SMERU RESEARCH REPORT

URBAN CHILD POVERTY AND DISPARITY: THE UNHEARD VOICES OF CHILDREN LIVING IN POVERTY IN INDONESIA

Luhur Bima, Rachma Indah Nurbani, Rendy Adriyan Diningrat, Cecilia Marlina
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The SMERU Research Institute
December 2022

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Editor: Julienne Welsh
Cover photo: Novita Maizir (The SMERU Research Institute)

The SMERU Research Institute Cataloging in Publication Data

Luhur Bima
Urban Child Poverty and Disparity: The Unheard Voices of Children Living in Poverty in Indonesia/ Luhur Bima, Rachma Indah Nurbani, Rendy Adriyan Diningrat, Cecilia Marlina, Emmy Hermanus, and Sofni Lubis, Editor: Julienne Welsh
--Jakarta: SMERU Research Institute, 2022
-- Xiii + 93 p; 29 cm.
ISBN 978-623-7492-72-6 [PDF]

1. child poverty 2. urban poverty 3. children's voice
I. Judul

362.5 –ddc 23

Published by:
The SMERU Research Institute
Jl. Cikini Raya No.10A
Jakarta 10330
Indonesia

First published in December 2022

Suggested citation

Bima, Luhur, Rachma Nurbani, Rendy Adriyan Diningrat, Cecilia Marlina, Emmy Hermanus, and Sofni Lubis (2022) 'Urban Child Poverty and Disparity: The Unheard Voices of Children Living in Poverty in Indonesia.' Research Report. Jakarta: The SMERU Research Institute <https://smeru.or.id/en/publication/urban-child-poverty-and-disparity-unheard-voices-children-living-poverty-indonesia> [access date].

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A significant part of the research in this publication uses interviews and focus group discussions. All relevant information is recorded and stored at the SMERU office.

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Acknowledgements

This report is an output of the study conducted by the research team from The SMERU Research Institute with extensive support from UNICEF Indonesia. The research team is immensely indebted to various stakeholders for their invaluable help during the preparation, data collection, and analysis of the study, as well as the revisions and finalization of this report. We are especially thankful for the valuable information provided by the city governments of North Jakarta, Surakarta, and Makassar, as well as the *kelurahan* (urban village) officers from the six study locations. We would like to extend our appreciation to local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) for providing useful information. We also express our gratitude to the respondents of this study for their willingness to spare their valuable time to be involved in this research, particularly the children, parents/caregivers, and community-based organizations (CBOs). Last but not least, we would like to thank the regional researchers for their assistance to the SMERU research team in conducting interviews and data collection in the field.

Abstract

Urban Child Poverty and Disparity: The Unheard Voices of Children Living in Poverty in Indonesia

Luhur Bima, Rachma Indah Nurbani, Rendy Adriyan Diningrat, Cecilia Marlina, Emmy Hermanus, and Sofni Lubis

This study aims to gain a deep understanding of the characteristics of poverty and disparities experienced by children living in poor households in urban areas, and factors affecting their experience, seen from the perspective of the children. It utilizes the results from qualitative research conducted in six *kelurahan* (urban villages) in three cities in Indonesia—North Jakarta, Makassar, and Surakarta—emphasizing grounded participatory principle with children aged 6–17 years as the primary participants. A descriptive statistics analysis on urban child poverty using the 2013 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) complements the qualitative findings.

The findings show that urban children born into poor families experience their parents' economic hardship and the impact of limited access to quality health and education, as well as poor urban living conditions. Children participating in this research perceive poverty as living with limited access to basic amenities (including clean water, public toilets, and playgrounds) and being constrained in accessing health and education services in everyday lives. In some cases, children have to work to help parents make ends meet which exposed them to risky working environments. Lack in parental supervision and quality care have been other issues revealed by the children as their parents struggle in meeting daily needs.

This study suggests that any intervention and policies aimed at addressing the vulnerability and improving the resilience of urban poor children, will need to consider family as a unit of intervention. Children are found to have the ability to understand the complexity of problems they face every day and how they are interrelated; therefore, this can be seen as an opportunity to actively engage children in the intervention.

Keywords: child poverty, urban poverty, children's voice

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List of Abbreviations

BPMKS	Bantuan Pendidikan Masyarakat Kota Surakarta	Surakarta Education Subsidy
BLSM	Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat	Temporary Direct Cash Transfer
BOS	Bantuan Operasional Sekolah	School Operational Assistance
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik	Statistics Indonesia
BSM	Bantuan Siswa Miskin	Cash Transfers for Poor Students
CMP	Program Bantuan Pemerintah Mongolia untuk Anak dan Orang Miskin	Mongolian Child Money Program
JKN	Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional	Universal Health Care Scheme
KJP	Kartu Jakarta Pintar	Jakarta Smart Card
KJS	Kartu Jakarta Sehat	Jakarta Health Card
KLA	Kota Layak Anak	Child-Friendly City
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan	Household Conditional Cash Transfer
PKK	Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga	Family Welfare and Empowerment
puskesmas	pusat kesehatan masyarakat	community health center
Raskin	Beras Bersubsidi bagi Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah	Subsidized Rice for Low-Income Communities
RT	rukun tetangga	neighborhood unit
Susenas	Survei Sosial-Ekonomi Nasional	National Socioeconomic Survey

Executive Summary

This report presents the findings from a study conducted by The SMERU Research Institute and UNICEF that aims to gain a deeper understanding of the characteristics of poverty and disparities experienced by children living in poor households in urban areas, and their perspective of factors affecting their experience. The study is expected to provide input into the development of policies and programs required to tackle poverty and disparities experienced by children in urban areas.

The analysis in this study is mainly based on qualitative research conducted in six *kelurahan* (urban villages) in three cities, namely North Jakarta, Makassar, and Surakarta. This study explores the complexity of child poverty and its impact on well-being through the perspective of the children. It employs a subjective well-being approach to understand how children perceive well-being in relation to their lived experience in poverty. The research findings were analyzed utilizing Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework, which emphasizes the level of interaction, including the duration and type of interaction, as the most crucial factor affecting child development. Concepts of vulneraoldbility and resilience were applied to the analysis to identify both risk and supporting factors influencing the complexity of child poverty in urban areas.

A descriptive statistics analysis on urban child poverty using the 2013 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) complements the qualitative findings.

Urban Child Poverty in Indonesia

A growing urban phenomenon in Indonesia triggered by the lack of economic opportunities in rural areas has led to the increase numbers of poor children living in urban areas. Despite better infrastructure and wider range of services available in urban areas, there are still many children, particularly those who live in illegal settlements or who do not have a legal identity, that are unable to access basic services and benefits offered by cities.

In 2013, around 10% of urban children in Indonesia were defined as poor. If we double the poverty threshold, the number rises fivefold to 54%. Urban children who belong to income-poor families are more likely to be deprived of dimensions of life which are important for child development. Based on the calculation of the 2013 Susenas data, urban poor children are mostly deprived of proper sanitation, housing (overcrowding), and birth registration. Furthermore, older children living in urban areas are prone to the deprivation of education and are more vulnerable to child labor.

