

Reading For Pleasure among Urban Adolescents

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Abstract

This study examines and understands the behavior of reading for pleasure among urban adolescents as part of a lifestyle from the perspective of cultural studies. This study found that the behavior of reading for pleasure developing among urban youth is not always a result of construction of the power by the capitalist culture industry through the publishing industry. The behaviors of reading for pleasure that is developing among urban adolescents can in general be divided into two groups, namely the pseudo-addictive readers and real-addictive readers. The definition of pseudo-addictive readers is the group of urban adolescents who read and choose the type of reading much influenced by the process of commodification of capitalist culture, in which they tend to read certain types of popular literature, both because of the influence of advertising support and other mass media. While the definition of real-addictive readers is the group of urban adolescents totally addicted to reading, not limited to just popular readings. For them the most important primary considerations in choosing reading is not because they want to make it solely as a means or "ticket" to enter the milieu of urban youth, but it is driven by the desire for pleasure and as an alternative to activities that are personally exciting.

Keywords: reading for pleasure, cultural studies, cultural industry, commodification of culture, lifestyle, pseudo-addictive, and real-addictive.

1. Introduction

This study examines and understands the behavior of reading for pleasure among urban adolescents as part of their spare time activities of modern society, especially from the perspective of cultural studies. In contrast to previous studies that viewed the behavior of reading as part of educational activity, or, more narrowly, as part of learning activities at school, this study attempted to understand the behavior of urban adolescents to read as part of the urban youth activities in their spare time (leisure) and as a standalone option that is full of fun, and simultaneously in conjunction as part of a chain of popular cultural products of capitalism.

Among students, it frequently happens that reading activities for the benefit of study is "forced", even in a full load, in order to learn, while the behavior of reading for pleasure thrive as an alternative choice and voluntary activities, which is both interesting and important, especially for the urban youth. Studies conducted Arthur (1995), Strauss (1998), and Block & Mangieri (2002) find the positive effects of reading for pleasure activity because this activity, instead of denying and replacing reading for study, it turned out to encourage increasing literacy skills and vocabulary mastery, and academic achievement of the students at school also increased.

The study of reading for pleasure among urban adolescents from the perspective of cultural studies, not just trying to understand this problem in association with cultural preferences and social class, but also to understand it as part of a sub culture and lifestyle of modern society, which is heavily influenced by popular or mass culture as well as intervention forces of capitalism which often treat culture, including literature like a product of the culture industry.

2. Methods

In this study required data have been explored in several ways. First, in-depth interviews to urban youths, and members of their peer-group. This study first conducted in-depth interview to 10 urban adolescents who served as key informants. The process of selection of the 10 key informants was done in conjunction with observation and data collection process to gain an understanding of the social setting and the development of the book industry in the city of Surabaya. The ten key informants obtained when we carried out observations to a number of major bookstores and newsstands scattered in various shopping malls in Surabaya. The criteria established to select and define the key informant in question were: (1) visitors of bookstore or newsstand aged 12-15 years, belonging to early adolescents, (2) in the last six months have at least 4 readings averagely in each month, (3) in the past month, at least once went to book store or kiosk, (4) come from families that are economically belongs to middle class, and (5) stay in Surabaya.

The ten urban teens who loved to read and included as key informants in this study were Nadia, Maya, Wendi, Nico, Evelyn, Sekartika, Sofyan, Reza, Rani, and Rossa. They were all chosen from the observation and

identification of key informants according to the criteria set out above. The purpose of the selection of key informants was as the first "entrance" for the researcher to obtain further information about other urban youths who are the members of the peer-group of the key informants known to love reading for pleasure.

In this study, the in-depth interviews was conducted to 10 key informants, as at the beginning of data collection process, and also to 27 informants obtained from key informant recommendations.

Table 1. Research Informant

Location	Key informants	Supporting informants	Total
Gramedia Bookstore, Jl. Basuki Rachmad	1	3	4
Gramedia Bookstore, Tunjungan Plaza	2	6	8
Gunung Agung Bookstore, Mal Galaksi	1	4	5
TriMedia Supermal Pakuwon Indah	3	7	10
Uranus Bookstore, Jl. Ngagel	1	3	4
Toga Mas Bookstore, Jl. Diponegoro	1	2	3
Kiosk "Terbit" Tunjungan Plaza	1	2	3
Total	10	27	37

Second, we conducted FGD involving a number of teenagers who have the habits and behavior of a fun reading. In this study, the FGD was carried out 2 times with each session attended by 7 and 10 urban teenagers who were elected from informants interviewed in the first phase. FGDs were conducted in a restaurant located in West Surabaya area, in one of representative private room, with an informal and relaxed atmosphere.

