

Islamic Book Publishing in Indonesia in the Cultural Industry Perspective

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Abstrak

Buku merupakan jendela ilmu pengetahuan yang di dalamnya terkandung representasi beragam ideologi. Buku dengan konten Islami menjadi salah satu jenis buku yang mendominasi ruang baca di Indonesia. Buku berkonten Islami menjadi jembatan untuk mengkomunikasikan beragam ideologi, aliran, purifikasi agama, sosial, politik, ekonomi dalam pandangan Islam. Buku-buku tersebut membawa pengaruh yang signifikan dalam kehidupan masyarakat. Penelitian ini akan menguraikan perkembangan penerbitan buku Islami dimulai dari era 70 an, 80 an, dan masa reformasi sampai sekarang. Data diperoleh dari studi dokumen dalam bentuk artikel, buku, dan pemberitaan di media massa. Hal lain yang menarik adalah munculnya kekuatan aktor, fenomena buku terjemahan gratis yang disponsori beberapa negara dan kaitan antara industri buku yang berafiliasi dengan ideologi keagamaan tertentu. Menggunakan kerangka kritik industri budaya dari Theodore Adorno, data penelitian ditelaah dan dibahas. Kritik Adorno tentang industri budaya dalam industri penerbitan buku Islami di Indonesia mendapatkan kesesuaiannya. Meskipun demikian dalam tekanan industri budaya masih muncul karya-karya bermutu yang menjadi pembatal dari asumsi-asumsi kritik Adorno.

Kata kunci : komunikasi, Islam, buku, konten, industri budaya

Abstract

Books are windows of knowledge in which there are representations of various ideologies. Books with Islamic content are one of the types of books that dominate reading rooms in Indonesia. Books with Islamic content become a bridge to communicate various ideologies, sects, religious purification, social, political, economic views of Islam. These books have had a significant impact on people's lives. This research will describe the development of Islamic book publishing starting from the era of the 70s, 80s, and the reformation period until now. Data were obtained from document studies in the form of articles, books, and reports in the mass media. Another interesting thing is the emergence of the power of actors, the phenomenon of free translation books sponsored by several countries and the link between the book industry which is affiliated with certain religious ideologies. Using Theodore Adorno's cultural industry critique framework, research data are analyzed and discussed. Adorno's critique of the cultural industry in the Islamic book publishing industry in Indonesia finds it appropriate. However, under pressure from the culture industry, quality works still emerge which invalidate Adorno's critical assumptions.

Keywords: communication, Islam, books, content, culture industry

INTRODUCTION

According to the population census data (Sensus Penduduk) in 2020, Indonesia's population is 270,203,917 people. The latest data from the Directorate General of Population and Civil Registry of the Ministry of Home Affairs (Dirjen Dukcapil Kemendagri) recorded that Indonesia's population until June 2021 was 272.23 million people. Of this number, 88.86 percent were recorded as Muslims. The large Muslim population makes Indonesia a potential market for various products related to Islam. Food products, clothing, finance, books that are associated with Islamic symbols and values are in demand by the public. Islamic values such as halal are inherent in a variety of food and beverage products. The concept of Islamic finance is an example of another product that is also in demand in Indonesia. Based on data from the Global Islamic Finance Report, the world's total spending on food, cosmetics, tourism and halal lifestyles in the period 2020 to 2021 reaches US\$ 2.02 trillion. In Indonesia, consumption of halal products until 2019 reached US\$144 billion, making Indonesia the largest consumer in this sector. The Muslim-friendly tourism sector has put Indonesia in the 6th position in the world with a value of US\$11.2 billion. In the Muslim fashion sector, Indonesia is the 3rd consumer in the world with a total consumption of 16 billion US Dollars. Indonesia's halal pharmaceutical and cosmetics sector ranks 6th and 2nd with total expenditures of US\$5.4 billion and US\$4 billion, respectively (Kemenkeu, 2021). This number is expected to continue to rise along with the increasing trend of the halal lifestyle in various parts of the world. Indonesia is one of the countries that contributes to the increasing consumption of halal products in various sectors.

