

Millennial Muslim Couples' Views On Family Planning: A Maqasid Al-Shari'ah Analysis In Pamulang Subdistrict, South Tangerang

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Article Info	Abstract
Article history: Received: 2026-09-05 Revised: 2026-09-20 Accepted: 2026-10-09 Keywords: Birth spacing Family planning Islamic family law Maqasid al-Shari'ah Millennial Muslim couples	Family planning has moved from a birth-control programme toward a strategy for improving the quality of family life, yet empirical studies of millennial Muslim couples within the Maqasid al-Shari'ah framework remain scarce. This study analyses how millennial Muslim couples understand and practise family planning and how far that practice corresponds to the objectives of Maqasid al-Shari'ah. A qualitative empirical case-study design was used, drawing on in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation with seven purposively selected couples in Pamulang, South Tangerang, analysed through data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing with source and technique triangulation. All informants regard family planning as a way of planning family life rather than a means of limiting births, and this interpretation grows stronger among economically established couples. The practice corresponds to the protection of life, lineage, and property, and operates across the daruriyyat and hajiyyat levels.

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A. Introduction

Global population dynamics call for new approaches to the management of family life. The continued growth of the world population places pressure on natural resources and on environmental carrying capacity, which has led many states to formulate family planning policies as a measurable mitigation strategy. Where such programmes were once directed mainly at lowering birth rates, their focus has now moved toward the improvement of human resource quality in a more comprehensive sense (Nopianti, 2024). The shift is clearest among the millennial generation, which currently dominates the productive-age structure of the population and faces a distinctive set of economic and social pressures. Couples of this generation tend to plan the arrival of children more deliberately and to give priority to financial and psychological stability before they establish the foundations of a nuclear family.

Indonesia is presently in a period of demographic dividend, with the majority of its population in the productive age group. These conditions have prompted the National Population and Family Planning Board (Badan Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana Nasional [BKKBN]) to intensify family development programmes oriented not only toward the control of population size but also toward the formation of families of high quality (BKKBN, 2024). The phenomenon is clearly visible in Pamulang Subdistrict, South Tangerang City, one of the buffer areas of the national capital, marked by a high level of urbanisation and by a heterogeneous population. Population records place the number of residents of Pamulang Subdistrict at more than 324,000 (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Tangerang Selatan, 2024), with a relatively high prevalence of modern contraceptive use among couples of reproductive age. Alongside its population density, Pamulang has also grown as a base for an active Muslim community, indicated by the proliferation of Islamic educational institutions and majelis taklim, or religious study circles. The result is a profile of millennial couples who combine religious literacy with a modern urban way of life.

Preliminary observation indicates that millennial Muslim couples in Pamulang deliberately regulate the number and spacing of their children through various contraceptive methods, across

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economic backgrounds. Couples in secure economic circumstances use the regulation of pregnancy to optimise their children's education, while couples with limited income do so to maintain the financial stability of the household. The religious dimension is never absent from these decisions. Millennial couples tend to seek shar'i legitimacy for the contraceptive choices they make, whether through consultation with religious figures or through their own search of Islamic sources. The phenomenon confirms that for this group family planning is not only a technical and medical matter but also a question of religious validity that requires an adequate answer.

In normative terms, the discussion of birth regulation in Islam has developed since the era of the classical jurists through the discourse on *'azl*, or coitus interruptus, which the majority of scholars, among them al-Ghazali and Imam al-Nawawi, regarded as permissible (*mubah*) provided that it rests on grounds recognised by the shari'ah and produces no harm (Sabilla, 2025; Zuhri, 2023). Contemporary scholars such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Wahbah al-Zuhayli extended that discussion to modern contraception and held that its use is permitted so long as it aims to protect maternal health and to improve the quality of child-rearing, and is not intended to end procreation permanently without justified reason. In Indonesia, the Indonesian Ulema Council, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah likewise permit family planning in principle as long as it is carried out within the boundaries of the shari'ah (Nahdlatul Ulama, 2026; Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 2012). This fiqh framework can be sharpened through the theory of Maqasid al-Shari'ah formulated by Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, which holds that all provisions of the shari'ah aim to realise benefit (*jalb al-masalih*) and to prevent harm (*dar' al-mafasid*), particularly through the protection of the five essentials of human life (*al-kulliyat al-khams*): religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property (Rohman, 2017; Milhan, 2022). Within that framework the five essentials are further ordered by degree of necessity into *daruriyyat*, the essentials without which life would fall into disorder, *hajiyyat*, the needs whose fulfilment removes hardship, and *tahsiniyyat*, the refinements that lend dignity to conduct (Islam, 2024). Read in these terms, a decision about the number and spacing of children is not a marginal technical choice but a matter that touches the essentials directly, since it bears at once on the safety of the mother, on the conditions under which offspring are raised, and on the allocation of household resources.

