



Childfree, the Digital Era, and Islamic Law: Views of Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah and Gender Activists in Malang, Indonesia

Erfaniah Zuhriah

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Erik Sabti Rahmawati

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Melinda Aprilyanti

Universitas Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu al-Quran, Jakarta

Umi Chaidaroh

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya

Mufidah Ch

Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang

Email: erfa@syariah.uin-malang.ac.id

Abstract: Childfree is a life choice not to have children after or before marriage, whether biological children, stepchildren, or adopted children. This article discusses how childfree is influenced by the digital era and what the perspective of Islamic law is according to the views of ulama and gender activists in Malang, East Java. This empirical legal study used a legal sociology and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approaches. Data were collected by means of in-depth interview and literature review. Findings showed that childfree development in Indonesia has been influenced by the digital era through online media, which quickly spread and made it easier for people from various countries to interact and share information. One of the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*) is to maintain offspring (*hifz al-nasl*) through marriage. According to the ulama, being childfree is contrary to Islamic law and the nature of humanity. According to the Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and gender activists, the laws on childfree can be summed up in two ways: haram and *mubah*. Childfree is haram (unlawful) because it is contrary to *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, i.e., preserving offspring, as it is also the goal of marriage. Childfree is *mubah* (allowed) if there are reasons that are condoned by the sharia, e.g., health problems, physical limitations, and psychological conditions that prevent the wife from having children. Sociologically, the government and all related parties need to provide education to the public so that the meaning of childfree can be understood properly and correctly.

Keywords: Childfree, digital era, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, gender activists, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, Islamic law

Abstrak: *Childfree* adalah sebuah pilihan hidup untuk tidak memiliki anak setelah atau sebelum menikah, baik itu anak kandung, anak tiri, maupun anak angkat. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan bagaimana *childfree* yang dipengaruhi oleh era digital dan bagaimana perspektif hukum Islam menurut pandangan ulama dan aktivis gender di Malang, Jawa Timur. Penelitian ini merupakan kajian hukum empiris dengan menggunakan pendekatan sosiologi hukum dan *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Data dikumpulkan berdasarkan pada wawancara mendalam dan studi literatur. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa *childfree* berkembang di Indonesia dipengaruhi oleh era digital melalui media online sehingga menyebarkan secara cepat. Masyarakat dari berbagai negara semakin mudah berinteraksi dan berbagi informasi. Salah tujuan hukum Islam (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*) adalah memelihara keturunan (*hifz al-nasl*) yang dapat terwujud dalam pernikahan. *Childfree* menurut para ulama bertentangan dengan hukum Islam dan fitrah kemanusiaan. Menurut organisasi NU, Muhammadiyah dan aktivis gender bahwa hukum *childfree* dapat disimpulkan menjadi dua; haram dan mubah. Hukum haram, sebab bertentangan dengan *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* yaitu menjaga keturunan dan salah satu tujuan dari pernikahan adalah melanjutkan keturunan manusia. Sedangkan hukum mubah (boleh) jika ada sebab yang dimaafkan oleh syariat misalnya adanya masalah kesehatan, keterbatasan fisik dan kondisi psikologis yang menyebabkan istri terhalang untuk memiliki anak. Secara sosiologis, pemerintah dan seluruh pihak terkait perlu memberikan edukasi kepada masyarakat agar makna *childfree* dapat dipahami secara baik dan benar.

Kata Kunci: *Childfree*, era digital, Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, aktivis gender, *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, hukum Islam

Introduction

The world community is currently faced with a population crisis characterized by the decreasing birth rate, postponement of marriage, and the reluctance of married couples to have children. Hence, several countries spend quite a large amount of money in an effort to provide incentives for families who want to have children. Reluctance to have children is often called 'childfree', that is, married couples live together without wanting to have children, let alone care for them. Such a reality has become a common phenomenon in many developed countries in Europe, America, and even Asia.¹

¹ Dmitriy Deulin, et al. "Analysis of Legal and Socio-Psychological Aspects of the «childfree» Phenomenon," *Applied psychology and pedagogy* 8, no. 3 (2023), p. 31-44. Jillian Lemke, et al., "Sterilized and Satisfied: Outcomes of Childfree Sterilization Obtainment and Denials," *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, (2023). Jennifer Watling Neal and Zachary Neal,

Data from the World's Highest Childlessness Levels in East Asia reported that over the last three decades, the most economically advanced East Asian countries have had a high percentage of childfree. These include people who do not have children in marriages and/or have decided to be single. Japan has experienced a steady increase in childlessness among women born in the early 1950s to 1974–1976, the rate reaching 28%. The percentage of childlessness has been higher in Hong Kong, peaking at 35% among women born in 1971, and then starting to decrease, reaching 30% among those born in 1979. In Singapore, in the 2020 census it was found that there were 28% of women born from 1975 to 1980 who were childless.²

In Indonesia, being childfree has received criticism from *ulama* (Islamic scholars) and organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as well as gender activists because this concept contradicts the main purpose of marriage. According to the *ulama*, childfreeness is not in accordance with Islamic law as stated in the Qur'an and hadith.³ In addition, it also causes the population growth rate to decline. According to the population census issued by BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik/Central Statistics Agency), the population growth rate in 2010-2020 showed a decrease of 1.25% from the previous period in 2000-2010 which amounted to 1.49%.⁴ The population in 1971 was only 119.21 million, then in 1990, it was 179.38 million, and in 2020, it was 270.20 million,⁵ an increase of 32.57 million compared to the 2010 population census.

Childfree refers to a life choice not to have children after or before marriage, whether biological children, stepchildren, or adopted children. In the Collins Dictionary, childfree is described as a condition where a person decides to live without children, especially by choice.⁶ Childfree can also be defined as a

“Prevalence and characteristics of childfree adults in Michigan (USA), *PLoS ONE* 16, No. 6 (2021).

² Tomas Sobotka, “World's Highest Childlessness Levels in East Asia,” *Ined*, 2021, p. 595. Brittany Stahnke, et al., “A Systematic Review of Life Satisfaction Experiences Among Childfree Adults,” *The Family Journal* 3, No. 8 (2022).

