



Sociological Analysis of Islamic Law on The Implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah* Program in Reducing Early Marriage Rates (Case Study on the PKK Team of Temanggung Regency)

History of Author	Abstract
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aqwal.v3i2.12596">https://doi.org/10.24090/el- aqwal.v3i2.12596</p>	<p>The “<i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i>” program aims to prevent early marriages in Central Java, particularly in Temanggung Regency, where 414 cases were recorded in 2022. Implemented by the PKK Movement Team, the program focuses on educating communities to reduce early marriage rates. This research analyzes its implementation in Temanggung Regency in 2023 using a sociological approach to Islamic law and descriptive analysis. The findings reveal two main points. First, the PKK Movement Team enhances the program through collaboration with the government, communities, institutions like GenRe (Planned Generation), and mass media for effective dissemination. Second, based on Atho’ Mudzhar’s sociological theory of Islamic law, factors such as religious practices, social structures, interactions, and support from community organizations significantly influence the program’s outcomes. By fostering awareness and community involvement, the program has successfully shifted perceptions and reduced early marriage practices in Temanggung, demonstrating its potential as a model for other regions.</p> <p>Keywords: Early Marriage, <i>Jo Kawin Bocah</i> Program, Sociology of Islamic Law, PKK Movement Team of Temanggung Regency</p>

Introduction

Marriage is a physical and spiritual bond between a man and a woman as husband and wife with the aim of forming a happy and eternal family based on the Almighty God.³ In order for this goal to be achieved, marriage must meet the requirements, one of which is the age limit of the couple. Law No. 16 of 2006 2019 sets the minimum age for marriage at 19 years for both bride and groom.⁴ This age limit is expected to create a *sakinah mawadah warahmah* marriage and produce healthy offspring.

However, early marriages are still common. In Central Java, cases of early marriage increased from 672 cases in 2020 to 11,301 cases. To overcome this, the Central Java PPPA and KB Service launched the “*Jo Kawin Bocah*” program on November 20, 2020. This program aims to increase public awareness about the dangers of early marriage, reduce maternal and infant mortality rates, and prevent stunting.⁵

The Family Empowerment and Welfare Movement Team (TP PKK) of Temanggung Regency began socializing this program on December 19, 2022, targeting schools. This campaign aims to increase

¹ Katharine Charsley, *Transnational Marriage: New Perspectives from Europe and Beyond* (London: Routledge, 2013), 5.

² Article 57 of Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

³ Article 1 Law no. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

⁴ Article 7 Law no. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

⁵ Central Java Provincial Government, *Jo Kawin Bocah Pocket Book*, p. 3.

adolescents' understanding of the negative impacts of early marriage, considering that cases are still high. Based on data from the Temanggung Religious Court, there were 414 applications for marriage dispensation in 2022, although it decreased from 449 cases in 2021. This figure still shows the need for further efforts to prevent early marriage. The following table shows the number of applications for marriage dispensation received by the Temanggung Religious Court from 2020 to 2023.⁶

Table 1.1 Number of Applications for Marriage Dispensation at the Religious Court of Temanggung Regency

YEAR	AMOUNT
2020	581 cases
2021	449 cases
2022	414 cases
2023	259 cases

The high rate of early marriage causes stunting and other problems. The number of stunted toddlers in Temanggung Regency in 2022 was 5,843,⁷ with a stunting percentage reaching 16.35%. With this number, Temanggung is designated as an area with a stunting locus. Therefore, Temanggung Regency has not fully implemented Law Number 16 of 2019, which is an amendment to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage.

Early marriage is a social problem that impacts the health and welfare of children, as well as legal, cultural, and religious aspects. Nashir and Rahman⁸, explain that Islamic law, through *maqāsid ash-shari'ah*, plays a role in preventing early marriage by protecting life, mind, descendants, and property. Zuhri and Hasanah's research⁹ shows that cultural and legal norms in Indonesia can support or hinder the prevention of early marriage, especially since traditional values often encourage the practice. In addition, Amin and Hossain¹⁰ emphasize the importance of religious-based legal education to raise public awareness of the risks of early marriage. Hidayati and Anwar¹¹ highlight the effectiveness of community-based programs in building collective awareness. Fadhilah and Prabowo's research¹² supports this view by showing the effectiveness of community-based programs in Central Java in reducing child marriage rates through community education and empowerment. On the other hand, Syahrin and Kholifah¹³ noted that the conflict between positive law and cultural or religious values is a major challenge. Therefore, integrative programs such as "Jo Kawin Bocah" combine legal, social,

⁶ SIPP of Temanggung Regency Religious Court accessed on January 10, 2024.

