

Living on the Edge: Self-Representation and Virtual-Identity Construction on Social Media through *Rooftopping*

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Abstract

Social media provide individuals with vast terrain for having self-representation and virtual-identity construction through selfie pictures and videos. The paper examines the self-representation and the virtual-identity construction built on social media through extreme selfie rooftopping by Indonesian and foreign rooftoppers. Fourteen Indonesian rooftoppers were purposively selected as informants through snowball-sampling technique and seven foreign rooftoppers were also selected purposively. Face-to-face in-depth interview was carried out to the fourteen Indonesian rooftoppers (ethnographic approach), whilst mediated interview through social media messenger (Direct Messenger) was done to the seven foreign rooftoppers (virtual-ethnographic approach). Stuart Hall's representation theory and Hermeneutics theory were employed to investigate how both the Indonesian and the foreign rooftoppers represent themselves on social media (Instagram) how their virtual-identities were constructed on social media. The research reveals that the Indonesian and foreign rooftoppers differ in the way how they represented on social media. The Indonesian rooftoppers represented themselves in common to less-extreme ways, whilst the world rooftoppers tended to represent themselves in extreme ways, such as performing acrobatic or stunt-like actions on the edge of the buildings. The virtual-identity construction of the Indonesian rooftoppers was built less assertively meanwhile that of the world rooftoppers was shown more assertively.

Keywords: *selfie, rooftopping, rooftopper, representation, virtual-identity construction*

1. Introduction

The advent of social media provides individuals with a vast landscape for having self-representation and self-representation. As Gündüz [26] suggests, with social media now common people can share photos or events with a wider scope of the audience by building virtual identities. (p.86) Ogidi [9] asserts that private and public spheres have now merged seamlessly along with the seamless borders of geography (p.1) and nationality. Social media such as Instagram awards them unmeasurable room and freedom for especially having self-representation and building virtual-identity, as Turkle [22] argued that virtual identity construction develops while an individual has more interaction on social media through *selfies*.

Selfie is one of the most attractive media for having self-representation and building virtual identity. Since the earliest use of *selfie* in 2013, it has now become ubiquity but it still has strong potential to become a powerful medium. Even more, it kept developing to various genres. The number of *selfies* taken by individuals shows a very high level. *Selfie* using hashtag #*selfie* first came into use on January 16, 2011, by Jennifer Lee. Testa [11] states that then on the same day Instagram introduced hashtag #. (par. 2) After all the word *selfie* was inaugurated the Word of the Year 2013 by Oxford Dictionary [17].

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Since then more than 73 million *selfies* have been uploaded to Instagram and afterwards, its hashtags also developed to a large number of varieties such as *#celebrityselfie*, *#carselfie*, *#bestieselfie* and *#bathroomselfie* as Bysani [24] says. According to Laird [21], since 2011 *#selfie* has been used more than 57 million times and every day no less than 55 million pictures are posted on Instagram (par. 2-3).

Selfie is no longer a self-portrait taken by an individual using a smartphone camera and sometimes using a *selfie*-stick, however, *selfie* has now developed to become more designated self-portrait delivering messages to the audience due to social media. New media do not merely enable individuals to act as content makers but also as content editor/commenters simultaneously. Moreover, with the scheme offered by certain social media such as YouTube and Instagram, in which someone can obtain rewards (in the form of money) for gaining a certain number of Likes and Subscribers or followers *selfie* has transformed into a more deliberate and designated form of mediated communication on the virtual world. Individuals' motives developed and varied; some of them are for the pursuit of money and fame. Every picture (*selfie*) posted by an individual is assumed to have encoded messages designated by the owner. Undeniably *selfie* appeals many interests to many people, nonetheless the new media, cultural studies and even psychology researchers.

Many individuals today seem to have been bored with taking *selfie* in conventional ways. Therefore, they commenced taking *selfies* in uncommon ways and at uncommon locations, such as at extreme and jeopardous places. Hence we knew the term extreme *selfie* or also known as *killfie*, a *selfie* that can endanger the life of its doers such as *selfie* on the rooftop of a skyscraper, *selfie* on the edge of a canyon, on a railway or even *selfie* with a wild beast, normally called, which Mohn [23] calls “weapon of self-destruction” (par.1).

