

“Jo Kawin Bocah” Social Movement to Reduce Child Marriage Rates in Central Java

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Abstract

The “Jo Kawin Bocah” (Javanese term for “No Child Marriage”) social movement implemented by the Central Java Government over the past two years has significantly reduced the number of child marriages in Central Java province. This research aims to analyze the concept of “Jo Kawin Bocah” as a government-sponsored movement, identify the critical success factors, and explore the concept in terms *maqāṣid al-sharī’ah* (Sharia objectives). This field research uses a qualitative approach and deductive thinking, with data collected from interviews and documentation. The findings show that the social movement is feasible because stakeholders are aware of the negative impacts of early marriage. Another critical success factor is the involvement of community members and district/city leaders and collaboration between civil society organizations, the government, educational institutions, and other cross-sector organizations. Viewed from the *maqāṣid al-sharī’ah* side, the social movement “Jo Kawin Bocah” can realize the protection of the soul (*hifz al-nafs*), protection of the mind (*hifz al-‘aql*), protection of assets (*hifz al-māl*), and protection of offspring (*hifz al-nasl*). This research implies that increasing awareness about the negative consequences of early marriage is the key to the success of social movements.

Gerakan sosial “Jo Kawin Bocah” (istilah Bahasa Jawa untuk “Stop Pernikahan Anak”) yang diimplementasikan oleh pemerintah Jawa Tengah, dalam kurun waktu dua tahun terakhir secara signifikan mampu menekan angka pernikahan anak di provinsi Jawa Tengah. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis konsep “Jo Kawin Bocah” sebagai gerakan yang disponsori pemerintah, mengidentifikasi faktor penentu keberhasilan, serta menganalisis konsep ini ditinjau dari *maqāṣid al-sharī’ah* (tujuan syariah). Penelitian field research ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan cara berfikir deduktif dengan data dikumpulkan dari wawancara dan dokumentasi. Temuan dalam penelitian ini adalah gerakan sosial “Jo Kawin Bocah” dapat dilaksanakan karena adanya kesadaran dari para pihak mengenai dampak negatif dari pernikahan dini. Faktor penentu kesuksesan lainnya adalah keterlibatan dari berbagai komunitas dan pemimpin kabupaten/kota sangat penting dalam gerakan sosial “Jo Kawin Bocah” dan kerjasama antara organisasi masyarakat sipil, pemerintah, lembaga pendidikan, dan organisasi lintas sektor lainnya. Ditinjau dari sisi *maqāṣid al-sharī’ah*, gerakan sosial ini dapat mewujudkan perlindungan terhadap jiwa (*hifz al-nafs*), akal (*hifz al-‘aql*), aset (*hifz al-māl*), dan keturunan (*hifz al-nasl*). Implikasi dari penelitian ini adalah peningkatan kesadaran mengenai konsekuensi negatif dari pernikahan dini merupakan kunci keberhasilan dari gerakan sosial.

Keywords: child marriage; *Jo Kawin Bocah*; *maqāṣid al-sharī’ah*; social movement

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Introduction

Child marriage rates in Central Java have increased in the past three years. Data from the Office for Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control, and Family Planning in Central Java Province show that early marriages reached 12,049 in 2019. This number increased to 12,972 cases in 2020 and 13,595 in 2021 (Irsyadullah 2023). Factors that cause the increase in early marriage rates in Central Java are complex, some of which are narrow understandings of religion, poverty, low education levels, and cultural beliefs. For example, some believe marrying off a child is better than engaging in a non-marital relationship. Economically speaking, parents often perceive marriage as a quick way to overcome poverty, even if it means marrying off a child. Culturally, the commonly held belief is that girls' tasks are to take care of the household, including cooking and housekeeping, which often implies that their ultimate goal is to be married (Wibisono 2022).

In order to reduce the number of early marriages in Central Java, the government created a pilot project called "*Jo Kawin Bocah*," a Javanese equal term for "No Child Marriage." The movement was initiated by the Women and Children Service of Central Java Province as a joint effort to reduce the number of child marriages in Central Java. The launch was on 20 November 2020, coinciding with the Universal Children's Day (Nisa et al. 2022). The aim is to create an impact and raise awareness in society to reduce the number of early marriages in Central Java. As a social movement, "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" aims to mobilize the community to achieve social change (Kuk and Tarlau 2020; Mathieu 2021).