3. Literature Review

Reading is actually a social behavior as well as a part of a lifestyle that involves a variety of social, psychological, language, symbolic, economic, political and cultural relations. Reading, from the perspective of cultural studies, is one manifestation and part of the culture, especially popular culture (see: Adlin, 2006; Ibrahim, 2007 and Storey, 2007). As a part of the culture, or more specifically popular culture, reader's activity not only involves elements of physical culture (material culture), such as books, tables, glasses, paper, and the like, but also intangible cultural elements (nonmaterial culture). They are, first, taste, not only taste on the favored type of reading in psychological sense, but also in social sense, which is related to the classification and hierarchy of taste that influenced by social class differences. Secondly, the meaning, i.e. how the readings, highlighted figures, storyline, and the like contain a specific meaning for the reader subjectivity. Third, value (cultural value), how reading and reading activities are meaningful socially, culturally, economically, and even spiritually.

In various studies that have been conducted, cultural studies perspective explore cultural as a practical meaning in the context of social forces. In so doing, cultural studies are taking theories, including marxism, structuralism, poststructuralism, feminism and postmodernism. With the eclectic method, cultural studies declare their position on all knowledge, including its own knowledge, which coalesce around key ideas of culture, the practice of interpretation, representation, discourse, power, articulation, text, reader and consumption (Barker, 2004: 36). One's choice on a particular type of reading, when he takes the time to read, what characters and who the favored figure, and so forth, according to the perspective of cultural studies, is not just a choice-driven considerations of personal taste, but shaped and influenced by many factors that more or less have something to do with capitalism and they way capitalism represents to the masses. So, reading, according to the perspective of culture studies, is a social activity that is constructed, but at the same time also developing as part of a dialectical process.

The main focus of cultural studies is centered on the question of representation, that is how the world is socially constructed and represented to and by us. Cultural studies, in their various studies, generally explore the establishment of textual meaning, and also investigate how it generates meaning in various contexts. As Barker said (2004: 9), the representations and cultural meanings have a certain materiality. They are attached to sound, inscriptions, objects, images, books, magazines, television program or others. They are produced, displayed, used and understood within a particular social context. Why an urban teenager chooses to enjoy free time to read, instead of the other activities, is certainly not just because of being encouraged by psychological factors or merely motivated to acquire knowledge, but what needs to be studied is the context and the social construction growing in the mind of urban adolescents in viewing the reading activities, including readings they select and what really makes them happy to do so.

A variety of studies conducted in cultural studies mostly pay attention to modern industrial economy and culture media produced in capitalist system in which the representation is produced by a company that is driven by profit motive. However, Barker (2004: 9) asserts that cultural studies are actually at the same time also have a

central principle, the character of non-reductionism. This means that culture is seen to have its own meaning, practice and rules that cannot be reduced to or explained within other category or level in social building or structures. In particular, cultural studies have even fought against economic reductionism explanation, which attempts to explain the cultural text based on its place in production process. For cultural studies, political economy process does not determine the meaning of text and its understanding by the audience. Instead, political economy, social and cultural relations should be understood in the context of specific logic and its way of development, which is articulated or linked together based on specific context.

Of the various studies that have been done, the adherents of cultural studies perspective are generally agreed that in the era of modern or postmodern society, the role of information becomes very strategic, especially in shaping the lifestyle, taste, and taste through advertising and the mass media (see: Agger, 2003; Strinati, 2007; Storey, 2007). Various cultural moments, such as production, representation, identity and consumption, including reading behavior, are not seen as isolated moments, but inter-related (interconnected) and interdependent.

4. Results and Discussion

One characteristic that marks urban teens who love to read for pleasure is that they usually always take advantage of their free time to read a book or comic, even up to the level of addiction. However, although equally addicted to reading, a number of informants interviewed in this study did not always have the taste and flavor of the same type of favorite reading, the timing and intensity of their reading in spare time, and the way they use and create free time for reading activities.

In general, it was found that among urban teens who love to read, the choice of interesting reading materials is mostly popular reading or a best seller, either because the story was made into a movie, or because the readings were packed in a package of stories that make readers always curious to find the ending. Published and filmed novels, such as *Lord of the Rings*, *Narnia*, *Harry Potter*, *Golden Compass*, *Twilight*, or *Laskar Pelangi*, usually always attract urban youth to read. In addition to further compare the real written story in the novel with the story in the movies, reading popular literature for a number of informants is considered as a part of the efforts to keep abreast of the times.