Based on the research by Lamba [6], dangerous *selfies* can be categorized into 9 groups, namely water-related *selfie*, vehicle-related *selfie*, height-related *selfie*, height and water-related *selfie*, highway *selfie*, animal *selfie*, train *selfie*, gun *selfie*, and electric *selfie*. They determined the danger zone in the context of the height of the *selfie* locations by measuring them with Google Earth (p.2). This is surprising since formerly people did not ever think of taking pictures in such dangerous locations, which can endanger themselves. As Cornelio and Roig [4] state that *selfies* taken at such unthinkable places are considered the most shocking manifestation of self-expression freedom.

In various countries, dangerous-*selfie* phenomenon has claimed many victims. From 2014-2016 49 people died due to having accidents while taking *selfies*. From the figure, 75% is male aged 21 on average, although most of the *selfie*-takers are female as stated by Zhang [15] (par. 2). Meanwhile, according to Lamba, Bharadwaj, Vachher, Agarwal, Arora, & Kumaraguru [7] 127 people died because of taking *selfies* within the same period. The number of tolls increased from merely 15 people in 2014 to 39 people in 2015, and it even became 73 people in 2016 (p. 1).

Recently, many research on *selfies* was done and psychological perspective was mostly chosen since *selfie* is frequently associated with narcissism and personality. Only a few who examined *selfie* using social and cultural perspectives. Even more, it's very little in the number of researchers researching extreme *selfies*. Therefore, this makes the researchers highly motivated to research extreme *selfie* seen from the perspective of cultural studies.

Extreme *selfie* is considered a new genre in the last few years since individuals have been fed-up of having mainstream *selfies* (*selfies* in common, such as at parties, formal occasions etc.). Instead, they go to extreme places such as a canyon or a volcano and then they have some *selfies* on its top or slope. As well, the recent trend was individuals climbing the top of a skyscraper or a tall crane and then they do some stunt-like actions. It's considered a new way of having self-representation on the internet.

Rooftopping, as it was so named, is an outdoor hobby of climbing up high buildings or cranes and then the doer (*rooftopper*) has *selfies* and sometimes acrobatic actions. *Rooftopping* is somehow a world-wide phenomenon emerging on social media especially Instagram and has been incorporated by the *rooftoppers* as a medium to have self-representation and virtual-identity construction.

Rooftopping is not only well-known among the youths in Europe, in which many famous world-*rooftoppers* originate from Russia, but also in the US and Asia, such as in China, India, and Indonesia. This article looks into how the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* represent themselves on social media and how their representation build virtual identity.

2. Methodology

It is an ethnographic study referring to the systematics of Ethnographic studies by Spradley [10] and Crang & Cook [14] in which the first primary data were collected through in-depth interview and observation, particularly the interview with 14 Indonesian *rooftoppers* and 7 foreign *rooftoppers*. The 14 informants (Indonesian *rooftoppers*) were recruited through a snowball sampling technique coordinated by using IDM (Instagram Direct Messenger) and WA (WhatsApp). The sampling technique is used since it was very hard to get in touch with the informants; they were very suspicious of me who wanted to interview them. I began by contacting one of the informants whom I considered as the key-informant. It took time to convince the key-informant that his identity would be kept safe. Many Indonesian *rooftoppers* are afraid of being seized by police or security officers. Once a trusted informant was obtained, I asked him to appeal to his friends.

Moreover, other six foreign informants (foreign-*rooftoppers*) from various countries, namely Russia, the United States, China, Japan, Hong Kong, and Switzerland were contacted and interviewed mostly using IDM.

For obtaining further detailed information aside from the ones asked during the face-to-face interview I employed WA. Moreover, WA audio call was also made with the informant from Switzerland to collect the data based on his preference.