⁷ BPS Temanggung Regency on Nutrition Reporting in 2023

⁸ Nashir, AR, & Rahman, F. (2021). "The Role of Islamic Law in Preventing Child Marriage: A Case Study of Indonesia." *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*, Vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 123-145

⁹ Zuhri, M., & Hasanah, U. (2022). "Sociological Analysis of Child Marriage in Indonesia: The Impact of Cultural Norms and Legal Framework." *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 89-110.

¹⁰ Amin, S., & Hossain, M. (2020). "Child Marriage and Its Socio-Legal Implications in South Asia: An Islamic Perspective." *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture*, Vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 45-67

¹¹ Hidayati, N., & Anwar, M. (2021). "Legal Framework and Community Engagement in Preventing Child Marriage in Indonesia." *Journal of Family Law and Practice*, Vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 201-218

¹² Fadhilah, R., & Prabowo, H. (2023). "The Effectiveness of Community-Based Programs in Reducing Child Marriage Rates: Evidence from Central Java." *International Journal of Social Welfare*, Vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 134-150.

¹³ Syahrin, A., & Kholifah, N. (2020). "Islamic Legal Perspectives on Child Marriage: Challenges and Solutions in Indonesian Society." *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 567-580

and religious approaches to prevent early marriage.

However, in Temanggung there are several factors that are influenced by the high rate of early marriage, one of which is the mindset of parents who still adhere to tradition, Believing in primbon to determine a good day to get married. c. Understanding the religion of parents and children, Not knowing the age limit for marriage, Having free sexual relations, Arranged marriages, and economic conditions.

Researchers consider the Jo Kawin Bocah program important to implement because the negative impact of early marriage is significant for maternal and child health and household stability. This study aims to evaluate the effectiveness of the program in reducing the number of early marriages in Temanggung Regency and examine its contribution through the perspective of Islamic legal sociology. This study is relevant to understanding the success of the program in reducing cases of early marriage in the region.

Several studies on the prevention of early marriage have been conducted by various authors. First, the thesis written by Nurul Lailathul Khikmah titled “Prevention of Early Marriage Through Village Regulations in the Perspective of Islamic Law (A Study in Karang Sari Village, Kalimanah District, Purbalingga Regency).” Based on her research, Nurul Lailathul Khikmah explains that the role of the Karang Sari government in implementing Village Regulation No. 06 of 2015 plays a part in preventing early marriage by collaborating with village governments, religious and community leaders, raising awareness about the dangers of early marriage, and advising or rejecting marriage proposals for individuals under 18 years of age.¹⁴

an article by Muhammad Agung Ilham Affarudin titled “Implementation of Gunungkidul Regent Regulation No. 36 of 2015 on the Prevention of Child Marriage in the Perspective of *Maṣlaḥah Mursalah*.” This study explains that the special regulation created by the Gunungkidul regency government (Regulation No. 36 of 2015) on the prevention of child marriage has positive aspects and provides a mandate for the regulation to serve as the foundation for upholding human rights (*maṣlaḥah ḍaruriyah*). This regulation addresses issues needed to eliminate difficulties (*maṣlaḥah ḥajiyah*) and also seeks to preserve moral improvement and cultural life (*maṣlaḥah taḥsiniyyah*).¹⁵

Furthermore, the thesis written by Anindita Alfiana Syahrin titled “Prevention of Early Marriage Through the Family Planning Generation Forum (A Case Study of the Family Planning Generation Forum in Cangkringan District, Sleman Regency).” This research discusses the role of the Family Planning Generation Forum (GenRe) in Cangkringan in preventing early marriage by training quality GenRe leaders, conducting socialization from village to district level, providing youth mentoring, and building good cooperation with stakeholders. It also explores supporting factors, hindering factors, and the success rate of the GenRe Forum in preventing early marriage in Cangkringan District.¹⁶

Next, the thesis by Nenden Wifdatun Nisa titled “Implementation of the Policy for Preventing Child Marriage in Bandar Lampung City.” This research discusses how the Women’s Empowerment

¹⁴ Nurul Lailatul Khikmah, “Prevention of Early Marriage Through Village Regulations in the Perspective of Islamic Law”, *Thesis*, Saifuddin Zuhri State Islamic University Purwokerto 2021.

¹⁵ Muhammad Agung Ilham Affarudin, “Implementation of Gunungkidul Regent Regulation Number 36 of 2015 Concerning Prevention of Child Marriage in the Perspective of *Maslahah Mursalah*”, *Jurnal Al-Hukama: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law*, Vol. 09, No. 1, (2019), pp. 127-128.

