Reflection of Religious Practices of Indonesian Society in Joko Pinurbo's Poetry

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis ruang kosong dalam empat puisi-puisi Joko Pinurbo dengan teori resepsi Iser, terutama konsep *unbesthimmheit* (ruang kosong), yang dapat diisi dengan cara memaknai teks berdasarkan *repertoire* pembaca. Metode penelitian deskriptif kualitatif. Analisis dilakukan dengan mengidentifikasi repertoire, ruang kosong, mengisi ruang kosong, aktualisasi makna, dan menafsirkan efek estetik. Hasil penelitian berupa: 1) wujud visual, titimangsa, dan diksi merupakan petunjuk yang merujuk pada repertoire, yakni praktik beragama di Indonesia tahun 2015-2016, 2) ruang kosong berupa ambiguitas metafora dan ketiadaan penjelasan relasi sebab akibat dalam teks, 3) ruang kosong diisi dengan konflik SARA dan polarisasi identitas, terutama kasus Ahok dan Meiliana sebagai terdakwa penistaan agamar, 4) penafsiran estetik berupa refleksi praktik beragama yang terjebak pada ritus sehingga rentan terhadap intoleransi, solusinya ialah aktualisasi cinta kasih terhadap sesama.

Kata Kunci: Joko Pinurbo, ruang kosong, repertoar, praktik beragama

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the empty space in Joko Pinurbo's poetries with Iser's reception theory, especially the concept of *unbesthimmheit* (empty space), which can be filled by interpreting the text based on the reader's *repertoire*. The research method is descriptive qualitative. The analysis is carried out by identifying the repertoire, empty space, filling the empty space, actualizing meaning, and interpreting the aesthetic effect. The results of the study are: 1) visual form, titimangsa, and diction are clues that refer to the repertoire, namely religious practices in Indonesia in 2015-2016, 2) empty space in the form of metaphorical ambiguity and the absence of explanation of causal relations in the text, 3) empty space is filled with SARA conflicts and identity polarization, especially the case of Ahok and Meiliana as defendants in blasphemy, 4) aesthetic interpretation in the form of reflection on religious practices that are trapped in rituals so that they are vulnerable to intolerance, the solution is the actualization of love for others.

Keywords: Joko Pinurbo, empty space, repertoire, religious practises

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Introduction

Literature is a social institution that uses language as its medium of delivery (Damono, 1979). Poetry, as one of the genres of literary works, is an expression of experience in the form of utterances that consider the sound aspect; meter (Sayuti, 2002; Alternberd & Lewis, 1966). In this case, the poems of Joko Pinurbo (Jokpin) are one of the literary works that always have a place in Indonesian society because of his skill in presenting everyday experiences, but philosophically while still maintaining the sound aspect, *sehingga saya tahu/bahwa sumber segala kisah adalah kasih/bahwa ingin berawal dari angan/bahwa ibu tak pernah kehilangan iba/bahwa segala yang baik akan berbiak* ("Kamus Kecil", Buku Latihan Tidur, 2017).

Hasan Aspahani called it the freshest and most widely fancied work (Taum, 2016), in line with Jokpin's purpose in writing, "… *bisa dinikmati oleh siapapun termasuk orang awam, tetapi setelah dibaca berulang-ulang, orang akan berpikir bahwa maknanya tidak sesederhana yang tersurat."* (Anindita, 2017). This goal was then achieved, as seen from the various awards Jokpin received as well as scientific studies on his poems, such as analysis of body construction in the poetry books Celana and Di Bawah Kibaran Sarung (Rahariyoso, 2017), understanding death (Azhari, 2014), the figure of the mother (Marahayu, 2019), discussion obout norm strata (Wardani, dkk, 2025), analysis of existentialist anxiety (Taum, 2016), and expressive meaning of poetic religiosity in Doa Malam (Murtini, Sudiatmi, & Septiari, 2025).

However, these studies tend to position religious and spiritual dimensions as individual experiences or metaphysical symbols, rather than as religious practices involved with the social and cultural life of society. In other words, reflections on religiosity as everyday practices presented through simple language, irony, doubt, and the figure of an ordinary person (e.g. Tukang Bakso/the Meatball Seller in "Pemeluk Agama") have not been the focus of explicit and in-depth analysis.