The second primary data were pictures and videos of *rooftopping* obtained from the Instagram accounts of the informants (both Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers*) and some were directly obtained from the informants through personal WA text conversations. Therefore, *Netnography* was applied since I also observed and analyzed the informants' behavior through their Instagram accounts as directed by Karr [3].

Hermeneutics theory [19] and Stuart Hall's Representation theory (1997) [20] are employed to analyze the data, both the interview result and the pictures & videos. Concerning choosing the theories, I considered Hermeneutics theory and Representation theory of Stuart Hall the most appropriate to analyze the interviews with the informants and their *rooftopping* pictures and videos to investigate how the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* represent themselves on social media and how their representation build virtual identity.

In Cultural Studies it has the ease to determine which theory to be used although it adopts *Ethnography* as one of the most frequent approaches in the research, as Gray [1] argues that Cultural Studies has flexibility and ease in selecting a research method in accordance to the researcher's need.

The research applies three approaches, the first *Ethnography* in which I went to the field to collect the data; interacting with the informants, observing and interviewing them. In ethnographic studies interview is one of many which can be done by a researcher to collect data, such as asking, eating foreign food, learning a certain language, observing a ceremony, and many more since naturally *Ethnography* is considered to describe a culture from the perspective of the culture's owner [10] (p. 3). In other words, *Ethnography* photographs a life or a phenomenon without the researcher's intervention. Second, *Netnographic* approach in which a researcher communicates/ interacts with the informants using an internet messenger. In the research, I use IDM and WA and observe the informants through their Instagram accounts. Third, textual approach in which I observe and analyze the photos and videos of *rooftopping* obtained from the informants' accounts or the informants' sent through WA.

Although Cultural Studies considers *Ethnography* as one of the main approaches in research, it never claims it as the mere method like Anthropology. Gray [1] suggests that Cultural Studies has flexibility and ease in selecting its research methodology based on the researcher's need. Along with the time and civilization development, research method does develop, conforming

the development of humans' civilization. The intense interaction among individuals in the virtual world has opened up a new landscape in research. Observation on a research object through the internet has born a new *Ethnography* called *Netnography*, namely *Ethnography* observing and analyzing an individual's behavior on the virtual world [3] or what Hine [2] calls *Virtual Ethnography*, namely *Ethnography* conducted on the internet.

The virtual world should not be considered a separate room from anything, including from the real world and face-to-face interaction. It has a complex and rich correlation with the context where it is used. Moreover, it depends on the technology used and understood within various contexts, and even it has to be obtained, learned, interpreted, and used in a context. Such technology indicates the height of interpretation flexibility. Interactive media such as the Internet can be understood as a culture or cultural artefact [2] (p. 64). In this research, I made virtual observation towards the *rooftoppers*' activities through their Instagram accounts and I interacted with them through WhatsApp group. Rostanti [18] asserts that *Netnography* method is considered a popular method and it is necessary if a researcher wants to virtually observe the behavior of community members in-depth utilizing technological equipment. In this research, I entered the community of Jakarta's illegal *rooftoppers* utilizing Instagram.

Regarding *Ethnography* itself, Agar in Crang [14] (p.7) suggests that "*Ethnography* is not simply 'data collection'; it is rich in implicit theories of culture, society and the individual." This study captures and records the practices of *rooftopping* performed by Indonesian *rooftopper* and foreign *rooftoppers*. All in all, this study is qualitative research applying the principles of qualitative studies suggested by Denzin & Lincoln [16], Flick [25], Sutopo [5], Creswell & Creswell [12].

3. Results

This section provides the result of the research embracing the motives of the Indonesian and the foreign-*rooftoppers* and the kinds of actions they perform in *rooftopping*.