³ Ahmad Rezy Meidina and Mega Puspita, “Childfree Practices in Indonesia (Study on the Response of Islamic Community Organizations in Kebumen Distric),” *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 7, No.1, (2023), p. 17-32. Imam Syafi'i, et al., “Childfree in Islamic Law Perspective of Nahdlatul Ulama,” *Al-Ahkam* 33, No. 1 (2023), p. 1-22. Roma Wijaya, “Respon Al-Qur'an atas Trend Childfree (Analisis Tafsir Maqāṣidi),” *Al-Dzikra Jurnal Studi Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Al-Hadits* 16, No. 1 (2022), p. 41-60.

⁴Badan Pusat Statistik, “Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2020,” BPS, 2021, <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2021/01/21/1854/hasil-sensus-penduduk-2020.html>.

⁵Statistik, “Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2020,” BPS, 2021, <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2021/01/21/1854/hasil-sensus-penduduk-2020.html>.

⁶Collins Dictionary, “Childfree,” accessed July 27, 2022, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/childfree>.

term intended for someone who chooses not to have children naturally or by choice.⁷

This term began to spread on Indonesian social media after an influencer (YouTuber) in Indonesia declared being childfree as her life choice. After this confession, the search for childfree trended in online media.⁸ Indonesia, as a country whose majority population is pronatalist, condemns this ideology, which allegedly came from the West. Discussion of this issue has brought experts and academics to study its law and explain the right attitude for society in facing the phenomenon of the idea of living without children through social media and online discussions.

Victoria Tunggono mentions that there are many reasons for people not to have children, including financial stability, mentality, career, hobbies, physical conditions, philosophical reasons, and environmental conditions. Childfree adherents agree that children are not an important part for them to achieve happiness in life.⁹ Even though being childfree can be a choice for men or women, as people who have the ability to get pregnant and give birth, the fact is that women receive more negative views in society.¹⁰

The issue of childfreeness is widely discussed in various scientific disciplines. First, Haecal et al. discussed being childfree using the Islamic law and hadith approaches, concluding that the Prophet PBUH, through his hadith, recommended Muslims to marry and increase their children and offspring. This is closely related to women's reproductive rights, where the law can change. The study explained that becoming childfree is considered *makruh* (disliked), which can shift to *mubah* (allowed) if there is *'illat* (cause) from the perspective of Islamic law.¹¹

Second, Hanandita examined childfreeness using sociological and phenomenological theoretical approaches. The study found that the decision not to have children is a manifestation of habitualization in society. The childfree option is difficult to accept because it is considered to violate the ideal family

⁷Cambridge Dictionary, "Childfree," accessed July 27, 2022, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/child-free>.

⁸Google Tren, "Childfree," accessed July 26, 2022, <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?geo=ID&q=childfree>.

⁹ Victoria Tunggono, *Childfree & Happy* (Yogyakarta: EA Books, 2021), p. 21.

¹⁰ Shelly Susanti, "Menikah Tanpa Keturunan: Masalah Psikologis Yang Dialami Perempuan Menikah Tanpa Anak Dan Strategi Coping Dalam Mengatasinya," *Character: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi*, 6, no. 2 (2019), p. 9–10.

¹¹ M. Irfan Farraz Haecal et al., "Analisis Fenomena Childfree di Masyarakat: Studi Takhrij dan Syarah Hadits dengan Pendekatan Hukum Islam" Gunung Djati Conference Series, Volume 8 (2022) The 2nd Conference on Ushuluddin Studies Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati, 8 (2022), p. 73–92.

form in the construction of society, wherein this habitualization is in line with the construction theory put forward by Berger.¹²

Third, Abdul Hadi et al. discussed being childfree according to Islamic law and Islamic education. Their study described that, according to Islamic law, the childfree choice is prohibited. Childfree adherents seem to use reasons related to worldly matters such as career, work, or other economic issues making it contrary to Islamic law, in which it teaches many of the virtues of having children, e.g., increasing piety, increasing blessings in the afterlife, and achieving high degrees in heaven.¹³

Fourth, Syarifah and Qotadah explored the childfree concept from the hermeneutic perspective of the Qur'an. The Qur'an commands marriage as it is a human nature which can help preserve offspring (having children), whereas the practice of childfreeness is contrary to the original purpose of marriage. However, in certain conditions being childfree can be legally justified, if there are sharia reasons such as an illness that endangers the life of the mother.¹⁴

Fifth, Neal and Neal conducted a study on childfreeness in Michigan, USA with a psychological approach. The study concluded that more than a quarter of adults in Michigan identify as childfree. Psychologically, no differences were found in life satisfaction, and limited differences were found in personality traits between childless individuals and parents, not yet parents, or childless individuals. However, childless individuals were more liberal than parents and those who have had or wanted children feel substantially less warmly toward childless individuals than childless individuals.¹⁵

Deulin et al. found that in Russian society, social attitudes, the feminist movement, biological instincts and changes in the way of life caused by technology have influenced the tendency towards childfreeness. This condition will worsen the demographic situation and become a threat to world society. Therefore, their study recommends strengthening family and marriage institutions, as well as psychological prevention against childfree idea and its practices.¹⁶

¹² Tiara Hanandita, "Konstruksi Masyarakat Tentang Hidup Tanpa Anak Setelah Menikah", *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* 11, No. 2 (2022), p. 126–36.

¹³ Abdul Hadi, et al., "Childfree dan Childless ditinjau dalam Ilmu Fiqih dan Perspektif Pendidikan Islam," *Journal of Educational and Language Research* 8721, no. (2022), p. 647–52.

¹⁴ Ma'isyatusy Syarifah and Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah, "Childfree in The Qur'an: Reinterpretation of Al-Nahl Verse 72 With Ma'nā Cum Maghā Approach", *al-Tahrir* 22, No. 2 (2022), p. 325-342.

¹⁵ Jennifer Watling Neal and Zachary Neal, *Prevalence and Characteristics of Childfree Adults...*, p. 1-18.

¹⁶ Dmitriy Deulin, et al. "Analysis of Legal and Socio-Psychological Aspects of the «childfree»...", p. 31-44.

In light of above explanations, this study sought to fill the research gap by examining childfreeness from a sociological perspective, namely the views of *ulama*, gender activists, and Islamic law. This empirical legal study used a legal sociology and Islamic law approaches (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*).¹⁷ Data were collected by means of in-depth interview and literature review. In-depth interviews were conducted with *ulama*, academics of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, as well as gender activists. Literature review focused on journal articles, books and legal texts discussing this matter. The data were then analyzed by using the theory of legal sociology and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*.