Past studies on the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement aiming to reduce the number of child marriages in Central Java have resulted in three findings. First, the social movement provides an opportunity to increase awareness about the proper age of marriage (Nisa et al. 2022). Second, religious organizations play a crucial role in the movement (Rofiah, Fauzi, and Muqoddam 2022). Third, the movement is an implementation of Law Number 16 of 2019 (Abdulkham 2022). Thus, it can be concluded that the current literature on the social movement is limited, so more research on the social movement is needed. The findings are urgent to inform policymakers to formulate a solution to reduce child marriage rates in Central Java.

This qualitative study aims to describe the concept of "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" as a government-sponsored movement, which includes defining the movement's vision and mission, institutional structure, and movement implementation. The second objective of this study is to analyze the critical success factors of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement. The third objective of this study is to analyze the implications of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement viewed from *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* (Sharia objectives). As such, the impact of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement can be identified to become a reference for government policymaking, especially the Central Java Government.

This research contributes to the body of literature by extending the findings of previous studies on the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement, which are still limited. For example, previous studies have not revealed what activities and how the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement is implemented. Therefore, this research can

provide an overview of whether the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement has been implemented as planned and how it impacts the prevalence of child marriage cases in Central Java.

From the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the goals of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement are comparable with the goals of Sharia. It is necessary for the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement not to contradict Islamic law. *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* is an essential concept in understanding Islamic law, which refers to the ultimate objectives or primary intentions of Islamic law (Tarique, Islam, and Mohammed 2021; Baehaqi, Birton, and Hudaefi 2020). The term *maqāṣid* means goals, and *al-sharī'ah* refers to Islamic law. This concept focuses on the intention and purpose behind Islamic law and recognizes the goals that the law seeks to achieve (Rahman et al. 2017; Amin, Abdul-Rahman, and Abdul Razak 2014). The notion of *al-Sharī'ah* emphasizes safeguarding and protecting community interests and promoting the public good (Jaya 1996; Ishak and Asni 2020). This principle recognizes that Islamic law aims to bring benefits and justice to humanity (Kamali 1999; Tajrid et al. 2021; Bedoui and Mansour 2015). It assists in understanding and interpreting Islamic law in a broader context, hence allowing for legal adjustments and applications based on the conditions of different times and places (Choudhury, Rahman, and Hasan 2018). Although there are variations in approaches and differences between scholars, there are common categorizations of elements in *al-sharī'ah*.

The five main elements, according to al-Shāṭibī, are the protection of religion (*ḥifẓ al-dīn*), the protection of the soul (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), the protection of the mind (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), the

protection of offspring (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), and the protection of assets (*ḥifẓ al-māl*) (Zuhdi 2013; Mahyudin and Rosman 2022). To realize and maintain the five basic elements, al-Shāṭibī divided the *maqāṣid* levels into three, namely necessities or *al-ḍarūriyāh*, needs or *al-ḥājjiyāh*, and luxuries or *al-taḥsīniyāh* (Sholihin 2023; al-Nahari et al. 2022). The three levels in *al-Sharī'ah* are interrelated. For example, if the *al-ḍarūriyāh* or necessities are not fulfilled, the damage or disruption to human life is not only in this world but also in the hereafter. The *al-ḥājjiyāh* aspect's unfulfillment will bring humans difficulties in realizing it as a *mukallaḥ*. Meanwhile, neglecting the *al-taḥsīniyāh* will make the five essential elements of *al-Sharī'ah* incomplete or unfulfilled. The principles of *al-sharī'ah* provide a basis for a more holistic discussion and interpretation of Islamic law, which takes into account aspects of benefits, justice, and the desired values in society (Akbar and Siti-Nabiha 2022). By understanding these ultimate goals, interpretations of Islamic law can be more contextual and flexible in responding to modern-day issues and meeting societal needs (Jaya 1996).

This research is qualitative, with data collected from news documents and interviews regarding the success of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement. The news was randomly selected based on the theme of the success of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” program. In addition to the news articles, data were also collected from interviews with key informants, consisting of policymakers and implementors of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement. The combination of document studies and interview data is expected to fully capture the impact of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement, including the critical success factors.