Table 1. Motives of Indonesian *Rooftoppers*

No	Informants' Initials	Motives
1.	AKS	entertainment, fame
2.	MA	passion, freedom
3.	CB	freedom, photography
4.	DR	freedom, photography
5.	DAP	escape from life problem, freedom, photography
6.	FKC	passion, freedom
7.	GA	fame, entertainment (killing the boredom)
8.	MH	passion, photography
9.	HE	Photography
10.	RN	passion, photography
11.	RNA	Passion
12.	SA	Money
13.	SGR	Entertainment, fame
14.	MAY	passion, freedom

Based on Table 1, the two big motives of Indonesian *rooftoppers* in doing *rooftopping* are passion and photography. The other motives cover freedom, fame, entertainment and money.

Table 2. Motives of the foreign-*rooftoppers*

No	Informants' Initials	Motives
1.	DS	passion, photography, absolute freedom, medium to protest
2.	M	passion, stress relief, photography, freedom

3.	A	photography, passion, freedom
4.	C	passion, freedom, photography
5.	AN	money, passion, photography, ultimate freedom, fame
6.	OC	passion, fame, photography, ultimate freedom
7.	LYL	passion, photography

Table 2 describes the motives of foreign *rooftoppers* that tend to be more like that of the Indonesian *rooftoppers*. Passion and photography are the first two primary motives of the foreign *rooftoppers*, then followed with freedom and protest.

Table 1 and 2 reveal that some of the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* have similar motives in doing *rooftopping*, namely passion, photography and freedom. These seem to be the most powerful driving forces motivating them to keep on doing *rooftopping*, although sometimes they are caught by security officers and get some punishments or sanctions.

The research reveals that the representation of the Indonesian *rooftoppers* and the foreign-*rooftoppers* differs in the way how they perform *rooftopping*. First, the foreign *rooftoppers* are very courageous and strongly determined in showing off their acts such as running and jumping, somersaulting, standing on the very edge of the building, walking with his hands, riding a hoverboard and many other stunt-like actions on top of a skyscraper. Meanwhile, the Indonesian *rooftoppers* also show courageous actions although they did not perform as extremely as the foreign *rooftoppers*. They had poses by standing or sitting on the building edge, climbing an iron tower but they did not do acrobatic actions. Up there life and death seem borderless. Losing the grip a second or making the wrong decision may result in falling off the high height on to the ground.

Second, the foreign-*rooftoppers*' *rooftopping* videos and photos are made very professionally utilizing more modern equipment, so that they give more astonishing effects to the viewers and this can appeal more *likes* and Instagram followers. On the other hand, the Indonesian *rooftoppers* mostly merely used cellphone cameras and DSLR cameras at most. Thus the photo results may not be as awesome as those taken with more modern devices. This may also result in the effect on the viewers to give *like* and become the new followers.

Third, the equipment possessed by the foreign-*rooftoppers* is much more modern and sophisticated. Some of them have the latest camera with the highest specification. Even more, few of them obtained some official endorsement from several sponsors, namely a camera manufacturer, an apparel company, a travel company and a media company. In contrast, most of the Indonesian *rooftoppers* did not have the latest equipment with high specifications. They mostly relied on their cellphone cameras and *selfie* sticks to take their *rooftopping* photos and footages. Though some of them wanted to be endorsed, they had never had official endorsement. One of them acknowledged that he had ever been asked by some friends of his to guide them to have *rooftopping*. In return, he received some money from them.

Aside from the differences, there are some similarities between the Indonesian *rooftoppers* and the foreign *rooftoppers* in their *rooftopping* styles and motives. First, the similarities can be seen from the way how they pose for their *rooftopping* actions. These can be classified into sitting, standing, jumping, running, and somersaulting. Second, the places where they act for their *rooftopping* actions can also be classified into far-center, close to the edge, and at the edge of the rooftop (of the skyscraper). Eventually, the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* also share the same motives of *rooftopping*, namely passion, photography and freedom.



An Indonesian *rooftopper*, sitting on the edge of a skyscraper while his legs are dangling. Photo credit: ©R (2019)



A *rooftopper* from Hong Kong being seated on the edge of a skyscraper with his legs dangling. Photo credit ©L (2018)

Figure 1. Actions Performed By An Indonesian and A Foreign *Rooftopper* at The Edge of A Tall Building.

