research requires data obtained through observation and in-depth interview. Besides, six foreign rooftoppers were approached using netnography (Hine, 2001 and Karr, 2019). The foreign rooftoppers were recruited to provide comparative data to the Indonesian rooftoppers.

Hermeneutics (Palmer, 1969; Sumaryono, 1993; Dilthey & Jameson, 1972 and Gijbers, 2017) was utilized to analyze the data, comprising of an in-depth interview with the informants and their pictures and videos obtained from either the informants directly or their Instagram accounts. Hermeneutics in the recent age can be utilized to look into the ideology, like that of the rooftoppers.

According to Dilthey (Gijbers, 2018) what they study is a German word *elibnis*, which we can translate as something like experience or maybe conscious experience. In effect, what do humanities study is what human beings think, feel, want, and so on. They study what it is like to be a certain person, to live in a certain time or society, to write a certain book, make a certain painting and so on. But if that is true, it may seem that we have a big methodological problem, for other people's experiences are not available to us.

You cannot observe my experiences and you certainly cannot observe the experiences of Napoleon or a medieval monk. So what exactly is it that the humanities study? Dilthey says they study expressions of experiences because people experience the world in a certain way. They write certain books, build certain buildings, observe certain customs and so on. We cannot directly study anyone's experience, but we can and do study everything which expresses their experience.

For Dilthey then, there is a distinction between the things we study and the things we really want to know about. We study expressions because only expressions are available for study. But our aim is not so much to learn about these expressions themselves. Our aim is to go a step back and understand the experience that led to these expressions. For understanding, Dilthey uses the German word *verstehen*, which has become common even in the English literature. *Verstehen* is a special kind of understanding. It means that we can put ourselves in the place of the person who made the expression and really experience what that person experienced while making that expression.

3. Results and Discussion

Deciding to research on this topic was not made recklessly. Preliminary studies on selfie-related issues have been carried out since 2014. Based on my search on four main portals of academic search engines, i.e. Google Scholar, EBSCO, Scopus, and Emerald Insight, there are nearly 100 articles on selfies and its related issues. For this research I sorted out 74 of them, which can be classified as follows:

- 1) Selfie and narcissism.
- 2) Selfie and self-esteem.
- 3) Selfie and presentation & representation of self.
- 4) Disaster, funeral and refugee selfie
- 5) Selfie and self-identity construction
- 6) Dangerous selfie
- 7) Selfie and campaign
- 8) Selfie and power
- 9) Selfie and personality.
- 10) Sexting and *sneaky hat*
- 11) Selfie as a commodity

- 12) Selfie and internet influencer
- 13) Rooftopping selfie

The classification is made hierarchically based on the number of research on selfie having been carried out. The last has the least number of research and therefore provides a niche to be researched. Besides, many research on selfie belongs to quantitative rather than qualitative and only a few that study rooftopping selfie and use cultural studies approach, like the one by Kurniawan (2020). Accordingly, this research somehow possesses several novelties simultaneously.

The ethnographic and netnographic studies are narrated below. The research reveals some interesting findings regarding the research question of what ideology is professed by the rooftoppers. Such a question is worth to be investigated since the rooftoppers can withstand the punishments and hardship they undergo. In explaining this I need to present the common people's perception of rooftopping.



Figure 1. Absolute freedom. An Indonesian rooftopper from Jakarta extended his arms while looking down the city landscape from the top of a narrow solid block of steel at a construction site in Jakarta (Photo©Andri, 2019).



Figure 2. A slim young Indonesian rooftopper posed at a high building site. He stood at the narrow path at a building site surrounded by fibre fence. He wants to emphasize that he is not scared of being hundreds of meters above the land (Photo©Alfin, 2019).

First, to the perspective of many, rooftopping is probably considered a silly activity that puts the rooftopper's life in danger or even ends up in death. Falling from the high height (hundreds of meters high on average) will always result in death for sure (See Figures 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 & 8). Such "reckless" activity is considered silly. Such opinion is also stated by most of the rooftoppers' parents since they mostly prohibit what their sons or daughters do. Second, from the view of law-enforcers rooftoppers are considered outlaws since they mostly illegally trespass into one's area that is supposed to be sterile from strangers. More frequently when they are caught by the security officers they have to pay fines or to get imprisoned (sanctions normally given to the foreign rooftoppers) or they will be severely punished by the security officers, such as to be reprimanded not to do rooftopping again, to let their mobile phones and cameras seized by the security officers (to get their devices back they have to invite their parents to the site), to be electrified, kicked, hit or to do hundreds of push-up (sanctions

commonly undergone by Indonesian rooftoppers). Third, to many people rooftopping is probably considered useless and time-wasting since the rooftoppers should use the emergency stairs when they ascend and descend the building; and that requires strong intention, good stamina and skill to get rid of a security officer if he caught them in action. It was common to the rooftoppers to be chased by security officers or police before or after the climb.



Figure 3. An Indonesian rooftopper is sitting on the edge of a steel bar hundreds of meters above the cityscape of Jakarta while looking behind. A slip or miscalculation of foot step and wind direction can cost his life. However, this is what most rooftoppers dream of.



Figure 4. Standing on the edge of a construction site of a skyscraper is one of the most common actions performed by many rooftoppers. Such risky action requires strong nerve since the bottom view is the city scape from hundreds of meters above, which can make many people feel giddy.