Apart from food, beverage and financial products, Indonesia is also a potential market for the book industry. The book industry that targets Muslims finds its potential market in Indonesia. During the Islamic Book Fair 2020, data published by the organizing committee stated that the number of visitors per day reached 10 thousand. The enthusiasm of these visitors has become a catharsis for the Islamic book industry to grow and develop. Data from the Indonesian Publishers Association (IKAPI) until 2018 shows that the sale of religious themed books ranks fourth in Indonesia after textbooks, children's books, and story books or novels. The development of Islamic books in Indonesia, among others, is supported by the existence of Islamic boarding schools, Islamic schools, Islamic universities, and study communities which are markets for various textbooks and reference books.

In terms of content, these Islamic books should be very ideological because they contain content from religious studies. Islamic books containing major religious ideas play a role in shaping people's mindsets and actions. However, books also have economic value where the profit interests of writers, publishers, sellers, bookstores, become an inseparable part of the book industry. Within the framework of the industry, the content of the book, the title of the book often has to be adapted to the tastes of the market. The interests of the author and publisher are met with the needs of the market. Social and political conditions also affect the content of the book to be published. Books as cultural works cannot be separated from the attraction of economic, social, and political interests. Therefore, it is interesting to examine whether the Islamic book industry in Indonesia is limited to a cultural industry that contains superficiality, standardization, pseudo individualism or exceeding these conditions. This means that the cultural industry is just a bridge, a camouflage behind a larger ideological interest.

Research on the Islamic book industry in Indonesia has been carried out by various scientists using various perspectives. The article from (WATSON, 2005) describes the condition of the Islamic book industry in historical and political contexts. The research, which was conducted from 2003-2004, provides a comprehensive description of the condition of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia. Research from (Muzir, 2017) shows the economic and cultural dynamics of Islamic book publishing in Indonesia. Using Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework on *The Field of Cultural Production*, this research reveals the problems of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia from the process of writing, selecting, publishing and distributing. In addition to business interests, Islamic book publishing in Indonesia is also driven by the ideology of the publishers (Maryam, 2018). The bond between book publishers and the world of education has become one of the strategies carried out since the 1970s in the realm of Islamic book publishing in Indonesia (Kristyanto, 2011).

Based on these previous studies, the author sees a gap to discuss the Islamic book industry in Indonesia by using the cultural industry point of view formulated by Theodore Adorno. In his various works, Adorno does not specifically discuss the book industry. Adorno's writings focus more on the film and music industries. However, the critical logic about the cultural industry that he put forward can be used as a framework for dissecting the development of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia. According to (Unesco, 2011) books are a form of cultural industry. Books and other prints are one of the cultural domains that Unesco calls part of the cultural industry. Books compete with newspapers, magazines, and other forms of print including libraries and book fairs. The Unesco categorization places books alongside films, cinema, music, crafts, and art exhibitions as products of the cultural industry.

Books are seen as emancipatory tools aimed at improving society, spreading knowledge and shaping civilization. But on the other hand, when it becomes an industry, books like other products can be commodified for capital accumulation. This paper will describe the development of Islamic book publishing starting from the era of the 70s, 80s, and the reformation period until now. Then do the analysis with the perspective of the culture industry. In particular, the thesis that is used as an analytical tool is the conception of the culture industry proposed by Theodore Adorno. This framework was chosen to describe the practice of the cultural industry in publishing Islamic books in Indonesia. Adorno and Horkheimer's conception of the culture industry is used to discuss various phenomena of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia. The positions and strengths of the actors (writers, translators and publishers), ideology, production processes, market calculations, and their relation to political conditions are the themes that will be described in this article. The phenomenon of free translation books sponsored by several countries and the link between the book industry affiliated with religious ideologies are also additional discussions that will be described.