Figure 1 depicts the acts of *rooftopping* performed by an Indonesian *rooftopper* and a Hong Kong *rooftopper*. Each of them was seated on the edge of the skyscraper while their legs were dangling without showing any fear although they were on such high height. Their faces just look calm. These pictures show that the *rooftopping* style performed by the Indonesian *rooftopper* while seated is similar to that of by the foreign *rooftopper* as both professional *rooftoppers* and both of them are teenagers.



A senior Indonesian *rooftopper*, climbed a tower in Jogjakarta, Indonesia. Photo credit ©H (2016)



A senior *rooftopper* from China climbing a tower in China. Unfortunately he died while doing a pull-up at a skyscraper and fell down from 62nd floor. Photo credit ©(Late) WY (2017)

Figure 2. Actions of Climbing A Tower Performed by Two Senior *Rooftoppers* from Indonesia and China

Another *rooftopping* style performed by both the Indonesian and foreign-*rooftoppers* is climbing a tower such as the ones done by a senior Indonesian *rooftopper* (22) who climbed an iron tower attached to a building underneath and by a (late) senior *rooftopper* from China (28) who climbed a very tall tower (much higher than the one climbed by the Indonesian *rooftopper*) while carrying a *selfie*-stick. The pictures in Figure 2 describe that both *rooftoppers* reached the peak of the iron towers and they posed nearly the same actions; H (the initial of the Indonesian *rooftopper*) released his right hand from holding the tower and his left hand held a *selfie*-stick whilst WY (the initials of the Chinese *rooftopper*) held the iron tower with his right hand meanwhile his left hand was holding a *selfie* stick. Both the *rooftoppers* did not show any fear of height although they were on top of such high thin towers.



D, a 19-year-old *rooftopper* from Jakarta half-stood on the edge of a skyscraper in Jakarta while looking down to watch the cityscape. Photo credit ©D (2019)



OC, a famous Russian daredevil performed such a breath-taking action by standing on the edge of a skyscraper with his two feet stepping on the different surfaces. It's one of the actions merely done by the fearless *rooftoppers*. Photo credit ©OC (2018)

Figure 3. Standing On The Edge of A Tall Building



H (left) posed nearly similar action to OC (right), although they were at different height and venue. They both

held the iron bar behind them with their right hand and let their left leg dangling free in the air while looking down to the ground.

Figure 4. Similar Poses Performed by Indonesian and Russian *Roftopper*



Holding the fence with his right hand and his left hand supported his body lifted half-vertically whilst beneath was steep vertical height hundreds of meters, OC demonstrated one of his expertise in *roftopping*. Photo credit ©OC (2018)

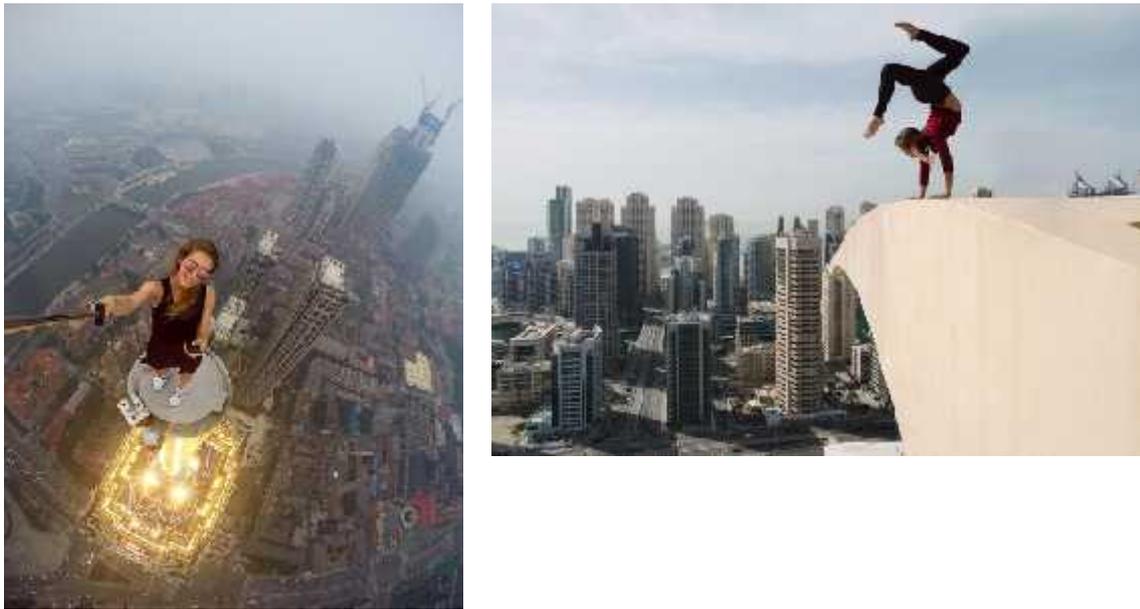
Another extreme performance, riding a BMX bike on the edge of a skyscraper was demonstrated by OC. Photo credit ©OC (2018).