The government has carried out various interventions to improve the welfare of children. At the policy level, the central government has been mainstreaming the agenda of Child-Friendly City/District Development (KLA), which promotes the principle of nondiscrimination that corresponds to the needs and best interests of children. At the program level, various social protection programs have been implemented to assist poor

families. The programs were initiated not only by the central government but also by regional governments, particularly to improve access to education and health services.

Statistics of Indonesian children:
Total population (in million): 246.98
Poverty rate (%): 11.47
Poor people population (in million): 28.55
Children population (in million): 87.04
Poor children, national rate (%): 13.67
Poor children – 2xPPL, national rate (%): 62.08
Children living in urban areas (in million): 42.51
Poor children in urban areas (%): 10.06
Poor children in urban areas – 2xPPL, (%): 53.61

Poverty rate by age group (%):
0–5 years old: 14.4
6–11 years old: 14.0
12–14 years old: 13.6
15–17 years old: 11.6
Above 17 years old: 10.1

Composition of children by age group in urban areas (%):
0–5 years old: 33
6–11 years old: 34
12–14 years old: 17
15–17 years old: 16

Understanding Children's Perspective on Poverty: Aspects Constituting Well-Being

Children in this study classified the children in their community into two to three welfare groups, namely wealthy, average (*sederhana*), and poor. According to their explanation, the characteristics of the average and poor groups are quite similar and the difference between the two are relatively insignificant. Moreover, the description of living in poverty given by those children can be grouped into material and nonmaterial aspects.

Housing is the most common indicator used by children in this study to measure well-being. In general, they describe poor children living in dwellings of poor physical condition situated in a poor environment. Boys are more likely to highlight housing attributes and appliances such as house decorations and electronic appliances, while girls underline nonmaterial aspects of housing such as its comfortableness, when referring to the condition of the house and the neighborhood in differentiating levels of welfare.

Children in the study also used physical appearance to distinguish poor and wealthy children. According to them, the physical appearance of wealthy children is better than the poor. The way children dress indicates their level of welfare; poor children are depicted as wearing shabby and worn-out clothes. Furthermore, poor children are also described to have darker skin color, thin bodies, and a disheveled appearance. Boys are more likely to

talk more about body features (skin color, hair style) in describing poor children, while older girls tend to highlight additional attributes of appearance such as accessories/jewelry worn and fashion style.

The possession of money is also perceived to be another factor to determine levels of welfare. Many children in the study, particularly older children, relate the desire to have more money to the idea of getting work. The older children are more affected by financial constraints, particularly in maintaining their social relationships, as they cannot always afford activities such as going out with friends.

Regarding the nonmaterial aspects used by children to identify and measure poor and wealthy groups, children associated white collar jobs, such as being an entrepreneur and employee, with occupations of the wealthy group. Meanwhile, poor people are seen as either jobless or doing informal jobs, such as collecting garbage and secondhand items, and becoming a parking attendant or a beggar.

Social relations is another important nonmaterial indicator of poverty highlighted by children in this study. Children's descriptions on the attitude and behavior of poor children are mixed across the study areas. In Jakarta and Makassar, poor children are described in a more negative way such as being lazy, delinquent, and unmotivated in studying, while in Surakarta, poor children are depicted more positively.

The relationship between poor children and their parents is often described to be miserable due to lack of both quantity and quality time together. Girls tend to talk more about the relationship with parents and other family members, compared to boys. Nevertheless, most of them agree that parents should allocate more time and attention to their children. The role of parents is important for children's happiness since most of the children who reported to be sad belong to dysfunctional families (divorced parents, children separated from their parents). Regarding the relationship between children and their peers, wealthy children are depicted to be more exclusive, while poor children are more open and friendlier. Nevertheless, poor children are reported to have negative experiences such as being bullied, shunned, and verbally harassed.

Insight/Learning from Children's Perspective on Poverty

Poverty is perceived to affect both the material and nonmaterial aspects of a child's life. The way children describe their experience is different across gender and age groups. Children at a younger age tend to focus on material aspects, while older children have more exposure to the social environment and start to recognize social status. The study also finds that girls spend more time at home since they are responsible for domestic tasks, while boys are more likely to spend their time outside the home to hang out with friends or work (older children). This pattern explains why boys talk more about the ownership of a vehicle that can support their mobility, while girls are more oriented to assets. Children's view on education is also mixed. Some boys believe that sons should be prioritized in the family in getting education since they will be the breadwinner for their family in the future. Meanwhile, girls believe that the family should prioritize them since girls are perceived to be more diligent in school. Nevertheless, all children, regardless of their gender, recognized the importance of education.

Children tend not to use the term "poor" when identifying their own wealth level. They prefer to use other words such as "average", which in the Indonesian context is only slightly different from "poor". The fact that children avoid the undesirable image attached to the "poor" label tells us that the use of the "poor" label in social protection and assistance programs may bring undesirable influence on children. Furthermore, although children are aware that their condition is close to the poverty line, most of them rate their subjective well-being at 50% and above. They perceive family and friends equally important as their source of happiness.

Social relationship and environment are perceived by most children in the study to be important aspects that influence well-being. The relationship between parents and their children in poor families are negatively affected not only by financial issues but also their lack of knowledge on dealing with children. Parents in poor families are not able to allocate sufficient time to have meaningful engagement with their children since they are forced to work long hours outside of home to earn money. Living in a poor community also means that children are prone to negative social and environment influences present in an unsafe neighborhood.

The possession of a vehicle and mobile phone is also an interesting issue which reflects the change in priorities among poor families. Private transportation has now become one of the primary needs of poor families since they tend to have limited access to public transportation services. An increasing need for communication tools among poor families has made the ownership of mobile phones among poor children, particularly those in the older group, quite common nowadays.

Problems Faced by Poor Children

Family support, particularly from parents, is an important aspect in children's life which significantly impacts on their well-being. Economic limitations faced by poor families force parents to spend more time outside of the home to earn money for the family. This condition hinders parents from providing quality care. As a consequence, some problems within the family occur; for example, conflicts and misunderstandings in the relationship between parents and their children due to lack of interaction and communication. Furthermore, financial issues also cause family members to live separately because some poor parents must work in another city and leave the children with an extended family member. Living in an incomplete family is one factor that triggers sadness and disappointment among children.

Living in poverty makes children more vulnerable to experiencing violence committed by people around them, such as adults in the neighborhood and parents, more often the father. This is found to be a common situation among families in this study. Children usually experience violence committed by parents or older siblings when they behave badly or fail to do the tasks set by these family members. Furthermore, boys are reported to experience more violence than girls, ranging from verbal to physical abuse. Violence among peers, both boys and girls, was also reported in this study. The violence occurs due to various reasons, ranging from showing off their physical strength to misunderstandings among children.

Negative influences from peers are also quite common among boys and girls. Some of the boys in this study, in particular the older ones, admitted that they had developed bad habits, such as drinking alcohol and smoking, due to peer influence. Children in all study locations, in particular the older girls, also highlighted the issue of being prone to prostitution because of their working environment or peer influence.