Childfree and Its Development in the Digital Era

The issue of being childfree is not new in the context of family law in the Western world and in the Islamic world. Rachel Chrastil, professor of history at Xavier University, explains that the idea of not having children at all, whether by conscious choice (childfree/voluntary childlessness) or due to circumstances (childless/involuntary childlessness) has been around for centuries.¹⁸ In line with this, Adi Hidayat has also mentioned that in Islam someone who chooses not to have children has also existed since the Jahiliyyah period.¹⁹ This was also the reason for the revelation of Qur'anic verses explaining the virtues of marriage (Surah ar-Rum 30:21), having children (Surah an-Nahl 16:72), and guaranteeing sustenance from Allah (Surah an-Nur 24:32). Nevertheless, despite not being new, this term is quite foreign when discussed in Indonesia as a country where the majority of people are pronatalists. Victoria Tunggono states that the choice to remain childfree is motivated by many factors. She categorizes these factors into nine: personal, psychological-medical, economic, and philosophical, as well as environments, phobias, educational backgrounds, sexual needs, and celibacy.²⁰ She explains that people's needs and conditions are different, as is the way people view life, so the childfree idea is not something that is worth debating.

¹⁷ Soerjono Soekanto, *Pokok-Pokok Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011. Faisar Ananda Arfa and Watni Marpaung, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Islam*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2016.

¹⁸ Rachel Chrastil, "Not Having Kids Is Nothing New. What Centuries of History Tell Us about Childlessness Today," *The Washington Post*, September 5, 2019, accessed August 31 2021 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/09/05/not-having-kids-is-nothing-new-what-centuries-history-tell-us-about-childlessness-today/>.

¹⁹ Adi Hidayat, "[Klik Adi] UAH Bicara Tentang Childfree - Ustadz Adi Hidayat," *Adi Hidayat Official*, Aug 27, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNgoRAPqSHc&t=10s>.

²⁰ Tunggono, *Childfree & Happy*, p. xvii.

In Indonesia, the term childfree has started to attract attention on social media since Analisa Widyaningrum,²¹ a clinical psychologist, invited Gita Savitri,²² an Indonesian feminist living in Germany. They chatted on the YouTube channel “Analisa Channel” on January 13, 2022. The 18:31 minute video explained Gita’s response to being asked frequently about children, and revealed that she and her husband chose to be childfree, namely agreeing not to have children.²³ After a few months, one of her followers on Instagram asked how Gita would deal with people who were against being childfree. According to Gita, the pros and cons - in this case being childfree - are normal, but if the cons end up cursing and interfering in other people’s privacy, there is a high possibility that the person is being tormented by his/her choice and is therefore envious of seeing a childfree person enjoying life. Gita believes that one who is happy with one’s life choices will not bother and interfere with other people’s life choices.²⁴

Gita’s response to this question has drawn many comments. Initially an answer to a personal question, it later turned into a topic of discussion by various experts. Experts from various fields, such as religious experts, psychologists, sociologists, and economists, are required to discuss this topic in various spaces, from personal social media and communities, to webinars and open discussions in order to facilitate people to exchange ideas and experiences about childfree life and become parents.

However, the digital era makes the world seem like a room without partitions. Users can express their thoughts easily. People from various circles and backgrounds can gather and share views. Through social media, it is very possible for someone to open discussion forums with people from various parts of the world. They interact to discuss the phenomena that occur.

After being widely discussed, the openness of influencers regarding their childfree life choices was widely reported by the media as “childfree propaganda” although none of them initially intended to influence society to follow their

²¹ Analisa Widyaningrum is a Clinical Psychologist at Jogja International Hospital (JIH) born in 1989. She is the Founder of Analisa Personality Development Center, a professional consulting institution which operates in the field of psychology and personality.

²² Gita Savitri is a content creator, singer and book writer born in 1992. The content she produces is very diverse, ranging from song covers, vlogs and several opinions on issues related to education, diversity, gender and minorities.

²³ Analisa Widyaningrum, “Kpn Punya Anak? Aku Pngen Punya Ponakan Online” Jawaban & Alasan Gita Savitri Utk Pertanyaan Tersebut,” Analisa Channel, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwd5i9XXEKM>.

²⁴ Putu Elmira, “Sosok Gita Savitri yang Memutuskan untuk Tak Punya Anak,” Liputan 6, 2021 accessed April, 14 2023, <https://www.liputan6.com/lifestyle/read/4633425/sosok-gita-savitri-yang-memutuskan-untuk-tak-punya-anak>.

choices.²⁵ The reason for expressing the choice about being childfree is simply that they wanted the video viewers to stop asking about their plans to have children, as well as to make people aware that having children requires a lot of preparation, especially mental, physical and financial readiness. Unfortunately, several media outlets have revealed that childfreeness is damaging people's thinking with rotten propaganda through influencers.²⁶ In fact, long before that, the accounts of Indonesian childfree groups had spread widely on various social media. On Twitter, an account named "Childfree Indonesia" has been making tweets since November 2014. On Instagram, accounts discussing childfree ideas existed before the emergence of figures who declared themselves childfree.

Table 1: Childfree Instagram Accounts in Indonesia

No	Account Names	Number of Posts	Number of Followers	Date of First Post
1	@childfreelife.id	38	2348	August 25, 2018
2	@childfreeindonesia	18	630	June 3, 2019
3	@childfree_idn	12	463	July 4, 2020
4	@childfreemilenialindonesia	30	444	August 4, 2020
5	@tidakbereproduksi	23	213	October 22, 2020

Data Source: From various sources, 2022.

The information circulating in these accounts (until April 14, 2023) narrates the justification for the choice to live without children, consisting of quotes from childfree figures, comics depicting the difficulties of being a parent, various strong reasons for not having children, and social consequences of what will be accepted in society and how to overcome it. These accounts also contain education in them, such as explanations regarding the assumptions attached to childfreeness circulating in society, wherein being childfree is often associated with the Western culture which is not suitable in Indonesia, being ungrateful and selfish, women violating nature, and the assumption that people who choose to be childfree are considered unbelievers and unreligious.²⁷ These accounts also give many statements that sound philosophical and care about the world as a defense for their choices, such as children are not investments, protecting the earth from

²⁵ This was also conveyed by Victoria Tunggono in the opening of the book *Childfree and Happy*. "Buku ini bukan ditulis untuk mempengaruhi siapa pun supaya mengikuti pilihan hidup Bebas-Anak"

²⁶ See <https://narasipost.com/2021/08/31/childfree-perangkap-jahat-penghancur-umat/>, <https://www.ganto.co/artikel/920/propaganda-childfree-menjangkiti-pasangan-muda.html>.