The research data collected from the news articles were corroborated through the interview data with the key informants who were directly involved in the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* program. The inclusion criteria are those directly involved in the formulation of programs/policies and those involved in the policy implementation. Five government officials were interviewed in-depth to discover how the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement has impacted child marriage rates in the province. Meanwhile, ten informants from the general public were those who directly experienced the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement as participants.

In the data collection process, the interviews were guided by pre-determined research questions. These questions are open questions seeking information about four data components: 1) the reasons for the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement, 2) the institutional *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement, 3) the community's response to the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement, and 4) the success rate of the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement in preventing early marriage.

The data were collected in two months, from February to March 2023. The key informants participating in the research were interviewed with their consent and willingness. Research questions were asked one by one, either in person or virtually. The informants were asked to explain their views on the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement using open-ended questions. During the interviews, the researcher also gave probing based on the statements/answers given by participants to answer the previous questions (Singarimbun and Effendi 2016).

The data collected from news articles and interviews with participants were systema-

tically categorized. The research data was then analyzed through three stages: data restatement, description, and interpretation. The restatement was carried out by referring to the interview excerpts. The data description aims to identify the patterns or tendencies in the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement. The interpretation is carried out by considering the social and institutional context, which becomes the critical success factor of the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement. The three stages of analysis form the basis for drawing conclusions. Research data from the interviews provide comparison points about the critical success factors of the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* program reported by the media.

The Concept of the *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* Social Movement

The *“Jo Kawin Bocah”* social movement implemented by the government of Central Java in the last two years has significantly reduced the number of child marriages in the province. As a social movement, the movement is a collective effort made by a group to produce social change or advocate for specific societal issues (Bourne 2017). Social movements often respond to dissatisfaction or injustice in social, political, or economic systems (della Porta 2017; Nugraha 2021). They are often driven by underlying values, interests, and goals shared by individuals and groups (Grinspun et al. 2022; La Torre et al. 2022). They may use strategies to achieve their goals, such as organizing demonstrations, leveraging social media, or working with civil society organizations, academics, and other relevant stakeholders (Castelli Gattinara and Pirro 2019; Haris, AB Rahman, and Wan Ahmad 2019), who can become a driving force in fighting for justice, structural change, and

social transformation. In brief, social movements play an essential role in the history of social change in various countries worldwide (Amenta and Polletta 2019), which, in the context of this research, is a movement to prevent early marriage.

This movement requires actors and social control (Goldstone 2004), including the framing offered to movement members as the maintenance of beliefs. Achieving a movement's goals requires active mobility of available resources (Smelser 1962). In this case, social movements occur if the problem of early marriage is a social problem that must be resolved and all elements, such as the government, society, educational institutions, and others, are involved.

The success of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement is influenced by three elements: the implementation of the vision and mission consistently, the systematic institutional structure, and the accommodative implementation. First, identifying the vision and mission of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement is essential to successfully reduce the number of early marriages in Central Java. Next, the success can be seen through the implementation of such a vision and mission consistently by the Provincial Government of Central Java, as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1 shows the identification of the vision and mission of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in Central Java, which focuses on short-term, medium-term, and long-term prospects. First, in the short term, the vision and mission of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement is for the Central Java provincial government to focus on garnering support from

various stakeholders, including the government and the community members. In the short term, this is done to identify common issues, namely the increasing cases of early marriage and the need to launch a program to overcome them. Second, in the medium term, the mission of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement is oriented toward establishing a regulatory institution to sustain the movement. In the medium term, the government has also prepared how to implement the movement, such as compiling guidelines for the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" Care Center and the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" pocketbook. Third, the vision and mission of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in the long run is directed at a broader. The movement will not only be carried out by the government but has become a learning process in society that can ultimately reduce cases of early marriage in Central Java.

Forming a systematic structure in the Central Java provincial government is one of the keys to the success of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in reducing the number of child marriages under the circumstances. The systematic institutional structure, as shown in Figure 1, emphasizes the importance of the involvement of all groups so that the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement can be realized following the conditions and situations of society in Central Java.

