



The Capitalization of Backpacking Tourism Culture in Indonesian Films

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Abstract

A film, as a media, acts significantly in popularizing the culture of backpacking tourism, which is closely related to the capitalist values. This research attempts to reveal the capitalist values in Indonesian backpacking films. The data are obtained by applying qualitative content-analysis to 2 (two) Indonesian films, namely *Haji Backpacker* and *Laura & Marsha*. The analysis leads to several interesting findings. *First*, Indonesian backpacking films, either explicitly or implicitly, more-likely prefer foreign tourist destinations. *Second*, the backpacker ideologies are presented more obviously in the implicit backpacking movie, *Laura & Marsha* rather than in the more explicit one, *Haji Backpacker*. *Third*, films contribute in shifting the ideological meaning of backpacking, which now emphasizes on principle of progress or recency (standardization), individualism (pseudo-individualization and social-cement), and efficiency (fetishism). Further researchers should analyze the effects of the shifting of the meaning based the perspective of the audience and content producers.

Keywords: *Backpacking, Capitalism, Qualitative Content Analysis, Film*

Abstrak

Sebagai sebuah media, film memiliki peranan penting dalam mempopulerkan budaya wisata *backpacking* yang erat kaitannya dengan nilai-nilai kapitalisme. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyingkap nilai-nilai kapitalisme yang terkandung di dalam konten film-film nasional yang bertemakan wisata *backpacking*. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan melakukan analisis isi secara kualitatif terhadap 2 (dua) film nasional yang bertemakan wisata *backpacking*, yaitu *Haji Backpacker* dan *Laura & Marsha*. Analisis tersebut telah menemukan beberapa temuan menarik. *Pertama*, film-film nasional yang bertemakan wisata *backpacking*, baik secara eksplisit maupun implisit dalam konten ceritanya, justru lebih banyak mengambil tempat di destinasi-destinasi wisata luar negeri. *Kedua*, ideologi *backpacker* justru lebih tampak pada film *Laura & Marsha* yang hanya menampilkan gaya wisata *backpacking* secara implisit, daripada film *Haji Backpacker* yang secara eksplisit menampilkannya dalam judul maupun cerita. *Ketiga*, media film berkontribusi dalam pergeseran makna ideologis *backpacker* di mana kini lebih menekankan prinsip kemajuan atau kebaruan (standarisasi), individualisme (pseudo-individualisasi dan semen sosial), dan efisiensi (fetisisme). Penelitian ke depannya perlu menganalisis dampak dari pergeseran makna tersebut berdasarkan perspektif khalayak dan produsen konten.

Kata Kunci: *Backpacking, Kapitalisme, Analisis isi kualitatif, Film*

Introduction

The growth of the middle-class people in Indonesia is the most significant in the world. World Bank predicts the number of the middle-class in Indonesia will increase to 141 million in 2030 from 130 million in 2011 (Dewi, 2015). The rise of the expenditure per capita of the moderate-spending society, either in the urban or rural area, corroborates this estimation. Since 2010 to 2016, Statistics Indonesia (*Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS*) had noted that the expenditure per capita of the moderate-spending people had always been higher than that of low and high-spending people (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017). It will surely affect the rise of consumption rate of society, especially in the fulfillment of tertiary needs such as entertainment. One of the many ways to entertain one's self is by traveling or going on vacation. As a matter of fact, traveling, either to domestic or to foreign destinations, has become an annual routine for our society.

It is indicated by the increasing number of domestic guests staying in starred and non-starred hotels in Indonesia. In 2014, BPS recorded that the number of domestic guests staying in starred hotels were 41,3 million people, rising from the previous year (38.1 million). The number of domestic guest staying in nonstarred hotels was 46.3 million, also rising from the previous year (41.1 million). The BPS data also shows that from 2004 to 2015 the average length of stay of foreign guest had always been higher than that of the domestic in the nonstarred or any other accommodations. The trend could be found at the starred hotel within the same years (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017) as well. The data imply that "our own" tourists are not yet "home" in their own country. It is because traveling around Indonesia is more expensive than traveling abroad, going to the neighboring countries like Malaysia and Singapore is much cheaper than going to the rather expensive yet potential destinations in eastern Indonesia (Mulyadi, 2015). The data imply that economic factor is still considered seriously by our tourists before traveling.