At school Nico is known as one of the students who is intelligent and relatively quiet. According to his testimony, in addition to loving comics graphics reading, he also likes to read the realist novel, whose story is taken from daily life, such as *Kambing Jantan* by Raditya Dika, or *Laskar Pelangi* tetralogy by Andrea Hirata. According to Nico, he has spent reading all *Laskar Pelangi* books by Andrea Hirata, including the fourth series, *Mimpi-Mimpi Lintang*, *Maryamah Karpov*. When interviewed Nico aspired to become a doctor, the profession of his mother and father. However, though he aspires to be a doctor, he would never leaving his habit of reading comics or novel, not simply just spend the time to learn. For Nico, as long as there is spare time, reading is a choice of activities difficult to ignore. In addition to realist novel, Nico also said he likes reading *SLAM* magazine, a popular magazine exposing basket ball, the sport he likes.

Meanwhile, Sekartika's taste is more or less similar to that of Nico. According to her, she is interested in reading *Laskar Pelangi* and its sequel because the reading, besides popular, the story is considered good because it inspired her to continuously lit her spirit up. For Sekartika, reading *Laskar Pelangi*, in addition to entertaining, can also be used as a lesson for life. "Evoking the spirit", said Sekartika.

While the NIA, one of the students of international schools in the states of West Surabaya area during the time he tends not bound like a certain genre or a particular type of reading. NIA claimed to like different types of readings, both comic graphics, popular fiction novels, adventure novels, popular magazines, including the novel that many a story true story. According to Nia, a novel whose story comes from a true story, very challenging to read, because in addition to the case of strange, the story also makes him more easily carried away.

Interestingly, whatever the kind of preferred reading and even though the taste of each urban adolescents interviewed is different in choosing readings they favored and collected, it seemed that most of them generally favored and compelled to read current popular literature, read by a lot of their friends, and therefore they feel something is missing they you cannot engage in conversation with each other about certain popular readings. For informants, such as Grecia, Nadia, Nia, Rossa, Nico or the other, their taste for literature is diverse, tend to be widespread. However, like other urban teenagers, they usually also cannot let go their interest and curiosity to read popular novels. As they admitted, the popular novels are usually good and the story is interesting to read.

For them, both reading the novel and watching the movie are the same exciting, However, for some informants, sometimes the sensation of reading in some ways is even more profound and impressed. According to a number of informants, watching the movies and reading the story straight out of a novel in detail spoken language are two different things. Anggiat, Nadia, Nico, Rani, Sofyan, Rossa, Evelyn, Aga, Grecia, and other informants, when asked what their impression was when watching a movie adaptation of a certain popular novel, most commonly stated that the scenes in the movie tend were be spectacular, attractive and make it easier to obtain

visible description. However, according to some informants, by directly reading the novel, the impression gained about the nature and personality of the characters, what the character's mind, and other more qualitative aspects, are often more profound. When asked to imagine who and how the figure of the hero in the reading they like, it turned out that they provided different answer.

One informant imagined the hero, for example, as a male figure in a novel, not too much different from a singer of Korean boys band he likes; DBSK, Super Junior or the other, which, instead of a macho man, the hero looked instead like a metro-sexual male figure, well dressed, good-looking, calm, handsome and clean. Meanwhile, another informant, with her own mind, imagined that the figure of his favorite in a novel looked like her favorite friend at school. On the other hand, not infrequently, the informant imagined the hero is macho and cool figure, well-built with six pack abs. In fact, some informants claimed sometimes they imagine the characters are themselves.

Pleasure, imagination and entertainment are three appeals to urban youth that make them always use their spare time with reading activities. According to the results of the interview, it was known that urban teenagers usually take the time to read after coming home from school, when after all homework or other school assignments have been completed. One of the appealing activities to urban teens are reading books on outside of the school affairs. Most informants admitted they usually read graphic comics Manga or Avatar just to make their brain more relaxed. Most informants claimed they preferred reading popular fiction, romance, and some were reading magazine.