Figure 1 shows the institutional structure of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in Central Java province and the three contexts of the institutional structure. First, the institutional structure of the movement involves experts. Second, the institutional structure does not overlap. Third, it involves all members of society, both men and women.

Table 1
Identification of the Vision and Mission of the “*Jo Kawin Bocah*” Social Movement

Vision	Mission
Short-term (2 months)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compilation of a Draft Governor Regulation 2. The formation of an effective team 3. Development of stakeholder support 4. Life skills/skills training for facilitators 5. Implementation of focus group discussions with Penta-helix
Medium-term (6-12 months)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Compilation of Governor Regulations regarding the prevention of child marriage 2. Implementation of the “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” Care Centre guidelines 3. Compilation of the “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” pocketbook 4. Amendments to Regional Regulations concerning the implementation of child protection have been prepared 5. Trial establishment of the “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” Care Centre in the Semarang City and Klaten Regency 6. Development of a mapping application for vulnerable women and children (Apem Ketan)
Long-term (1-2 years)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Formation of the “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” Care Centre in all districts/cities in Central Java 2. Periodic Monitoring and Evaluation of Child Marriage Exposure Prevention and Evaluation 3. Issuance of Governor’s circular letter to Regents/Mayors to implement synergy 4. “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” is mandatory material or is included in the curriculum in elementary schools 5. Cases of early marriage have decreased

Source: Research documentation

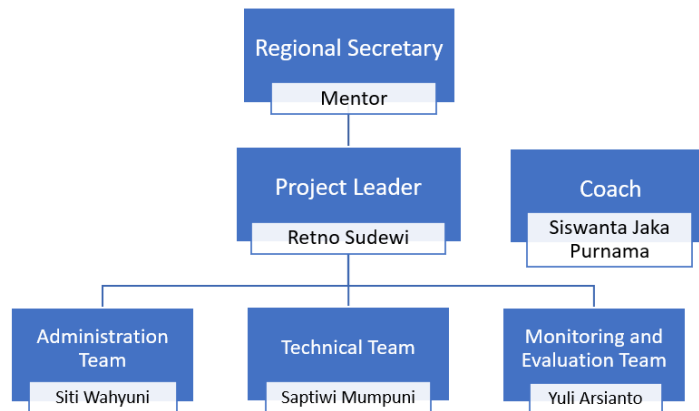


Figure 1
The Institutional Structure of the “*Jo Kawin Bocah*” Social Movement
Source: Sekda Prov. Jawa Tengah (2021)

The Success of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” Social Movement

A critical success factor of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement in reducing the number of underage child marriages in Central Java Province in the last two years was the effective and efficient delivery. Implementing this effective and efficient movement can be seen through the results, products, and policies issued by the government of Central Java, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 shows the implementation of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” social movement in Central Java, indicating three implementation contexts. *First*, the implementation is supported by policies and regulations. *Second*, the program is implemented by all groups and relevant stakeholders. *Third*, the aim is to raise awareness of parents and children regarding the consequences of child marriage. The involvement of all groups and stakeholders as a critical success factor of the movement is captured in Table 2.

Table 2
Implementation of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” Social Movement

Implementation	Movement	Figure/Evidence
Regulation	Forming an Effective Team “Jo Kawin Bocah” Central Java Province (Sekda Prov. Jateng 2021)	See Figure 1
Letters of Support	Signing MoU by 33 stakeholders, such as the Office of Women and Children of Central Java Province, STP for Protection of Women & Children, Centre for Family Learning of Central Java Province, Regional Office of the Ministry of Religion (Sudewi 2021)	See Figure 2
Application Guidelines	Creating the <i>Aplikasi Pemetaan Kelompok Rentan</i> (APEM Ketan), managed by the Office of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, Population Control and Family Planning (DP3AP2KB) Central Java (Diskominfo Jateng 2021; Ramdhani 2021)	See Figure 3
“Jo Kawin Bocah” pocketbook	Compiling “Jo Kawin Bocah” pocketbook by the Central Java Office of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection, Population Control and Family Planning (DP3AP2KB) (Diskominfo Jateng 2021; Ramdhani 2021)	See Figure 4
“Jo Kawin Bocah” Care Centre	Launching of the “Jo Kawin Bocah” Care Centre as the determination of the provincial government to suppress cases of child marriage by DP3AP2KB (Diskominfo Jateng 2021; Ramdhani 2021)	See Figure 5
“Jo Kawin Bocah” Expose	Expose “Jo Kawin Bocah” in the form of an interactive talk show involving the Central Java Provincial Office of Women and Children Children’s Forum, UNICEF, Central Java MUI (Forum Anak Jawa Tengah 2021)	See Figure 6