Cases of children deciding to work were also reported in this study. Most of the reasons mentioned by the children on this issue are related to the family's limited economic situation. Children work for money because they want to have more pocket money or to help their parents meet daily needs. The types of jobs done by children are usually low-skilled and vary depending on the characteristics of the environment where they live; for example, children in coastal areas often work in a fish market, or peel shrimps and clams. Working children are prone to risky working environments. Children who work in the frozen food industry are exposed to dangerous chemicals, such as chlorine. Whilst girls who work as waitresses at cafés are highly prone to sexual harassment.

Although the infrastructure in urban areas is relatively good, access to education was reported as one of the problems faced by children from poor families. Children must deal with financial barriers such as transportation costs that hinder their ability to get to school. In some cases, these financial barriers cause children to give up school for work. The school environment and peer influences are other factors that affect children's motivation to go to school. Despite the fact that the government has already provided various forms of support to improve education services, particularly in public schools, children from poor families are less likely to enjoy the benefits. Children from poor families are more likely to attain a low graduation score that prevents them from enrolling in public (junior) high schools. Unfortunately, there are only a limited number of private schools receiving basic government assistance. Furthermore, children reported that the absence of support and role modelling from parents or other family members also demotivates them.

The level of access to health services among poor children is perceived by the children in this study to be low when in fact they are greatly exposed to safety and health risks. Self-medication practices and seeking traditional treatment become the solutions for them. Compared to children in Jakarta and Makassar, children in Surakarta are reported to have a better access to health services; they only need to show their identity card to enjoy these services. Children also reported the lack of nutrition as one of the causes of health problems. They often eat less than three times a day. Moreover, the quality, in particular the hygiene of food consumed by children is also low; it is often bought from the many food stalls in the children's neighborhood.

Most children in this study complained about the poor public facilities they experienced, including the lack of clean water, public toilets, and playgrounds. Poor families often live in slum areas with poor housing conditions. As a consequence, poor children are prone to disasters and social problems. Furthermore, children do not have safe playgrounds to play in because many of these places have been converted to other functions such as parking lots and marketplaces.

Vulnerability and Resilience of Urban Poor Children to Poverty: Risk Factors, Positive Adaptions, and Sources of Support

Risk Factors

As previously discussed, family plays an important role in children's life since children are still dependant on their caregivers, in particular parents. Parental poverty is considered to be the root of various problems faced by children. Parental poverty prevents children from enjoying a better living condition and accessing public services, such as education and health. Children who grow up in poor living conditions, such as in slum areas, are exposed to various social problems and risks associated with low quality of life. Moreover, they are often quite difficult to be reached by basic services.

Children also become vulnerable when they do not receive quality care. This often occurs because the function of the family is diminished due to disharmony and violence amongst family members, or a case of parents separating as well as lacking time, energy, and knowledge. These conditions encourage children to seek happiness outside the home and may result in them falling into various problems. The extent of vulnerability experienced by children due to the lack of attention and affection from their parents is influenced by the age and gender of the children. When lacking parents' love and supervision, boys seem to be more vulnerable than girls because they have a broader scope of interaction. Furthermore, children at an older age are more prone to various problems. Family disharmony and separation could create problems related to emotional well-being, such as children's boredom and feeling uncomfortable to be at home. Moreover, poor parents often experience stress due to financial constraints, which can lead to violence in the family.

Children also face risks outside the family zone, such as pressure from peers and adults in the neighborhood. Peers have significant influence on children's negative attitudes and behaviors which vary according to existing local norms, age, and gender. For example, there is a tendency nowadays that touching the private or genital body parts of their friends has become a new common way of teasing or joking among children across different age and sex groups in different locations.

Working children are exposed to various vulnerabilities associated with safety problems and impacts on children's health. Furthermore, they are more likely to lose the opportunity to attend school and play with their peers. Children who work may also experience low self-esteem and inferiority when they meet their friends who have a better life. Types of work done by children vary depending on the location, age, and gender of the children. Working children face safety risks related to the type of job and the responsibilities they are burdened with. Moreover, safety risks can also come from other people who are doing the same job, either adults or children.

In a broader zone of interaction, risk factors can also come from unfriendly policies and society. Children, particularly those from poor families, experience various risk factors associated with the lack of basic services and exclusion. Existing urban development

policies which do not appropriately consider the existence of children in city spaces have forced urban poor children to live in illegal settlements, excluding them from attaining sufficient basic services. Furthermore, the lack of playgrounds has led children to play in unsafe and inappropriate places which are harmful to them. For example, children who live along the riverbank and in coastal areas are prone to the risk of drowning in the river or the sea while playing with friends. The lack of playgrounds also results in children spending time at internet cafés and gaming centers. This has been worrying the parents because their children have become addicted to gaming and playing on the internet.

Coping with Hardship in Everyday Life

Even though children, particularly those from poor families, experience many risk factors that put them in a more vulnerable condition, they still have positive aspects in their life which can support them to cope with their difficulties. Positive adaption is the first option for many children. The ways children overcome their problems are considered quite simple. For instance, they would go to school by another path in order to avoid a conflict with an older student senior who challenged them to a fight the previous day. Children in this study mentioned that closeness with parents and God being an important source of support that gives them strength.

Children perceive parents to be the first and last resorts of support in their life, which is very meaningful and important, especially at times when they really need assistance. Support from parents motivates children to do their best in their life. Furthermore, parents can provide necessary supervision and control which can prevent their children from doing negative things and protect them from their peers' bad influence. Support from the peers becomes more important when children suffer from deprivation of a meaningful relationship with the family due to various reasons. Children can support each other when one of them encounters a family problem or is in conflict with children from other groups.

There are also people in the children's neighborhood who give them attention by providing a place for the children to grow and develop their potential and spend their time and energy on positive activities. For instance, a woman in Surakarta founded a traditional dancing studio where children can join the lessons at a very low price. By joining the dance class, children not only get skills but also opportunities to participate in external events around the city.

What Can We Learn from the Vulnerability and Resilience Mapping?

Children's interactions with the surrounding environment are like two sides of a coin. On the one hand, they can be a source of strength for them to face their life, but on the other hand they can also be a source of vulnerability that affects their welfare. Family is the most important source of support for children. Nevertheless, when not functioning properly, family can also be the main driver of children falling into negative behaviors, such as delinquencies. Reduced family function is the reason children seek to escape into the environment outside the family, which may cause them to be involved in various forms of delinquency.

Outside the family, children interact with their peers and other parties from external layers that could significantly influence children, both in positive and negative ways. Children from poor families are more exposed to the risks of interactions which can be the source of vulnerability. Among all the layers of interaction, family is the most crucial aspect that influences children's well-being. Therefore, any interventions and policies aiming to address the vulnerability and improve the resilience of urban poor children will need to consider family as a unit of intervention.

