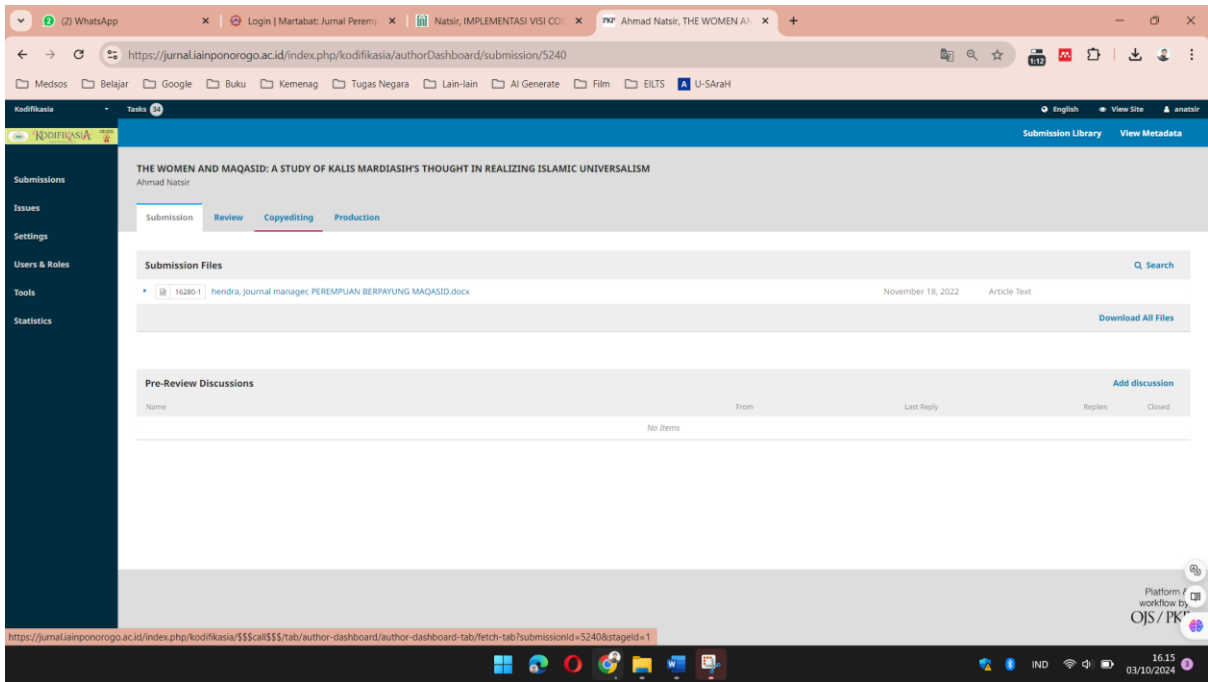


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Nama Jurnal	:	Jurnal Kodifikasia
Penulis	:	<b>Ahmad Natsir</b>

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## THE WOMEN AND MAQASID: A STUDY OF KALIS MARDIASIH'S THOUGHT IN REALIZING ISLAMIC UNIVERSALISM

Ahmad Natsir\*

### Abstrak

*Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap pemikiran Kalis Mardiasih yang tersebar di berbagai esai-esainya. Berbagai tulisan Kalis yang muncul merupakan bentuk respon kegelisahannya atas fenomena kemanusiaan dan keberagaman dalam masyarakat. Peristiwa perundungan dengan simbol agama, diskriminasi terhadap perempuan, serta isu-isu kemanusiaan telah memotivasinya untuk menulis kemudian mendakwahkan keadilan, kesetaraan hak antara laki-laki dan perempuan tetap dalam bingkai Islam. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif dengan menggunakan kerangka kerja delapan poin telaah Amin Abdullah. Namun penelitian ini hanya memanfaatkan lima poin yang telah digariskan oleh Amin Abdullah. Penelitian ini memberikan kesimpulan bahwa, Kalis Mardiasih menggunakan pijakan maqasid al-shariah dengan hifz al-nafs, dan hifz al-din sebagai kata kunci dalam merespon fenomena yang terjadi. Pembelaannya terhadap perempuan, dan kaum minoritas menggunakan hifz al-din sementara kampanyenya akan Islam yang ramah dan damai menggunakan akar hifz al-din. Dengan ini Kalis Dapat dikatakan sebagai penerus dakwah universalisme Islam yang dikembangkan oleh Abdurrahman Wahid.*

Kata kunci: Kalis Mardiasih; Feminisme, Kesetaraan Gender, Maqasid al-Shari'ah.