Source: Research documentation

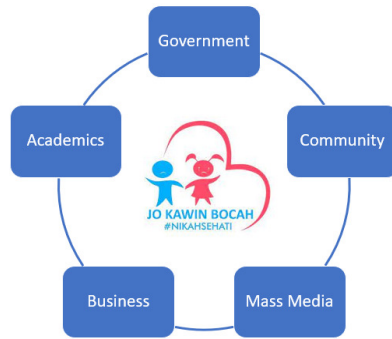


Figure 2
The Stakeholders Involved in the "Jo Kawin Bocah" Social Movement, adopted from the "Jo Kawin Bocah" pocketbook (DP3AP2KB Prov. Jawa Tengah 2021)

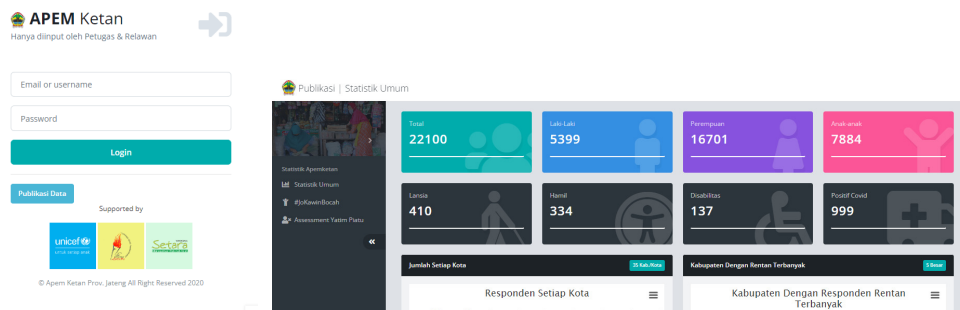


Figure 3
Screenshot of the "Apem Ketan" Application Website
Source Image: <https://apemketan.dp3akb.jatengprov.go.id/login>
<https://apemketan.dp3akb.jatengprov.go.id/publish/dash>



Figure 4
Poster of "Jo Kawin Bocah" Pocketbook
Source Image: Twitter Dinas Perempuan dan Anak Jateng
https://twitter.com/dp3ap2kb_jateng/status/1396715439682580480



Figure 5

Launching of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" Care Centre - Central Java Province

Source Image: <https://jatengprov.go.id/publik/tekan-kasus-perkawinan-anak-jateng-luncurkan-care-center-jo-kawin-bocah/>



Figure 6

The "Jo Kawin Bocah" Expose, in the form of an interactive talk show.

Source Image: <https://forumanak.id/kegiatanView/e34vkd7qn8>

Table 3
The Critical Success Factors of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" Social Movement