Literature Review

During their exile in America, Adorno and Thomas Mann wrote several books, namely *Minima Moralia*, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, *The Authoritarian Personality*, *Composing for Film*, *The Stars Down To Earth*, *Current of Music*, *The Transposed Heads*, *Joseph the Provider*, *Doctor Faustus*, and *The Holy Sinner*. These writings cannot be separated from the context and the `exile situation they experience (Rayman, 2014).

Adorno was the youngest and most influential scientist in the Frankfurt School circle. The term culture industry was introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer in the book *Dialectic of Enlightenment* in the Chapter *The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception*, the culture industry is considered to be a mass deception because of its anti-enlightenment nature. In this context, the presence of the cultural industry makes people lose their rationality of thinking and submit to the logical framework of the cultural industry. In fact, a rational and responsible society is a prerequisite for democratization (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002).

The term culture industry is related to the following: first, it describes the pathology in modern society where various modern organizations are used to carry out mass destruction in the enlightenment which is suspected to have an irrational purpose. Second, the economic profit motive creates a flood of cultural goods. This is accompanied by poisoning individual and collective consciousness to follow the logic of consumption. Third, the cultural industry is also related to the process of production, labor, the process of commodification and advanced capitalism. Fourth, repetition and pseudo-individualism (Miller, 2014).

Adorno's assessment of the culture industry is the same as that of any other industry. In capitalism, the cultural industry, like any other industry, must be able to generate economic benefits. The management of the cultural industry is a response to market developments, production costs, labor costs, profits to be obtained, competition with other parties and product marketing strategies. Within this framework of thinking, the products of the cultural industry are standardized, homogenized, efficient, and other structured efforts to gain profits. Producers shape people's needs through various ways such as advertising, building public opinion, utilizing figures, and continuously producing a variety of new products so that people always buy. Cultural works lose their spontaneity and authenticity, the power of imagination and receptiveness. For Adorno, authentic culture was formed in pre-capitalist times like fairy tales and songs where the artists and creators were not confined within the framework of industrial logic. The freedom from these creators produces works that have a cultural aura (Adorno & Bernstein, 2005).

The cultural industry has more importance than just its economic achievements. The main thing is precisely the ability to form a culture that includes lifestyle, values, moral perspectives and ways of thinking. In the case of the high number of Islamic book sales in Indonesia in the view of the cultural industry, it is not just an economic cycle in terms of production, distribution and profit for the parties concerned. The massive number of readers of Islamic books is then examined for their influence on the Indonesian people's perspective, lifestyle, values, and moral perspective. The books read by the public then play a role in shaping the standardization of thoughts, views, and disciplining the public to think homogeneously as the reading they consume. On the other hand, the book industry workers must follow the factory logic by producing goods according to predetermined standards, marketing strategies and profit orientation. Book writers are directed to make manuscripts that meet market needs, standards according to publisher decisions, and put aside idealism as writers.

Adorno's pessimistic frame of mind in viewing the culture industry has been criticized by other scientists. One of them is Walter Benjamin's explanation of mechanical reproduction which eliminates value in the world of art. Adorno's colleague at the Frankfurt School sees that the thought of the loss of aesthetic aspects in the world of art does not mean the loss of artistic value. This means that the value of art still exists even though it undergoes gradations. Benjamin's view can be seen in three propositions. First, the conception and function of art in

modern society has undergone a fundamental change. It is now possible to use technology (especially photography and film) to transmit art in multiple forms and copies rather than equating them with unique, authentic artifacts and set in a single context. A work, will lose the "aura" of sacredness which was originally lent to religious functions and exhibitions, and is increasingly drawn into various kinds of daily activities, both political and social. Second, when the function of a work changes, it brings the work closer to the wider layers of society. Likewise, the model of appreciation and one's expectations of a work also changes. Third, the transformation of the function of art into practical collective perceptions related to other social activities that can be used for organizational, political goals by combining reactionary and progressive forces (Miller, 2014).