Furthermore, this research is important considering Indonesia's pluralistic context, yet still far from pluralism, as society easily slips into various ethnicity-based conflicts and identity polarization. In a situation where religion is often understood normatively, formally, and exclusively, Jokpin's poems instead present religious practices that are everyday, humane, and open to ambiguity. By borrowing the view that religion exists not only as a doctrinal system, but also as a cultural practice that is lived, negotiated, and questioned in everyday life, this research positions poetry as a medium for ethical and spiritual reflection that is relevant for a pluralistic society. Thus, this research not only fills a gap in literary studies but also contributes to a broader discourse on how literature can open alternative perspectives on religiosity amidst potential conflict and social polarization, especially at crucial moments such as the ongoing general and presidential elections.

Therefore, this study focuses on the theme of spirituality in four of Jokpin's poems: "Pemeluk Agama," "Misal," "Pisau," and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus," which are included in the book *Latihan Tidur* (2017). These four poems are like a doorway to spiritual awareness. An awareness that gives readers pause to reflect on the spiritual values they believe in. Is it true that belief in religious values has guided us to remain within the

corridor as believers who are not only devout to God, but also to humanity? This concern will be explored by the researcher as a reader through Iser's reception theory.

According to Iser, a literary work only has meaning when it is read (Newton, 1997), that is, when the text communicates with the reader (Abrams, 1953). A literary work is not a finished work of art but rather a dynamic event that occurs through the reader's involvement (Iser, 1978, 1972; Thomas, 1982;Riquelme, 2000; Harkin, 2005; Junus in Padmopuspito, 1993). The process of producing meaning actually occurs when the reader concretizes the text he encounters. Iser views literary works as having two poles, namely artistic (the author's text) and aesthetic (the understanding achieved by the reader), between which there is a gap or empty space.

The text is left empty, filled with gaps, or contradictory cues. However, this is not a flaw, but rather a space that invites the reader to actively participate in interpreting the text using their own imagination and experience. This means that empty space can be understood as the text's way of directing the reader's reaction to approach it (the text) (Marwata, 1997). Iser calls this empty space *Unbesthimmheit*.

When faced with blank space, readers attempt to fill that blank space by reviewing*repertoire* that he has, namely the extra textual reality (Iser, 1987) or a system of literary and non-literary conventions, norms, and values that form the relationship between literary texts and non-literary systems such as politics, religion, and philosophy in a particular society, which also bridges the gap between fiction and society (Zima, 1999). It is this repertoire that referred to as the background of the text and the reader's "guide" (Sadjadi, 2017; Alternbernd & Leslie, 1966). This suggests that that literary works are not born in a cultural vacuum (Teeuw, 1984). The readers Iser refers to are implied readers, readers who are guided by the text itself and assumed by the author to respond to the text in a certain way, and actual readers, readers who receive certain mental images in the reading process, so that the meaning will be colored by their own repertoire (Selden, Widdowson, & Brooker, 2005). This then gives rise to various interpretations of the text. In this study, the researcher is a reader who plays the role of an actual reader.

Based on the explanation above, this study aims to explore four of Jokpin's poems using Iser's reception theory, especially the concept of unbesthimmheit (empty space) between text and reader and the concept of repertoire. Therefore, the research question can be formulated as, how is the empty space in the poems "Pemeluk Agama," "Misal," "Pisau," and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus,"by Joko Pinurbo.

Methodology

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method that seeks to understand the phenomena experienced by the research subjects, such as behavior, perception, motivation, actions, and others (Moleong, 2007). The material objects of this research are four poems by Joko Pinurbo: "Pemeluk Agama", "Misal", "Pisau", and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus" contained in the book Latihan Tidur (2017). The formal object is Wolfgang Iser's reception theory, especially the concepts of empty space and repertoire. The stages of this research begin with determining the research object, data identification, data collection, data classification, data analysis, and drawing conclusions. The research data consists of primary data in the form of four poetry texts and secondary data in the form of other texts that support the research.