Earlier studies that examine family planning through Maqasid al-Shari'ah have generally remained at the level of normative legal texts. Hasibuan (2023), Yusran et al. (2025), and Basri et al. (2025) demonstrate that birth regulation programmes accord with the principles of protecting life, lineage, and property, but they do not reach empirical practice among millennial Muslims in particular. Qualitative field studies such as those of Fathur Aziz (2021) and Ramadan (2023) find that health, welfare, and religious understanding shape contraceptive decisions in the community, yet they do not analyse the reasoning of the millennial generation specifically. More recent sociological work such as that of Arsyad et al. (2021) and Ass'ari et al. (2025) reveals a shift in the orientation of young people from the quantity to the quality of children and traces the part played by religious values and digital media in shaping the meaning of the ideal family, but it does not apply an Islamic legal framework in a systematic way. Closer to the empirical register, Aziman and Alsayd (2026) used maqasid al-shari'ah deductively, as an a priori coding framework that organised both their interview instrument and their analysis of santri who had experienced the absence of a father, which shows that the objectives of the shari'ah can structure an account of lived family experience and not only a reading of legal texts. Their concern, however, was the consequences of a father's absence rather than the reproductive decisions of married couples. What emerges from this body of work is the absence of a study that brings an empirical sociological account of millennial Muslim couples together with the Maqasid al-Shari'ah framework as a whole. The present study seeks to fill that gap.

On this basis, the study is formulated to answer three questions: (1) how millennial Muslim couples understand, interpret, and practise family planning within their family life; (2) what makes the practice of family planning urgent for millennial Muslim couples of differing financial backgrounds; and (3) how millennial Muslim couples integrate the principles of Maqasid al-Shari'ah into their family planning practice. The study analyses these three aspects in depth, with the aim of enriching the literature of Islamic family law and of providing an empirical basis for the Office of Religious Affairs,

BKKBN, and marriage counsellors in the design of premarital guidance material better suited to the millennial generation.

B. Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with an empirical (field research) design and a case study method, directed toward an in-depth understanding of how millennial Muslim couples interpret and practise family planning and how they relate that practice to the perspective of Maqasid al-Shari'ah. The approach was chosen because it is descriptive as well as analytical and implementative, and is therefore able to disclose the meanings, patterns of reasoning, and actual practices of the research subjects in daily life rather than to test a hypothesis (Creswell & Poth, as cited in Fadli, 2021).

The research was carried out in Pamulang Subdistrict, South Tangerang City, Banten Province, over approximately three months (March to May 2026), with the in-depth interviews conducted from 9 to 11 May 2026. The site was selected because it is an urban area with a heterogeneous population, adequate access to reproductive health services, and an active Muslim community, and was therefore judged able to supply an information-rich context for the focus of the study.

Informants and Sampling Technique

Informants were determined through purposive sampling under the following criteria: millennial Muslim couples who are married, resident in Pamulang Subdistrict, and who have undertaken or considered a family planning programme. The study involved seven millennial Muslim couples, classified by variation in economic stratum (four economically established couples and three couples with a stable basic income) and by participation in the family planning programme (four active acceptors and three non-acceptors). Economic establishment was determined not by the size of salary but by operational indicators: possession of a fixed source of income, income above the minimum wage of South Tangerang City, financial independence, adequacy of housing, access to health services, and the capacity to plan for the medium- and long-term needs of the family. The number of informants was set by the principle of data saturation, that is, the point at which further interviews no longer produced significant new themes.