Mechanical reproduction in the form of mass printing as in the book industry for Benjamin does not mean that the main values and sacredness of books are lost. Although there is a gradation when the work is duplicated in bulk, it does not mean that the value of the contents of the book is lost. The process of mass reproduction actually results in democratization and allows corrective attitudes from the community. A book whose contents can be read by all levels of society allows increasing public knowledge. Corrections to the contents of the book can also come from the readers. The process of translating and duplicating books on an industrial scale allows books to be enjoyed without any limitations on mastery of a particular language. For example, the works of scholars such as *Ihya Ulumudin* written by Imam Al Ghazali in Arabic can be read by those who do not know Arabic. This is possible because of the translation of the work in various languages.

The concept of cultural industry, creation, reproduction and mass distribution of cultural work as expressed by Adorno and Max Horkheimer has undergone rapid changes since the conception they developed. Companies engaged in the culture industry adapt to technological developments and the evolution of media in society and mass distribution production processes to reach the global market. The book industry, for example, developed from handwritten manuscripts, mechanical prints and now in the form of electronic books. The logic of criticism of the culture industry, one of which is the book industry, needs to be reviewed according to the development of the context.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a critical paradigm as the framework of the researcher's thinking. Paradigm according to (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) is defined as a set of beliefs held by researchers. The basis of this belief is the assumption of ontology, epistemology and methodology used in a study. In the view of the critical paradigm, science is used as a process of uncovering the real structure behind illusions and false consciousness, which the material world reveals. The critical paradigm aims to help form a social awareness in order to improve and change the conditions of human life (Hidayat, 2002). Researchers put the reality of research is not a natural and natural but a pseudo reality. The reality of research is shaped by the pull of economic, political, social, historical interests and various other backgrounds that surround it. One of the tasks of the researcher is to explain and criticize this reality, to foster an emancipatory attitude of the public and to strengthen the power of marginalized groups.

This type of research is a qualitative research with bricolage technique (Markham, 2005). In this position, the researcher acts as a narrative bricoleur whose task is to tell and compile various research findings in accordance with the aims and objectives of the study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The data was collected using the documentary data collection

method. According to (Bungin, 2001) the method of collecting documentary data makes it possible to trace a social phenomenon within the framework of its historical series. Traces of the Indonesian Islamic book industry have existed since the 1950s and are documented in various writings, research results, memoirs and other documents. The document that is the source of research data is the publication document from the Islamic Book Fair Committee in 2020 which is one of the data references to determine the number of publishers, exhibitors, visitors and nominalization during the exhibition. Another important document to analyze is the history of publishing Islamic books in Indonesia from the 70s to the present. These documents are available in the form of journal articles, books and research reports. One of the articles that is quite complete discussing the development of Islamic book publishing in Indonesia is the writing of C. Watson entitled *Islamic Book and Theis Publisher: Notes on The Contemporary Indonesian Scene*. The series of various research findings are then analyzed within the framework of the cultural industry theory proposed by Theodore W Adorno.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research findings and discussion are divided into several parts, namely: first, the historical aspects of Islamic book publishing in the 70s, 80s and post-reform eras. Second, the translation of the works of foreign writers into Indonesian. The three strengths of local writers in producing works. Fourth, the phenomenon of publishing and distributing free books. Fifth, the discussion of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia uses Adorno's framework of thinking.

a. Historical aspects of Islamic book publishing

The publishing of Islamic books in the 70s was marked by the emergence of Islamic thought activities that wanted to forget the memory of Islam in the old order and the case of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Komunias Party/PKI). Some Islamic thinkers at this time were Nurcholis Majid, Amien Rais, Dawam Rahardjo, Kuntowijoyo, Jalaludin Rakhmat, M Quraish Shihab (Kristyanto, 2011). Nurcholis Madjid became one of the Islamic thinkers who dared to voice differences of opinion by interpreting the text of the Qur'an and hadith more liberally. At that time, the influence of traditional Islamic books that had been printed for more than thirty years was still strong. Cak Nur's writings (as Nurcholis Madjid) began to be widely published in Budaja Djaja's monthly media run by Ajip Rosidi (WATSON, 2005).