The data collection method was through literature study and data were collected using reading and note-taking techniques. Data analysis was carried out through five stages. First, identification of the text's repertoire, namely the researcher identified elements that are familiar and recognizable in the poem including everyday vocabulary, cultural symbols, social norms, and spiritual references that form the background of the text's emergence. Second, the exploration of empty spaces, namely the process of identifying parts of the text that do not provide a final meaning and open to various interpretations, for example metaphorical ambiguity, imagery contradictions, irony, and the lack of explanation of causal relationships.

Third, filling in the empty space, namely the stage where the text "calling" the researcher to fill in the meaning in the previously empty space. Fourth, actualization of meaning. In this fourth stage, the researcher becomes an active subject who is directed to show the possibilities of meaning opened by the text through the process of constructing, revising, and negotiating meaning based on the available textual clues. Fifth, interpretation of the aesthetic effect (the reader's reflective process), namely the process of interpreting the researcher's reflective experience, in this case the reader), when faced with the empty space of the text that triggers the presence of ethical, existential, or spiritual contemplation. Thus demonstrating the contribution of poetry as a philosophical reflection on life, especially in the context of religious practices in everyday life.

Results

This study found that the poems "Pemeluk Agama", "Misal", "Pisau", and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus" present an empty space that creates distance between the text and the reader. By following the analysis stages, the researcher first identified the repertoire which focused on the visual form (typography, line arrangement, enjambement/line skipping, and punctuation/punctuation), the time signature, and the diction (symbols and metaphors) present in the text. All three are considered as textual clues that refer to a specific extratextual reality, namely religious practices in Indonesia, which serve as the background or setting for the emergence of the text.

The typography of the poems shows similarities, especially in the writing of God which is presented with capital letters at the beginning of -Ku and -Mu: "*… dan wartakanlah pelukan-Ku …*" (*"Pemeluk Agama", Latihan Tidur, p.38), "… dan membukakan pintu untuk-Ku …*" (*"Misal", Latihan Tidur, p.42), "Ia membungkus pisau dengan namaMu …*" (*"Pisau", Latihan Tidur, p.42).* In addition, the enjambment or line jumps in the four poems are also similar, namely written in the form of a jump to a new line for each sentence.

The time signature/dateline of these four poems is an indication that the religious practice in Indonesia referred to as the repertoire is the year 2015-2016. This is then further strengthened by the diction that appears in the four poems which has the same tone, namely *membakar, menyegel, merusak, menjual, pisau, melukai, orang gila baru, pisau, mencaci, kelahi, dikit-dikit marah dan ngambek, dikit-dikit senggol dan bacok*, becoming a marker of the situation of religious practice in Indonesia in the period 2015-2016.

The empty spaces found are metaphorical ambiguities and the lack of causal explanations. Meanwhile, the empty spaces are filled and the meaning is actualized by

exploring the extratextual realities surrounding major events that occurred in Indonesia around 2015-2016, such as the indictment of Ahok and Meiliana on charges of blasphemy.

This research found that Jokpin's four poems also present a path of reflection by offering hope through the actualization of care, love, and affection, as the diction that appears, namely *memeluk*, *merindukan pelukanmu, rumahmu, membukakan pintu, berdoa, balsem, bahagia adalah memasuki hatimu/yang lapang dan sederhana./Hati yang seluas cakrawala*. So that religious practice is not just a ritual, but is lived through loving actions towards others.

The results of the study are divided into two sub-chapters of discussion, namely Repertoire in Joko Pinurbo's four poems which discusses repertoire to the actualization of meaning and Religious Reflection as the Interpretation of Texts which contains the interpretation of aesthetic effects, which refers to Iser's opinion that the production of meaning only occurs when the reader concretizes the text, namely changing the potential meaning in the text into a meaningful experience for the reader.

Discussion

Repertoire in Four Poems by Joko Pinurbo

Based on the analysis results, the researcher as an actual reader finds certain images when dealing with the text so that the meaning is influenced by its own repertoire (Selden, Widdowson, & Brooker, 2005). Visual form (in this case, especially typography and enjambment), titimangsa, and diction (symbols and metaphors) are indications that the four poems have the same repertoire. First, the repertoire or the extra textual reality (Iser, 1978) of the four poems is religious practice in Indonesia.