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### Abstract

*This paper aims to reveal the thoughts of Kalis Mardiasih spread in her various essays. Kalis's various writings appeared to respond to her anxiety over the phenomenon of humanity and religion in society. Instances of bullying with religious symbols, discrimination against women, and humanitarian issues have motivated her to write and then indict justice; equal rights between men and women remain within the frame of Islam. This qualitative research uses the eight-point framework of Amin Abdullah's study. However, this study only took advantage of the five points outlined by Amin Abdullah. This study concludes that Kalis Mardiasih uses the footing of maqasid al-shariah with *hifz al-nafs*, and *hifz al-din* as keywords in responding to the phenomenon that occurs. Her defense of women and minorities used *hifz al-din*, while her campaign for a friendly and peaceful Islam used the roots of *hifz al-din*. With this, Kalis can be said to be the successor to the proselytizing of Islamic universalism developed by Abdurrahman Wahid.*

**Keywords:** *Kalis Mardiasih; Feminism, Gender Equality, Maqasid al-Shari'ah.*

### INTRODUCTION

Not long ago, Indonesian legislative assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) passed the draft law on the crime of sexual violence (RUU TPKS) into law. Gender equality fighters who long for women to get justice, equality, and protection in the public sphere feel very happy.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, sexual violence in Indonesia is still relatively high. The Asian Parent reports that in 2020 the violence experienced by women tends to increase. The Asian Parent said that there were various kinds of violence: physical violence which touched 2025 cases (30%), and sexual violence in 1938 cases (30%). Further data strengthened psychological violence, which reached 1792 cases (28%) and economic violence, 680 or 10%.

Much of this violence occurred in the domestic sphere. It means that the violence happened in the home. It is serious. Out of 8234 cases, around 6480 points or about 79% of violence cases occurred in the household.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sonya Hellen Sinombor, 'Ketika "FraksiBalkon" Meluapkan Kegembiraan atas Pengesahan RUU TPKS', Kompas.id, 2022, [kompas.id/baca/dikbud/2022/04/13/ketika-fraksi-balkon-meluapkan-kegembiraan](https://kompas.id/baca/dikbud/2022/04/13/ketika-fraksi-balkon-meluapkan-kegembiraan).

<sup>2</sup> Erinintyani Shabrina Ramadhini, 'Angka Kekerasan Seksual di Indonesia Terus Meningkatkan, Ini yang Perlu Kita Lakukan', The Asian Parent, n.d., <https://id.theasianparent.com/fakta-kekerasan-seksual-di-indonesia>.

Some people think that the law that law is more pro-victims. So the bill's ratification is a breath of fresh air for feminist fighters, one of whom is Kalis Mardiasih.

Kalis Mardiasih expressed joy after this bill became law.<sup>3</sup> Mardiasih is a figure who has been very keen to fight for the bill to be passed. We can read her book, a collection of essays and dozens of columns circulating in print and online media. Not only that, but her name has also become a topic of conversation in the academic area. It can be seen in various journals published in multiple regions. Among them, some comment on her figure as a representation of contemporary feminist da'wah, such as works: Fadhlurrahman,<sup>4</sup> Parahita.<sup>5</sup> Ada yang mengulas bukunya dari berbagai perpektif seperti Maftu,<sup>6</sup> Nafiah,<sup>7</sup> Ani,<sup>8</sup> Asmawati,<sup>9</sup> Mutiara,<sup>10</sup> Nafi'ah<sup>11</sup> and Nisa.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, several academics use their social media accounts as material for study, including what was done by: Samosir,<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Kalis Mardiasih, "Saaaaaaah," Twitter, 2022, [twitter.com/mardiasih/status/1513737212961386496](https://twitter.com/mardiasih/status/1513737212961386496).

<sup>4</sup> Fadhlurrahman et al., 'Rekonstruksi Dakwah di Media Online: Kontekstualisasi Makna Hikmah dalam QS Al-Nahl: 125 Aplikasi Pendekatan Ma'na-Cum-Maghza Ma'na-Cum-Maghza', *Jurnal Kajian Islam Interdisipliner* 7, no. 1 (2020): 19–44.