Data Collection Techniques

Primary data were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews, field observation of the social context and interactions of the informants, and documentation in the form of field notes and photographs of research activities. Secondary data were drawn from books, scholarly journals, earlier research reports, and official documents relevant to family planning and Maqasid al-Shari'ah, and served as complementary material to strengthen triangulation and the credibility of the findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2023; Sugiyono, 2021).

Data Analysis Techniques

Data were analysed through a descriptive-interpretive approach in three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing with verification (Rifa'i, 2024; Qomaruddin, 2024). At the reduction stage, material from the interviews, observation, and documentation was transcribed and grouped into initial themes such as understanding of family planning, economic considerations, religious values, and reasons for contraceptive use. At the interpretation stage, the findings were analysed through the Maqasid al-Shari'ah framework of Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, with an assessment of their correspondence to the objectives of protecting life (hifz al-nafs), lineage (hifz al-nasl), and property (hifz al-mal). Maqasid was therefore treated as an a priori analytic framework for coding rather than as an object of doctrinal commentary, a procedure also adopted by Aziman and Alsayd (2026) in their study of father absence among santri.

Trustworthiness of the Data

The trustworthiness of the data was secured through source triangulation, which compared the views of different informants, and technique triangulation, which compared interview, observation, and documentary material, together with persistent observation and an audit trail across the whole process of reduction, coding, and theme construction. The interview guide was also assessed

for adequacy by the supervisor before its use in the field, so that the questions would be clear, would not lead the answers, and would remain relevant to the research questions.

C. Result and Discussion

Understanding and Interpretation of Family Planning among Millennial Muslim Couples

Interviews with the seven millennial Muslim couples in Pamulang Subdistrict disclosed a relatively uniform view. Family planning is not understood as a programme intended only for families of limited means, but as a need of every family that wishes to conduct household life in a more planned manner. One informant made the point explicit by rejecting the assumption that family planning belongs to poverty:

"Not at all. In our view, family planning is important for every family, not only for those who are less well off."

A second theme is the interpretation of family planning as a comprehensive form of planning for family life, as another informant put it: "For us it means the way we organise the family from the very beginning. So it is not merely a question of whether to have children, but of how we prepare family life so that it is not too heavy to carry later on." This understanding places the regulation of the number and spacing of births within the readiness to perform the function of child-rearing, rather than treating it as a reproductive decision alone. A third theme shows that family planning is regarded as a means of creating a more orderly and balanced family life in economic terms as well as in child-rearing and in the education of children. Taken together, these findings provide an empirical answer to the first research question: millennial Muslim couples interpret family planning as a universal need, as a form of planning for family life, and as a means of bringing order to the household.

Family Planning Practice among Couples of Differing Financial Backgrounds

The second principal finding is that economic security does not lead millennial Muslim couples to disregard family planning. On the contrary, stable financial circumstances make them more attentive to the importance of the programme for the quality of child-rearing and for the health of the family. One economically established informant stated:

"Even though we are financially comfortable, we still feel the need to regulate the number and spacing of our children so that we can focus on educating and raising them well."

The statement shows that the primary consideration of the informants is not the limitation of offspring out of economic fear, but the capacity to give each child optimal attention and support. Reproductive health considerations also appeared consistently across every economic group, as another informant explained: "In our view birth spacing matters so that the mother has time to recover physically after giving birth." Informants further described family planning as a form of parental responsibility for the future of the child: "For us, having children is not only a matter of economic capacity but also of readiness to educate and guide them into adulthood." These findings confirm that the family planning decisions of millennial Muslim couples rest not only on economic calculation but also on psychological and social readiness and on a religious sense of responsibility for the welfare of children, which answers the second research question.

Correspondence between the Meaning of Family Planning and the Objectives of Maqasid al-Shari'ah

The interviews, observation, and documentation show that although most informants did not use the term Maqasid al-Shari'ah explicitly, the substance of their reasoning displays a clear orientation toward three principal objectives: the protection of life, the protection of lineage, and the protection of property.