The economic factor triggers the rise of a traveling style appealing to our tourists, namely backpacking. Historically speaking, backpacking was adopted from "*tramping*," a terminology related to the nomadism of the low-class society who used to wander to get a job during the pre-modern era in the West. Adopted and developed along the course of time, it eventually becomes the traveling style of the middle-class people who seek happiness and

experience. Thereafter tramping is transformed to "*drifting*," referring to a journey to extremely remote places which haven't yet touched by modernity. Emphasizing on the connection with the natives, drifting makes the traveler live *as* the natives. In order to get a spontaneous new experience, they intentionally do not plan or schedule their travels beforehand, they even have no definite destination (Cohen, 2004). Another version says that backpacking is the extension of the *hippie culture* during 60-70's (Welk, 2004), meaning that backpacking culture was born as a *subaltern* culture against the domination of the mainstream tourist-culture (anti-tourist) -- it is against the concept of tourist which is identical to luxuriousness and dependency ("all done" principles). Yet as the style of traveling becomes more and more renowned, the backpacking culture has gone downstream becoming a mass culture massively consumed by all including the upper middle class.

A study by Pakan (2013) found that magazines and novel are the first mass-media introducing backpacking as a lifestyle and mass culture in Indonesia. The publication of *Balada Si Roy* (1989), a serialized novel authored by Gol A Gong, which was previously published as a serial on *Majalah HAI* since March 1988 -- it is considered as a "bomb" exploding the backpacking trend during the 80's and 90's. The character named Roy in the story was the backpacker's icon at that time. He was a young man traveling with a rucksack. Because he did not have much money, he went by trucks, economy class train, and other cheap modes of transportations. As a matter of fact, the mass media have been consistently popularizing the culture of backpacking to the youth hitherto. Pakan (2013) found that mass-media, social media, films, and books have inspired the middle-class youth to practice backpacking.

Pakan (2013) also noticed the influence of articles in the media in justifying the backpacking culture. Some of the articles use the terminology of "backpacking" explicitly, while some others imply it on the story. Several of them even provide practical tips of budget planning, which then encourage the readers to attempt it instantly. Such articles can be found in the newspaper, non-travel magazines, online media, travel blog, or other sources through tourism columns. An article titled "*Keliling Dunia Murah, Bisa!*" in *VivaLife* (Handayani & Paramitha, 2012) about the backpacking trips of a backpacker community, *Backpacker Dunia*, suggested that "To have a dream of traveling around the world is not

hedonistic. You too can go traveling abroad at low-budget. Backpacking is the answer.” However, Pakan (2013) exclusively studied the media audience reception. He did not link it to the source of the commodification of the backpacker ideology itself, namely the media content, especially film. Though, as implied in the findings, the informant said the word “film” several times as the media which motivated to go backpacking. This paper tries to complete the puzzle by sketchily analyzing the film content which constitutes the backpacker ideology.

Theoretical Framework

1. Culture Industry

Theodore W. Adorno (1903-1969) firmly criticizes the modern capitalist concept of enlightenment, which has dominated progressively, deceived massively, and changed to a means to bind the consciousness of human emancipation, autonomy, and independency. Filling the gaps in Marxism, his thoughts emphasize on the importance of the power of culture and ideology to control actions, ideas, and consciousness of society through scientific rationality (*enlightenment*) owned by a group of people possessing the “totalitarian” power of modern capitalism. Inspired by Marx’s theory, he uses the concept of *commodity fetishism* to explain how popular culture can sustain economic, political, and capitalist-ideology domination (Strinati, 2004). Marx (1936) noted that *fetish* is something one makes for one’s self (or others), which is now or then worshipped as if it were a god. A thing produced by human will eventually dominate and alienate them through labor exploitation to fulfill the unlimited needs/desires. It will evoke reification, a *thingification*, that men believe social consequence is something natural, universal, objective, and absolute, and can’t/needn’t be changed because it is beyond their control (Ritzer, 2011). Adorno then extends Marx’s commodity fetishism by applying it to cultural context. The cultural capitalism through the domination of money as the medium of exchange has defined and predominated the social relations between individuals, either economically, politically, or ideologically. The cultural commodity also adheres to the domination of money as fetishism.

The modern capitalism can last because there’s prosperity, consumerism, social control from the modern state, mass media, and popular culture. Thereupon, the working class assumes they are financially saved, they think they can buy whatever they want. People’s desire to overthrow capitalism is

fading because they have consciously accepted the *false needs* of daily life. To sustain its stability and continuity, modern capitalism produces false needs which are temporary and will never be fulfilled. The individual is unable to conceive which is the real need and which is merely desire. They assume false needs are the real needs. They believe they have the freedom to choose their needs, yet actually, they don’t. They are no longer autonomous (free), independent, and conscious. The cultural industry set out false needs to effectively lull and control the working class (Strinati, 2004).