<sup>5</sup> Gilang Desti Parahita, "The Rise of Indonesian Feminist Activism on Social Media," *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia* 4, no. 2 (2019): 104–15.

<sup>6</sup> Maftu Khallatullaila, 'Representasi Feminisme dalam Novel Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan' (IAIN Salatiga, 2021), e-repository.perpus.iainsalatiga.ac.id/11037.

<sup>7</sup> Azizatun Nafiah and M. Yunus Abu Bakar, 'Internalisasi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Buku "Muslimah Yang Diperdebatkan" Karya Kalis Mardiasih', *Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Keislaman* 11, no. 2 (2021): 108–21.

<sup>8</sup> Wihdi Luthfi Ani, 'Makna Jilbab dalam Buku "Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan" Karya Kalis Mardiasih' (UIN Sunan Ampel, 2020), [digilib.uinsby.ac.id/44600/](https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/44600/).

<sup>9</sup> Nor Asmawati, 'Perempuan dalam Buku Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan Karya Kalis Mardiasih: Analisis Hermeneutika Paul Ricoeur' (UIN Antasari Banjarmasin, 2002), [idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/18793](https://uin-antasari.ac.id/18793).

<sup>10</sup> Mutiara Islamia, 'Moderasi Beragama dalam Buku Berislam Seperti Kanak-Kanak Karya Kalis Mardiasih dalam Perspektif Jorge Gracia' (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2022), [digilib.uinsby.ac.id/55078](https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/55078).

<sup>11</sup> Aiddatun Nafi'ah, 'Analisis Semiotika Charles Sanders Peirce terhadap Buku Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan' (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019), [digilib.uinsby.ac.id/38216/](https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/38216/).

<sup>12</sup> Aufia Muslimatun Nisa, 'Dakwah dan Gender: Analisis Wacana dalam Buku Muslimah yang Diperdebatkan' (UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2022), [digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/49982/](https://digilib.uinsgd.ac.id/49982/).

<sup>13</sup> Khodijah Samosir, "Kritik Kalis Mardiasih Di Media Sosial Instagram Terhadap Sistem Patriarki. Perspektif Fatima Mernissi" (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021), [digilib.uinsby.ac.id/48957](https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/48957).



Khotimah,<sup>14</sup> Mutiara,<sup>15</sup> Amura.<sup>16</sup> Several academics who view social media managed by Mardiasih here explain that proselytizing via social media is becoming a trend in today's contemporary era, and Mardiasih is considered a representation of a Muslim woman who is quite good at using social media as her feminist da'wah.

Yet, behind the crowd of scholars discussing Mardiasih's works, at least four of Mardiasih's books have yet to receive the attention of scholars. These four books include: *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-jauh Nanti Nyasar*, *Sister Fillah You'll Never Walk Alone*, *Berisam Seperti Kanak-kanak*, dan *Panduan Menyusun Kontra Narasi Alternatif untuk Toleransi dan Perdamaian yang ditulis bersama dengan Ahmad Khadafi*. How do we understand the figure of Kalis Mardiasih so that we can fully understand the big ideas that summarize Mardiasih's thoughts in her various writings? These two questions will be the focus of this research until the figure of Mardiasih rose to the "surface" to become an Indonesian female cleric who consistently preached about gender equality.

This research is qualitative research with library research using the framework of Amin Abdullah's 8 points of study; however, in this case, this research only uses 5 points of review that are needed.<sup>17</sup> The five points referred to here include anxiety, previous research results, problem limitations, key terms, and contributions to scientific development. These five points also form the formulation of the problem in this article. The four books by Kalis Mardiasih mentioned above are the primary sources and the main focus of this research. Meanwhile, extracting data from books or journals will support every argument in this study.

## DISCUSSION

### About Kalis Mardiasih

As mentioned earlier, Kalis Mardiasih is a gender equality fighter who consistently preaches justice and protects women. This woman, who is married to Agus Mulyadi, was born in Blora on 16 February 1992.<sup>18</sup> Mardiasih, who wrote this, had studied at UNS (Sebelas Maret University

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<sup>14</sup>Kusnul Khotimah and Sumarlam, "Repetisi Dalam Caption Instagram Pegiat Perempuan Kalis Mardiasih: Kajian Analisis Wacana," in *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Linguistik Dan Sastra (Semantik)*, 2020, 423–31.