¹⁶ Anindita Alfiana Syahrin, “Prevention of Early Marriage Through the Planning Generation Forum (Case Study of the Planning Generation Forum, Cangkringan District, Sleman Regency)”, *Thesis*, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta 2022.

and Child Protection Office (Dinas PPPA) of Bandar Lampung City has implemented the PUSPAGA and FAD programs through socialization between schools, utilizing online media, and collaborating with the BKKBN Office in the GenRe program to promote awareness about marriage age limits, reproductive health, and preventing stunting in relation to preventing child marriage in Bandar Lampung. The program implementation is supported by good human resources, but it faces financial constraints in supporting the program.¹⁷

an article by Lin Las Priyanti titled “Effectiveness of the GenRe Program in Preventing Early Marriage Among Students at SMK 2 Gedangsari.” This article explains that the program is effective in preventing early marriage by helping students understand adolescence, analyze the causes of early marriage, and obtain information about adolescent reproductive health. As a result, students are better prepared for family life.¹⁸

Next, the research by Nur Khasanah Syahputri titled “Reducing Early Marriage: The Implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah Program from the Maqāṣid ash-Syāri’ah Perspective.” In this research, it is explained that the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program to reduce early marriage aligns with the Maqāṣid ash-Syāri’ah, which includes the protection of life (ḥifz al-Nafs), protection of intellect (ḥifz al-‘Aql), protection of lineage (ḥifz al-Nasl), and protection of property (ḥifz al-māl).¹⁹

Finally, the thesis written by Galuh Kusnul Khotimah titled “Sociological Legal Review of the Family Planning Generation Program in Preventing Early Marriage (A Case Study of Dagangan District, Madiun Regency).” This thesis discusses the sociological legal review of the factors underlying early marriage and examines the extent to which the Family Planning Generation Program has influenced the legal awareness of the community in Dagangan District, Madiun Regency.²⁰

Based on seven previous studies, efforts to prevent early marriage show similarities with this research in several aspects, but this study has a key difference. This research focuses on Temanggung Regency and uses a different theoretical approach. Based on the background description above, the research questions addressed by the researcher are: How is the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program in 2023 in reducing the rate of early marriage in Temanggung Regency? How does the Islamic law sociology perspective view the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program in 2023 in reducing the rate of early marriage in Temanggung Regency?

This research uses a field research method with an Islamic legal sociology approach and a descriptive-analytical approach. Data were collected through interviews and documentation, then analyzed qualitatively using a deductive approach to understand how the Jo Kawin Bocah program contributes to reducing early marriage in Temanggung Regency.

¹⁷ Nanden Wifdatun Nisa, “Implementation of Child Marriage Prevention Policy in Bandar Lampung City”, *Thesis*, University of Lampung 2023.

¹⁸ Lin Las Priyanti, “Effectiveness of GenRe Program in Preventing Early Marriage in SMK 2 Gedangsari Students”, *G-COUNS Journal: Guidance and Counseling Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (2021), p. 256.

¹⁹ Nur Khasanah, “Reducing Early Marriage Rates: Implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah Program from the Maqāṣid ash-syāri’ah Perspective (Study at the KBPPPA Office of Cilacap Regency)”, *Thesis*, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta 2023.

²⁰ Galuh Kusnul Khotimah, “Review of Islamic Legal Sociology on the Planned Generation Program in Preventing Early Marriage (Study in Dagangan District, Madiun Regency)”, *Thesis*, State Islamic Institute of Ponorogo 2023.

Sub Topic of Research

1. The Application and Limitations of Islamic Legal Sociology Theory

Islamic legal sociology is a social science that studies legal phenomena with the aim of explaining the practices of law that regulate the reciprocal relationships between various social phenomena in Muslim societies, who adhere firmly to Islamic law.²¹ Islamic legal sociology is a social science that explains the reciprocal relationship between social change and the application of Islamic law.