On *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1973), Adorno defines cultural industry as a product which is planned and produced through modern technical skills and determines the consumer’s behavior. Cultural industry integrates *high art* (high culture) and *low art* (people’s culture), where consumers only act as the object of consumption. The production of culture industry involves the process of standardization and individualization. Standardization is a process directing all of the commodity of cultural industry to a standard/common form determined by the “West.” Individualization is an ideological process disguising the standardization process. This ideology is corruptive and manipulative promoting market domination and commodity fetishism. The mind of the consumer is numbed, becoming conformist and admitting the general standard (*status quo*). The power of ideology can penetrate into the mind of the consumers and take over their consciousness making them more tolerance toward deviations, alternative options, false opposition, and even fallacious social systems. This ideology offers false solutions through false needs to get false satisfaction. The mass becomes helpless because culture industry encourages conformity and consensus which guarantee the loyalty toward authority and the stability of the capitalist system (Strinati, 2004).

Adorno uses the theory of commodity fetishism and culture industry to analyze popular music. For him, a musician must have both theoretical and practical skills to be able to produce quality, non-commercial, and *avant-garde* music. However, to fulfill the massive market demand, they no longer have time to produce the quality music. The culture industry produces popular music through standardization and pseudo-individualization process (Strinati, 2004). The standardization refers to the homogenous, similar character of structure or song parts, yet this similarity is hidden behind the variation of styles which seems new and unique.

Meanwhile, the pseudo-individualization refers to the variation of styles and versions which seems new, different, and unique, yet basically the same. Classical music, however, has details and quality in every part (*complexity*) so that it can only be consumed by certain groups. Therefore, popular music is born to offer the more simple, standardized, and repetitive musical composition so it makes everyone can enjoy it. Popular music offers relaxation, fantasy, and entertainment for the working class as an escape from their routines. Standardization and pseudo-individualization seriously consider the financial factor of production and consumption. To make it reachable by all societal elements, it is intentionally mass-produced and is made it cheap. Adorno regards popular culture as "social cement," because its catharsis effect can make people comfortable, happy, and content with their current condition, so all they have to do is just enjoying life without working hard to fight for their life or their social environment's lot.

2. Backpacking Tourism Culture

Referring to Pearce (2008), backpacking (the actor is called backpacker) can be defined by 5 (five) categories: 1) a preference for budget accommodation; 2) an emphasis on meeting other travelers; 3) an independently organised and flexible travel schedule; 4) longer rather than very brief holidays; 5) an emphasis on informal and participatory holiday activities. All of them are manifested in the backpacker ideology which is usually called *the badge of honours*. The ideology bonds the backpackers with unwritten values: (1) traveling in low-budget, which is an idealism to curb 3 (three) basic needs while traveling (accommodation, consumption, and transportation) to prolong the journey; (2) to meet all kinds of people (especially with fellow backpackers and the locals), which is an idelism to embrace the "global village" idea, as the source of information as well as to bond strong emotional relationship with community/society; (3) becoming (acting as if they were) free, independent, and open-minded, an egocentric (and often hedonistic) effort to fight repression, commitment, or something taboo in "normal" life and to adapt with the everchanging travel environment; (4) organizing the travel feely (independently) and individually, which challenges the self-flexibility and sets one away from the mainstream tourism (tourist, tourist packages); and (5) traveling as long as possible, which is the belief that the real journey cannot be done merely in a short

time that will eventually build social status in the hidden hierarchy of backpackers. To conclude, in general, those five ideologies are connected to the capitalist ideology which consisted in the principle of progress (freedom and recognition), independency (individualism), and efficiency (Welk, 2004; Hannam & Ateljevic, 2008).

Pakan (2013) has successfully identified 2 (two) types of backpackers based on how they regard their backpacking activities. *First*, the backpackers who acknowledge backpacking as leisure. The first type sees backpacking as the most convenient way to spend spare time and a low-amount of money. Backpacking becomes a rational alternative to refresh one's self, yet they can stay economics because it doesn't require much money. As leisure or a means to lose the tension of work, backpacking becomes a practical consciousness to get benefits from the most-economic style of traveling. This economic factor is what initially popularizes the backpacking culture; so that the lower middle-class people can enjoy travel-tourism in their spare time as well. Akin to popular music, backpacking culture also offers relaxation, fantasy, and entertainment as an escape for the working class from their routines. The catharsis effect of backpacking becomes *social cement* for people so they can be lulled and able to enjoy life, without having to struggle to fight for their own fate and their surrounding's.