> *… dalam doaku yang khusyuk …* (*"*Pemeluk Agama", Latihan Tidur, p.38)

> *… dan kau sedang khusyuk berdoa …* ("Misal", Latihan Tidur, p.42)

> *Ia membungkus pisau dengan namaMu.*
> *Ia ingin melukai Kau dengan melukaiku.* ("Pisau", Latihan Tidur, p.42)

> *… saban hari giat sembahyang …* ("Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus", Latihan Tidur, p.33)

Second, through the time period present in each poem, these four poems represent the situation of religious practice in Indonesia during the period 2015-2016. "Pemeluk Agama" has a time period of 2015, while "Misal", "Pisau", and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus" have a time period of 2016. In addition, the diction and metaphors present in the texts are an indication of the religious situation at that time. This is in line with Zima's statement that repertoire can be a system of literary and non-literary conventions, norms, and values that form a relationship between literary texts and non-literary systems (in this case religious practice) in a particular society, which also bridges the gap between fiction and society (1999).

> *tapi Aku lihat kamu ga pernah memeluk/Kamu malah menyegel, membakar, merusak,*
> *menjual agama* (*"Pemeluk Agama", Latihan Tidur, p.38)*

The words **memeluk, menyegel, membakar, merusak,** and **menjual** there stand as metaphors that assume religion is like an object that can experience all of these verbs.

> *Misalkan Aku datang ke rumahmu*
> *Dan kau sedang khusyuk berdoa*
> *Akankah kau keluar dari doamu*
> *Dan membukakan pintu untukKu?*
> ("Misal", Latihan Tidur, p.42)

The word **rumahmu** is a metaphor for si Kau implying that Aku, who stand as God, come to meet you, a servant. Then, **doa** above is assumed to be a space or place that encompasses si Kau. This is followed by the metaphor of **pintu** as the self. However, **pintu** there is paired with **membukakan**, so the text contains the meaning of providing assistance to Me. However, is it possible for Me as God to ask for help from You (the servant)? What is meant by **membukakan pintu untukKu** is providing assistance to servants or humans, which will be "accepted" by Me, God, as assistance to Him. Therefore, the poem can then be read as an attempt to invite readers to reflect on their spiritual practices so far, if someone asks for help while the You is praying, will the You be willing to stop their worship temporarily to provide it? Will it have manifested in daily practice or slipped into a ritual. The last line also shows that there is a misunderstanding of the ontology of worship, namely by reducing it to the activities of prayer and worship alone. Helping others is not seen as a social piety that has worship value.

> *Ia membungkus pisau dengan namaMu.*
> *Ia ingin melukai Kau dengan melukaiku* ("Pisau", Latihan Tidur, p.42)

Pisau is a metaphor for all acts of harm. The incident of **membungkus pisau dengan namaMu** represents an attempt to harm others in the name of religion/God. This is then reinforced by the next line, **ingin melukai Kau dengan melukaiku** which emphasizes that hurting others is the same as hurting God and shaming religion. This is in line with Prasetyo's (2023) statement that *"Humans are perceived as part of His verses which are essentially at a loss or in vain if they waste their time just to fulfill their own desires or ego … "* (p.67). Thus, what actually happens is that **pisau** is then directed and hurts religion/God, which was the reason for the first incident.

> *saban hari giat sembahyang*
> *Habis sembahyang terus mencaci*
> *Habis mencaci sembahyang lagi*
> *Habis sembahyang ngajak kelahi*
> ("Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus", Latihan Tidur, p.33)

Unlike the previous three poems, the fourth poem appears without figurative language. This poem depicts an ambivalent act: a passionate devotion to prayer while

simultaneously cursing and fighting with the truth, as the poem successfully portrays both spiritual and immoral acts perceived as genuine human actions. Therefore, the ambivalent act above is considered normal. It's okay to hurt others as long as one continues to pray.The metaphor is present in the poem's title, **balsam.** Balsem or balm has become a part of Indonesian culture. It is used to relieve and treat minor ailments such as colds, headaches, and even insect bites. Balm provides a warming effect. The balm in Jokpin's poem refers to the figure of Gus Mus's ability to create a warming effect amidst a chaotic religious situation. Furthermore, it can be interpreted that this poem is expected to bring warmth to readers. This underscores Jokpin's efforts to contribute to addressing social issues through literature.