<sup>15</sup>Risna Arin Mutiara and Indah Wenerda, "Analisis Isi Feminisme Dalam Akun Instagram @kalis.Mardiasih," *Communication* 13, no. 2 (2022): 166–76.

<sup>16</sup>Ifda Faidah Amura, "Konstruksi Khalayak Terhadap Feminisme Dalam Instagram @kalis.Mardiasih," *Nusantara* 9, no. 7 (2022): 2620–28.

<sup>17</sup>Amin Abdullah, *Metodologi Penelitian Untuk Pengembangan Studi Islam* (Yogyakarta: Program Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2004).

<sup>18</sup>Kalis Mardiasih, *Sister Fillah, You'll Never Walk Alone*, ed. Budhyastuti R. Handayani (Bandung: Qonita, 2020), 125.

Surakarta), majoring in English education. The woman, who is familiarly called Mardiasih, is also active in the Gusdurian network (a network that accommodates successors to Abdurrahman Wahid's da'wah) and is also involved in the Indonesian Women's Ulema Congress Movement.<sup>19</sup>

Her consistency in writing is proven by the publication of an anthology of her essays in book form, including *Berislam Seperti Anak-anak* which was published in 2018 by Yayasan Islam Cinta Indonesia. Then *Muslimah yang Diperdebatan* was published by Buku Mojok in 2019, and *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-jauh Nanti Nyasar* published by the same publisher in the same year, and in 2020 her book entitled *Sister Fillah* was published in Qanita Bandung. Now day, Mardiasih has hundreds of thousands of followers on her various social media accounts and is an influential influencer on women's da'wah in today's contemporary era.

### Islam, Woman, and Kalis Mardiasih

Kalis Mardiasih's writings have spread widely in various media. Some have been recorded as mentioned in the introduction, some are published online in the National Library (Perpusnas) application, and others are spread in other online media, both in Mojok, Detik, and Jawa Pos.

Many of Mardiasih's writings respond to phenomena that occur in a society that is picked up on social media. Religious phenomena had become Mardiasih's starting point in responding to many parties, for example, when a video broadcast described the war during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In the video, a person raises a war flag (rayah) and is willing to raise a flag that reads *la ilaha illa Allah Muhammad Rasulullah* even though their hands are not intact. Such a strong visualization appears in the video. A group of people wearing robes with flashing swords huddled on horseback carrying a rayah. The forwarded message caused Mardiasih to respond with the psychological feelings of the youth who were having fun studying religion and then suddenly got a picture of a "religious" atmosphere full of conflicts to the point where blood dripped.<sup>20</sup>

Another religious phenomenon that also does not escape her attention is increasing identity politics. This identity politics has been felt since the election for the governor of Jakarta, where competition was between Muslim and non-Muslim candidates. These identity politics give rise to binary, black-and-white conflicts that create intense grassroots polarisation. Mardiasih expressed her opinion as follows:

<sup>19</sup> Samosir, 'Kritik Kalis Mardiasih di Media Sosial Instagram terhadap Sistem Patriarki. Perspektif Fatima Mernissi', 49.

<sup>20</sup> Kalis Mardiasih, *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-Jauh Nanti Nyasar!*, ed. Rifai Asyhari (Yogyakarta: Buku Mojok, 2019), ix.

“Realitas hari ini adalah realitas media sosial yang dalam bahasa Jonah Berger disebut *contagious*. Saluran informasi makin banyak, tetapi tiap-tiap orang mengendalikan apa yang ada di tangan masing-masing dan memilih mana yang menurut mereka paling benar. Propaganda bukan lagi agitasi dalam ruang publik melainkan provokasi di ruang-ruang paling privat yang menggemakan keriuhan dan psikologi ketakutan massa. Era ini melahirkan politik identitas kebablasan berbasis populisme Islam, mendorong partisan ngotot dengan jargon ‘Islam Kaffah’ yang fondasi ilmu pengetahuan, teknologi, ekonomi, dan politiknya belum *kaffah*. Seringkali reaksi sumbu pendeknya berakhir sebagai parodi.”<sup>21</sup>