Second, backpackers who think backpacking as a lifestyle. The latter kind of group regards backpacking lifestyle as a tool of social differentiation and a way of life. As a social differentiation tool, they see the backpacking activity as their practical consciousness to reach the power structure to get resources they need. Or, in short, they try to be different and cool. As a result, they become an easy marketing target for tourism and media capitalists. As a way of life, this kind of backpackers tend to be more philosophical. They see backpacking more deeply, not merely as a hobby, but as an important and fundamental value. Consequently, they will never stop backpacking even though they have already settled financially because there is something they cannot get from luxurious travels, namely the genuine principles of *the badge of honours*.

Table 1. The Comparison between Tourist and Backpacker Culture

Tourist	Backpacker
Becoming the consumer of travel agents	Organizing and doing the travel independently

Traveling on relatively high-budget	Traveling on relatively tight budget
Staying at rather expensive and luxurious accommodation	Staying at relatively cheap and simple accommodation, they will even stay in the house of people they just knew
Traveling in a short span of time	Traveling in a relatively long time
Using the holiday to refresh themselves from their daily routines	More explorative
Going to touristic destinations	Avoiding touristic destinations

Material and Methodology

This research uses critical constructionist paradigm to understand the collective meaning of the backpacker ideology and capitalist values constructed through the message of mass media, especially film. Crotty (1998) remarks that this paradigm focuses on transmitting and forming the collective meaning of a group/society in seeing and perceiving reality (Patton, 2002). To understand how *the* reality is constructed, the data are collected through 2 (two) steps. The first step is analyzing the conversations in 2 (two) renowned backpackers' online discussion forums, *backpackerindonesia.com*, and *kaskus.co.id*. These forums are chosen because they have much bigger active members than any other forums in Indonesia, so it can be assumed they can represent the common characteristics of the backpackers (Backpackerindonesia, 2017; Hypestat, 2017). Afterwards, to find the most relevant discussions, keywords research are done using these phrases: "film traveling," "film backpacker," and "film wisata." Those keywords lead to 3 (three) discussions about backpacking films.

On *backpackerindonesia.com* forum, the analysis is conducted to a thread titled "film tentang backpacker apa aja sih.." initiated by isan b on June 17, 2010, which up till June 30, 2014, has been responded by 72 comments (b, 2010). Meanwhile, on *kaskus.co.id*, two threads in a subforum titled "Travellers" are studied: "Nonton Film yang Menginspirasiimu Traveling" created by honda89 on July 23, 2014, which has been responded by 9 comments on October 29, 2015 (honda89, 2014); "Film-film yang Bikin Makin Pengen Traveling" started by behaki on August 25, 2014, which has been responded by 12 comments up till October 09, 2014 (bahaki, 2014). Furthermore, all of the words and sentences were written by the commenters are indexed (indexicality) and the meanings of the

conversations are reflected (reflexivity) by identifying the social context (Bryman, 2012). The commenters mention several Indonesian films, which becomes the reference for content analysis.

The second step is qualitative content analysis using "directed content analysis." The theory becomes the reference/guideline to define the codes, before and after analyzing the findings. The theory and data will generate the category/theme to be used in coding (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The analysis compares 2 (two) Indonesian backpacking film contents, *Haji Backpacker (2014)* and *Laura & Marsha (2013)*. These two films are purposively chosen, because, either implicitly or explicitly, they are able to represent and illustrate the backpacking culture more thoroughly through their content.