I. Background

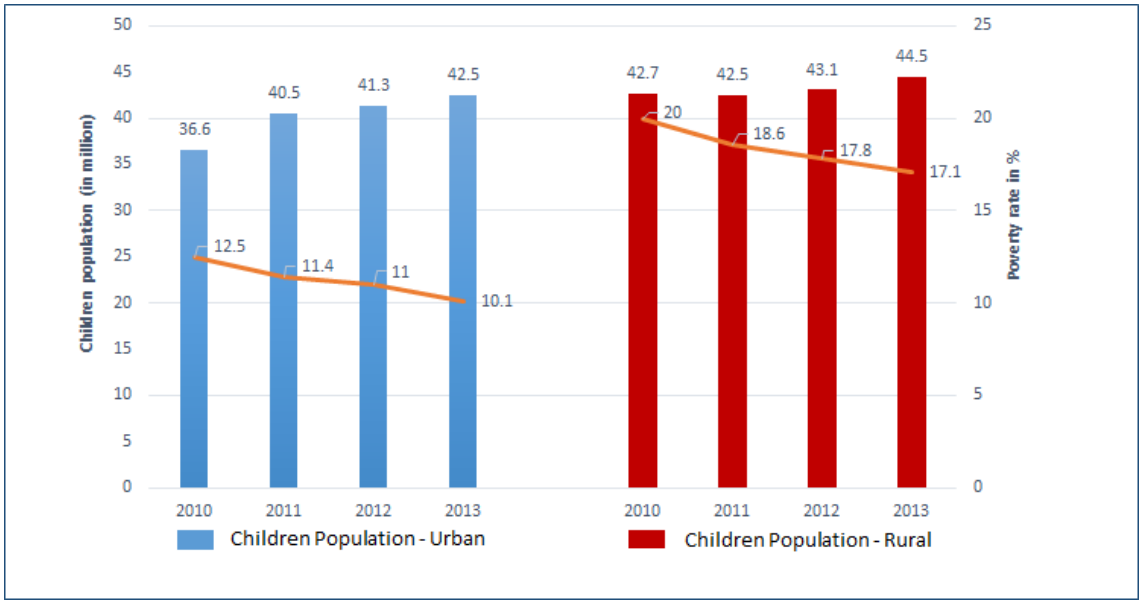
1.1 Context

1.1.1 Urban Child Poverty in Indonesia

With children making up one-third of Indonesia's total population, child poverty becomes one of the most pressing issues in the country. The Government of Indonesia (GoI) has implemented policies to reduce poverty, including the delivery of assistance programs targeted at children in poor families. However, there has not been a significant decline in child poverty rates decline for a number of years. In 2012, there are 12.2 million children reported to live in poor households that represents 14.46% of all the children in the country and 11.96% of the total population (World Bank, 2012).

Child poverty is increasingly an urban phenomenon, unlike the situation decades ago when poverty was predominantly evident in rural areas. In Indonesia, urban child poverty is increasingly recognized to be a growing problem that has been largely attributed to the rapid urbanization in the country (Burger, Glick, and Perez-Arce, 2012). The number of poor households with children living in urban areas is increasing along with rapid urbanization, triggered by limited economic opportunities in rural areas. In 2010, 49.8% of the nation's population lived in big cities and the figure is predicted to reach 60% by 2025 (BPS, 2014). Whilst the number of children in urban areas increased from 36.6 million to 42.5 million during 2010–2013, there was a decrease in urban child poverty (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Children Population and Poverty Rate by Location, 2010–2013



Assumed that with access to a wider range of services, opportunities, and infrastructure, such as housing, education and health services, children living in cities are better off than children in rural areas. In fact, this is not a guarantee, as there are many children living in urban areas experiencing a lack of access to basic necessities (UNICEF, 2012). Children from poor families who live in illegal settlements or those who do not have a legal identity enjoy the least of benefits offered by cities, as stated by UNICEF (2002: 14):

> Schooling, like most other basic services, tends to be more readily available to urban children than their rural counterparts. But school remains either inaccessible or unaffordable for many poor urban children. Moreover, the general quality of schools in poor urban areas can be extremely low, and this constitutes yet another disincentive for parents and children. Especially in illegal settlements, governments may overlook their obligation to provide education or, indeed, any other service.

Furthermore, various studies across the world have shown that poor children in urban areas face a high risk of health problems, malnutrition, and even death due to poor sanitation and lack of clean water (Montgomery, 2009). In Indonesia, the 2013 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas 2013) data has shown that poor children in urban areas are more likely to be deprived of the access to basic amenities compared to the nonpoor children. They are reported to live in overcrowded homes with poor sanitation and have no access to electricity and safe drinking water (calculated by SMERU based on the 2013 Susenas). Along with the growth of slum[1] areas in Indonesian cities—23% of the areas of cities in the country are slums and are predicted to be growing due to rapid urbanization, there will be a growing number of poor children living in these poor neighborhoods.

1.1.2 Living Condition of Urban Poor Children in Indonesia

In 2013, around one-third of Indonesia's total population of 247 million were children and almost a half of the children (42.51 million) lived in urban areas (see Table 1). Based on monetary measurement, about 14% of children in Indonesia were living below the national poverty threshold. However, once the poverty rate is doubled, the child poverty rate rises almost fourfold to 62%. Furthermore, the poverty rate of children in urban areas was slightly lower than its national level. The poverty rate of urban children was around 10%; it means that about 4.2 million urban children lived in poor households.

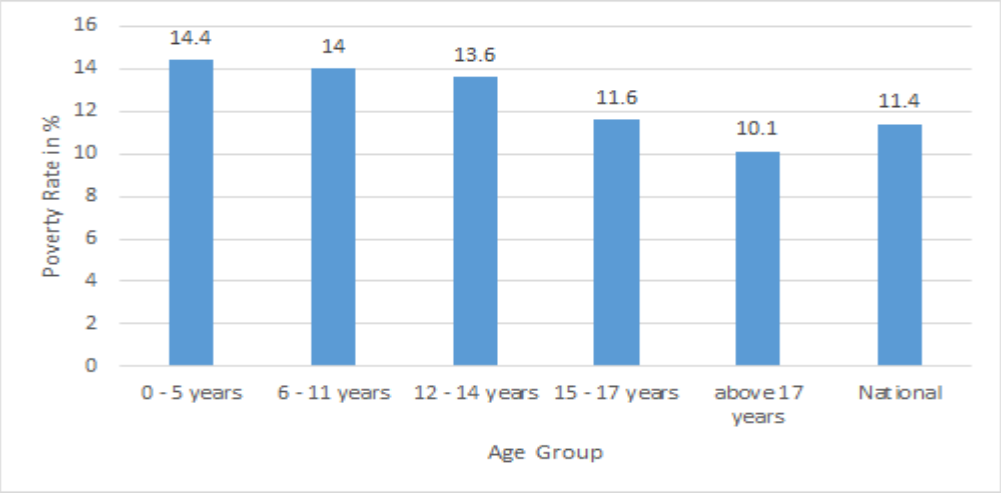
Table 1. Statistics of Indonesian children

Total population (in million)	246.98
Poor people population (in million)	28.55
Children population (in million)	87.04
Children in poverty, national rate (%)	13.67
Children in poverty (2xPPL), national rate (%)	62.08
Children living in urban areas (in million)	42.51
Children poverty, urban rate (%)	10.06
Children poverty (2xPPL), urban rate (%)	53.61

[1]Slums are characterized as places lacking in durability and security of tenure, personal space, access to safe water, and improved sanitation (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