Reading for pleasure for urban youth is an activity which was considered as truly liberating, all-round fun, because, in addition to no compulsion, there is also no obligation whatsoever to be met, except for pleasure or excitement for themselves. On the sidelines of school recess, a number of informants also claim that they typically utilize their free time to read, while eating lunch. For informers who were following the story in a novel or other reading, they will usually rush as fast as possible to spend page after page, as driven by tremendous curiosity to know how the actual ending of the story. Even after school, without having to wait until arriving home, most informants sometimes resume reading in the car on the way home. Nadia, for example, admitted that she used to read in the car, without worrying to get sick from reading in a moving car. For Nadia, when she was intrigued by a story of a novel or an unfinished comic she read, then after school, on the way home, reading in the car is very encouraging after being saturated dealing with school tasks.

Urban teens who like to read do not necessarily buy and collect the readings. One mechanism that has been developed by urban youths to fulfill their desire to continue reading, besides borrowing from friends, is going to comic rentals that are well-spread in the city of Surabaya. By renting, clearly less expenses incurred. In Surabaya, there are plenty of book rentals for urban youths who wish to hire different types of readings. They offer not only comics, but also novels and popular magazines. A number of informants feel overwhelmed if they have to buy comics, which have thousands of types, then one of popular ways is to rent comics at the rental place. Rental rate of only Rp 500 to Rp 1,000 per book, or even Rp 2,000, certainly much cheaper than if they have to buy them, which require more than Rp 10 thousands each book.

In contrast to hiring, which needs special funds and special time as well, by borrowing among friends, they may enjoy a reading for free, so ration to buy another reading can be higher. Nadia, Maya, Nico, Miss, Della, Andre, Anisa, or Aga, for example, told a growing habit among their friends at school, that is exchanging readings so that they do not need to ask for money from parents to buy new reading every week. In the eyes of urban teens who love to read, fun friends are friends are those who have a hobby of reading and have a huge collection of readings to be interchangeable.

If calculated on average, the number readings spent by the urban youth per week is at least one, but can also be up to several books, and, if they read graphic comics, even dozens of volumes. To read the novel Edensor, written by Andrea Hirata, with relatively thick pages, Ajeng, one informant, admitted that she took more than one week. About some novels that have more than 300-500 pages, such as Twilight, Harry Potter, Empres Orchid, Magicians' Guild, Persekutuan Penyihir, which is the first volume of the trilogy, The Black Magician, popular works of Trudi Canavan, some informants claimed it took about a week, but some are complete less than three days. A number of informants always carry books to school, and read it constantly in every opportunity, whether at rest or while waiting for teacher turnover. They often only takes one or two days to finish reading thick popular novels. The more interesting the storyline of a novel, the more interested the urban youth to continue reading it until the ending of the story.

Rossa, for example, recounted her experience when reading Peter and the Starcatchers by Dave Barry and Ridley Pearson, which is a prequel to Peter Pan and is touted as one of the New York Times Best Sellers. It only took less than a day. In fact, the novel is 487 pages thick. However, because Rossa was very curious to know the contents of the story - why Captain Hook lost his hand, why Peter Pan remains a child forever - then she said she could not close her eyes overnight before the last page completed.

The same experience was also felt by Nadia when she was reading the third book of the trilogy *The Black Magician's* by Trudi Canavan *The Hight Lord, the Chief Warlock*. This novel, long-awaited by Nadia, was finally completed in in less than two days. After previously reading *Magician 'Guild, Witch Guild and The Novice, Black Magic Deadly Secrets*, she really had wondered for months waiting for the last volume of the trilogy, which is full of fantasy, magic, action, and the full-of-tension adventure of Sonea, the main character. Therefore, once the Trudi Canavan's third novel was seen sold at Scholastic, Nadia was enthusiastic to buy it, and then read it to its conclusion on Saturday and Sunday, after all her homeworks done.

According to a number of informants interviewed, it would take more time to read when the novels had no issue in Indonesian language. To read English novels, such as *Breaking Down, Playing with Fire, Tales of an Extraordinary Girl* by Gena Showalter, novels published by HQNBooks, *Cry Wolf* by Patricia Briggs, or novels by Eve Kenin, such as *Hidden and Driven*, it was not possible to complete in two weeks or more, despite there was informant who took only four days to spend reading *Breaking Down* or another English novel, but averagely required more time to read English novels.

Are idolized readings among urban teenagers always packed as popular reading by publishing industry? Is it true that urban adolescent tastes in terms of selecting the type of reading is the result of construction of power of popular mass culture? When a question is attempted to be studied further, the study found that the behavior of reading for pleasure that developed among urban youth is not always a result of the formation of industrial-strength construction or popular culture. This study found that the behavior of reading for pleasure that developed among urban adolescents in general can be divided into two groups, the youth group who are really addicted to read any kind of reading that they are interested in, and the youth group who love to read, but the reading choice usually just goes with the flow.