However, to the perspective of the rooftoppers, rooftopping is more than just doing selfies or taking photos on top of skyscrapers. In fact, a rooftopper must possess several criteria and skills. Rooftopping is an activity demanding tough physique and strong willingness since one may not succeed in ascending the emergency stairs. Usually a rooftopper has to commence his climb from the basement through the emergency stairs. Moreover, a rooftopper should know the area or the building where he is ascending very well; he must know the locations of strategic places, such as emergency stairs, shortcuts to another building, toilets, and praying rooms. It is important if in case he is caught in action and he wants to flee, he will know where to escape or to hide. Another thing is CCTV. A rooftopper must know where usually CCTVs are installed and they should keep calm if they come across them. To know the location a rooftopper needs to survey (usually in a group of two or three people) before the climb is executed. This also aims to find out the security officers' posts and their habit. A group of rooftoppers also needs to make agreement about what to say if they coincidentally meet a security officer. According to the Indonesian rooftoppers, the common reasons when they are asked where they are heading to are to the toilets or praying room. This will prevent a security officer from suspecting them.



Figure 5. A famous Russian rooftopper and a gorgeous sexy Russian model collaborated for an amazing picture. It turned to be a viral since it was performed on a famous skyscraper in Dubai.

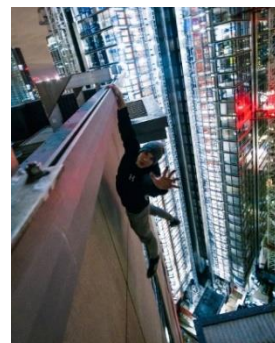


Figure 6. A British rooftopper is holding on the edge of a high building merely with his right hand while his legs are dangling above the night cityscape. It is a breath-taking action, which pumps adrenaline and can make anyone's palms watching it wet.

Then, a rooftopper must also be self-confident and be able to disguise the security officers by wearing the uniforms of construction workers (Indonesian rooftoppers) or three-piece suits and bags (foreign rooftoppers). According to some Indonesian rooftoppers, they obtain the uniforms of construction workers from an unattended construction site or purchasing at the local used market. This is very effective because if they are not dressed like that, they will easily attract the security officer's attention.

What's more, a rooftopper ideally should also know the codex of how to open the access (of certain doors), which are usually electronically controlled (especially doors to rooftop). Such skill is not possessed by every rooftopper. In a group, there is usually the one who masters it. Usually, he has been experienced as a rooftopper and frequent doing rooftopping. The codex is learned by some rooftoppers and shared amongst the groups of rooftoppers through social media.



Figure 7. A Swish rooftopper is climbing a communication tower. Only a piece of harness holds his body from falling onto the ground while his two hands are released from their grasps. Such daring action requires a great climbing skill



Figure 8. Even when the building top is pyramid-like, it provides some rooftoppers with a great challenge to beat it, although that can endanger his life.

The last but not the least, a rooftopper must equip himself with some equipment and gadgets that enable him to reach his dream, i.e. a smartphone, a monopod, an (SLR) digital camera, a (smart) drone, and a flashlight. To many Indonesian rooftoppers, equipment is very minimal. Sometimes they only carry a smartphone and a monopod. The smartphone functions as a telecommunication device and also a camera and the monopod functions as a device to take (collective) pictures. However, many foreign rooftoppers use some sophisticated digital equipment to capture their journey to the top of the building and to take pictures and videos at the rooftop. Some of them even produce a short movie that is deliberately and professionally composed and uploaded to YouTube (See Figure 8). Another thing related to equipment, nearly all rooftoppers do not (want to) use a safety harness while ascending a building or tower and doing rooftopping actions because they want to show the world that they have a nerve being on the high height and they can beat their fear of taking extreme and dangerous selfies or pictures on the rooftop.

Nevertheless, a Swiss rooftopper informs that he uses a safety harness occasionally during rooftopping. He considers it as a smart consideration although many others don't use.

All in all, what the rooftoppers chase are beautiful photos taken from the top of a skyscraper and the ultimate freedom when they are on the rooftop doing stunt-like actions (See Figures 5,6,7 & 8). These two ultimate goals are capable of making them succeed in ascending a high tower or building albeit sometimes they undergo severe punishments.

4. Conclusion

Rooftopping is more than just an action commonly performed by young people to take some selfies on the rooftops. In fact, it is an extreme activity that can be performed only by individuals who profess it. Those who cannot endure and sustain the hardship will quit. Seen from the risks, from being fallen from the height, seized, imprisoned, fined, physically and mentally punished, rooftopping is supposed to be avoided. However, the research reveals that the number of new rooftoppers kept increasing. This cannot be underestimated. What the government or security officers have done to the seized rooftoppers cannot stop them from doing rooftopping. Even, some of them got challenged by the difficulties they encountered in ascending a rooftop.

Based on the results and discussion, it is revealed that both Indonesian and foreign rooftoppers profess their rooftopping as a part of their life. This can be seen from their devotion of time and efforts in doing rooftopping. They showed their persistence and perseverance in their rooftopping performance. They shared similar ultimate goals, namely taking hard-to-replicate pictures and seizing unlimited freedom on the rooftop. These can turn the rooftoppers fearless of the dangerous risks prompted in rooftopping.

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