Result and Discussion

1. The Invasion of Hollywood's Backpacking Films

The Indonesian audience perception about the culture of backpacking (tourism) is strongly influenced by Hollywood movies. The invasion of backpacking (travel-related) films started approximately around the 2000's. These followings are the example of successful Hollywood movies: *The Beach* (2000), *Cast Away* (2000), *Vertical Limit* (2000), *City of God* (2002), *Lost in Translation* (2003), *Under the Tuscan Sun* (2003), *Touch the Void* (2003), *Le Grand Voyage* (2004), *Euro Trip* (2004), *The Motorcycle Diaries* (2004), *Hostel I* (2005), *Into the Blue* (2005), *Blindsight* (2006), *Turistas* (2006), *Hostel 2* (2007), *Shanghai Kiss* (2007), *Into the Wild* (2007), *A Map for Saturday* (2007), *Mr. Bean's Holiday* (2007), *Outsourced* (2007), *Slumdog Millionaire* (2008), *North Face* (2008), *The Art of Travel* (2007), *80 Meter Below Summit* (2008), *Carstensch* (2008), *A Perfect Gateway* (2009), *High Lane* (2009), *127 Hours* (2010), *Letters to Juliet* (2010), *The Way* (2010), *The Way Back* (2010), *Eat Pray Love* (2010), *A Lonely Place to Die* (2011), *Hostel 3* (2011), *Sanctum* (2011), *The Loneliest Planet* (2011), *On the Road* (2012), *Hostel 4* (2013), *Beyond the Edge* (2013), *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (2013), *Sherpa* (2015), *Everest* (2015), and etc. However, before 2000, there were also many Hollywood movies from various genres which directly or indirectly introduced the culture of backpacking mostly related to issues such as tourism,

holiday, travel, adventure, and etc, either explicitly or implicitly, such as *Before Sunrise* (1995), *Into Thin Air* (1997), *Hillary & Tenzing* (1997), *Seven Years in Tibet* (1997), *Return to Paradise* (1998) and so on.

The long list shows that the movies introducing backpacking culture to Indonesian audience are not only the travel-adventure films, but also movies from other genres, such as comedy, drama, horror, thriller, action, and etc., Mixed with backpacking stories, the movies could attract even more audience. It is surprising that films indirectly convey the backpacker ideology (*implicitly*) are more favored than the explicit ones. As a matter of fact, the explicit backpacking films are not too successful, e.g *The Backpacker* (2011) and *The Backpack* (2012). The homogenous content of backpacking films is commodified through popular genres of the time so it can be enjoyed by the wide audience. Moreover, it is important to mention that Hollywood films have enough budget to produce and spread the movies around the globe. They have the budget to hire many high-quality actors, actresses, and facilities (audio and video), and shoot the movie at beautiful places around the world. The box office movies also use their resource to dominate the film distribution network of Indonesia, which at the moment was still monopolized by XXI (21) cinema network. As a result, there was no room for the low budget films.

More interestingly, a handful of those box office movies ironically feature several Indonesian tourist destinations, which naturally promote Indonesian tourism. Take *Eat Pray Love* (2010) for example. Starred by Julia Roberts, some parts of the movie were shot at the market and rice fields of Ubud, Bali. The marketing strategy takes advantage of the proud Indonesian crowds who do not realize that they are merely the market. Yet it is able to produce false needs (to watch it), which will eventually lead to the fetishism of youth toward backpacking lifestyle. Just because some of the scenes were taken in Indonesia, it is compulsory for us to watch (the spirit of nationalism). It is the reason why those kinds of movies are selling in Indonesia. Moreover, the places where the movie was shot "need" to be visited to get the authentic feeling, atmosphere, and sensation of the movie (false

happiness). The sensation is what forces the audience to attempt to get a sip of the false experience as soon as possible. The stories (documentation and testimonies) of people who traveled to the destinations will fastly spread and become a popular "word of mouth" in one's circle. The experience seems to be the standard/norm; one has to visit the place so that one can be an *up-to-date* individual like their peers. The audience will feel whimsically strange (or even guilty) if they haven't visited the destinations. The capitalist ideologies, namely competition, recency, freshness, progress, efficiency, clearly exist on this condition.

2. The Indonesian Backpacking Movies with International Atmosphere

Being in the similar state of fandom, the audience surely experiences the same commodity fetishism as they have already experienced when watching previous Hollywood movies. However, the different tendency can be found in our national backpacking films. Foreign destinations are featured more often by movies which explicitly tell stories about backpacking (tourism) activities, which is quite different from movies that implicitly spread the message about backpacker culture. The latter kind of films usually merges the main story with the touch of horror, comedy, love drama, and etc., whereas backpacking culture is only put on the background or shooting location. Table 2 shows that almost all of the shooting locations of the films (either explicitly or implicitly) are abroad, especially those whose genre is the romantic drama, which, sadly, promote destinations in foreign countries to our audience. Ironically, while the Hollywood movies are promoting our local destinations, our own national films are promoting destinations from other countries. These findings indicate that there is a hidden ideology attempted to be offered through the Indonesian films, namely capitalist ideology which is characterized by global progress. Rather than local/national destinations, the audience is shown foreign destinations which have to be visited (economic motive). It can be correlated with the average length of visit in nonstarred and other accommodations. According to the BPS data, from 2004 to 2015, the average length of stay of foreign guest had always been higher than that of the Indonesian guest (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2017).