It is crystal clear that Mardiasih pays so much attention to religious phenomena that they need to make more sense. Just look at how Mardiasih describes the splendour of the peaceful action plan for the siege of Borobudur Temple, which Islamic organizations initiated throughout Central Java. The action, which is the aftermath of the discrimination experienced by the Rohingya ethnic group in China, Mardiasih calls the phenomenon this time “unconnected revenge”.<sup>22</sup>

The narrowing of religion also often occurs during Eid or the end of the year. For example, during Eid, many groups question the tradition of visiting graves (*nyekar*), which is often carried out during fasting. Some people question the tradition of giving pocket money to small children as a habit to make children beg; some even question the pronunciation of *minal aidin wal faizin*, which has become a tradition of pronunciation during Eid. This phenomenon has increasingly turned exciting moments in Islam into moments full of fights, debates, and argumentation. Mardiasih alluded to the joys of being a child when she was a child, who only enjoyed Eid happily without caring about the reasons, down to the traditions and customs.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, activities that do not reflect justice and lead to discrimination take refuge in the name and symbol of religion. This fact is illustrated when Mardiasih criticizes bullying activities by deafening the takbir, *Allahu Akbar*, which is often echoed during the call to prayer, *iqamah* or to motivate the congregation. Bullying is an act that is wrong and goes into wrongdoing, leading to acts of violence both physically and psychologically.

“Hari-hari ini, di helatan *Car Free Day* yang seharusnya menjadi ruang publik untuk bersosialisasi dan bersaudara di akhir pekan setelah hari-hari sibuk di kantor, takbir diteriakkan untuk merundung kelompok-kelompok yang bersebrangan. Bersama takbir, manusia justru merasa paling benar,

<sup>21</sup> Mardiasih, 74–75.

<sup>22</sup> Mardiasih, 78.

<sup>23</sup> Kalis Mardiasih, *Berislam Seperti Kanak-Kanak*, ed. Zulfan Taufiq (Tangerang Selatan: Yayasan Islam Cinta Indonesia, 2018), 152–54.

dan memperoleh kekuatan untuk mempropagandakan gagasannya serta menakuti orang lain.”<sup>24</sup>

The use of Islamic religious symbols is considered to be a powerful weapon for anyone who tries to cross paths with them. This using symbol is because anyone who wants to fight them means against the religious symbols they use. That is, their enemies are considered enemies of Islam.<sup>25</sup> So, as a Muslim, this is the same as fighting ourselves, and fighting it requires firmness and more than enough courage.

Apart from being a religious phenomenon, Mardiasih also responds a lot to the phenomenon of injustice or discrimination against women, which occurs a lot, and this has become the mainstream that Mardiasih is campaigning for. Humans can never choose whether to be born as a boy or a girl. Being born with a specific gender is a natural form that cannot be rejected by humans, anyone and any position.<sup>26</sup> Mardiasih fights against all discrimination and violence experienced by women. Mardiasih also opposes religious interpretations which still do not provide space for women to advance themselves and the times. Her resistance to misogynistic interpretations of religion it clearly explained in her book *Perempuan ... and Sister Fillah ...* Mardiasih questions concepts about women that are written mainly by men, which she believes creates a bias in a patriarchal, unequal perspective. , so that the narrative of women being the inhabitants of hell is widely spread everywhere.<sup>27</sup> One of the jargons that Mardiasih criticized was the jargon “Muslimah does not need equality, because she just needs to be glorified”.

“Akhir-akhir ini, saya sering kali mendengar jargon ‘Muslimah *nggak* butuh kesetaraan, sebab ia cuma butuh dimuliakan’. Jika kita amati secara seksama, kalimat itu sesungguhnya bermasalah. Kata ‘dimuliakan’ bersifat pasif, dalam konsep tersebut, kemuliaan seolah hanya bisa hadir dari pihak luar diri kita sendiri. Padahal tidak semua hal yang ideal dari orang lain. Itulah sebabnya penting bagi perempuan untuk mengusahakan kemuliaan dari dalam dirinya sendiri. Pada banyak konteks, kemuliaan itu tidak akan bisa terwujud jika perempuan tidak punya akses kesetaraan.”<sup>28</sup>

The women’s headscarf, which is being debated, is also a concern for Mardiasih Mardiasih. Mardiasih illustrates how women from an early age

<sup>24</sup> Mardiasih, *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-Jauh Nanti Nyasar!*, 103.