First, the informant group that belonged to readers who just go with the flow. They are a group of urban teens who read and choose the type of reading under heavy influence of offering and force of the publishing industries where they tend to read certain types of literature that was popular, both because of the influence of advertising support and other mass media, especially attractive Hollywood style movies, like *Harry Potter, Golden Compass, Twilight*, and the like or become a fan of Japanese Manga graphics comics, whose packaging becomes more trendy lately due to the support of the issuance of related animated movies.

A number of informants, such as Levina, Dicky, Rayhan, Maya or Anggiat, were urban adolescents belonged to the category of readers who tend to follow the taste of their friends or likes to read popular readings. When their friends discussed particular popular readings or novels, they usually become enthusiastic to also read them. However, after seeing that the popular reading had pages more than 500, their interest to read slowly faded in the middle of the road, at least they no longer enjoyed sentence by sentence and page by page, but read quickly, through the pages that were considered not important, because they generally have known the story. Levina, for example, said that when she read *Twilight*, with thickness up to 518 pages, from 24 chapters she claimed she only read only 5 chapters, considered as the most exciting. Levina admitted she was lazy, because she had seen the movie. Anggiat did the same thing. When he read English novel, which her friends said as interesting, such as *Hidden* by Kenin Eve, Anggiat admitted he only read certain pages describing eroticism; when the hero is making love.

Second, urban youths who are really addictive in reading, a group of urban adolescents who have diverse interests of various types of reading, no matter whether the reading was popular or not, because the main consideration for choosing is not popularity, but the desire for pleasure and as an alternative to activities that is personally exciting. Informants such as Nadia, Grecia, Nia, Rossa, Rani, Evelyn, Wendi and Nico, for example, in choosing interesting reading for them, they are not necessarily influenced by consideration of whether it is popular or not. Their taste on different types of readings is really fragmented or divided variously.

Nia, for example, has a unique taste. Although she said she was happy to read popular novel, she admitted she preferred true story novels or autobiography. She liked true stories about children who are victims of kidnapping, the story of certain figures, because the story was real. Whereas, Gracia said she liked historical stories and legends, such as the story of Robin Hood or Ivanhoe. Classic stories written in novels, according to Gracia, are interesting to read because she liked the setting of the past. Gracia, who once had been taken by her parents to have vacation to Europe, claimed to be familiar with the stories using the setting of historical European royal or legendary figures.

Among graphis comic fans, Rani's taste is rather unique. In contrast to her fellow female graphic comic fans, who usually likes reading Manga comics or other romantic-themed graphics, Rani actually claimed to like YAOI graphic comic - designation for the graphic comic theme with story about romance drama gay or lesbian. "I love reading YAOI comics, because the story is certainly different. I'm bored reading a guy dating a girl ", said Rani. Rani said she did not care, though some of her friends sometimes make fun of her weird taste, because most importantly that she does like the theme of the comics.

Meanwhile, Nadia confessed love to love reading Twilight, because they had romantic elements. However, she also liked to read teenlit novels, historical novels, Manga graphic comics and Korean graphic comic, Detective Conan criminal comic for children, popular magazines containing the celebrity gossip and boysband, and even she also liked to read Mahabharata comic. Nico admitted not too fond of reading popular literature, although it is a best seller and very popular because of the story is adapted into movie. Nico said he liked to read comics, and reading realistic novels, such as Laskar Pelangi by Andrea Hirata, Gadis Kembang Jepun by Remy Silado, and the like. For the urban youths, who are already addicted to reading, any kind of reading they will undoubtedly be able to enjoy. In fact, it is not uncommon when they feel bored reading teenlit novels, popular fiction novels or manga comics in Indonesian language, one alternative attractive for them is to go to the foreign-language bookstores, such as Periplus, buying some of the latest imported readings considered interesting, and then read them.

Among adolescents who really addicted to read, the activity of reading for pleasure that they develop in many ways is not determined by the available free time, but they actually play an active role to create free time (leisure), and even take advantage of every moment to read as part of their pleasure. Different from teenagers who only fond of reading popular books, their reading activity is mostly determined by available free time who. For readers like Nadia, Nia, Rossa, Evelyn, Nico, Grecia, Wendi, when they are reading, they are reading timelessly. Every hour of school break, while eating in the cafeteria, after learning for tomorrow's test, sitting in dentist's waiting room, taking parents or sibling to the doctor, in the car, and so forth, they are always reading and enjoying free time they created to finish the book reading or to start reading new book.