According to Nasrullah, the needs arising from mutual imbalances also become considerations in determining Islamic law topics. In this era, issues that were not considered by religious scholars in the past can now be included as topics in Islamic law discussions, as long as the study is seen as a legal barometer for every action and behavior of Muslims. Issues related to politics, governance, banking, human rights (HR), feminism, contraception, and democratization can be considered as areas of study for contemporary jurisprudence and Muslim scholars to find legal foundations and theological roots through their thinking methods as a basis for addressing current societal issues.²²

Furthermore, Nasrullah mentions that the scope of Islamic legal sociology discussions is actually very broad. However, it can be limited here to contemporary social issues that require study and theological roots to serve as a legal basis (Islamic law) in Muslim societies, such as issues related to politics, economics, socio-cultural matters, and others.²³

Atho' Mudzhar, as quoted by Rasyid Ridla²⁴, highlights several important themes in the study of Islamic legal sociology. These important themes include:

- a. The influence of religion on societal changes. In this context, Islamic studies attempt to understand the extent to which societal cultural patterns (such as views on what is good or bad) are rooted in religious values, or the extent to which societal structures are based on a particular religious teaching. This study also examines the extent to which societal behavior is influenced by religious teachings.
- b. The influence of societal structure and changes on religious understanding. For example, studies on how the urbanization of Kufah resulted in the rational legal opinions of the Hanafi school, or how the geographical factors of Basrah and Egypt led to the emergence of the old and new opinions of al-Shafi'i.
- c. The level of religious practice within society. Islamic studies with a sociological approach can also evaluate the patterns of religious dissemination and how far the teachings of religion are practiced by the community. Through interviews and surveys, society is analyzed regarding how they practice the religious teachings they adhere to, such as how often they perform religious rituals, among other aspects.
- d. The pattern of interaction among society regarding Islamic law. Studies on the social patterns of Muslim societies include the patterns of urban and rural Muslim communities, the relationship between religion and society, tolerance between educated and less educated Muslim communities, the connection between religious understanding and

²¹ Nasrullah, *Sosiologi Hukum Islam*, (Surakarta: Pustaka Setia, 2016), hlm 18

²² Nasrullah, *Sosiologi Hukum Islam*, (Surakarta: Pustaka Setia, 2016), hlm 20

²³ *Ibid*, hlm 21

²⁴ Rasyid Ridla, "Sosiologi Hukum Islam (Analisis terhadap Pemikiran M. Atho' Mudzhar)" *Jurnal Al Ahkam*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Desember 2012, hlm. 300.

political behavior, the relationship between religious behavior and national behavior, as well as religion as a factor of integration and disintegration and various other similar aspects.

- e. Social movements or organizations that support or oppose Islamic law. Islamic movements that support capitalism, secularism, and communism are examples of movements considered to threaten religious life and thus need to be analyzed deeply. Similarly, the emergence of groups supporting spiritualism and Sufism, which can support religious life to a certain extent, also needs to be studied carefully.²⁵

Islamic law, as a branch of legal studies, has been extensively studied scientifically, not only by Muslims but also by non-Muslims, from the Dutch colonial period until today. Over time, there has been a trend of studying Islamic teachings as comparative law material. This emerged due to the recognition of the value of Islamic teachings, which encompass all aspects of human life.²⁶

The tendency to study Islam, including Islamic law, is a fact closely related to social changes in society. Social change, often referred to as social transformation, is a necessity in society. Social change is a guarantee for entering a more prosperous life, as societies that do not change will become outdated and may be oppressed by time. The idea that legal changes are a consequence of social change is essential, so Islamic law is not static but follows the course of human life, which has been evaluated by scholars of the past. To address the social changes faced by Muslims in modern times, mujahids still uphold established methodologies such as *ushul fiqh*, although they may not be entirely satisfying, as the studies conducted may not have fully aligned with the development of the times.

Sociology can be used as one approach to understanding religion because many religious studies can only be comprehensively and precisely understood with the help of sociology. Furthermore, religion's significant concern with social issues motivates its followers to understand social sciences as tools to better understand religion.²⁷

2. Implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah* Program in 2023 to Reduce the number of early marriages in Temanggung Regency

Jo Kawin Bocah program in Temanggung Regency, the Family Welfare Empowerment Movement Team (TP PKK) is the spearhead of the program's implementation. Based on the results of an interview with Mrs. Farida Asiatini²⁸, the head of Pokja 1 in charge of the program, that the socialization of the *Jo Kawin Bocah Program* in Temanggung Regency was intensively carried out starting December 9, 2022 at SMP Negeri 1 Kedu as her first visit. The following are activities carried out in the Implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah Program* in reducing the number of early marriages in Temanggung Regency.

A. Amplification

Amplification means discussion, expansion, or development (about the number, interests, and other information).²⁹ In this context, the expansion is related to the *Jo Kawin Bocah program* so

²⁵ Rasyid Ridla, "Sosiologi Hukum Islam (Analisis terhadap Pemikiran M. Atho' Mudzhar)", *Jurnal Al Ahkam*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Desember 2012, hlm 297-298.