<sup>25</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, “Musuh Dalam Selimut,” in *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Transnasional Di Indonesia*, ed. Abdurrahman Wahid (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2009), 14.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmad Natsir, ‘Melacak Argumen Kesetaraan Gender dalam Kitab Uqud Al-Lujjain’, *Inovatif* 5(2) (2019): 136–53.

<sup>27</sup> Mardiasih, *Sister Fillah, You’ll Never Walk Alone*.

<sup>28</sup> Mardiasih, 45.

have received discipline in the form of a cloth covering their head (hijab), firstly as a social construct and secondly as a female identity attached to them. Hijab women have constructed so many gaps between men and women. Women are not allowed to scream or laugh loudly, are not allowed to sleep in any place, nor are they allowed to sit in an arbitrary style. All behaviour, up to the shape of a woman's body, is arranged in such a way in a social construct. After marriage, women are disciplined through the obligation to obey men (husbands) through the Quran and hadith.<sup>29</sup> It does not stop at the hijab. In this contemporary era, the label "halal hijab" has also become a trend. Zoya, as an advertiser for halal headscarves, with her narration, "Confident that the hijab we use is halal", caught the attention of a Kalis. With the legalization of halal by the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), this becomes an additional burden for women to ensure that even clothes, including headscarves, must obtain a halal stamp.<sup>30</sup> The phenomenon of humanity, Islam, and women worries Kalis Mardiasih. It is from the comments and responses to various phenomena that Mardiasih provides ideas in her writings. Furthermore, all the puzzles, pieces, and scattered writings lead to a question that will be answered by Mardiasih, "How to create a world atmosphere of peace, friendly to humans and women?"

### **Maqasid: The Key To Understand Mardiasih's Thought**

In order to understand Mardiasih's thought as a whole, this research uses "keywords", as described by Amin Abdullah. These keywords are essential in the context of extracting big ideas. With these keywords, an idea will be easily understood.<sup>31</sup> In exploring the big idea of Kalis Mardiasih, the researcher found that Kalis Mardiasih's thought was narrowed to one concept, *al-maqasid al-shari'ah*.

Maqasid, as initiated by al-Shatibi, is an object of knowledge that he calls 'ilm maqasid al-shariah (knowledge of the [essential] purpose of shari'a. Al-Shatibi defines this knowledge as "Knowledge of a law, the ultimate goal, and the secrets of legislation - general, comprehensive legislation, which is included in the realm of legislation to create human benefit in the world and the hereafter." directed to religion (*al-din*), human (*al-nafs*) reason (*al-'aql*), honor (*al-'ard*), wealth (*al-mal*). These five protections are determined to realize and spread benefits to humans. Every obedience of

<sup>29</sup> Kalis Mardiasih, *Kerudung di Negeri Ini dan Tafsir yang Melekat pada Kami* (Yogyakarta: Mojok.co, 2020).

<sup>30</sup> Kalis Mardiasih, *Setelah Kerudung Bersertifikat MUI: Hijab Hipster Dan Sempak Halal* (Yogyakarta: Mojok.co, 2020).

<sup>31</sup> Abdullah, *Metodologi Penelitian Untuk Pengembangan Studi Islam*.

a Muslim servant to sharia is addressed to one or a part of the whole of these five things. At the same time, protecting these five things will bring eradication and minimization of damage. This maqasid thought was later adapted by Sahal Mahfud, a well-known figure in usul fiqh in her book *Social Fiqh* who inspired Mardiasih to write her work.<sup>32</sup>