A number of interviewed informants said that when they are bored, waiting in line for flight departure or to dental care, for example, then the most powerful way to get rid of boredom is to continue reading activities, regardless of whether the people around them do, or talk about anything. All informants stated that if they will face a dull time, like waiting in line or at departure, for example, it should be better for them to prepare some readings to read. Although the free time available may be only one or two hours, or even less than one hour, the time would pass by faster when they are reading novels, magazines or comics. Several informants told about their experience, when they have to wait in line to the dentist or waiting for departure of aircraft up to an hour or more, but apparently they forgot not take readings, they felt is time is running like a snail: very slow, boring, and even some informants claim they sometimes had too grumpy, without knowing who is actually the target of their anger.

For urban adolescents who have already addicted to read, it does not matter whether the readings are a serial or not. Most importantly, they know how to do reading activity, and keep on reading. So, although the recently completed read is a book or readings that are non-serial, ends in one edition, they will quickly find new reading to reconnect their desire to continue reading. "Nandon" ("stockpiling") is one of the the usual terms used by a number of informants such as Nadia, Rossa, Nia, Nico or Wendi for describing habits to buy readings in some numbers, because they are afraid of running out of readings before they have time to go to the bookstore. Although sometimes the habit of "nandon" is questioned and scolded by their parents, informants such as Nadia, Nia, Rossa and others still do it because if all the readings already run out, and nothing else to do, they will be confused because not knowing what to do to kill their time.

For a number of informants, serial readings tend to be more tempting to continue to look for the next volumes until it ends. Addictive behaviors in reading usually increases when the reading is reading a comic series or a novel that is part of a trilogy, tetralogy and so on. Popular novel, such as Twilight, for example, according to Nadia, tend to continue attracting their interest to find the next volume as the part of Stephenie Meyer's tetralogy. Nadia stated she has a complete collection of tetralogies Twilight, New Moon, Eclipse and Breaking Dawn, and she had read all up to conclusion. Whereas, Rani, who likes reading Manga, stated every two day she checks the bookstore or kiosk to find out whether the latest volume of the comic she read has already been there. If, for example, all the comic series is complete at the bookstore, Rani usually chooses to buy all of them to avoid the possibility of running out of stock. Rani said she had to have a special message to Jakarta to get the particular comic which one of its volumes has already depleted in Surabaya.

Among teenagers who fond of reading for pleasure, besides bookstores and kiosks, one sources of referral which usually traced by the informants to meet their desires to read is the internet. Through the internet, they can not only downloading songs, videos or movies, but also stories that have not been published in Indonesian, or old interesting stories but not reprinted anymore. Nadia, for example, said that since internet network has been installed in her house, she had already downloaded stories for several times. Usually she downloads the stories within her activity doing school assignment or watching television, whether it be cartoons or animated films.

Although she was not totally addicted in reading as Nadia, she also admitted that she sometimes downloaded stories via the internet. As a student from out of town who stays in her relatives' house, Stefani said she did not do a lot of activities after school, except staying in her silent room. To fill the spare time in her room, in addition

to reading novels or comics, she sometimes search for news and download stories from the internet. Compared to reading novels or comics, story downloading through the internet is more of a hassle and it is less attractive, but some informants said that story downloading through the internet is one alternative that is worth to try. A number of informants interviewed admitted that their parents deliberately subscribe their children unlimited internet facilities, so that they can download freely whenever and whatever files.

One informant claiming that almost everyday opens the internet and downloads various types of reading, especially latest graphics comics, is Evelyn. In contrast to Stefani who download stories occasionally, Evelyn admitted that almost every day she always takes time to open up the internet on a computer that is connected to her room, either after school or before going to bed. During holidays, Evelyn said she is even capable to sit in front of computers, accessing internet from the morning up to the night. Incidentally, Evelyn's sister also loves to read, so they both together often surf the internet, looking for a story or latest graphic comic that can be downloaded.

During this time, message often spoken by the informants' parents is usually that how they can smartly divide their time between studies or school affairs and reading pleasure. The activity of reading for pleasure, in the eyes of the parents, is usually not seen as taboo, even they recommended it to their children, but it must be done proportionately. A number of informants stated that if they were too much, spend all the time just to read outside of school affairs reading, then forget about school work, then it is not likely they will get sanctions: banned for a certain time not allowed to buy readings, even the popular literature. Some informants who showed indications of excessive reading, usually will get a warning or sanction from their parents. However, because they are totally addicted to reading, reprimands and sanctions usually does not make them give up. In fact, it makes them more curious to keep reading and reading.