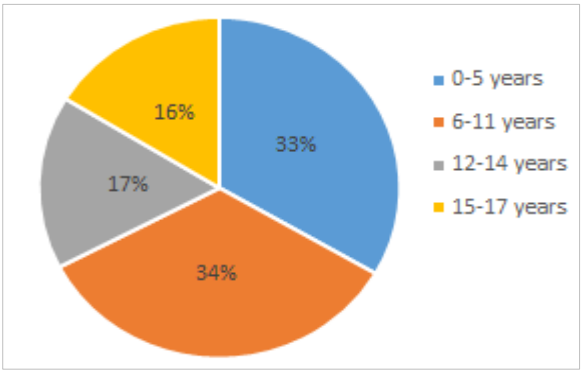
Overall, the child poverty rate is higher than the national poverty rate. A comparison of groups shows that the percentage of children living in poverty declines as the children get older. Poverty rates are higher among younger children with about 14% of children aged below eleven years categorized as poor (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Poverty Rate by Age Group and the National Poverty Rate, 2013



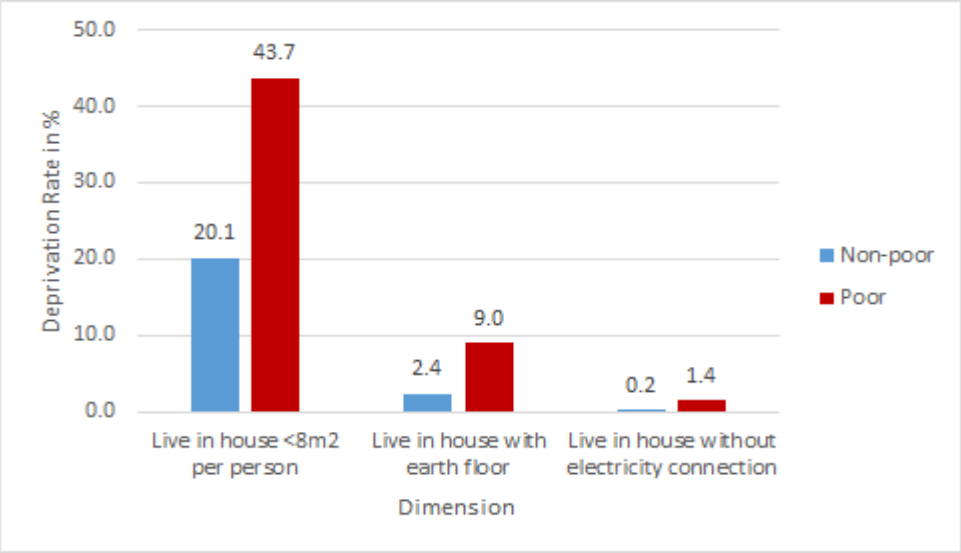
Around a third of children living in urban areas are young children aged below six years. Children aged 6 to 11 years also have a similar share to that of the youngest age group. The remaining portion is shared almost equally by the adolescent group (children aged 12–14 years and 15–17 years) (see Figure.3).

Figure 3. Composition of Children in Urban Areas by Age Group, 2013



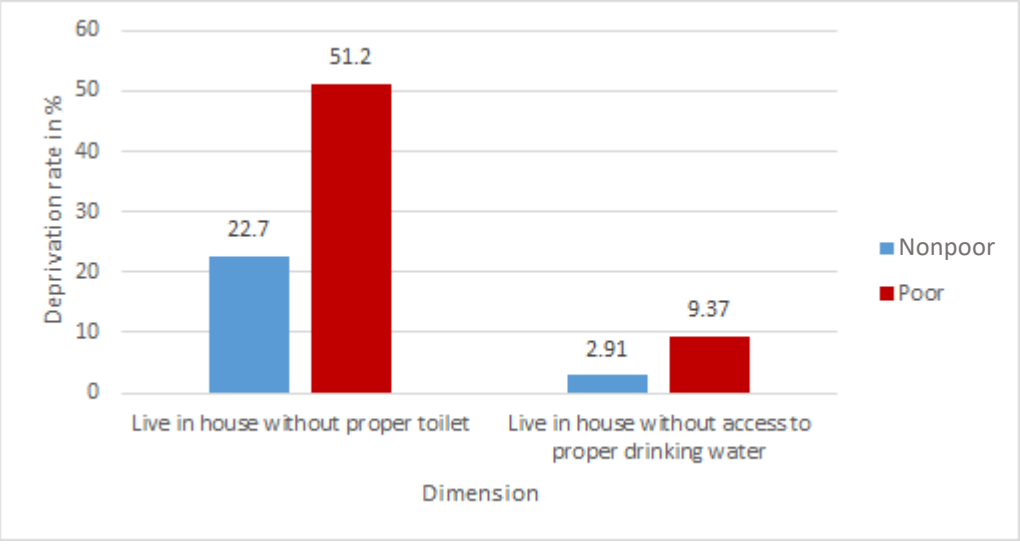
Almost one out of two (43%) poor children in urban areas live in an overcrowded house, far higher than their nonpoor counterparts where only one out of five (20%) of them live in an overcrowded house. We can also see that around 9% of the poor children live in a house with an earth floor. Although this deprivation rate is relatively small, it is more than three times higher than the rate of the nonpoor children. Furthermore, about 1% of the poor children who live in cities still do not have access to connected electricity (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Children in Urban Areas Deprived of Housing by Poverty Status, 2013



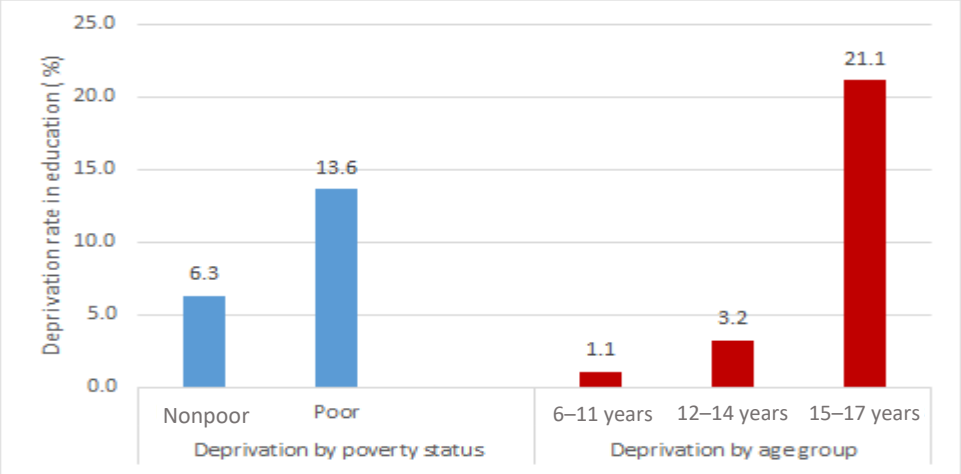
More than half of the poor children in urban areas do not have access to a proper toilet. Meanwhile, only one out of five urban nonpoor children suffers the same condition. It is found that most nonpoor children in urban areas already enjoy safe drinking water. On the contrary, about 10% of the poor children have limited access to safe drinking water due to the inadequate provision of services (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Urban Children Deprived of Proper Sanitation and Drinking Water by Poverty Status, 2013