Several Islamic book publishers that still existed until the 1970s were Al Maarif and Bulan Bintang. The two publishers use different strategies in marketing their products. The strategy used by Al Maarif publisher is to keep the price of the book as low as possible in order to kill competitors. Al Maarif publisher with a low price strategy targeting the lower economic class. Bulan Bintang Publisher publishes many works of Islamic figures such as Buya Hamka, Mohamad Natsir and Harun Nasution. In contrast to Al Maarif, Bulan Bintang publisher targets the upper middle class and higher education. This publication, which was initiated by Haji Abdul Manaf El-Zamzami Aliah Haji Amelz, was able to publish 120 books in its heyday. When the New Order began to strengthen, Bulan Bintang still dared to publish works by Masjumi figures who were critical of the ruling regime, such as Buya Hamka, Mohammad Natsir, Mohamad Roem, and Harun Nasution. Both of these publishers faded when they entered the decade of the 1980s. Both are involved in managerial problems and are

unable to adapt to changes in the book market. Its existence began to be eroded by new Islamic book publishers who emerged with different styles (Maryam, 2006).

In the 80's, the publication of popular Islamic books achieved its glory due to two factors, namely political and social. This statement is in accordance with the research results of the Tempo Library and Documentation Section. From 1980 to 1987, of the 7291 books recorded in the Tempo Library, there were 1949 books with religious themes. "From 1949 religious books, it turns out that 809 (70.5%) are Islamic books, 26% are Christian/Catholic and 3.5% are Hindu/Buddhist (Istiarni, 2016).

Other book publishers such as Erlangga, who initially printed textbooks, also entered because they saw the large Muslim market niche. Putut Widjanarko, Deputy Director of Mizan Group, noted that in the 1980s there were at least four prominent new Islamic book publishers. They are Pustaka Salman (established 1980), Saladin Press (1983), Mizan (1983), and Gema Insani Press (1986). When the prestige of Al-Maarif and the Crescent Star faded, the new publishers "injected a new energy and enthusiasm into Islamic discourse" (Firdausi, 2018). The Salman library grew from the Salman Mosque ITB. The movers are none other than Muslim student activists who work in the mosque every day. As a publisher, Pustaka Salman has translated important works by Fazlur Rahman, a Pakistani Islamic neomodernist who teaches at the University of Chicago, USA, as well as the popular work of the famous orientalist Edward Said. Another publisher fronted by campus activists is Salahuddin Press, which is part of the Jamaah Salahuddin UGM.

According to Putut, at that time Salahuddin Press had a peculiarity in the artistic covers of his books. This publisher gave birth to what was then called the "Yogyakarta style" book cover. Unlike Pustaka Salman, which translates works from outside, Salahuddin Press seeks to publish the works of Indonesian Muslim scholars. This publisher is credited with introducing the younger generation of Muslim scholars such as Syafii Maarif, Syahirul Alim, Kuntowijoyo, and Amien Rais. However, it's a shame that these two publishers couldn't breathe. Due to managerial problems, Salahuddin stopped production in 1989. Meanwhile, Pustaka Salman is actually still active today, but its production has declined since the 1990s.