²⁶ Suparman Usman, *Asas-Asas dan Pengantar Studi Hukum Islam dalam Tata Hukum Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama, 2002), hlm. 7-8.

²⁷ Abuddin Nata, *Metodologi Studi Islam* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), hlm. 40.

²⁸ Interview with Mrs. Farida Asiatini, Head of Working Group I of the PKK Team of Temanggung Regency, January 2, 2024.

²⁹ National Education Department Team, *Big Indonesian Dictionary*, (Jakarta: Language Center, 2008), p. 54.

that it can be known more widely by the general public. The dissemination of information about preventing early marriage through the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program is carried out through socialization through social media, mass media, religious leaders, community leaders, *influencers*, and other parties. The socialization of this program was also attended by members of institutions and communities relevant to the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program. The PKK Movement Team also uses social media as a forum to introduce the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program through the Instagram and Facebook TPPKK Temanggung Regency.³⁰

Table 3.2
List of Visits to Socialize the *Jo Kawin Bocah* Program

No.	District	Amount	List of School Names
1	Bejen	1	SMP N 1
2	Gemawang	2	SMP N 1
3	Ngadirejo	3	SMP N 1
		4	SMP N 2
4	Candiroto	5	SMP N 1
		6	SMP N 2
5	Wonoboyo	7	SMP N 1
6	Tretep	8	SMP N 1
7	Jumo	9	SMP N 1
8	Kedu	10	SMP N 1
		11	SMP N 2
		12	SMP Nur Lintang
		13	Ponpes Kyai Parak Bambu Runcing Parakan
		14	Ponpes Karang Santri Bandunggede Kedu
9	Parakan	15	SMP N 1
10	Kledung	16	SMP N 1
11	Bansari	17	SMP N 1
12	Bulu	18	SMP N 1
		19	SMK EYZUL MOSLEM
		20	SMP EYZUL MOSLEM
13	Tlogomulyo	21	SMP N 1
14	Kandangan	22	SMP N 1
15	Kaloran	23	SMP N 1
		24	SMP Fadhul Wasil

³⁰ Results of an interview with the Head of Working Group I of the PKK Team for Temanggung Regency, January 2, 2024.

No.	District	Amount	List of School Names
16	Temanggung	25	SMP N 2
		26	SMP N 1
		27	SMP N 6
		28	SMP Muhammadiyah 1
17	Kranggan	29	SMP N 1
		30	SMP N 2
18	Selopampang	31	SMP N 2
19	Pringsurat	32	SMP N 1
20	Tembarak	33	SMP 1
		34	MTSN 2 Temanggung
		35	SMP Islam Ngadirejo

B. Participation

The PKK Team does not work alone in its efforts to socialize the *Jo Kawin Bocah program* in reducing the number of early marriages. It collaborates with the government, communities and community institutions, academics, mass media, and the business world to prevent early marriages in Temanggung Regency. The collaboration is:

1. Government

Jo Kawin Bocah program guidebook, the role of the Temanggung Regency Government in implementing the program includes the preparation of implementative policies to prevent early marriage, the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) plays an active role in optimizing marriage registration and providing informal socialization to the community regarding the dangers of early marriage.

In addition, the KUA also holds monthly School Age Youth Guidance (BRUS), targeting adolescents through schools and Islamic boarding schools.³¹In addition to these efforts, the local government is also working with the Temanggung Regency Ministry of Religion to limit the granting of marriage dispensations for minors. They tightened the requirements for granting dispensations by creating a *Memorandum of Understanding* (MOU) with the Health Office and Social Service. Cooperation with the Temanggung Regency Health Office was also expanded to increase understanding among adolescents about reproductive health and *stunting*. The Health Office, in this case the Health Center, conducts regular check-ups and socializes the prevention of child marriage every month through schools, Islamic boarding schools, health centers, or other health services.³²Socialization regarding the prevention of *stunting* is carried out by the KBPPPA Office which also plays a role in supporting the main objective of the *Jo Kawin Bocah program*, namely reducing the number of early marriages in Temanggung Regency.

2. Community and Community Institutions

³¹ Results of an interview with Mr. Agus Ilham, Head of the KUA, Kedu District, Temanggung Regency on May 3, 2024.