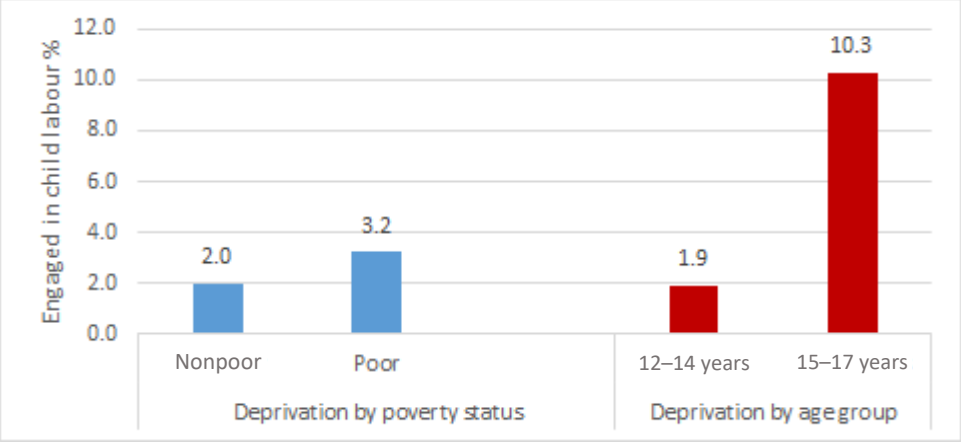
Both poor and nonpoor children in urban areas are found to be deprived in educational aspects—where children are, due to various reasons, out of school. However, poor children are found to be more likely to face barriers to accessing education compared to nonpoor children. There is about 14% of urban poor children who are not enrolled in school compared to only 6% of nonpoor children who are not registered at school. Age group wise, the highest education deprivation rate belongs to the group of children aged between 15 and 17 years, whilst only about 1% of children between 6 and 11 years of age do not attend school.

Figure 6. Urban Children Deprived of Education by Poverty Status and Age Group, 2013



One out of ten urban children aged between 15 and 17 years is reported to be working. This number is relatively much higher than the number of working children in the younger group, where only about 2% are reported to be working. Compared to the nonpoor children, the proportion of poor children engaged in child labor is slightly higher, although the deprivation rates for both groups are relatively small (Figure 7).

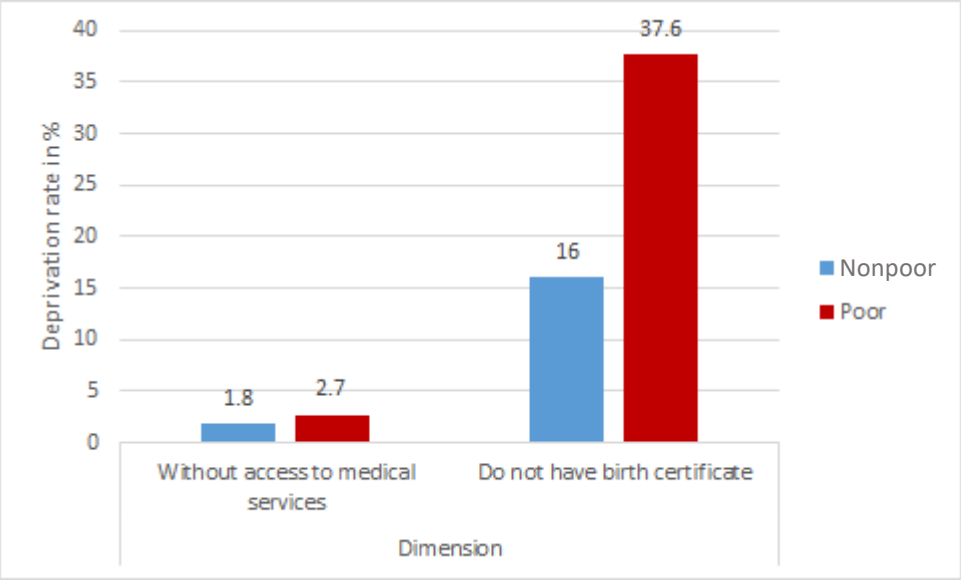
Figure 7. Urban Children Engaged in Child Labor by Poverty Status and Age Group, 2013



Another dimension found to be deprived among urban children is access to medical services. The proportion of poor children experiencing a lack of access to medical services is slightly higher than that of the nonpoor children; about 3% of the poor children and 2% of the nonpoor children who live in cities do not receive any medical treatment when they suffer from various illnesses (see Figure 8). Even though the numbers are relatively small, it is important to note that both groups of children experience a lack of access to medical services. This might reflect the fact that medical treatment and services in urban areas are inaccessible for children in general, be it for poor or nonpoor children.

One of the main factors that could also explain why health and education are inaccessible for children living in urban areas, especially poor children, is the fact that there is a relatively high number of poor children who do not have a birth certificate. Figure 8 indicates that 37% of the urban poor children do not have a birth certificate. Since government assistance programs and subsidized public services targeting poor children are implemented based on the administrative database collected by the government, providing a birth certificate becomes the main requirement for families to access these government assistance programs. Therefore, many poor children remain ineligible for government program benefits, even though they need them.

Figure 8. Urban Children Deprived of Medical Services and Birth Certificate by Poverty Status, 2013



1.1.3 Efforts to Improve the Well-Being of Urban Poor Children in Indonesia

In the last decade, there has been increasing attention on child poverty and various government interventions have been implemented in order to improve the welfare of children, in particular those who live in poor families. This section discusses efforts from the government in two approaches: (i) urban development agenda and (ii) social protection program.

a) Urban Development Agenda

Since 2011, the central government has been mainstreaming the agenda of Child-Friendly *Kabupaten/Kota* Development (KLA) to all regions in Indonesia. KLA is known as a commitment to develop a city based on children's rights so that all policies, programs, and activities must ensure the well-being of children. In general, this concept promotes the principles of nondiscrimination which correspond to the best interests of children, covering the rights to live, grow, develop, be protected, and participate. As a manifestation of the commitment, the government has developed the KLA indicators, which are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The Child-Friendly City (KLA) Indicators

No	Variable	Indicators
1	Institutional Strengthening	a. The existence of legislation and policy for the fulfillment of children's rights;
		b. The percentage of the budget for the fulfillment of children's rights, including the budget for institutional strengthening;
		c. The number of legislations, policies, programs, and activities that receive input from child's forums and other children's groups;
		d. The availability of trained human resources (HR) who are capable of implementing children's rights within policies, programs, and activities;
		e. The availability of children's data/profiles according to gender, age, and *kabupaten* (district);
		f. The involvement of public institutions in the fulfillment of children's rights;
		g. The involvement of the business community in the fulfillment of children's rights.
2	The Clusters of Children's Right	
2.1	The rights to civil services and freedom	a. The percentage of children registered and having a birth certificate
		b. The availability of child-friendly information facilities
		c. The number of children's groups, including child's forums, in *kota* (cities), *kabupaten* (district)/*kecamatan* (subdistricts), and *kelurahan* (urban villages)
2.2	Family and alternative care	a. The percentage of first marriages under the age of 18 years
		b. The availability of consultancy organizations on parenting and childcare for parents/families
		c. The availability of social welfare organizations for children
2.3	Basic health and welfare	a. Infant mortality rate
		b. The prevalence of malnutrition in children under five
		c. The percentage of exclusive breastfeeding (ASI)