5. Conclusion

The study, as reported, have successfully mapped the problematic situation arising in relation to the development of the culture industry, the lifestyle and behavior of reading for pleasure among urban adolescents. In contrast to the view of Frankfurt School and the Postmodern Theory that views the power of cultural industry and the influence of capitalism, which is dominating the tastes of the consumers, this study found that, despite various pressures and attractive offers of cultural industries through mass media, urban youths still have freedom and space to interpret their own volition, needs and desires on reading they prefer. For teens who are really addictive read, they are not only able to play an active role to create and build free time according to their own perception, but they are also able to choose and make their own alternative in developing taste in reading among their peer-group members. In more detail, the principal findings of this study are:

First, the behavior of reading for pleasure developing among urban adolescents are not always the result of the formation of popular culture industrial power. The behaviors of reading for pleasure among urban adolescents in general can be divided into two groups, the pseudo-addictive readers and real-addictive readers. The definition of pseudo-addictive readers are a group of urban teens who read and choose the type of reading influenced much by the process of capitalist cultural commodification in which they tend to like to read certain types of popular literature, both because of the influence of advertising support and other mass media, especially attractive Hollywood-style movies, such as Harry Potter, Golden Compass, Twilight, and the like. While the definition of real-addictive readers are a group of urban teenagers who are totally addicted to reading, not limited to whether the selected reading was popular or not, because the most important consideration is not because they want to make reading as only a means of capital, or "ticket " to enter in the milieu of urban youth, but rather that they are driven by the desire for pleasure and find alternative activities that are personally exciting.

Urban youth groups that fall into the category of real-addictive readers are often a trend-setter among their peer-group. They become a reference and they recommend which readings are interesting and which ones are less attractive. This study found that taste and flavor of urban adolescent readers, including real-addictive category, is usually fragmented, diverse, very open, and sustainable. They are not fond of reading certain types or just one type of reading, because in reality they are actually expanding selection of various types of reading to any literature, both popular fiction novels, teenlit novels, historical novels or legends, adventure novels, comics, both manual and graphics , or magazines, because in their mind reading activities are actually considered the most enjoyable activity compared to other pleasure activities, such as watching movies, playing with friends, watching TV or sleeping. Whenever there is free time, they generally will use it to read. Urban adolescents belonging to real-addictive reader are usually happy and intensely hunting various types of readings, and get addicted to the series, be it serial comic or graphic novels in the form of trilogy, tetralogy and so on. Meanwhile, the taste and flavor of urban adolescents, which belong to pseudo-addictive readers, are usually temporary, such as consumers' appetite to cultural products, which is always changing and more determined by the instantaneous nature of growing trend. This study found that a pseudo-addictive teenage readers will usually tend to be

overwhelmed when they are faced with the thicker and serial readings, because, in their mind, they are not outdated, and still keep well-informed on popular literature. The problem whether they actually spent the time reading popular but thick books is another matter. This is in contrast with real-addictive readers, who usually just enjoy every page, and in fact will continue to hunt for other reading related to their favorite reading. Meanwhile, real-addictive urban youth readers, the activity of reading for pleasure is not determined by the available free time, but they actually play an active role to create free time (leisure), and even take advantage of every moment to read as part of the pleasure activities. Meanwhile, for pseudo-addictive urban youth readers, their reading for pleasure activities generally depends on free-time availability. As found in this study, most teens classified as real-addictive reader always take advantage of every opportunity, such as school breaks, in doctor's waiting room, waiting course hour, was in the car, and even when they are about to have a test at school, they always use the time to read or continue reading new books. Meanwhile, for teens who read merely to follow the trend, they usually only read when the free time is actually available, and they are also vulnerable to the temptation or the solicitation of their peer-group to do other activities outside reading.

Second, the development and commodification of popular culture, especially mass production of certain readings that are popular to consumers or audiences, although proven to stimulate the emergence of reading behavior among urban adolescents, do not necessarily construct the taste and flavor of the reader, which neither can be predicted as desired by capitalism. In selecting favored reading, urban adolescents still have a room to choose according to their personal needs and desires. Urban real-addictive adolescent readers are not always affected to choose popular readings, but they could develop their own tastes and preferences when they found joy and pleasure in certain types of reading, although the readings are not new anymore. In other words, the taste of urban adolescents in choosing the type of reading is not always constructed or shaped by the power of the culture industry through a process of commodification of popular culture, but it is also influenced by variations in day-to-day life experiences to broaden horizons, and to provide more diverse alternatives to the urban youths. New experiences beyond the routine of life, the opportunity to go to the world with different people and traditions is often able to stimulate the growth of diverse interests that came out from the influence of culture industry.