The 1980 Islamic book publishers who had strong management and then succeeded in becoming giants were Mizan and Gema Insani Press. Mizan was founded by three ITB students (Haidar Bagir, Ali Abdullah, and Zainal Abidin). Mizan's first book, Dialogue Sunni-Shi'a, attracted the attention of readers at that time and became a bestseller. But because of that book, Mizan was then attached to the image of a "Shia publisher". Gema Insani Press was initiated by Umar Basyarahil, a graduate of the Faculty of Economics at Trisakti University and was the Chair of the Al-Irsyad Youth, the youth wing of the Al-Irsyad Arab citizen organization. His first book which raised the struggle of the Mujahideen group against Russia in the Afghanistan War was successful in the market. According to Putut, Gema Insani Press focuses on translating books by Middle Eastern writers, as well as writers with links to the Muslim Brotherhood, such as Yusuf Qardhawi, Muhammad Qutb, to Sayyid Qutb. And when it is quite established, Gema Insani Press chooses themes of "normative" Islamic teachings such as family studies, women, practical Islamic books, and the like (Wijanarko, 2003).

These four publishers were able to respond to changes in the Islamic book market in the 1980s when a new Muslim middle class grew. These publishers provide a platform for contemporary writers and young intellectuals to appear, while older publishers such as Bulan Bintang still rely on reprinting the works of senior Muslim scholars. In the early stages of

production, Mizan published the works of writers who became the specialty of Gema Insani Press. However, later Mizan chose to move from “fundamental” and classical texts to texts that put forward discourses of contemporary thought. Putut, who has been with Mizan since 1993, wrote, “In the following years, Mizan translated books by contemporary and 'modernist' Muslim thinkers, such as Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, Muhammad Iqbal, Sayyed Hossein Nasr, Fazlur Rahman, Ziauddin Sardar, and Munawar Ahmad Anees.” (Firdausi, 2018).

The 1998 reformation was seen as an opening gate for freer expression of works. The government revoked the regulation on Press Publishing Business Permits and issued Law no. 39/1999 on Human Rights and Law no. 40/1999 on the Press. The two regulations not only guarantee freedom of expression for the press but also guarantee freedom of expression, one of which is written in the form of a book. The revival of Islamic religious literature began to emerge after the reform era. The Lingkar Pena Forum (FLP) with figures such as Helvy Tiana Rosa and Asma Nadia is an example of the birth of Islamic literature from the writing community. The Pena Circle Forum, which was founded in 1997, now has thousands of writers. Annida magazine accommodates many short stories and poems by members of the community. The novel *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* by Habiburrahman El Shirazy is an example of a best-selling work with an Islamic theme (Teguh, 2018).

Another phenomenon that emerged after the reformation was the development of Islamic magazines. Sabili Magazine, Tarbawi, Nur Islam, Islamic Journal, Witness, As Sunnah, Salafy, Al Izzah, Media Da'wah, Suara Hidayatullah, Ummah is growing rapidly and finding its market. The contents of magazines that are associated with ideologies such as the Islamic movement, caliphate, jihad, puritanical issues, are favored by readers in Indonesia (Muzakki, 2007). Another Islamic magazine that also has affiliation to the ideology of a special group is Al Wa'ie magazine. This magazine was published by Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia in 2000. The publishing group Al Qalam, Al Aqwam, AL Qowam which publishes the magazine Ar Risalah, An Najah in the publication of Crisis Group Asia Report N°147, 28 February 2008 is categorized as a publisher of Jemaah Islamiyah books. .

In addition to the emergence of new publishers, the development of Islamic literature through writing communities, and magazines with certain ideological affiliations, the post-reformation era is also marked by the existence of large, well-established publishers. Several major publishers such as Mizan, Gema Insani Press, Gramedia, Gunung Agung still publish Islamic-themed books. Middle-class publishers such as Ufuk Press, Serambi, Jabal also still exist and produce best-selling works. For example, a book entitled *To Always Be Helped by Allah*, which was published by Jabal Publishers, was able to become a best-selling book.