No	Variable	Indicators
		d. The number of nursing/lactation rooms
		e. The percentage of fully immunized children
		f. The number of institutions providing reproductive health and mental services
		g. The number of children from poor families who gain access to welfare improvement services
		h. The percentage of households with access to clean water
		i. The availability of nonsmoking areas
2.4	Education, leisure time, and cultural activities	a. Early childhood education enrollment
		b. The percentage of children participating in 12-year compulsory education
		c. The percentage of child-friendly schools
		d. The number of schools that have programs, facilities, and infrastructure for children's mobilization to and from school
		e. The availability of facilities for creative activities and child-friendly recreation outside the school which is accessible to all children
2.5	Special protection	a. The percentage of children who require special protection and receive services
		b. The percentage of cases of children in conflict with the law (ABH) that have been solved by the approach of restorative justice
		c. The availability of a disaster management mechanism that takes into account the interests of children
		d. The percentage of children who are exempted from the worst forms of child labor

Source: Regulation of the Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12/2011 on the Indicators of a Child-Friendly *Kabupaten/Kota*.

In the implementation of KLA, *kabupaten* governments should form a task force which consists of various stakeholders such as government agencies, NGOs, CSOs, parents, and children. This task force is responsible for coordinating policies, programs, and activities related to the development, promotion, and monitoring and evaluation of KLA. In order to be a city that is friendly for children, there are five conditions that should be met: (i) the fulfillment of child rights, (ii) provision of services that support child growth, (iii) support for child participation in the family, (iv) the community, and (v) society. This policy has the potential to be an entrance for strengthening efforts in improving the well-being of children living in urban areas, especially the poor.

b) Social Protection Program

The Indonesian government has recently initiated a number of targeted poverty reduction programs to assist poor families with some particularly aimed at children in these families. Along with the emergence of initiatives at the national level, decentralization allows local

governments across the country to provide additional assistance for the poor, in particular children, in order to make public services more available to the marginalized group. These schemes are well known as part of the social protection programs initiated and implemented by the government and predominantly aim to improve access to education and health services, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Social Protection Programs in Indonesia

Social Protection Program	Target Level		Sector	
	Household	Individual	Health	Education
National Programs				
School Operational Assistance (BOS)		x		x
Cash Transfers for Poor Students (BSM)		x		x
Household Conditional Cash Transfer (PKH)		x		x
Universal Health Care Scheme (JKN)		x	x	
Subsidized Rice for Low-Income Communities (Raskin)	X			
Temporary Direct Cash Transfer (BLSM)	X			
Local Programs				
Jakarta Smart Card (KJP)		x		x
Jakarta Health Card (KJS)		x	x	
Surakarta Health Insurance (PMKS)		x	x	
Surakarta Education Subsidy (BPMKS)		x		x

In the education sector, the central government has implemented BOS since 2005. This program covers the school operational costs of all public schools and some private schools. This means that students, regardless of his or her wealth status, do not need to pay the tuition fee. Furthermore, poor students can receive additional support through BSM. The amount of the cash transfer received by each poor student varies from Rp450,000 to Rp1,000,000 per year and can be used to cover educational expenses which cannot be financed by BOS. In 2014, the recipients of this program were about 11.1 million schoolchildren.

The government also created the Household Conditional Cash Transfer called PKH in 2007. The program targets very poor households and is conditional on a range of program recipients' behaviors, including school attendance and immunization. The program recipients receive a cash transfer between Rp950,000 and Rp3,700,000 per household per year. Moreover, the recipients can also access health services at community health centers

(*puskesmas*), village maternity centers (*polindes*), integrated health service posts (*posyandu*), and other public health service providers. Narrow targeting, low value, conditionalities, and complex administration, however, lead to the exclusion of large numbers of poor children from the program.

The new national health system has been implemented nationwide since 2014 and it aims to provide universal health care coverage to all Indonesian citizens. The government allocates funds from the national budget to finance premium assistance (PBI) for recipients, who are the poor and nearly poor people. Through this assistance, poor children's access to public health service providers increases and this can improve their well-being.

Some social assistance programs were also designed by the central government, including Raskin and BLSM, in order to help poor households to fulfill their basic needs. Both programs target poor and nearly poor households and serve to prevent these households' welfare level from worsening. By receiving both forms of assistance, the recipient households are expected to have more financial flexibility in covering education and health expenses for their children.

At the local level, Jakarta and Surakarta have provided examples of social protection schemes for children and their families, in particular in the fields of education and health. Initiated in 2012 by the Provincial Government of Jakarta, the KJP program aims to provide support to poor students in the Province of Jakarta to access education up to senior high school level. Children who are eligible for this program are those who are registered at any school in Jakarta and come from poor families. The program provides financial assistance which covers basic educational needs, such as uniforms, transportation costs, food, and extracurricular fees. The amount of money provided by this program varies from Rp100,000 to Rp290,000 per month per student and it cannot be converted into cash.

In the health sector, the KJS program was designed to provide health insurance for citizens of Jakarta Province who have a local ID card or family card and are not covered yet by other insurance systems. Although it was designed to provide health services for all citizens of Jakarta Province, the program's focus is on the improvement of poor people's access to health services. The KJS cardholders can access health services at any public health service providers and some private health service providers in Jakarta that accept KJS.

The Government of Kota (City of) Surakarta also implements similar assistance programs by providing BPMKS and PMKS, targeting the poor in Surakarta. All students in Kota Surakarta are eligible for the BPMKS education subsidy if they have a local family card and are registered at any school in the city. In 2015, the program provided a subsidy for about 60,000 students. Similarly, the local government provides a health insurance program covering all citizens in Surakarta. Both schemes were designed to be accessible for all people who are registered as citizens of Surakarta. Moreover, they aim to provide more benefits for those categorized as poor; families that registered under gold and platinum membership are entitled to higher proportion of subsidy when they access education and health services.

Nevertheless, various studies documented several factors that hinder children's access to these programs. As discussed previously, administrative barrier is one of the main factors

that prevents poor children from accessing the programs. Many poor children do not have a birth certificate, or their family is not officially registered on the local government's database. Since this database is used to determine the list of program recipients, the unregistered children are administratively not eligible for the assistance programs even though they are poor.

1.1.4 Measuring Child Poverty to Improve Child Well-Being: a Shift to Child-Centered Study in Understanding Child Well-Being

Poverty has been proven to affect the well-being of children and can potentially threaten their future. Various studies in many countries have shown that poverty affects children's outcomes in many fundamental aspects, including health, education, cognitive and psychosocial development, and emotional well-being (Hardgrove et al., 2011; Treanor, 2012). Efforts have been undertaken to measure poverty in order to understand its severity and complexity, as well as how it affects the life of poor children. That way, interventions can be developed to improve children's life.