5. 1. Theoretical Implication

From the results of in-depth study in the field, this study found that among urban teenagers, most of whom are actually including in a group of readers whose taste is the result of the construction of culture industry and popular culture. They are the type of reader who looks addictive, as if always hunting reading and enjoying free time to read, but they are actually a type of quasi-addictive reader (pseudo-addictive), because of what they read and the intensity they read are actually only temporary: just to be a tool, capital and ticket for them to enter the social environment with their peer-group, to prevent impression of having limited social life, and they can get along with their friends. Urban teenagers who fall into this category virtually have distorted needs and desires, their emotions and sensitivity are vulnerable to be manipulated for the sake of misleading economic exploitation, fantasy and dreams that often offered by the power of capitalism.

Table 2. Difference between pseudo-addictive and real-addictive readers

Aspects	Pseudo-Addictive Readers	Real-Addictive Readers
Taste on reading	Tend to be predominated and become victim of cultur comodification process	Fragmented and still have freedom to choose the type of reading they like
Synergistic consumption behavior	Tend to consume reading and various related merchandise	Limiting merchandise consumption, consuming the reading more
Role	Tend to follow the trend	<i>Trend setter</i>
Time and space choice	Passive, reading activity depends on available free time	Actively create spare time for reading

However, it should be noted that this study also found that among urban adolescents the taste in selecting readings is not necessarily determined completely by and as the result of construction of cultural industrial strength. Not a few urban youths who are real-addictive readers, real readers for pleasure who enjoy reading page by page (joyfull reading), have the freedom to choose the preferred type of reading, without having to stuck in market ideological appeal offered by capitalism.

Thus, in contrast to Frankfurt School and Postmodern theory, which view that mass culture always encourages commercialization and consumerism, as well as tend to silence contrasting sound, taste and flavor because they are regarded as discouraging spirit and making consumers become passive. This study found within certain limits that real-addictive teen readers can actually be able to offer a counterpoint or alternative in reading taste and choice to neighboring peer-groups because their positions are regarded as trend-setter.

Although in certain extent the taste of urban adolescents may have been successfully constructed, this study shows it does not mean that the real readers will always act, select particular reading in accordance to that constructed and predicted. The real-addictive teenage readers can also be understood through their resistance against the forces of capitalism that is trying to construct them with the power of advertising and culture commodification - even though there is no guarantee it will always work in every occasion and time.

Denying consumption passivity here does not mean to deny that sometimes consumption is passive. Denying that pop culture consumers are not victim of cultural fraud does not mean to deny that at times we can all be victims of fraud. Rather, it is to deny that pop culture is not more than a degraded culture, which is always imposed from above, to reap benefits and to guarantee ideological control. Storey (2007) wrote that it is necessary to distinguish between the power of the culture industry and the power of influence, because they are too often confused, but they are not always the same.

What was found in this study seems to be best explained by the concept and analysis of Barker (2004) on "contract" between the reader and the text, which is based on a dialogue between the two. A contract involves an understanding that a text would speak to us in ways that we know. This agreement will enter into a dialogue with us. And, the dialogue, with their reliable elements and form, will relate to most aspects of our lives in society. Barker stated: (1) that the media could only impose power over the audience until the level where there is no "contract" anymore between the text and the audience, which is attributed to a number of specific aspects of public social life; (2) the power and direction of the effect is one of function of the characteristics of socially institutionalized audience, and emerged from the fulfillment of the contract; and (3) therefore the power of ideology (especially the cultural industry) is not singular, but rather actually have variations according to the nature of the contract. Barker stated, if all comics, media, and other readings involves dialogue between the text and the reader, then studying one party without studying the other one is similar to listening to one side of a telephone conversation without the role of the speaker (see: Strinati, 2007: 290-291).

In other words, Barker underscores that what is called cultural products and the power of the ideology of capitalism is essentially not always single, but really varied, so we must understand that even the predominant ideology is actually something dialogic. This, Chris Barker's idea about the contract between the reader and the text, according to Strinati (2007), should be recognized as a useful way to understand the relationship between audiences with popular culture. This idea does not remove all the influence and power of the culture industry and the ideology of capitalism as a cultural opiate, but it also does not sink into a celebration of freedom for consumers, in this case the reader, to choose the type of culture and reading whatever they want.

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