b. Translation of masterpieces into Indonesian

One of the works of great scholars which was translated into Indonesian was the book *Ihya Ulumuddin* (reviving the religious sciences). The book by Imam Al Ghazali has become one of the works of classical scholars which is always taught in various Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. Another book of scholars that was translated was the work of Imam Shafii entitled *Al Umm*. As one of the Madzab Imams followed by the majority of Muslims in Indonesia, Imam Syafii's works are always read and become a reference for Islamic fiqh. Contemporary Islamic thinkers whose works have been translated into Indonesian are Yusuf Qardawi, Sayid Qutb, and Hasan Al Banna. Their works are widely published by Gema Insani Press, Robbani Press and AL Kautsar. The number of translated works reaches 25

titles and always sells well on the market (Muzakki, 2007). This condition cannot be separated from the spirit of world Muslim brotherhood so that their works are attracted by readers in Indonesia. Another author who also has monumental works translated into Indonesian is a book entitled *La Tahzan* by Dr. Aid Al-Qarni. The book, which invites people not to be sad and to accept the determination of their life, has been translated into various languages in the world. In 2005, the book was translated into Indonesian by the publisher Qisthi Press. The presence of this phenomenal book was then followed by various works using the title *La Tahzan*. For example, *La Tahzan* for parents, *La Tahzan* for women, *La Tahzan* for broken hearted Muslim women.

c. The power of local writers in producing works

Since the 1970s, the work of local writers such as Buya Hamka, Mohamad Natsir, Harun Nasution, Nurcholis Madjid, Amien Rais, Gus Dur, Kuntowijoyo, Azzumardi Azra have been published by many Islamic book publishers. The next generation such as AA Gym, Komarudin Hidayat, Ulil Absar Abdala also appeared with different styles. AA Gym emphasizes improvement of heart and character, while Ulil Absar Abdala is known as the initiator of the Liberal Islam Network. Novels such as *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* from Habiburrahman El Shirazy are examples of influential local literary writers in the field of Islamic literature.

d. Free Book Publishing

The distribution of free Islamic books is mostly done by countries in the Middle East. In general, they cooperate with publishers in Indonesia to print the books and distribute them. The Qur'an is the most widely distributed in mosques, schools, mosque libraries and even to individuals. In general, the contents of these books are different from the understanding of Islam in Indonesian society. The books of *aqidah*, *fiqh*, *muamalah* are different from the general beliefs of Muslims in Indonesia. One of the countries that distributes quite a lot of free Islamic books is Saudi Arabia. So far, they are known for their Wahhabi understanding of Islam. This understanding differs in several respects from that of Indonesian Muslims in general. The distribution of free books is a distinct phenomenon of this industry. For countries that are sponsors of the distribution of free books, funding is not a problem. They print books not for profit but to spread ideology. For publishers who cooperate with these countries can also mean two things, first they get an economic benefit, secondly they do have the same understanding.

e. The relevance of Adorno's criticism of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia

Adorno's criticism of the cultural industry is summarized in four main points, namely: product standardization and shallow content, shaping community needs, lack of spontaneity and authenticity, loss of space for imagination and reflection. The existence of Islamic book publishing in Indonesia cannot be separated from the political context and the history of this nation's journey. The economic interests of writers, publishers and sellers are always intertwined. Books with Islamic themes are easily found in major bookstores such as the Gramedia network and Gunung Agung. At the book stalls of Pasar Senen, Yogyakarta, Semarang Stadium and busy streets on the side of the road, it is also easy to find a variety of Islamic-themed books. In general, what is available is a ritual guide book such as prayer, ablution, fasting, in addition to the Qur'an and its translation. These books are always sought after by Muslims so all publishers will print them. The contents must also be uniform, for

example, with the majority of Muslims in Indonesia adhering to the Shafii school of thought (Imam Syafii's fiqh thought), the contents of the guidebooks for daily Muslim rituals sold in bookstores and roadside kiosks will be similar. This standard has barely changed over time. If there are publishers who print ritual guidebooks in the view of other madzhab such as the Hambali, Hanafi or Maliki, then there are not many devotees.