²⁷ See <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZorhpJvYqr/>

damage, saving children from disasters, and reducing the risks that occur to children. Many of them choose to be childfree because they want to reduce pollution, avoid overpopulation, and have a wider impact on society and the world. At first glance, this sounds noble, but Islam, as a religion that brings grace, has a much wiser concept of responding to this phenomenon.

In contrast to childfreeness that is a common occurrence in many Western countries, in Indonesia this is not quite commonplace. In their personal lives, childfree adherents face a lot of negative stigma from society. According to Prof. Suryanto, this happens because Indonesian society is considered to value group rights more than individual autonomy, unlike foreign societies that highly value the right to privacy.²⁸ Therefore, when someone joins a community that includes childfree people, that person feels free from ridicule and social demands. In this community, they make friends and share inspiring stories related to social movements. This shows that the digital era plays a very important role in forming and strengthening the childfree community in facing the pronatalist society in Indonesia.

Childfree according to Islamic Law

As a country with a Muslim majority, the issue of childfreeness has pros and cons. Marriage, which is generally the main gateway for men and women to reproduce and form a family, is now being shifted by this discourse. Childfreeness is considered to be contrary to human nature (*fitrah al-salimah*) to ensure the continuity of offspring.²⁹ The Qur'an has emphasized that human nature tends to like wealth and children as decorations in worldly life (QS. al-Kahf 18:46). Being childfree is also considered to ignore the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH who encouraged his followers to marry and have children in order to give birth to the next generation who can bring goodness to the country and religion.

Wahbah al-Zuhaili points out that one of the main goals of marriage is to maintain the continuity of offspring, form the family as an important component of society, and foster a spirit of cooperation between individuals. In this context, marriage is considered a form of collaboration between husband and wife to overcome various life demands. Apart from that, marriage also represents a bond of love and mutual assistance in society, strengthens family relationships, and creates a solid foundation for achieving various comprehensive social benefits.³⁰ However, one should not be proud of the fortune and blessings given

²⁸ Suryanto, "Professor Bagong Views Childfree Phenomenon as a New Women Development."

²⁹ Faizal Kurniawan, *Keluarga dan Budaya dalam Tinjauan Sosiologis* (Jakarta: G4 Publishing, 2020), 15.

³⁰ Wahbah Al-Zuhailiy, *Fiqh Islam wa Adillatuhu* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2010).

by Allah in the form of children because having children is part of the things decorated in the world. This worldly beauty is momentary, which will quickly disappear.³¹

Further, according to M. Quraish Shihab, having children is an extraordinary gift given by Allah SWT. However, with this gift, a big responsibility falls on parents to care for and educate their children well. The Qur'an in Surah Tahrim [66:6] highlights the urgency of starting the process of *da'wah* (propagation) and education from the family environment. Even though the narrative is aimed at men (fathers), this view does not only apply to them. This verse is inclusive, reminding both women and men (mothers and fathers) that educating and guiding children are a shared responsibility.³²

Nur Rofiah,³³ an academician, through the Lingkar Ngaji KGI forum discussed that the main purpose of marriage is to obtain happiness/peace of mind (*sakinah*) based on love (*mawaddah warahmah*) with three levels of ethics in every action. Marriage in Islamic law is something that is *halal* (permissible according to religion), *thayyib* (good for life) and *ma'ruf* (appropriate in behavior).³⁴ As written in the Qur'an, it is the rights and obligations of husband and wife, so both should discuss important matters before making decisions, especially regarding matters that have a long-term impact such as the intention to have children. The Qur'an also states that men and women have the same personal responsibilities in the afterlife so that both must be prepared for the consequences of the obligations of the roles they take. Islamic law also emphasizes that men and women have equal degrees.³⁵

In reality, during pregnancy, childbirth, and parenting, women are the ones who play the most role and feel the impact. Islam itself has regulated how women actually have reproductive rights to fulfill. According to Husein Muhammad, reproductive rights are divided into five,³⁶ namely the right to enjoy safe sexual relations, the right to refuse sexual relations, the right to regulate the number of children, the right to receive good treatment from all parties (to receive

³¹ Wahbah Al-Zuhailiy, *Tafsir Al-Munir fi Al-Aqidah wa Al-Syari'ah wa Al-Manhaj*, Vol. 8, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2009), p. 284-285

³² M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, Vol. 14, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2000), p. 327.

³³ Nur Rofiah is a lecturer in Al-Quran Studies at the Postgraduate Program at the College of Al-Quran Sciences (PTIQ), gender activist, researcher, writer and academic.

³⁴ Nur Rofiah, *Nalar Kritis Muslimah* (Bandung: Afkaruna, 2020), p. 56.

³⁵ Siti Nurjanah and Iffatin Nur, "Gender Fiqh: The Mobilization of Gender-Responsive Movements on Social Media," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, No. 1 (2022).

³⁶ Husein Muhammad, *Fiqh Perempuan Refleksi Kiai Atas Tafsir Wacana Agama Dan Gender* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2019), p. 203.

appropriate information and health services), and the right to have an abortion in certain circumstances.

These reproductive rights are part of Islam's goal of creating a life that brings goodness to the universe. Like men, women, with their creation as complete human beings, certainly have priorities, as some of them want to prioritize themselves in order to spread benefits as widely as possible, one of which can be achieved by not having children. Likewise, as there is no obligation for a person to marry in Islam, the choice not to have children to spread the benefits is also not something that needs to be questioned. What needs to be taken into consideration is the choice to be childfree based merely on ego and the desire to have fun. Such a choice is certainly detrimental as it wastes the opportunity to achieve the many virtues (*tarku al-afdhal*) granted by Allah SWT.