On the protection of life (hifz al-nafs), informants consistently connected the spacing of births with the recovery of the mother's physical condition, as one statement illustrates: "If the births are too close together it is hard on the mother, because she has not fully recovered. A newborn also needs full attention." On the protection of lineage (hifz al-nasl), informants held that the quality of child-rearing takes precedence over the number of children: "What matters is not how many children there are, but how those children are able to grow and develop well." On the protection of property (hifz al-mal), informants understood the management of family resources not as anxiety over sustenance

but as an effort to ensure that the rights of every child are met equally: “In our view, having children must be accompanied by the readiness to meet their needs until they are grown.”

Table 1 summarises the relationship between the themes that emerged in the field and the relevant objectives of Maqasid al-Shari’ah.

Table 1. Relationship Between Field Findings And The Dimensions Of Maqasid Al-Shari’ah

Maqasid Dimension	Field Finding	Indicator of Practice	Maqasid Level
Hifz al-Nafs (Protection of Life)	Regulation of birth spacing to allow the mother’s physical recovery and to reduce the risk of high-risk pregnancy	Maternal and child reproductive health	Daruriyyat
Hifz al-Nasl (Protection of Lineage)	Orientation toward the quality of child-rearing, education, and character formation rather than the number of children	Quality of child-rearing and children’s education	Daruriyyat
Hifz al-Mal (Protection of Property)	Proportional management of family resources so that the needs of every child are met	Household economic planning and family welfare	Daruriyyat– Hajiyyat

Analysis and Discussion

The findings show that millennial Muslim couples in Pamulang Subdistrict interpret family planning in substantive terms, beyond the older understanding that associates it solely with birth control or with weak economic conditions. The shift accords with Susiloningtyas et al. (2023), who found that family planning is understood as a means of creating healthy and well-planned families. The present study adds a further contribution, since it discloses that this interpretation grows stronger rather than weaker among couples in secure economic circumstances. The findings also reinforce the work of Arsyad et al. (2021) and Ekawati and Herdayati (2020), who demonstrate that the millennial generation gives priority to the quality of child-rearing and education over the quantity of offspring.

In theoretical terms, the results are consistent with the Maqasid al-Shari’ah framework of Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi, which places the protection of life, lineage, and property among the daruriyyat needs that must be fulfilled if human welfare is to be realised (Rohman, 2017; Islam, 2024). The awareness among informants of the need for an interval between births so that the mother may recover physically is a concrete expression of hifz al-nafs, since for al-Shatibi every act that preserves human safety and health belongs to the realisation of the objectives of the shari’ah. In the same way, the orientation of informants toward the quality of child-rearing and education rather than toward the number of children accords with an understanding of hifz al-nasl that means not only the biological continuity of descent but also the assurance that offspring grow under conditions permitting optimal physical, mental, and moral development (Mustaqimah & Rizik, 2024). The economic considerations that appear in family planning decisions are better understood as responsible management of property (hifz al-mal) than as an expression of excessive anxiety over sustenance, an attitude that would sit less comfortably with the spirit of tawakkul in Islam if adopted without clear reason.

The finding that economic security does not weaken commitment to family planning, and indeed strengthens it, deserves a critical reading. The pattern indicates a transformation in the rationality of millennial Muslim couples, from a paradigm of family planning as a remedy for poverty toward family planning as an instrument of investment in the quality of family life. The change is relevant to the position of Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Wahbah al-Zuhayli, for whom the legal status of contraceptive use is contextual and depends on the purpose to be achieved (Abduloh, 2025). So long as the purpose is to protect maternal health, to improve the quality of child-rearing, and to manage the welfare of the family, as it was among the informants of this study, the practice falls within the permissible (mubah) and may even be recommended within the framework of maslahah. Where family planning is undertaken without clear reason or out of excessive anxiety over sustenance, by contrast,

its status may shift to the disapproved (*makruh*), as classical *fiqh* discussions of *'azl* maintain (Sabilla, 2025).

Read through the levels of *maqasid*, the family planning practice of millennial Muslim couples meets not only *daruriyyat* needs but also touches the *hajiyyat* dimension, in that it eases the management of reproductive health, of children's education, and of household economic stability, as well as the *tahsiniyyat* dimension, through the emergence of a more harmonious and dignified pattern of child-rearing. Family planning within the group studied therefore functions as a multidimensional instrument that supports the welfare of the family at successive levels, rather than as a technical device for the regulation of births.