If we examine the religious situation in Indonesia between 2015 and 2016, we find that those years were among the worst in Indonesian history. Religious sentiments surged, followed by various mass movements that tended to use violence to address religious issues. Not only mass movements, but the government also played a significant role in curbing intolerance among religious communities, through legal instruments and practices.

The annual report of the Social Progress Imperative, an international non-profit organization, shows that intolerance in Indonesia increased between 2014 and 2017, particularly religious intolerance (Gerintya, 2018). 2014 and 2016 were political years. In 2014, the presidential election was held, and in 2016, the election was held.was the preparation period for the 2017 simultaneous regional elections. In both occasions, religious issues became one of the campaign weapons to bring down political opponents.

The Setara Institute also recorded an increase in violations of religious freedom in 2015, with 197 incidents and 236 forms of action, significantly more than the previous year. Violations were not only committed by individuals but also by state institutions, such as local governments, which banned the celebration of holidays, policies and regulations that incite hatred, and prohibitions on the construction of houses of worship (Setara Institute, 2015). This demonstrates that religious intolerance is also fueled by the government, which should be the enforcer of the protection of citizens' rights.

The United States Embassy and Consulates in Indonesia (2016) released the 2016 International Religious Freedom Report, which contains several important notes, namely First, Ahok, the Governor of Jakarta, was charged with blasphemy for insulting the Quran. Second, the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam for the first time implemented Sharia law against non-Muslim citizens. Third, Ahmadiyah followers often report incidents of detention and forced conversion, forced evictions, acts of discrimination, and the closure of places of worship. In two other cases, namely the eviction of Ahmadiyah followers on Bangka Island and the destruction of monasteries and temples in Tanjung Balai, the government has taken steps to handle it, unfortunately not all cases can be resolved. In several cases, the government and police at the regional level seemed to bow to the demands of mass organizations such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Islamic Community Forum (FUI), the Islamic Jihad Front (FJI), and the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MJI) to close houses of worship belonging to minority religious groups on the grounds of violating permits or violating ownership rights (Kedutaan Besar dan Konsulat AS di Indonesia, 2016).

Based on data on religious issues throughout 2015-2016, two cases have had a significant impact on the social situation in Indonesia, such as the emergence of mass movements: the Ahok and Meiliana cases. These two cases share several similarities: Ahok and Meiliana, who were named as perpetrators in this case, are non-Muslims, both of Chinese descent, and the cases are related to blasphemy. Ahok was charged with

blasphemy due to his statement regarding Surah Al-Maidah verse 51, which is often used as a campaign tool. Meanwhile, Meiliana was charged for her complaint about the loud sound of the call to prayer. These two cases have resurfaced religious sentiment. The Ahok case gave rise toThe 411 and 212 Actions resulted in Ahok's defeat in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election. Then on May 9, 2017, Ahok was sentenced to two years in prison for blasphemy.

This proves that religious issues shape Indonesia's political landscape. Joko Pinurbo (2019, p.6) also said the same thing, *"In many cases, religion is often used as a vehicle for short-term interests by partisans who rely on negative fanaticism."* Meanwhile, in the case of Meiliana, a group of people vandalized and burned six Buddhist temples and a Chinese temple in Tanjung Balai (BBC.COM, 2016). Meiliana was sentenced to 1.5 years in prison.

The verses in the poem "Misal", *Akankah kau keluar dari doamu/Dan membukakan pintu untukKu?* dan "Pisau" *Ia membungkus pisau dengan namaMu. Ia ingin melukai Kau dengan melukaiku* (Latihan Tidur, p.42) present a social situation where the activity of praying is intertwined with moral issues. The situation in the poem brings back memories of the incident with Meilina and the mosque speaker. Just as the act of *sembahyang-lalu mencaci-sembahyang-lalu kelahi* in the poem "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus" brings back memories of the burning of a house of worship.

Religious Reflection as the Interpretation of Texts

Mangunwijaya in Isnaini and Lestari (2022) stated that *"In the beginning, all literature is religious."* This quote represents the power generated by these four poems, namely contemplation that produces deep reflection on religious practices. This is in line with Iser's opinion that the process of meaning production does not occur within the text itself, but when the reader concretizes the potential meaning offered by the text in the reading process (1978). Therefore, based on the analysis at the stage of interpreting the aesthetic effect or the researcher's reflective experience, this poetic text not only presents the situation in Indonesia, but also hopes for that practice, which are depicted in the following lines.