The intention to have children should be followed by careful preparation and planning. This preparation covers physical needs and parenting skills, which include providing education in aspects of religion, morals, social values, as well as critical reasoning so that one is able to think, broaden one's horizons and make wise decisions in the future.³⁷ Thus, humans must understand their abilities and responsibilities for their choices, because as spiritual beings, as written in Surah al-An'am [6:94], humans will return to God individually and be responsible for all their actions and choices as themselves.³⁸

Referring to the explanations above, the goal of marriage, i.e., having children, is in line with the concept of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*³⁹ i.e., protecting offspring (*hifz al-nasl*), in addition to protecting religion, reason, soul, property. Hence, being childfree is contrary to *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, which will bring humans to high benefits and dignity, especially in maintaining offspring. Offspring cannot be maintained when the couple, or parents, have the principle of not having children (*childfree*).

Childfree According to Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and Gender Activists

As human civilization develops, human views on life become more diverse and give rise to more complex problems. One issue discussed nowadays

³⁷ Izzah Nur Aida Zur Raffar et al., "Parenting Skills According to The Islamic Perspective Towards Family Well-Being," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2021), p. 552–78.

³⁸ Rofiah, *Nalar Kritis Muslimah*, p. 85.

³⁹ Nur Solikin and Moh. Wasik, "The Construction of Family Law in the Compilation of Islamic Law in Indonesia: A Review of John Rawls's Concept of Justice and Jasser Auda's Maqashid al-Shari'a," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 27, No. 1 (2023). Nurhayati, et al., "Human Trafficking in The Perspective of Maqashid Al-Sharia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 22, No. 2 (2022).

is related to the legal position of childfreeness. The existence of this childfree trend has resulted in controversy from various circles of society since it is considered unnatural and outside of human nature.

Findings from the interviews with the management of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, as well as gender activists in Malang, East Java revealed that the childfree laws can be mapped into two: *haram* (unlawful) and *mubah* (allowed) as follows.

1. Childfree is *Haram*

According to the *ulama* from NU and Muhammadiyah, as well as gender activists, the decision to go childfree is not a wise choice,⁴⁰ and being childfree is contrary to the principles of sharia and violates the nature of humanity.⁴¹ The choice not to have children is largely based on current individual characteristics that prioritize personal comfort and freedom, which avoids responsibility for bearing children, without paying attention to the consequences in the future.⁴² In addition, being childfree is contrary to one of the goals of marriage, which is to have offspring as successors to the spread of Islam.⁴³ This principle is a manifestation of momentary desires, which is contrary to the principle of adding generations (*sunnatullah*).⁴⁴

Apart from that, the childfree choice can have a negative impact, e.g., the loss of the next generation who will continue the family struggle, inherit the family business, and look after and accompany parents in old age.⁴⁵ Moreover, living in loneliness will have a negative impact.⁴⁶ Being childfree is also an act that is against *sunnatullah* because it can lower morals and weaken social ties in society. In addition, the birth rate will decrease which will affect the country's economy due to the reduction in the number of workers and consumers.^{47,48}

Another negative impact is that it can result in biological interruption of generations or descendants and low population growth rates, which certainly have

⁴⁰ Interview with AMKA, Chairman of LP MA'ARIF NU, Malang Regency, August 11, 2023.

⁴¹ Interview with BNM, Head of the Law and Human Rights Council Division of Muhammadiyah, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁴² Interview with RSH, Malang City NU Muslimat Management, August 11, 2023.

⁴³ Interview with TDC, Aisiyah Regional Leader, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁴⁴ Interview with YKP, Secretary of Muhammadiyah of Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁴⁵ Interview with RSH, Malang City NU Muslimat Management, August 11, 2023.

⁴⁶ Interview with AMKA, Chairman of LP MA'ARIF NU, Malang Regency, August 11, 2023.

⁴⁷ Interview with YKP, Secretary of Muhammadiyah of Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁴⁸ Interview with AIM, Deputy Secretary of NU Malang City, August 11, 2023.

long-term consequences for society.⁴⁹ Even on a wider scale, becoming childfree will have an extreme impact, for example, the human population in the world will be extinct due to lack of reproduction and population growth.⁵¹⁵²

Therefore, when examined according to Islamic law, being childfree is contrary to *maqāsid al-sharī'ah* and human benefit.⁵³ Therefore, the choice not to have children can be concluded to be *haram*. This is based on the Qur'an and the hadiths of the Prophet PBUH. The Qur'an emphasizes that "...and seek what Allah has ordained for you (i.e., offspring)." (Surah al-Baqarah 2:187). Abu Hurairah, Ibn Abbas, Anas ibn Malik, and other Tabi'in scholars interpreted this verse with "offspring" as mentioned in the *tafsir* (exegesis) books.⁵⁴ Additionally, the hadith from Anas ibn Malik states that the Prophet PBUH ordered marriage and strictly forbade celibacy and said, "Marry a woman who is very loving and who easily produces many children because I will be proud of you in front of the prophets on the Day of Resurrection." (Narrated by Ibn Hibban 9/338). From this hadith, it is obvious that the Prophet ordered his companions to marry in order to increase their offspring.⁵⁵

The verse and hadiths above clearly recommend that Muslims have children because by continuing the offspring, another goal of marriage can be manifested, which is to establish an inner and outer bond between a man and a woman, so that they become a couple who have peace (*sakinah*), love, and affection. Further, the government, through various policies, also encourages married couples to maintain the family in the sacred bond of marriage.⁵⁶ Even if a divorce occurs, legal protection is still provided, especially for vulnerable parties such as women and children.⁵⁷ Likewise, unregistered marriages also

⁴⁹ Interview with MSK, Management of the Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefit Institution (LKKNU Malang), August 11, 2023.

⁵⁰ Interview with IKS, Governing Board at Majelis Ta'lim Asyifa, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁵¹ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁵² Interview with TDC, Aisyiyah Regional Leader, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁵³ Siti Nurjannah and Iffatin Nur, "Childfree: Between the Sacredness of Religion. Law and the Reality of Society," *al-'Adalah* 19, No. 1 (2022), p. 1-28.

⁵⁴ Interview with BNM, Head of the Law and Human Rights Council Division of Muhammadiyah, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁵⁵ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁵⁶ Mursyid Djawas, et al., "Creating Family Resilience in Indonesia: A Study of "Marriage Guidance" Program in Aceh and South Sumatera," *Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 17, No. 1 (2022).