Figure 5. Acrobatic Actions Performed on The Rooftop



OC frequently performed stunt-like actions on the rooftop. The left picture shows his demonstration when he had a handstand at the side of a high building in Dubai. Moreover, the right picture demonstrates his action while was jumping over the fence on the rooftop and landing on the side of the building. Such action probably made many people giddy and have vertigo, but he did not have any fear though just a little. Photo credit ©OC (2018)

Figure 6. Other Acrobatic Actions Performed on The Rooftop



The famous female Russian *roftopper*, AN frequently performed acrobatic actions on the rooftop of skyscrapers. She is well-known for having a supple body since she's a gymnastic athlete.

Figure 7. Acrobatic Actions Performed by A Female Russian Daredevil



Figure 8 depicts the actions performed by a senior famous Russian *roftopper*, OC, who demonstrated extreme *roftopping* actions: jumping between buildings, doing a handstand at the edge of the building, doing a handstand on a hovertrax and stretching his body between two edges of a building while looking down beneath hundreds of meters off the building.

Figure 8. Beyond-belief *Roftopping* Actions

4. Discussion

Climbing up a skyscraper with strong confidence and then performing some acrobatic actions, such as running and jumping between parts of the building, somersaulting in the air, standing and walking with hands, riding a BMX bike on a ten-inch-edge of a skyscraper rooftop and even riding a *hovertrax* with his hands on the edge of the building, hundreds of feet above the ground are actions performed by some *rooftoppers* when they are on top of a skyscraper. Such actions may make most people take their breath away and even make some have vertigo.

These actions are mostly well-recorded using a mobile phone camera, a DSLR camera, a Go-Pro camera or an autonomous drone camera, depending on the equipment possessed by the *rooftoppers*. Basically, the events mustn't be missed since they could be valuable assets to the performers to gain Likes and new followers on their social media accounts such as Instagram. The more Likes and more Followers mean more fame and more gain.

To become an Instagram celebrity is one of the dreams of some of the *rooftoppers*. *Rooftopping* is seen to be one of the instant ways to be popular and wealthy. Through their *rooftopping* pictures and videos posted on their Instagram accounts, they expect to obtain more *likes* and *followers*, which mean they can gain more money by the advertisers. Some foreign-*rooftoppers* such as AN and IB made use of their *rooftopping* activities for earning money. Ash [13] argues that they were supported by travel firms, fashion brands, and camera companies (par. 27). However, money and wealth are not the main motives for many *rooftoppers* in fact. An Indonesian and a Swiss *rooftoppers* [8] assert that he does *rooftopping* for his passion and gets freedom.

It is really a choice to become a *rooftopper*; meaning that *rooftopping* is a hobby of which many people will do due to its high-risk. A trivial mistake while performing it may result in falling to the ground and death is assured. Nonetheless, the sanction and punishment given by the security officers and police when the *rooftoppers* are caught in action (because most of them are illegal) are frequently very hard, such as doing a push-up, rolling on the ground while no clothes are allowed to wear, being electrified and so on, like those suffered by a number of the Indonesian *rooftoppers*.