Informant	Interview Result
Ilm (38)	<i>"Diantara faktor keberhasilan gerakan jo Kawin Bocah ini adalah adanya sinergitas dan kolaborasi antar unsur pentahelix. Juga adanya komitmen Pemerintah Daerah yang terwujud dalam kebijakan daerah untuk pencegahan dan penanganan perkawinan anak. Sosialisasinya yang massif di berbagai media sehingga masyarakat sadar tentang dampak perkawinan anak"</i> (among the factors for the success of the jo-marriage-boy movement is the synergy and collaboration between Penta helix elements. There is also the commitment of the Regional Government, which is embodied in regional policies for preventing and handling child marriage. Massive outreach in various media so that people are aware of the impact of child marriage).
Mlh (37)	<i>"Gerakan ini dirasa berhasil karena ada penguatan hukum dan regulasi yang melindungi perempuan dan anak dari perkawinan anak, ada upaya untuk mengentaskan kemiskinan dan kesetaraan gender dan keadilan gender, adanya dukungan dan sinergi dengan berbagai pihak pentahelix, sehingga gerakan ini memiliki implikasi diantaranya bisa mengubah persepsi dan pengetahuan keluarga dan masyarakat tentang perkawinan, meningkatkan kesempatan perempuan untuk mendapatkan hak-hak Pendidikan serta pelatihan ketrampilan ekonomi juga ada pergeseran budaya dan adat tentang pemahaman pernikahan anak"</i> (this movement is considered successful because there are strengthening laws and regulations that protect women and children from child marriage, there are efforts to eradicate poverty and gender equality and gender justice, and there is support and synergy with various Penta helix parties, so this movement has implications including being able to change perceptions and family and community knowledge about marriage, increasing women's opportunities to obtain educational rights and economic skills training as well as cultural and customary shifts regarding the understanding of child marriage).
Dw (36)	<i>"Factor yang menentukan keberhasilan gerakan ini adalah adanya komitmen dari berbagai pihak, dengan keterlibatan pentahelix sehingga pencegahan lebih mencakup berbagai sector. Gerakan ini juga bisa mendorong mekanisme penanganan, seperti Pengadilan Agama sudah tidak meloloskan semua ajuan dispensasi nikah, dan adanya kampanye untuk meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat tentang bahaya pernikahan anak, serta didukung aktif oleh kelompok dan forum anak"</i> (the factor that determines the success of this movement is the commitment from various parties, with the involvement of Penta helix, so that prevention covers more sectors. This movement can also encourage handling mechanisms, such as that the Religious Courts have yet to pass all marriage dispensation applications, and there are campaigns to increase public awareness about the dangers of child marriage which children's groups and forums actively support).
Yy (40)	<p><i>Faktor keberhasilan Jo Kawin Bocah :</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <i>1. Semakin banyak ortu & anak-anak yang sadar & paham tentang bahaya perkawinan anak, sehingga bisa mencegah perkawinan anak. Tentunya ini harus diperkuat dengan bukti-bukti, misal hasil monitoring/ riset.</i> <i>2. Semakin banyak yang melaporkan jika ada kasus perkawinan anak. Maka kasus perkawinan anak yang dilaporkan, juga menunjukkan kesadaran bahwa perkawinan anak itu termasuk Tindak pidana kekerasan seksual.</i> <i>3. dari sisi aparat penegak hukum, semakin banyaknya kasus kekerasan seksual terhadap anak yang tetap diproses hukum, bukan didamaikan atau dinikahkan dengan pelaku.</i> <p><i>Terkait implementasi Gerakan Jo Kawin Bocah ini baru secara gerakan-gerakan parsial saja. Untuk gerakan yang terkoordinasi, mensinergikan peran-peran dan pihak-pihak yang disebut pentahelix, selama ini sepertinya belum terlaksana.</i></p> <p><i>Intervensi kunci dalam gerakan Jo Kawin Bocah ini seharusnya mendapatkan monitoring secara berkala agar dapat terpantau. Apakah sudah terlaksana atau belum, apakah semua ini sudah masuk dalam perencanaan program dan kegiatan atau belum.</i></p>

(The success factors for "Jo Kawin Bocah":

1. More and more parents and children are aware and understand the dangers of child marriage so that they can prevent child marriage. Of course, this must be supported by evidence, for example, the results of monitoring/research.
2. More and more are reporting cases of child marriage. So the reported cases of child marriage also show awareness that child marriage is a crime of sexual violence.
3. From the point of view of law enforcement officials, the increasing number of cases of sexual violence against children are still being processed by law rather than being reconciled or married off to the perpetrators.

Regarding the implementation of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement, this is only a partial movement. For a coordinated movement, synergizing roles and parties, which is called Penta helix, it seems that it has not been implemented so far. The critical intervention in the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement should receive periodic monitoring so that it can be monitored. Whether it has been implemented or not, whether all of this has been included in the program and activity planning (in this case, the Provincial Budget).