⁵⁷ Fajri M. Kasim, et al., "The Protection of Women and Children Post-Divorce in Sharia Courts in Aceh: A Sociological Perspective," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 22, No. 2 (2022).

violate the law, as they can be detrimental to the wives and children's future.⁵⁸ Thus, the reason why being childfree is forbidden, or *haram*, is that it can cause a break in regeneration or offspring, a loss of family ties, and a threat of extinction of the human species, all of which are actions that are contrary to *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, i.e., protecting offspring (*hifz al-nasl*). Hence, Islamic law recommends marriage between a man and a woman, aiming towards continuing offspring and increasing the number of people of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH as stated in the hadiths.

2. Childfree is *Mubah*

The childfree choice may have relevance to the needs of the couple and the conditions of both parties to be able to maintain the marriage.⁵⁹ Choosing not to have children is the right of each individual and couple. Even though one has a pronatalist view, one should respect this choice as long as it is based on justifiable reasons.⁶⁰ In line with this opinion, studies have shown that childfreeness is not something that can be completely rejected. In certain cases, being childfree can be the right choice.^{61,62} Therefore, the unwillingness to have children needs to be understood more deeply, either ideologically, historically, anthropologically, or socio-culturally.^{63,64} Other reasons that couples remain childfree can be justified by Islamic law when there are certain health problems, physical limitations, and psychological conditions. If such reasons do not exist, then the childfree law will become *haram*.^{65,66}

⁵⁸Said Amirulkamar, et. al., "Administration Reagent of Aceh Family Law Qanun: Siri Marriage Motives Towards the Legality of Polygamy," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syari'ah* 15, No. 1 (2023). Sudirman Hasan and Erfaniah Zuhriah, "Reformasi Gaya Berumah Tangga Melalui Model Keluarga Sakinah Dalam Mencegah Perceraian (Studi Di Kelurahan Candirenggo Kecamatan Singosari Kabupaten Malang)," *ADHKI: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 1, No. 2 (2019).

⁵⁹ Interview with MSK, Management of the Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefits Institution (LKKNU) Malang, August 11, 2023.

⁶⁰ Interview with HBB, Founder of Indonesian Women and Children Protection Community (KOPPATARA) and East Java Maarif Counselor, August 11, 2023.

⁶¹ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁶² Interview with ZMM, Muhammadiyah Muballigh and Management of Aisyiyah Malang, August 11, 2023.

⁶³ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁶⁴ Interview with ZMM, Muhammadiyah Muballigh and Management of Aisyiyah Malang, August 11, 2023.

⁶⁵ Interview with IKS, Governing Board at Majelis Ta'lim Asyifa, Malang City, August 11, 2023,

⁶⁶ Interview with AIM, Deputy Secretary of NU Malang City, August 11, 2023

In a similar vein, although it does not fully support childfreeness, other opinions also state that choosing not to have children certainly lightens the responsibilities of individuals and couples.^{67,68} Living childless provides space and opportunity to focus on oneself and the partner's needs.⁶⁹ The choice of living childless also provides freedom in arranging everything according to the conditions and situations faced.⁷⁰ Other opinions that are not much different state that if being childfree is a choice that has been thought about with full awareness and responsibility, this will create comfort. From a demographic perspective, childfreeness also helps reduce the population explosion.⁷¹

Further, under certain conditions, being childfree is also considered to have a positive impact on children born in the future. The growing phenomenon of childfreeness increases the percentage of children born to couples who are truly prepared.⁷² The positive impact of childfreeness may be very limited, e.g., avoiding economic burdens. Regardless of emergency conditions, the decision not to have children will not lie to the conscience of a husband and wife.⁷³ This opinion reflects an understanding that although there are pragmatic reasons to avoid certain economic burdens or challenges by remaining childless, this decision should not be made without consideration of the morals and values held by the couple.

Furthermore, the factor that is most acceptable by Islamic law is when the cause (*'illat*) is impossible to avoid, e.g., health problems. Therefore, being childfree is permitted if the couple is infertile; however, intentionally sterilizing oneself is an act that is against Islamic teachings, as it is related to the hadith narrated by Jābir ibn Abdillāh “*We performed ‘azal when the Qur’ān was still revealed.*”⁷⁴ This hadith does not actually eliminate fertilization, but rather regulates and plans pregnancy and birth.⁷⁵

⁶⁷ Interview with RSH, Malang City NU Muslimat Management, August 11, 2023.

⁶⁸ Interview with AMK, Chairman of LP MA'ARIF, Malang Regency, August 11, 2023.

⁶⁹ Interview with MSK, Management of the Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefits Institution (LKKNU Malang), August 11, 2023.

⁷⁰ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁷¹ Interview with HBB, Founder of the Indonesian Women and Children Protection Community (KOPPATARA) and East Java Maarif Counselor, August 11, 2023.

⁷² Interview with AIM, Deputy Secretary of NU Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁷³ Interview with ZMM, Muhammadiyah Muballigh and Management of Aisyiyah Malang, August 11, 2023.

⁷⁴ Interview with AMKA Chairman of LP MA'ARIF NU, Malang Regency, August 11, 2023.

⁷⁵ Interview with YKP, Secretary of Muhammadiyah of Malang City, August 11, 2023.

Thus, childfreeness in Islamic law, which leads to *mubah*, must have clear reasons (*'illat*), in terms of health, physical, or psychological aspects.⁷⁶ Therefore, such reasons have implications for preventing a woman from having children. In this context, Islamic law provides leniency for someone to remain childfree due to the inability of the wife, and not an intentional one.

In line with this, to avoid the issue of childfreeness from becoming a controversy in society, it is necessary to carry out socialization so that the public can understand its legal standing. It is important for the government to provide education and incentives for couples who want to have children. This aims to build awareness of the importance of regeneration.⁷⁷ Likewise, it is also necessary to socialize its inadmissibility in general to the public.⁷⁸

Based on many disapproval of this issue, the government should formulate regulations that prohibit campaigns such as childfree, LGBT, and other social phenomena that are considered to damage social values.⁷⁹ In addition, it is also necessary to study childfreeness in depth from various aspects so that understanding the reasons behind the idea can help someone be wiser in responding to this issue. This is important to carry out so that a person's background as to why being childfree is a life choice can be known, and thus, the public can also understand wisely how to respond to such a phenomenon.⁸⁰

It is important to note that an approach needs to be based on the background and experiences of the individual concerned. If the reasons and rationale come from the ideology of liberalism, then the approach taken should be the opposite of the view of humanism. In contrast, if the reasons are historical, then it is important to dig deeper into the history of why the individual came to that view. A traumatic experience might occur that requires further treatment. If the reasons are anthropological, the focus should be towards the human element, including in the case of psychological reasons, it is necessary to consider the possibility of abnormalities or instability in mental health conditions that influence such a view. If the reasons are psychosocial, approaches and enlightenment need to be provided so that society can contribute to maintaining the conduciveness and harmony of families who live within healthy norms, as

⁷⁶ Ma'isyatusy Syarifah and Hudzaifah Achmad Qotadah, *Childfree in The Qur'an...*, p. 325-342. M. Irfan Farraz Haecal et al., *Analisis Fenomena Childfree di Masyarakat...*, p. 73-92.