But the foreign *rooftoppers* got sanction to be detained by police or they have to pay some fine instead of being given physical punishments. However, all these kinds of punishments and sanctions did not make the *rooftoppers* stop doing it. To the endorsed *rooftoppers*, such AN and IB from Russia they do *rooftopping* legally since their endorsers paid them for the licenses.

To the 18-year-old *rooftopper* from Zürich Switzerland, *rooftopping* is not merely for expressing his hobby in photography. He was grown up by his parents who are mountain climbers and he knew about mountaineering since he was a child. Even he said that he started to do mountaineering since he could walk. It is a very basic and therefore fundamental lesson to him that made him fearless in *rooftopping*. He stated that *rooftopping* was still less challenging than mountaineering. In mountaineering, the mountain has the control. Many unpredictable things could happen, such as avalanche and storm, whilst in *rooftopping* the *rooftopper* has the control. Thus *rooftopping* is still much safer than mountaineering.

When he reached the rooftop or the peak of the crane, for instance, he felt absolute freedom. He felt that the hard work was paid off when he could reach the rooftop. Regarding the building security, he also has codex that he used to enter the building of which the doors/accesses were locked. Some Indonesian *rooftoppers* also used codes for unlocking the locked doors. They claimed that they learned through their experiences as being *rooftoppers*. Even, F, one of the senior but still very young *rooftoppers* from Jakarta claims that he learns how to do it from having many experiences since he has ever climbed nearly the whole skyscrapers in Jakarta [8].

Occasionally, DS from Switzerland made use of his *rooftopping* activities to prompt protests against capitalism. In one of his videos, he shows how he and his friends

(*rooftoppers*) climbed the second tallest tower in Germany, Messeturm (256.5m) in Frankfurt, and flagged an anti-capitalism flag. On the video posted on YouTube DS acted as the executor whilst his friends played their every role as cameramen taking his pictures from various angles and operating a drone that recorded his courageous climb up-to-the culmination of his mission. DS and his friends made the footage very professionally and sophisticatedly, using modern equipment, such as a high-qualified drone and DSLR cameras supported with modern filming technique like the one made in a Hollywood movie. On his video DS intended to shout out his message against capitalism at the tower since it is considered one of the business and banking centres in Frankfurt, Germany.

Making such an intentional and daring footage does cost a lot of money. These young guys did make money by selling their *rooftopping* photos to a local newspaper in return for being made as a news article. H from Indonesia and DS ever won a photo exhibition by showing off their *rooftopping* photos.

5. Conclusion

The article concludes that both Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* have differences and similarities in the way how they represent themselves on the social media Instagram. Based on the analysis on the interview results and their *rooftopping* videos and photos the foreign-*rooftoppers* tend to represent themselves to the cutting limit of their bravery, by performing actions that can put their lives in danger, such as handstanding at the building edge, riding a *hovertrax* or BMX bike, running and jumping between buildings. Whilst the Indonesian *rooftoppers* tend to have less extreme actions (not doing handstand or jumping between buildings).

Moreover, Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* also differ in using recording tools for capturing their actions. The Indonesian *rooftoppers* merely use cellphones and DSLR cameras whilst the foreign *rooftoppers* use more modern equipment, such as action cameras and drones.

However, both the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* have some similarities in the way how they pose for their *rooftopping* styles, namely standing on the building edge, sitting on the building edge, and climbing a tower.

Both the Indonesian and foreign *rooftoppers* are passionate in *rooftopping* though some of their motives differ. Nevertheless, they share similar principles in *rooftopping*, namely taking photos and leaving nothing but footprints. Simultaneously, how they perform in *rooftopping* represent their virtual identity in the virtual world. Another thing representing their virtual identity construction is making their virtual names, which mostly tend to be different from their real names. That makes them disguised and therefore not easily recognized in offline communication since many of them hide their virtual identities.

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