Table 2. National Backpacking Films Based on the Shooting Location (2007-2015)

Explicit (Main)	Location (Number of Audiences)	Implicit (Setting)	Location (Number of Audiences)
Check in Bangkok (2015), genre: romance	Thailand	From Seoul to Jakarta (2015), genre: romance	Jakarta, Jawa Barat, Seoul
Negeri Van Oranje (2015), genre: romance	Belanda (490.788)	Where is My Romeo (2015), genre: romance	Verona (Italia)
Haji Backpacker (2014), genre: adventure and drama	Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, China, Tibet, Nepal, India, Pakistan, Iran, Teluk Persia, dan Saudi Arabia (375.799)	Assalamualaikum Beijing (2014), genre: romance	Beijing (560.465)
5 cm (2012), genre: adventure and romance	Jakarta & Gunung Semeru, Kabupaten Malang (2.402.170)	Kukejar Cinta ke Negeri Cinta (2014), genre: romance	Cina
Punk in Love (2009), genre: comedy	Malang, Jakarta	Sakola Rimba (2013), genre: adventure (biography)	Jambi
Tiga Hari untuk Selamanya (2007), genre: adventure and drama	Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta	Laura & Masha (2013), genre: adventure and drama	Eropa
		Hello Goodbye (2012), genre: romance	Busan (Korea Selatan)
		Laskar Pelangi (2008), genre: family (adventure)	Belitong (4.719.453)

3. Explicit Movie: Haji Backpacker (2014)

This is the example of Indonesian films which explicitly spreads the ideology of backpacker (tourism) to the audience through the title and the story. Adapted from a novel with the same title authored by Aguk Irawan, Haji Backpacker has been watched by 375.799 audiences (Film Indonesia, 2014). The story is about a young man named Mada (Abimana Aryasatya) who was willing to embark on a journey through several countries to express his disappointment to God. Then he successfully made

some sense and decided to travel to Mecca (Saudi Arabia) to do the pilgrimage (*hajj*). The backpacking movie mixed with religious atmosphere tries to show the audience that the act of traveling aimlessly is fallacious, especially when one does the journey because of one's disappointment to God. The main character was left by his fiancé (Dewi Sandra) on their wedding day.

The film also shows the greatness of God, leading Mada so he could overcome every obstacle he met during the journey. Or, it is God's destiny which made him successfully travel through the countries in order to reach Mecca to do pilgrimage. However, every time Mada refused the offer of his sister (Pipik Dian Irawati) or his female friend (Laudya Cynthia Bella) to come back home to Jakarta, or when he refused the offer of a village girl (Laura Basuki) to stay for a while in her house, the backpacker's ideologies (badge of honours) through the independency (and freedom) and individualism (Welk, 2004) are shown. There are also a lot of beautiful sceneries presented on the film alluring people to pay a visit. However, there is a contradiction when Mada eventually accepted the help of his sister's friend (Dion Wiyoko) who works for the Indonesian Embassy in Thailand to help him flee to Vietnam.

The value of efficiency (economic) is also obvious when he had to fight the thugs in order to get his wallet—which had incidentally fallen—back, or when he had to sleep on the cardboard. However, there is a contradiction when he dared to spend much money to go to a massage house (spa) so he could stay for a night with his female friend to escape the thugs. The same contradiction also appeared when he was willing to sale his watch only to be able to eat “shellfish” in Vietnam, even though he still had *baht* (Thai currency) in his pocket. Besides, a kind of homogenization also appears in the form of religious aspect (repentance). However, the tendency of content homogenization does not only appear on backpacking movie but also in various movie genres. It still becomes the mainstay of production house to attract the audience which is, in fact, the Islamic majority. It is as if the commodification of religious content had become the standard procedure of a movie if they want to get the maximum income. Yet unfortunately, instead of spreading the Islamic teachings through the films, they rather make things worse by smearing the image of Islam as *rahmatan*

lil' alamin (the grace of the universe). It is illustrated on the scene where Mada was kidnapped by a Pakistani radical group and he was forced to say *syahadat* in order to prove to his kidnappers that he was a Moslem so that he wouldn't be shot.