³² Results of an interview with Mrs. Lilih, Sub. Division of Administration, Kedu District Health Center on May 3, 2024.

a) Generation Program Planning (GenRe)

The GenRe program is a program that prioritizes the formation of national character among the younger generation. The GenRe program is a forum for developing national character because it teaches teenagers to stay away from Early Marriage, Premarital Sex and NAPZA (Narcotics, Psychotropics, and Addictive Substances), strengthens the 8 Family Functions, improves *life skills* to become resilient teenagers and can contribute to development and be useful for the nation and state, so that it can reduce the number of *Stunting*. The existence of Genre ambassadors also suppresses the rampant problems of teenagers, and the most prominent are problems around sexuality. The problems of HIV / AIDS, *free sex*, drug abuse and low knowledge about reproductive health and the relatively low age of first marriage.³³

In implementing the socialization and promotion of GenRe in the youth environment, the selection of GenRe ambassadors was carried out as representatives and *role models* to establish a more friendly approach from, by, and for teenagers. GenRe also formed PIK-R (Youth Counseling Information Center) in schools and sub-districts. Conducting socialization regarding the dangers of early marriage, family readiness, and the maturity of the age of marriage to PIK-R. GenRe has also made a mini drama *Jo Kawin Bocah* ³⁴

b) Mass media

Through various social media platforms, the Temanggung Regency PKK Team actively disseminates information about the socialization of early marriage prevention. This information is published regularly through their Instagram and Facebook accounts, which can be accessed at @tppkktemanggung. In addition to social media, there is also a broadcast of *jingles Jo Kawin Bocah* via radio. Using social media, the PKK Movement Team seeks to reach a wider community to raise awareness and understanding of the importance of preventing early marriage.

2. Review sociology Islamic law regarding implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program in 2023 in press number wedding early in the Regency Temanggung

The Central Java provincial government through the Women and Children's Service launched the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program in an effort to prevent child marriage or early marriage in Central Java. In Temanggung Regency, this program is implemented by the Temanggung Regency PKK team as the main implementer. The implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program by the Temanggung Regency PKK team is a real manifestation of the implementation of Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019, which is an amendment to Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning the age limit for marriage. Article 7 paragraph 1 of the law stipulates the minimum age limit for marriage is 19 years for men and women. Thus, marriage is only permitted if both parties have reached the age of 19 years.³⁵

The implementation process of the *Jo Kawin Bocah* program aimed at reducing the number of

³³ Indonesia Baik.id, *Indonesian Youth, Become a Planned Generation*, <https://indonesiabaik.id/infografis/remaja-indonesia-jadilah-generasi-berencana>, accessed on March 16, 2024.

³⁴ Interview with GenRe ambassador and secretary, Intan Septiana, March 16, 2024.

³⁵ Article 7 paragraph (1) of Marriage Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning the Minimum Age Limit for Marriage.

early marriages in Temanggung Regency by the Temanggung Regency PKK Team is as follows. First, information dissemination/amplification. The Temanggung Regency PKK Team expanded awareness of the Jo Kawin Bocah program by conducting socialization activities (two-way communication) for junior high school students throughout Temanggung Regency. This socialization included education on the maturity of marriage age, the dangers of early marriage, premarital sex, and the importance of focusing on education to achieve goals. The socialization was carried out directly by the PKK Team in collaboration with relevant agencies or communities involved in the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program. Additionally, information was disseminated online through the PKK Team's Instagram and Facebook platforms.

Second, participation in the program involved collaborating with various stakeholders, including the government, communities, academics, the media, the business world, and relevant institutions. For instance, cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Temanggung Regency through the Temanggung Religious Court was established to handle marriage dispensations for minors who wish to marry. In granting dispensations, the Temanggung Religious Court created an MOU with the Health Office and Social Services Office regarding the requirements for applying for a marriage dispensation. It is hoped that the strict approach taken by the Religious Court in granting marriage dispensations can help prevent and reduce early marriages in Temanggung Regency.

Furthermore, the PKK Team also collaborated with the Religious Affairs Office (KUA) for optimal marriage registration and the dissemination of information related to early marriage through BRUS (Bina Remaja Usia Sekolah) and informal socialization to the public. The collaboration with the Health Office aimed to increase understanding of adolescent reproductive health and stunting prevention through monthly socialization on preventing early marriage at schools, Islamic boarding schools, hospitals, health centers, or other public health services. Cooperation with the Education Office focused on implementing the 12-year compulsory education program and educating the importance of education for achieving one's goals. The PKK Team also worked with the Women's Empowerment, Child Protection, Population Control, and Family Planning Office of Temanggung Regency to raise awareness about early marriage prevention for stunting eradication from the outset.