Source: Primary data

In from Smelser's sociological perspective, there are six critical success factors of a social movement: the growth and spread of a generalized belief (da Costa et al. 2023; Nugraha 2021). Raised awareness about the negative consequences of early marriage has also played a significant role in the success of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement in Central Java. Society believes that teen mothers face a higher risk of miscarriage. For women aged 15-19, the rates of miscarriage and death of mothers and children during childbirth are two times higher. Moreover, babies born to teen mothers face a higher risk of death and are likely to die before the age of one year. In addition, teen mothers are also prone to delivering premature and malnourished babies. Pregnancy at a young age also increases the risk of abnormalities in the fetus and the mother's pelvis, difficulties during labor, and so on. In addition to the negative impact on teen mothers, pregnancy at a young age also impacts babies severely. Aside from being born prematurely, they may have physical disabilities with a double risk compared to those carried by adult mothers. This issue is

caused by hormonal instability in young mothers who often experience stress (Fadilah 2021).

The next critical success factor of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement is structural conduciveness, namely the social situation that makes it easier for collective behavior to occur (Nugraha 2021). In the "Jo Kawin Bocah" pocketbook, the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement involves the penta-helix elements, namely the government, academics, community, mass media, and business (DP3AP2KB Prov. Jawa Tengah 2021). The involvement of all these elements led to the successful implementation of the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement and effectively reduced the number of early marriages in Central Java.

The "Jo Kawin Bocah" Social Movement Viewed from *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*

From the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the "Jo Kawin Bocah" social movement is in line with the goals of Sharia. It does not contradict Islamic law because the aim is to prevent early

marriage, which may cause severe problems in one's life. The *first* problem is physical and mental health disorders. Children who marry too young are not physically and mentally ready to go through marriage. They are at risk of experiencing health problems, including during pregnancy and childbirth. In addition, early marriage often means that young persons discontinue their education, which hinders their social and emotional development, leading to stress, depression, and other mental disorders. Thus, the movement "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" in the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* is to protect the soul or *ḥifẓ al-nafs* (Zuhdi 2013).

Second, early marriage lowers the levels of education in society. Early marriage often stops children's education because they have to focus on their roles as partners and parents. As a result, they lose the opportunity to receive adequate education, which may jeopardize their future. With adequate education, opportunities to secure a decent job and build a better life will be broader. Thus, the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* is to protect the mind or *ḥifẓ al-'aql* (Zuhdi 2013). *Third*, early marriage may exacerbate poverty. Early marriage is often a short-term solution to poverty, but this worsens the situation. Children who marry at a young age have a higher risk of being trapped in poverty because they do not have sufficient skills and education to find decent work. In addition, they often need help managing their finances effectively and face difficulties meeting the household's basic needs. Thus, the movement "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" in the perspective of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* is to protect assets or *ḥifẓ al-māl* (Zuhdi 2013).

Fourth, early marriage often jeopardizes the offspring's well-being. Early marriage can create

a cycle of early marriage that continues in the next generation. Girls who marry at a young age often have children at a young age, which then impacts the health and development of these children. This cycle can only break by changing mindsets and practices. Thus, the movement "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" in the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* is to protect offspring or *ḥifẓ al-nasl* (Zuhdi 2013).

Conclusion

The "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement can be implemented because the parties are aware of the negative impacts of early marriage. In Smelser's review of the sociological perspective, the success of social movements is determined by six factors, including the growth and spread of a generalized belief (Nugraha 2021). Raising awareness about the negative consequences of early marriage determines the success of the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement in Central Java. Society believes that teen mothers face a higher risk of miscarriage, which has helped prevent child marriage. In addition, the involvement of various communities and district/city leaders is significant for the movement. Collaboration with community, religious, and local leaders provides support and access to the broader community. Local leaders can also be essential in changing cultural norms by promoting awareness of early marriage consequences. Cooperation between civil society organizations, government, educational institutions, and other cross-sectoral organizations is critical to this social movement.

Viewed from the perspective of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the "*Jo Kawin Bocah*" social movement does not contradict Islamic law. It can prevent physical and mental health problems among children who marry too young and are not

physically and mentally ready for marriage. Thus, the movement can protect the soul or *hifz al-nafs* (Zuhdi 2013). It also protects the mind or *hifz al-'aql* by preventing children from discontinuing education. It protects assets or *hifz al-māl* by reducing the risk of poverty. By breaking the cycle of early marriage that continues in the next generation, the movement also protects the mind or *hifz al-nasl*.[]

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