“Kelak, saya menjumpai pemikiran emas itu pada sosok Kiai Sahal Mahfudh. Ia seorang pemikir fikih *ushuli* yang dalam buku *Fikih Sosial* memaparkan soal *hifz al-din* (perlindungan atas keyakinan), *hifz al-din* (perlindungan atas keyakinan), *hifz al-nafs* (perlindungan atas hak hidup), *hifz al-‘aql* (perlindungan atas akal, hak berpikir dan berekspresi), *hifz al-nasl* (perlindungan atas hak reproduksi), dan *hifz al-mal* (perlindungan atas hak milik). Bagi Kiai Sahal, fikih perlu membuka diri terhadap problematika kehidupan yang terus berubah sebagaimana mazhab-mazhab fikih Islam yang sesungguhnya adalah refleksi atas perkembangan kehidupan sosial masyarakat. Fikih yang tidak melakukan *ijtihad* demi keharmonisan hidup berbangsa sesungguhnya telah menurunkan derajat Allah dan sunah Rasul sebagai sumber hukum yang sepenuhnya universal.”<sup>33</sup>

Within the framework of *hifz al-nafs*, for example, many of Mardiasih's writings use or build on from there as a frame of mind. In this field, the titles that can be read include: *Betapa Bahayanya Jihadis Orak-arik*, *Islam yang Cukup*, *Paradigma Pemimpin Anti Kekerasan*, *Marlina Masih Ingin Pergi*, *Anak-anak Tidak Marah*, *Kapan Tepatnya Kita Kehilangan Naluri Kanak-kanak?*, *Pengalaman Saya “Menikmati” Bully di Media Sosial*.

Mardiasih noted criticism of the government during Joko Widodo's leadership by considering that granting permission for joint viewing of the G30S/PKI film was a setback. The generation that is now enlivening Indonesia is a generation that wants to think clearly without being bothered by New Order propaganda. For this reason, the paradigm of anti-violence leaders must be echoed by emphasizing the principles of democracy, which protect the people from expressing their opinions and political choices.<sup>34</sup>

Humans, in the view of Kalis Mardiasih, also trace to justice for women. All discrimination that occurs against women gets a sharp spotlight from Mardiasih. Two of her books have been published specifically with women's themes. Among the titles that discuss the protection of the right to human life, especially women, the following articles include: *Perjuangan untuk Korban Kekerasan Seksual*, *Otoritas Tubuh*, *Perempuan Peziarah Pengetahuan Perempuan*, *Ulama dan Anak-anak Perempuan*, *Merebut Tafsir: Perempuan*

<sup>32</sup> Sahal Mahfudh, *Nuansa Fikih Sosial* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1994). See Mardiasih, *Hijrah Jangan Jauh-Jauh Nanti Nyasar!*, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Mardiasih, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Mardiasih, 167–68.

*Arab Mendirikan Sekolah, Meme Akun Dakwah yang Mengontrol Pilihan Perempuan, Memangnya Zaman Sekarang Masih Ada yang Nggak Setara?, Kesadaran Kecil Sebagai Perempuan, Kerudung Jacinda Ardern dan Sampul The Press: Sebuah Jihad Cinta, Sang Syaikhah Lebih dari Klaim Pakaian, Tafsir Muslimah Progresif dan Harapan untuk Asama, Perempuan dan Kesadaran Kemanusiaan.*

Mardiasih's ideas in the context of realizing gender equality are worth a look. Regarding "honoured" women, for example, Mardiasih emphasizes that "glorified" is a passive word, meaning that women can only wait to receive noble treatment from outside themselves. At the same time, the woman herself can only be silent, passive, and not moving. Mardiasih emphasized that the glory of women cannot be realized without equality. How, for example, is being able to speak while the community does not provide a listening room for women? How can women get equality in terms of education when the surrounding community thinks that women's education is not essential, so women's equality must be prioritized to be upheld? The reality in today's society (according to Mardiasih) still does not uphold equality. Many norms still side with men and turn a blind eye to women. How can women achieve glory without equality? Mardiasih gave a narrative that women have experienced marginalization (the process of marginalizing access to resources) so far. This is evident in families that provide more access to education and the economy to boys than girls. Subordination, where women occupy the number two positions, still occurs. In the world of work, it is appropriate to be a leader or manager. Even directors still prioritize gender indicators over achievement. Apart from that, there is still stigmatization, tagging women who often get damaging accusations. Violence As discussed in the introduction to this paper, violence against women still occurs. Furthermore, lastly, a double burden in the family, women who are busy in the public sphere are still preoccupied with domestic work. There is no division of tasks between husband and wife in household chores, which still happens.<sup>35</sup>