Additionally, collaboration with the local community, such as GenRe, took place during the implementation process, where GenRe ambassadors participated in socialization activities at several Youth Information Centers (PIK-R) formed by GenRe and various schools. The socialization covered topics such as the dangers of early marriage, family readiness, and the maturity of marriage age. GenRe also produced a mini-drama about Jo Kawin Bocah that was viewed by school principals across Temanggung Regency and student representatives. This shows that the role and participation of the community were in line with the Jo Kawin Bocah program's guidebook. The socialization efforts helped the PKK Team as the main implementer to reach the community, especially the youth in Temanggung Regency.

In terms of spreading information about early marriage prevention through socialization of the Jo Kawin Bocah program, the PKK Team utilized social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook to ensure that the information could be widely disseminated and engage all elements of Temanggung Regency in avoiding early marriages.

Based on Atho' Mudzhar's theory of Islamic legal sociology regarding the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program in reducing early marriages in Temanggung Regency by the PKK Team, the

following analysis can be made:

a) The Influence of Religion on Social Change .

Early marriage is partly caused by the community's understanding of interpretations that allow children who have reached puberty to marry. In Islamic law, the age for marriage is not explicitly stated; it only mentions that the condition for marriage is when someone has reached puberty. The signs of puberty are menstruation for girls and nocturnal emissions for boys. This means that in Islamic law, there is no fixed age for marriage. However, Law No. 16 of 2019 on the minimum marriage age states that both men and women are allowed to marry once they reach the age of 19. At 19, a person is considered mature both physically and mentally. At this age, individuals are generally seen as more physically and mentally prepared to face the responsibilities of marriage, and capable of making wise decisions and handling the consequences of their choice to marry.

The Jo Kawin Bocah program was launched to raise public awareness about the dangers of early marriage. Through widespread information dissemination and involving various community elements in Temanggung Regency, the Jo Kawin Bocah program has successfully changed the community's views on the interpretation of religious teachings that permit marriage at puberty. Through an educational and collaborative approach, the program has encouraged the community to be more critical and consider the risks of early marriage, while supporting the delay of marriage age in accordance with the law.

b) The Influence of Structure and Social Change on Understanding Religious Concepts.

Social structure, education, and environment influence people's understanding of religious teachings. In preventing early marriage through the Jo Kawin Bocah program, people with good access to education tend to be more open to changes and reinterpretations of religious teachings on early marriage. Higher education also encourages rejection of early marriage and supports the postponement of the legal age of marriage. However, rural communities far from the city center, as conveyed by the Judge of the Temanggung Religious Court, Mrs. Ertika, often find it difficult to accept updates regarding the minimum age of marriage.

In addition, research by Inglehart and Welzel ³⁶in the book *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy* explains that social change, especially related to education and modernization, has a significant impact on the interpretation of religion. In this context, people who are more educated and have better access to information tend to be critical of traditions, including early marriage, and are more accepting of religious reinterpretations to support social welfare. In addition, research by Montgomery and Hewett ³⁷in the journal *Population Studies* shows that increasing access to education reduces the practice of early marriage by changing social norms and religious understanding.

The Jo Kawin Bocah program uses an information amplification communication strategy to raise public awareness of the risks of early marriage. By providing accurate information, the program changes public understanding of religious teachings that allow marriage at puberty.

³⁶ Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* . Cambridge University Press.

³⁷ Montgomery, M.R., & Hewett, P.C. (2005). "Urban Poverty and Health in Developing Countries: Household and Neighborhood Effects." *Population Studies* , 59(2), 121-136

Through the active participation of schools, communities, and local governments, the program creates a social environment that supports changes in views. The efforts of the Temanggung PKK Team have succeeded in reducing the number of early marriages by utilizing changes in social, educational, and environmental structures, as well as collaboration between various elements of society.

c) Level of Community Religious Practice .

The level of religious practice in a society is influenced by the understanding and interpretation of religious teachings. Communities with higher levels of religious practice tend to be tied to traditional interpretations of their religious teachings. According to Pearce & Thornton, the level of religiosity often determines the extent to which individuals are tied to traditional values, including those that support early marriage practices ³⁸. However, the Jo Kawin Bocah program uses an information amplification strategy to raise awareness of the risks of early marriage. Through comprehensive education and widespread dissemination of information, this program teaches a reinterpretation of religious teachings that support delayed marriage. Delaying early marriage is understood not only to be in accordance with religious teachings, but also in line with the principles of welfare and human rights, promoting individual welfare and social justice.

d) Patterns of Community Interaction around Islamic Law.