> *Akhir-akhir ini banyak*
> *orang gila baru berkeliaran, Gus.*
> *… kita sih hepi-hepi saja, Gus*
> *ngeteh dan ngebul di beranda*
> *bersama khong guan isi rengginang.*
> ("Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus", Latihan Tidur, p.33)

The word of **Kita** in the lines above, he compares himself to **orang gila baru**, namely those who **sembahyang tapi masih mencaci dan kelahi,** yang *dikit-dikit marah dan ngambek/*yang *dikit-dikit senggol bacok,* yang *hati kagak ada rendahnya/kepala kagak ada ademnya.*. The text also emphasizes that a Gus Mus who understands religion, never causes chaos in the name of religion. This is where the hope arises that religious practice as a religious person should be manifested in **lapang dan sederhana,** *kita sih hepi-hepi saja, Gus/ngeteh dan ngebul di beranda/bersama khong guan isi rengginang.* The magnitude of this hope is depicted in the lines *bahagia adalah memasuki hatimu/yang lapang dan sederhana./Hati yang seluas cakrawala.* The figure of Gus Mus is not only an example of a good person, he is even

the definition of happiness itself. This emphasizes that being a religious person is being a broad, simple, and warm person who brings happiness to others, like Gus Mus. This hope is also present in the poem "Pemeluk Agama"

> *Tuhan memelukku dan berkata,*
> *"Pergilah dan wartakanlah pelukanKu.*
> *Agama sedang kedinginan dan kesepian.*
> *Dia merindukan pelukanmu."*

Dia merindukan pelukanmu emphasizes that social piety is more desired by God, namely you who become an extension of God's love, you who embrace those who need help, you who are present among those in difficulty. The situation in the poem can be interpreted as meaning that kindness towards others is actually good for religion and God. The poem shows a very explicit hope, that in the midst of a social situation that *chaos,* what is needed is not to feel that you are the most correct, but to present that truth in social behavior.These four poems imply that understanding religion simply by performing religious rituals is not enough to make us religious. Caring, love, and compassion for others can fulfill this.

Jokpin's poems do not provide systematic philosophical answers, but invite readers to reflect on religious practices through experiences and questions that seem simple, but difficult to answer, "*… benar kamu pemeluk agama?"* ("Pemeluk Agama")*, "… akankah kau keluar dari doamu/dan membukakan pintu untuk-Ku?* ("Misa"), "*… apa maunya?/maunya apa?"* ("Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus")*.* Daily religious practices are discussed philosophically not because the language is abstract, but because Jokpin's poems shake the way readers view worship as a ritual and force them to look again at the meaning of religious and spiritual life from unexpected angles.

Conclusion

Based on the research results, it can be concluded that the empty space is in the form of metaphorical ambiguity and the absence of causal explanation in the poems "Pemeluk Agama", "Misal", "Pisau", and "Sajak Balsem untuk Gus Mus". This empty space must be filled in order to create the production of meaning in the text. Identification of the repertoire of visual forms (typography, line arrangement, enjambement/line jumps, and punctuation/punctuation), titimangsa, and diction (symbols and metaphors) shows that the four poems have the same repertoire, namely religious practices in Indonesia in the period 2015-2016. The filling of the empty space and the actualization of meaning refers to the repertoire that resulted in several SARA conflicts and identity polarization in Indonesia, namely the case of Ahok and Meiliana who were charged with blasphemy, which changed the political map and socio-cultural life of Indonesia to date. In addition, the repertoire and actualization of the meaning of poetry have enabled researchers to produce meanings that are produced through the process of concretizing meaning in the reading process. The result is a reflection on religious practices that are trapped in rituals and offers solutions by actualizing a life full of love for others as part of religious practice itself. The results of this study can also open the door to further research, specifically the use of Joko Pinurbo's poems as teaching materials on pluralism in Indonesia. This way, poetry becomes more than just aesthetic entertainment or exclusive reading for a

select group, but also provides benefits and education, thus providing value to the community that owns it.

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