The findings carry important practical implications. For institutions such as BKKBN and the Office of Religious Affairs, they indicate that family planning education for the millennial generation needs to move away from an approach that emphasises the control of population size alone and toward one that integrates *maqasidi* values, that is, an approach that foregrounds the benefits of family planning for health, for the quality of child-rearing, and for the welfare of the family as a whole. An approach of this kind is likely to prove more effective in reaching millennial Muslim couples who, as this study found, consistently seek religious legitimacy for their reproductive decisions.

The study has limitations that should be borne in mind in any interpretation of its findings. First, it was conducted only among millennial Muslim couples in Pamulang Subdistrict, so the results cannot yet be generalised to other regions with different socio-cultural and economic characteristics. Second, the limited number of informants, seven couples, means that the variation of experience recorded does not fully represent the phenomenon across the wider society. Third, the study focused on couples who have practised or considered family planning, and so does not capture the views of millennial Muslim couples who deliberately choose not to take part in the programme as a comparison group.

A comparison with earlier *maqasid*-based work sharpens what is at stake. Hasibuan (2023), Yusran et al. (2025), and Basri et al. (2025) reach a conclusion similar to the one reached here, namely that birth regulation is compatible with the protection of life, lineage, and property. Their conclusion, however, is derived from the reading of legal texts, so that compatibility is established at the level of doctrine and left untested against practice. The present study arrives at the same judgment from the opposite direction, since the correspondence was reconstructed from what couples said about their own decisions, and none of them used *maqasid* vocabulary. The convergence between doctrinal reasoning and lay reasoning is itself a finding, because it suggests that the *maqasid* framework describes a moral logic that Muslim couples already exercise rather than a standard imposed on them from outside. A parallel runs through the study of *mahar* by Mahendra et al. (2026), in which a doctrinal reading through *maqasid* recovers the purpose of the institution as a marker of esteem and a vested right of the wife against a lay understanding that treats it as a price. There the correction runs from doctrine toward practice. Here it runs in the opposite direction, since the reasoning of the couples already tracked the objectives that the doctrinal literature derives from the texts.

Two directions follow for further work. The first concerns the dimensions of *maqasid* left aside here. This study traced only the protection of life, lineage, and property, because these were the objectives the informants themselves reasoned about, yet family planning also bears on *hifz al-din* and *hifz al-'aql* through religious formation and through the education of children, and those dimensions would repay separate examination. The second concerns the comparison group. Since every informant had practised or considered family planning, the reasoning of couples who deliberately decline the programme remains unexamined, and it is that group which would test whether the *maqasidi* logic identified here is shared across millennial Muslim couples or is particular to those who accept the programme.

D. Conclusion

The study reaches three principal conclusions in answer to the questions posed. First, millennial Muslim couples in Pamulang Subdistrict interpret family planning as a complete instrument for the planning of family life and as a need of every family rather than a programme reserved for low-income households, and they use it to regulate the spacing of births and to prepare thoroughly for the

care of their children. Second, economic security does not reduce the urgency of family planning practice. Financially established couples make it their principal strategy for maintaining the quality of child-rearing, the health of the family, and the education of children, so that their reproductive decisions rest on considerations of overall readiness rather than on economic calculation alone. Third, the meaning and practice of family planning among millennial Muslim couples correspond closely to the principal precepts of Maqasid al-Shari'ah: the regulation of birth spacing to protect maternal health accords with *hifz al-nafs*, attention to the quality of child-rearing and education accords with *hifz al-nasl*, and responsible management of family resources accords with *hifz al-mal*.

On the basis of these conclusions, the study recommends that BKKBN, the Office of Religious Affairs, and marriage guidance institutions integrate the values of Maqasid al-Shari'ah into family planning education for the millennial generation, with emphasis on the benefits of the programme for the welfare of the family as a whole rather than for the control of population size alone. Further research is advised to widen the geographical scope and the number of informants, to include couples who do not take part in family planning as a comparison group, and to extend the maqasidi analysis to the dimensions of *hifz al-din* and *hifz al-'aql*, so that a fuller understanding of family planning within contemporary Islamic family law may be obtained.

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