This condition is in accordance with Adorno's thesis on standardization. Islamic book publishers in that era did not dare to go beyond this standard. Books on fiqh must be in accordance with the Shafii Madhhab or it will be difficult for the market to accept. In the 70s, when the Islamic book publishing industry was well established with normative canonical texts and existed for more than thirty years, liberal Islamic thought began to emerge, led by Cak Nur. What Cak Nur wrote is against the mainstream standard of book content that has been established so far. What Cak Nur did was against the standards of the Islamic book publishing culture industry at that time. Although initially he received a lot of criticism and resistance, slowly Cak Nur's critical thoughts began to color the treasures of Islamic books. The market for critical books is formed because there are educated Muslims who are open-minded in understanding different views. This example illustrates that although product standardization is provable but there is still room for work that is different from the mainstream. One of the works of Cak Nur was continued in the Liberal Islam Network project in Indonesia.

The era of the 80s began to develop the translation of foreign manuscripts into Indonesian. Writings from the Middle East, Iranian thinkers, writings by Indonesian Muslim intellectuals who studied abroad became the landmarks of the contents of the book at that time. Two major publishers who were active at that time were Mizan and Gema Insani Press. The two publishers took different steps in the book industry. Mizan published a book on the Syuni-Shia dialogue which earned him the label of a Shia publisher (although there are more Sunni books printed). They also presented the thoughts of Nurcholis Madjid, AMien Rais, Kuntowijoyo. Their orientation is more on a western point of view (America and Europe) in viewing issues about Islam. Gema Insani Press (GIP) took a different step by translating Middle East books, such as those by Sayyid Qutb (Firdausi, 2018).

The standard content of this book was followed by the majority of other Islamic book publishers in Indonesia. The issue of Shia-Sunni, Liberal Islam, and the Islamic Movement became the dominant discourse in Islamic books. Even though Nurcholis Madjid was one of the most influential writers at the time, his books published through Paramadina Press did not sell well. This is due to the issue of a weak publisher network. His writings are actually widely read when published by other publishers.

Mizan and Gema Insani Press are the main models for the Islamic book publishing industry in Indonesia. Both chose different strategies, but nevertheless managed to become major players in the Islamic book industry. In the last thirty years, these two publishers have published a lot of Islamic literature. There are quite a lot of Islamic book publishers who try to get out of the model path of the two big publishers. However, they cannot be as big as the two publishers. Book publishers who are affiliated with certain organizations or groups do find their market but they cannot grow to be big.

Post-reform, there is a phenomenon that comes out of the logic of cultural industry criticism from Adorno. An example is the birth of the Lingkar Pena Forum which produces various works by its authors. The strength of the authors and their community makes them able to produce works that are known. The strength of the actors in this case the author

proves that in the context of the culture industry there is still room for different and quality works. The phenomenon of translating the works of classical scholars such as AL Ghozali (Ihya Ulumudiin), Sayyid Qutb (tafsir Fi Zilalil Quran) and other great scholars still has big fans. The quality work of these scholars also shows that the culture industry does not always produce trivial works such as the pessimism of Adorno's criticism

CONCLUSION

The Islamic book industry in Indonesia proves Adorno's thesis on the culture industry. The standards of the content of Islamic books in Indonesia must be relevant to the Syafii School of thought adopted by the majority of the Indonesian population. So that the printing of books in various titles will not leave this mainstream. Although some Islamic thinkers such as Cak Nur tried to propose a different framework, they could not become dominant. Mizan and GEMA Insani Press became the standard model for the content of Islamic books published in Indonesia. Publishers trying to diverge from these two big publishers did find their market, but they couldn't become big players. Although Adorno's critique of the cultural industry in the practice of the Islamic book industry in Indonesia has received a lot of evidence, it does not mean that there is no gap for quality works. The power of the actor in this case the author of the book can be a balancer and even become dominant within the framework of the cultural industry.

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