⁷⁷ Interview with AIM, Deputy Secretary of NU Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁷⁸ Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁷⁹ Interview with BNM, Head of the Law and Human Rights Council Division of Muhammadiyah, Malang City, August 11, 2023.

⁸⁰ Interview with HBB, Founder of the Indonesian Women and Children Protection Community (KOPPATARA) and East Java Maarif Counselor, August 11, 2023.

exemplified by the lives of the Prophet and his best people in the past.⁸¹This approach is very important to help maintain human survival because without previous generations, our lives would not be as what we have experienced today.

The gender figures/activists and *ulama* revealed that they have had ways of dealing with the childfree phenomenon in the digital era. They all agreed on the importance of conducting intensive socialization about the meaning of marriage and its goals. This includes an understanding of the importance of regeneration, the responsibility as a servant of God and a social human, and the positive and negative impacts of being childfree, especially for the younger generation. This effort aims to ensure that society has a holistic and more comprehensive understanding of the consequences of their choices. This will also help individuals make wiser decisions, taking into account long-term implications.

Referring to some of the aforementioned views, being childfree is the choice of married couples who decide to be childless in accordance with the couple's own wishes and agreements. From the human rights perspective, choosing not to have children after marriage is indeed something that is not wrong since every individual has the right to decide about matters in their own lives. Therefore, one should also appreciate and respect other people's principles of life by not blaspheming or spreading hate speech towards them.

Conclusion

Becoming childfree, originally a statement regarding one's discomfort on a frequently asked question about parenthood, has turned into a Western propaganda aimed at distancing people from the Sunnah of the Prophet. Online media plays a very important role in spreading this issue, as people from various countries increasingly find it easier to interact and share information. In addition, the digital era has led individuals to find communities to support each other and strengthen their choices in facing the pronatalist society in Indonesia. Through social media, individuals/couples can find a community to strengthen each other in facing the negative stigma of the pronatalist society in Indonesia. One of the objectives of Islamic law (*maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*) is to maintain offspring (*hifz al-nasl*) which can be realized in marriage. According to the *ulama*, being childfree is contrary to Islamic law and the nature of humanity. NU, Muhammadiyah, and gender activists mention two types of childfree laws, *haram* and *mubah*. It is *haram* because it is contrary to *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, i.e., preserving offspring, as it is also one of the goals of marriage. However, childfreeness cannot be

⁸¹Interview with ZMM, Muhammadiyah Muballigh and Management of Aisyiyah Malang, August 11, 2023.

completely rejected; in certain cases, being childfree can be the right choice due to health issues, physical limitations, and psychological conditions, and thus, the choice to be childfree is *mubah*. Still, sociologically, the government and all related parties need to provide education to the public so that the meaning of childfree can be properly understood. Therefore, the state, assisted by various parties as the main legal actors, must be present in maintaining order in society regarding various problems.

References

Journals and Books

Al-Zuhailiy, Wahbah, *Fiqh Islam wa Adillatuhu* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2010).

Al-Zuhailiy, Wahbah, *Tafsir Al-Munir fi Al-Aqidah wa Al-Syari'ah wa Al-Manhaj*, Vol. 8, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2009).

Amirulkamar, Said, et.al., "Administration Reagent of Aceh Family Law Qanun: Siri Marriage Motives Towards the Legality of Polygamy," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syari'ah* 15, No. 1 (2023). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v15i1.21352>.

AOYAGI, Kaoru. "Al-Ghazālī and Marriage from the Viewpoint of Sufism." *Orient* 40, no. 0 (2005). <https://doi.org/10.5356/orient.40.124>.

Arfa, Faisar Ananda Arfa and Watni Marpaung, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Islam*, Jakarta: Kencana, 2016.

Deulin, Dmitriy, et al. "Analysis of legal and socio-psychological aspects of the «childfree» phenomenon," *Applied psychology and pedagogy* 8, no. 3 (2023). DOI:10.12737/2500-0543-2023-8-3-31-44.

Djati, Gunung, and Conference Series. "Gunung Djati Conference Series, Volume 8 (2022) The 2nd Conference on Ushuluddin Studies Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati 8, (2022).

Djawas, Mursyid, et al., "Creating Family Resilience in Indonesia: A Study of "Marriage Guidance" Program in Aceh and South Sumatera," *Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Islam dan Pranata Sosial* 17, No. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i1.6150>.

Ghazali, Imam. *Ringkasan Ihya' Ulumuddin*. Jakarta: Akbar Media, 2008.

Hadi, Abdul, Husnul Khatimah, and Sadari. "Childfree Dan Childless Ditinjau Dalam Ilmu Fiqih Dan Perspektif Pendidikan Islam." *Journal of Educational and Language Research*, no. (2022).

Hanandita, Tiara. "Konstruksi Masyarakat tentang Hidup tanpa Anak Setelah Menikah," *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* 11, No. 1 (2022). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20961/jas.v11i1.56920>.