The pattern of community interaction around Islamic law plays an important role in determining the success of the *Jo Kawin Bocah program* in reducing the number of early marriages in Temanggung district. The existence of the *Jo Kawin Bocah program* has changed the pattern of community interaction. Religious discussions no longer only focus on contemporary thinking about the permissibility of early marriage at puberty, but also consider the perspective of health, children's rights, and welfare. As noted by Korteweg, discussions related to Islamic law are often influenced by the socio-economic context, which can be directed through education to create a more progressive interpretation of the law. ³⁹This shows that the program has succeeded in shifting the focus of the discussion in a more modern direction. The community has become more critical and open to religious interpretations that support delaying early marriage. The education provided through this program increases awareness of the importance of delaying marriage for long-term welfare.

Through amplification and active participation from various relevant stakeholders, the number of early marriages was successfully reduced. The decrease of about 50% from 414 cases in 2022 to 259 cases in 2023 provides clear evidence that the community has started to recognize that delaying early marriage is not only in line with more progressive religious teachings but also beneficial for the health and rights of children, as well as future well-being. Therefore, the interaction patterns within the community regarding Islamic law have dynamically interacted with the implementation of the *Jo Kawin Bocah program*. Through amplification strategies and the participation of various community elements, this program succeeded in changing understandings and practices related to early marriage, thus reducing the number of early marriages in Temanggung Regency. This analysis demonstrates that the success of the

³⁸ Pearce, L.D., & Thornton, A. (2007). "Religious Identity and Family Ideologies in the Transition to Adulthood." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 46(2), 259-280.

³⁹ Korteweg, A.C. (2017). "The Sharia Debate in Ontario: Gender, Islam, and Representations of Multiculturalism." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 15(2), 72-83.

program heavily relies on its ability to adapt to existing community interaction patterns, while also guiding discussions and participation towards supporting welfare and a more progressive interpretation of Islamic law.

e) Movements or Community Organizations that Support or Disapprove of Islamic Law.

Organizations supporting Islamic law, such as religious institutions, madrasahs, or assemblies, actively spread Islamic values and influence various aspects of life, including marriage. Similarly, the PKK Team of Temanggung Regency seeks to promote understanding of marriage law, especially the minimum age limit for marriage according to applicable regulations. As shown in the report by Muthengi, Austrian, & Abuya, the role of community-based organizations active in religious-based education is crucial in creating social change that supports the welfare of children and prevents the practice of early marriage.⁴⁰ The PKK Mobilizing Team has made efforts to disseminate information about the dangers of early marriage. Although Islamic law does not specify an exact age for marriage, the amplification and participation in the implementation of the Jo Kawin Bocah program have helped educate the community about the risks and dangers associated with early marriage.

Support from various movements or organizations, whether supporting contemporary Islamic law or focusing on other social issues, will enhance the effectiveness of this program. Participation from different stakeholders ensures that the message of the Jo Kawin Bocah program—encouraging people to avoid early marriage is received by the community. Active participation from various elements within Temanggung Regency helps change social norms that support early marriage. Support from existing communities will further strengthen the efforts to prevent early marriage.

Conclusion

The Jo Kawin Bocah program in Temanggung Regency has proven effective in reducing the incidence of early marriage through a structured and collaborative approach. This program is implemented by the PKK Movement Team, expanding the dissemination of information about the dangers of early marriage through social media, mass media, and partnerships with various communities and government institutions. The strategy of amplifying information and encouraging active community participation has successfully raised awareness of the importance of delaying marriage age to support the well-being of the younger generation. The reduction in early marriages from 414 cases in 2022 to 259 cases in 2023 indicates the positive impact of this program. From the perspective of Islamic legal sociology, the implementation of this program aligns with Atho' Mudzhar's theory, which emphasizes the importance of religion, social structure, levels of religious practice, and patterns of social interaction in the success of a program. Through an inclusive educational approach, this program helps the community reinterpret religious teachings related to early marriage. Traditional views permitting marriage at puberty are being replaced by a more progressive understanding that supports delaying marriage age to safeguard the health and well-being of children. Collaboration between the PKK Movement Team, the government, community groups like GenRe, and other institutions has created an environment that supports the success of

⁴⁰ Muthengi, E., Austrian, K., & Abuya, B. (2016). "Adolescent Girls Initiative—Kenya: Endline Evaluation Report." *World Development*, 89, 273–285.

this program. The education provided targets not only the general public but also school-age children, teenagers, and families through activities like direct socialization, BRUS, and mini-dramas. With this comprehensive approach, the Jo Kawin Bocah program has succeeded in changing social norms and promoting awareness of the dangers of early marriage, making it an example of a successful preventive effort that can be implemented in other regions.

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