4. Implicit Film: Laura & Marsha (2013)

Different findings are found in this film. The movie directed by Dinna Jasanti is not adopted from a novel but is intentionally made for the production. Thought it does not show the backpacking culture explicitly on the title, the film is able to illustrate the backpacker ideology in almost every part of the story. The ideology of independency, interaction with the locals, and budget efficiency can be implied easily from the "adventure" story. The two types of backpackers can be seen from the two main characters of the movie. Laura (Prisa Nasution) represents the leisure type of backpacker (emphasizing on budget efficiency), whereas Marsha (Adinia Wirasti) represents the type of backpacker who considers backpacking as a lifestyle. Laura had never traveled because she was the single parent for her only daughter, Luna. Unlike Marsha, Laura's best friend who was an author of travel books had, of course, plenty of time to go traveling. But both of them had never been to Europe. Once, they made a promise to go on a journey to Europe together, yet only then they could fulfill their promise.

The main motive of Marsha to Europe was to commemorate her mother's death. The tight schedule of working in travel agent had made Laura always refuse Marsha's proposal to have a trip to Europe. However, once when she was going home from work, Laura got an incident. It was the moment which changed Laura's mind and made her willing to go to Europe with Marsha. What Marsha said to Laura contained the backpacker ideology, "... *life is really short, La. We never know when death is coming for us, and I am not gonna die before I have already fulfilled all my dreams.*" The camera then moved to a book, *Marsha's Adventure*, hold by Laura, on which was written, "8 travel tips how to save money while on the road" and "... let's fulfill life." Besides, Laura also had a special reason to visit Europe, namely to meet her long-gone husband. Those were the reasons why Laura eventually agreed to go to Europe with Marsha, though it was not wholeheartedly.

On their way to the airport, we all could spot

their difference. The Marsha's outfit was like that of backpackers, like hippies, casual, and careless, whereas Laura dressed conversely. We could also see the difference in their characters. Laura was organized, systematic, and was used to plan everything she was going to do. On the other hand, Marsha was cheerful, spontaneous, and love things related to freedom. Their differences are indicated by how they take their belongings. The organized Laura used a suitcase, while Marsha brought the standard backpacking rucksack. The journey began, the little arguments emerged. Laura set the rules and Marsha casually admitted. Marsha never hesitated to spend money for what seemed to be unimportant things, such as a ring. Whereas Laura stayed on a strict budget, e.g they only rented an old car because it was much cheaper. How Marsha deals with the budget is in accordance with the kind of backpackers who think backpacking as a lifestyle. It is indicated by how nonchalantly Marsha let a stranger named Finn to ride with them, how they were lost in the woods, their encounters with a traveling music band.

The interaction between Marsha and Finn shows the real backpacker ideologys, namely the interaction with local people or other backpackers. The quarreling escalated when Marsha took Finn to ride with them on their rented car. Finn never reached his destination, Laura kicked him out because she thought Finn was the one who had made them lost. Marsha could not do anything. Yet every time Laura faced a problem, Marsha was there for her. However, when they were trapped in a deserted building, Marsha eventually knew that Laura had her own "agenda." The scene also revealed that the problem faced by Marsha was not only losing her mother, there were more serious problems. What was sought by Laura, in fact, was related to the postcard appearing at the beginning of the film—and related to Finn who seemed to be a supporting actor only. To sum things up, the backpacker ideology is obvious in most of the content of the film.

Discussion: Backpacking and Capitalism

Even though backpacking initially emerged from a folk culture which stood against tourist culture as the mainstream, as time goes by it becomes a popular mass culture. Now, backpacking has become a product of culture industry. In order to be accepted by society in general, the culture of backpacking is given the touch of commodification

through the standardization and individualization process. The standardization is obvious in media contents which presents the relatively similar style of backpacking, such as the fashion style, travel destinations, accommodations, transportations, and so on. The individualization process occurs through the presence of capitalist ideology hidden behind five backpackers' ideologies, through the values: progress, independency, and efficiency. So that in the end what was once folk culture becomes integrated with the dominant tourist culture. The value of collectivity of backpacking culture which forms strong bonds with the locals starts fading. It is indicated clearly by the growth of the travel industry actors providing cheap rooms especially made for backpackers, which is known as *dormitory* or *dorm room*. It is like a college dormitory consisting of rooms which can be attended by more than one person with more than one bed (usually bunk bed). To compete, starred hotel chains also build *second brand* hostels to serve the market segment of backpackers, such as *Accor* group which has 3 (three) backpacker hostels in New Zealand and Australia (Izon, 2003). Staying at that kind of accommodation will naturally eliminate the opportunity to stay with the locals and, therefore, will automatically diminish the opportunity to form social interaction.