- Hasan, Sudirman and Erfaniah Zuhriah, "Reformasi Gaya Berumah Tangga Melalui Model Keluarga Sakinah Dalam Mencegah Perceraian (Studi Di Kelurahan Candirenggo Kecamatan Singosari Kabupaten Malang)," *ADHKI: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 1, No. 2 (2019). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.37876/adhki.v1i2.21>.
- Fajri M. Kasim, et al., "The Protection of Women and Children Post-Divorce in Sharia Courts in Aceh: A Sociological Perspective," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 22, No. 2 (2022). DOI: 10.15408/ajis.v22i2.28747.
- Kurniawan, Faizal. *Keluarga Dan Budaya Dalam Tinjauan Sosiologis*. Jakarta: G4 Publishing, 2020.
- Lemke, Jilian, et al., "Sterilized and Satisfied: Outcomes of Childfree Sterilization Obtainment and Denials," *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, (2023). DOI:10.1177/03616843231164069.
- Mardhiyah. "Pengaruh Keikutsertaan Keluarga Berencana Terhadap Peningkatan Pendidikan Anak Di Kelurahan Pulau Kijang." Universitas Islam Negeri Suska Riau, 2016.
- Meidina, Ahmad Rezy and Mega Puspita, "Childfree Practices in Indonesia (Study on the Response of Islamic Community Organizations in Kebumen Distric)," *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies* 7, No.1, (2023). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21009/hayula.007.01.02>.
- Muhammad, Husein. *Fiqh Perempuan Refleksi Kiai Atas Tafsir Wacana Agama Dan Gender*. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2019.
- Neal, Jennifer Watling and Zachary Neal, "Prevalence and characteristics of childfree adults in Michigan (USA)," *PLoS ONE* 16, No. 6 (2021). DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0252528.
- Nurhayati, et al., "Human Trafficking in the Perspective of Maqashid Al-Sharia," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 22, No. 2 (2022). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v22i2.12304>.
- Nurjanah, Sitti and Iffatin Nur, "Gender Fiqh: The Mobilization of Gender-Responsive Movements on Social Media," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 22, No. 1 (2022). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v22i1.1-18>.
- Nurjannah, Sitti and Iffatin Nur, "Childfree: Between the Sacredness of Religion. Law and the Reality of Society," *al-Adalah* 19, No. 1 (2022). <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v19i1.11962>.
- Raffar, Izzah Nur Aida Zur, Salasiah Hanin Hamjah, Ahmad Dzaky Hasan, and Nang Naemah Nik Dahalan. "Parenting Skills According to The Islamic Perspective Towards Family Well-Being." *Samarah* 5, no. 2 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v5i2.9576>.

- Rofiah, Nur, *Nalar Kritis Muslimah*, Bandung: Afkaruna, 2020.
- Shibah, M. Quraish, *Tafsir Al-Misbah Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, Vol. 14, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2000).
- Sobotka, Tomas. "World's Highest Childlessness Levels in East Asia." *Ined*, 2021, 595. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3917/popsoc.595.0001>.
- Soerjono Soekanto, *Pokok-Pokok Sosiologi Hukum*, Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011.
- Solikin, Nur and Moh. Wasik, "The Construction of Family Law in the Compilation of Islamic Law in Indonesia: A Review of John Rawls's Concept of Justice and Jasser Auda's Maqashid al-Shari'a," *Ulumuna: Journal of Islamic Studies* 27, No. 1 (2023). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujs.v27i1.708>.
- Stahnke, Brittany, et al., "A Systematic Review of Life Satisfaction Experiences Among Childfree Adults," *The Family Journal* 3, No. 8 (2022). DOI:10.1177/10664807221104795.
- Susanti, Shelvy. "Menikah Tanpa Keturunan: Masalah Psikologis Yang Dialami Perempuan Menikah Tanpa Anak Dan Strategi Coping Dalam Mengatasinya." *Character: Jurnal Penelitian Psikologi*. 6, no. 2 (2019).
- Syafi'i, Imam, et al., "Childfree in Islamic Law Perspective of Nahdlatul Ulama," *Al-Ahkam* 33, No. 1 (2023). DOI: <http://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2023.33.1.14576>.
- Tunggono, Victoria, *Childfree & Happy*, Yogyakarta: EA Books, 2021.
- Widyasari S, Citra and Taufiq Hidayat, "Tinjauan Masalah Mursalah terhadap Fenomena Childfree," *Diktum: Jurnal Syariah dan Hukum* 20, No. 2 (2022).
- Wijaya, Roma, "Respon Al-Qur'an atas Trend Childfree (Analisis Tafsir Maqāshidi)," *Al-Dzikra: Jurnal Studi Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Al-Hadits* 16, No. 1 (2022). DOI:10.24042/al-dzikra.v16i1.11380.

Internet Data

- Chrastil, Rachel. "Not Having Kids Is Nothing New. What Centuries of History Tell Us about Childlessness Today." *The Washington Post*, 2019. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/09/05/not-having-kids-is-nothing-new-what-centuries-history-tell-us-about-childlessness-today/>.
- Dictionary, Cambridge. "Childfree." Accessed July 27, 2022. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/child-free>.
- Dictionary, Collins. "Childfree." Accessed July 27, 2022.

- <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/childfree>.
- Elmira, Putu. "Sosok Gita Savitri Yang Memutuskan Untuk Tak Punya Anak." *Liputan 6*, 2021. <https://www.liputan6.com/lifestyle/read/4633425/sosok-gita-savitri-yang-memutuskan-untuk-tak-punya-anak>.
- Google Tren. "Childfree." Accessed July 26, 2022. <https://trends.google.com/trends/explore?geo=ID&q=childfre>.
- Hidayat, Adi. "[Klik Adi] UAH Bicara Tentang Childfree - Ustadz Adi Hidayat." *Adi Hidayat Official*, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HNgoRAPqSHc&t=10s>.
- Statistik, Badan Pusat. "Hasil Sensus Penduduk 2020." BPS, 2021. <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2021/01/21/1854/hasil-sensus-penduduk-2020.html>.
- Widyaningrum, Analisa. "Kpn Punya Anak? Aku Pngen Punya Ponakan Online" Jawaban & Alasan Gita Savitri Utk Pertanyaan Tersebut." *Analisa Channel*, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rwd5i9XXEKM>.

Interviews

- Interview with AIM, Deputy Secretary of NU Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with AMKA, Chair of LP MA'ARIF Malang Regency, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with BNM, Chair of the Law and Human Rights Council Division of Muhammadiyah, Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with HBB, Founder of the Indonesian Women and Children Protection Community (KOPPATARA) and East Java Maarif Counselor, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with IKS, Governing Board at Majelis Ta'lim Asyifa, Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with MSK, Management of the Nahdlatul Ulama Family Benefits Institution (LKKNU Malang), August 11, 2023.
- Interview with NMN, Lecturer, Gender Activist and NU Management in Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with RSH, NU Muslimat Management, Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with TDC, Aisiyiah Regional Leader, Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with YKP, Secretary of Muhammadiyah of Malang City, August 11, 2023.
- Interview with ZMM, Muhammadiyah Muballigh and Management of Aisiyiah Malang, August 11, 2023.