Whereas in *hifz al-din* (protection of beliefs), Mardiasih's writings can be seen from the following titles: *Melihat Islam Lewat Teladan Sederhana, Waktu untuk (Tidak) Radikal, Menjadi Religius secara Manusiawi, Yang Sakral dan Ynag Profan di Masjid Kita, Masjid yang Menjamu Tamu Seperti Rumah, Ragam Hidayah di Kampung Kang Kandar, Haji Bapak, Berislam Seperti Kanak-Kanak, Lik Jaswadi dan Lik Ndari Tidak Menggunakan Agama buat Kampanye, Belajar Kepada Gus Dur dan Gus Sholah, Melihat Islam Lewat Teladan Sederhana, Mari Bertanya Hal-Hal yang Lebih Rumit dan Penting kepada Pak*

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<sup>35</sup> Mardiasih, 49–54.

*Ustaz, Panik dan Takut Masuk Neraka karena Broadcast WA "Umat Sedang Terancam, Ketika Temanmu Menjadi Pendukung ISIS, Bagaimana Radikalisme Diwariskan?" and etcetera.*

Mardiasih often criticizes religious practices that do not bring peace. She said religion was taken to a realm far from the value of peace. The use of religious symbols such as *takbir* to commit acts of bullying is an example of how religious practices are far from peaceful. Different views within schools can produce hypocritical, wicked, infidel, and even apostate narratives because they are considered to deviate from the basis they use. So, according to Mardiasih, it is necessary to seek inspiration from the salaf al-Salih scholars who prioritize respect for humans even though they have different opinions.<sup>36</sup>

### **Mardiasih and Gus Dur: A Knowledge Link**

Abdurrahman Wahid, by her nickname Gus Dur has progressive, democratic thoughts. Aksin Wijaya stressed that reading Gus Dur can be understood with several big ideas, including the deity of Indigenous Islam, Cosmopolitan Islam, and Islamic Universalism. It is this universalism that the researcher draws up to read Kalis Mardiasih as a figure who continues Gus Dur's preaching of Islamic Universalism.<sup>37</sup>

According to Gus Dur, Islamic universalism is an embodiment of Islamic teachings, both fiqh, creed, tasawuf, and morality as a form of Islam in providing human protection. Islamic teachings are manifested in the five guarantees mentioned in the previous sub-chapter. Maqasid al-Shariah becomes a value that emerges as a universal Islam for mercy to all people.

Kalis Mardiasih, like Gus Dur, also campaigned for protection (hifz), protecting humans for their right to live and guaranteeing equality between humans, men and women. Mardiasih also campaigned for the protection of beliefs. That adherents of minority beliefs in Indonesia must still receive protection, and the state must provide security guarantees for community members when performing their respective worship. Safe from the dangers even brought by humans in the name of religion.

### **CONCLUSION**

Kalis Mardiasih has now become a famous person on social media. Given that currently, proselytizing in popular media is very much needed. Mardiasih is now very active on social media, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and Youtube. Her writings in the form of essays are widely scattered in

<sup>36</sup> Mardiasih, 109.

<sup>37</sup> Aksin Wijaya, *Menusantarakan Islam: Menelusuri Jejak Pergumulan Islam Yang Tak Kunjung Usai di Nusantara* (Ponorogo: STAIN Ponorogo Press, 2011), 189–92.



print and online media and have even been published in essay anthologies. Mardiasih, in each of her writings, is a form of anxiety about the state of humanity, religion, and the gap in rights between men and women. Kalis Mardiasih's writings can be read with a maqasid lens, which includes guarantees for protection for life (*hifz al-nafs*) and guarantees for freedom of belief (*hifz al-din*). Protection for life, according to Mardiasih is not only protecting the human right to life but the right to get fair treatment. Especially justice/equality that women still do not get over men. From this conclusion, the researcher concludes that Mardiasih continued Gus Dur's preaching regarding Islamic universalism. This can be seen from Kalis Mardiasih's essays which are based on maqasid al-shariah, just like Gus Dur's foundation in building a universal Islamic house for the whole world. The woman with the maqasid umbrella is a symbol of the ideas of a Mardiasih. Whereas Mardiasih has the ideals of women getting equality as well as protection. Like an umbrella, protection is not a barrier for women to keep stepping out until they can develop themselves. This is where maqasid works to protect women without having to restrain them in the house, and they can still walk in the rain without having to get wet.

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