The perpetual process of standardization and individualization makes a hierarchical structure among backpackers to compete in order to get the "honorary badge" of the ideology. The competition can be seen clearly by the high number of people uploading backpacking photos and travel-related experiences and sharing them in private or community social media accounts. Therefore when doing their backpacking trip, in order to fulfill their own ambitions, the backpacker often does not really care about their surroundings, even about their own safety. Therefore it is natural then that there are still apathetic actions reflecting the individualistic character of backpackers, such as the ignorance toward the local culture (e.g not to litter) or taking selfies without understanding the situation and the surroundings. Those phenomena occur because the backpackers are trapped by the backpacker's ideologies which are taken for granted, and they do not attempt to reflect whether or not the ideologies

constitute commodification aspects. As a result, the principles of economic and progress are only imagined solely as the recency (newness) and efficiency. The backpackers always try to seek for the most up-to-date backpacking experience (tourist destinations, cheapest way, and etc), so the past experience becomes irrelevant.

Then the unique and spontaneous private or group tour-packages emerge to facilitate travelers to get distinctive sensations. The travel industry facilitates them by offering interesting facilities to be consumed. In the end, the quest for sensation will lead to consumptive dependency. Backpacking is now a fetish commodity. A style which emerges as an act of being free has now become a contestation of power and proud, worshipped through standard determined by one's self, community, or tourism industry and media. Unconsciously one is exploited through one's job and one's backpacking activity. They work hard only to be able to go backpacking which has long been planned by themselves. It is what creates reification; one will think that there is nothing wrong with the contestation and the standardization because the value is universal and practiced everywhere. The cultural commodity of backpacking cannot be separated from the domination of money as a fetish, which is implied in the contestation of budget backpacking. The capitalism of big hotel chain gets to benefit from this condition. The variation of packages, events, themes, or tourism scenes is only a form of standardization and pseudo-individualization to keep the stability and the continuity of modern capitalism through the homogenization of backpacking "marketing label." The standardization and the pseudo-individualization consider the budget factor in production and consumption aspect so it can be bought by all elements of society. The real objective to create the new lifestyle is only to build dependency and consumptive behavior of backpacking. In the end, the culture is only transforming into a new tourist culture, but only for those whose budget is low.

Table 3. The Relevance of Backpacker Ideology to Capitalism

Badge of Honours (Welk, 2004)	Capitalism (Marx, 1963; Adorno, 1973)
To travel on a low budget	Standardization, individualism (competition)

To meet different people (especially fellow backpacker or the locals)	Pseudo-individualization, fetishism
To be (or to feel) free, independent, and open-minded	Capitalist ideology (freedom and equality), individualism (competition)
To organise one's journey individually and independently	Catharsistic (social cement), individualization and standardization process
To travel for as long as possible	Pseudo-individualization, fetishism, standardization

Conclusion

Based on the previous analyzes, several conclusions can be proposed. *First*, the national films related to backpacking, either implicitly in their content or explicitly, tends to choose foreign destinations, which means that they indirectly promote foreign destinations rather than local destinations. On the other hand, several international films (especially Hollywood's) are more likely to shoot their movies in Asia, including Indonesia. The findings may be related to the high rate of visits and the occupancy rate of the foreign tourist in Indonesian hotels, which is higher than that of domestic tourists. However, this causal relationship has to be studied more thoroughly in further research. *Second*, the backpacker ideology is more obvious on films which implicitly show the traveling style of backpacking, such as *Laura & Marsha* (2013), rather than movies which explicitly show *backpacking* in their title or story such as *Haji Backpacker* (2014). *Third*, films play important role in shifting the meaning of the five backpacker's ideologies. The meanings are commodified and eventually reduced before being contaminated by the capitalist ideology which only emphasizes on the principles of progress and recency (standardization), individualism (pseudo-individualism and social cement), and efficiency (fetishism). Therefore further research is needed to analyze the shifting of the ideological meaning from the perspective of the audience and the message producer.

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