Globally, attempts to measure poverty have emphasized the monetary aspect as an objective measurement. Recognizing the importance of multidimensional poverty, attempts to include nonmonetary aspects, such as health, education, participation, and social relationship in poverty measurement are emerging to develop a more comprehensive understanding on the issue (Chandalia, Saxena, and Rani, 2015; White, Leavy, and Masters, 2003). Besides the inclusion of multidimensional aspects, a shift from an adult-centered to child-centered approach is one of the groundbreaking movements proliferating in recent decades to respond to the need of understanding the complexity of child poverty and its impact on well-being. In the past, the measurement of child well-being heavily relied on the perspective of adults as experts, researchers, and parents or carers who represent children's voices. This method has been widely criticized and proven to be inaccurate in representing children's aspirations. Studies have revealed that there are discrepancies between adults and children in considering which aspects are important for their well-being (Chandalia, S., Saxena, D., and Rani, R., 2015).

Thus, subjective well-being has increasingly been used in recent measurements of well-being, in particular for children (Arieh, 2006). Defined as a self-evaluation of someone's life, based on both cognitive (life satisfaction) and affective (moods and emotions) assessments (Singh and Lal, 2012), assessment of children's subjective well-being is groundbreaking and empowers children. Relying on how children perceive their own experiences, it recognizes children's ability and rights to express their opinion by positioning themselves as an actor rather than a passive receiver in determining what is important for their own life (Chandalia, S., Saxena, D., and Rani, R., 2015).

As in many developing countries, there is an emerging attempt to measure multidimensional poverty in Indonesia and its relation to the well-being of children. The measurement, however, is often limited to certain nonmonetary aspects, such as health and education. Moreover, in measuring the impact of poverty on child well-being, objective and standardized indicators (household income, expenses, outcome in schooling, child mortality, health status), which are determined by adults, remain to be widely used (Chandalia, Saxena, and Rani, 2015; White, Leavy, and Masters, 2003). Assumed to have a

better access to improved infrastructure and basic services, urban poor children are often overlooked, compared to their rural counterparts. This leads to paucity in data related to urban child poverty in the country, as there is little knowledge on the trends, patterns, characteristics, and dynamics of poverty among the urban poor in general in Indonesia (Burger, Glick, and Perez-Arce, 2012). Therefore, SMERU and UNICEF conducted a study aiming to gain more understanding about the perspective of children on their experience living in poverty and disparity.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The study is expected to gain a greater understanding of how children see their lived experience of being poor and deprived in urban areas by addressing the research questions below:

a) In what forms is poverty experienced by children from poor families, how do children adapt and survive, and what do they need to adapt and survive, according to their own perspectives?

b) What factors affecting poverty and disparity are experienced by children in urban areas (including external support provided by the family and government)?

The objectives of the study include:

a) To understand the characteristics of poverty and disparities experienced by children living in poor households in urban areas

b) To provide input on policies and programs required to tackle poverty and disparities experienced by children in urban areas

This study is a follow-up to a previous study by SMERU and UNICEF that examined urban child poverty in Indonesia. Building upon the general portrayal of urban child poverty from the previous study, this study is expected to provide a more comprehensive picture of urban child poverty in Indonesia, both in terms of its depth and complexity, from the perspective of children.

II. Research Methodology

2.1 Approach & Design

This study was conducted using qualitative approach with a cross-sectional study design. Considering the nature of children as the primary participants in this study, we utilized many methods of data gathering which would enable researchers to develop rapport with the children, making sure that they would feel comfortable to express their thoughts and aspirations in the research.

Aiming to comprehend how children understand and perceive their experience of living in poverty, the study uses qualitative approach, which is suitable since it underlines the importance of subjective interpretations and meanings of personal experience to understand behaviors (Liamputtong, 2010: 3–26). Moreover, conducting qualitative approach also benefits this study since the approach enables the utilization of flexible methods to gather more information on the complexity of urban poverty experienced by children. To date there has been little research conducted into the issue (Liamputtong, 2010: 3–26).

2.1.1 Study Locations

This study was conducted in three cities from three different provinces in Indonesia. Six *kelurahan* have been chosen as the study locations, they are Kelurahan Sangkrah and Kelurahan Kemlayan in Surakarta (Central Java Province), Kelurahan Pademangan Barat and Kelurahan Penjaringan in North Jakarta (Jakarta Province), and Kelurahan Baraya-Baraya Utara and Kelurahan Tallo in Makassar (South Sulawesi Province). The research team conducted observations through transect walks and interviewed key informants to determine the poorest neighborhood units (RT[2]) in the selected *kelurahan* and the groups of children that need to be included in this study.

The three cities were selected to be study locations because (i) they have shown a commitment to the Child-Friendly Kota (KLA) program, (ii) SMERU has conducted a study on poverty in these cities previously, and (iii) there is an expectation that conducting this study in the cities will enable the research team to expand the data and information from the previous study.

2.1.2 Sampling

a) Sampling Frame

A sample is defined as individuals representing the population of interest, who have the ability and willingness to provide the desired information (Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook, 2007). According to this definition, the sample in this study are children living in poor urban

[2]RT is the smallest unit of local administration consisting of a number of households.

areas within six study *kelurahan* and coming from a poor family background. The term children is defined as individuals aged 0 to 17 years.

In this study, there are three groups of children based on their age when the study was being conducted:

(1) The youngest group, comprising children aged 6 to 11 years
Considering the capability of children to follow the research process, age 6 is determined to be the minimum age for child participants in this study.

(2) The middle group, comprising children aged 12 to 14 years

(3) The oldest group, comprising children aged 15 to 17 years
The maximum age is determined to be 17 years since in the Indonesian context, an individual entering 18 years of age is legally and culturally treated as an adult.

b) Sampling Method

Sample recruitment in this study was conducted by utilizing a combination of purposive and snowball sampling methods, emphasizing the children participatory mechanism. This is to ensure that children are included in the process of sample recruitment. Assuming that children are familiar with their neighborhood, this mechanism allows the research team to gain more information regarding the most eligible participants. Purposive sampling method is utilized since the study aims to gather information from children who have the experience of living in poverty. Parents were interviewed to gain supporting information about children's living conditions. To encourage children to participate in the study, the research team ensured that the study objectives and the importance of their participation in improving the well-being of children in urban areas were well communicated. In addition, SMERU arranged a basic photography workshop as a form of nonmonetary reward to encourage children to participate in this study.

2.1.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection and analysis in this study are conducted using grounded participatory research principle. Since children are the primary participants, their active participation is necessary to ensure that their aspirations are expressed and heard.

This study combines several methods of data collection, including (i) focus group discussions (FGDs), (ii) in-depth interviews, (iii) group interviews, (iv) photo diary, and (v) field observation.

a) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

(1) FGDs with children

FGDs were conducted as an initial session to start a discussion with children in selected locations. There were two FGDs conducted in every *kelurahan*, all of which were held separately between female and male children aged 15 to 17 years. There were around five to ten children that participated in each FGD. These sessions aim to capture the general picture of children living in poverty in each study location.

Children participating in the FGDs were then asked to recommend other eligible children in their neighborhood. Therefore, the FGDs with children become the key activities in this study, which determined the following steps of the study.

(2) FGDs with parents

FGDs with parents were conducted as an entry point to introduce the research team and the process of conducting the study itself. Furthermore, the FGDs enabled the research team to gain trust from parents and the community in study locations so that their children were allowed to participate in the study. Discussions with parents helped the research team to see how adults, in particular parents and carers of the children, perceive the well-being of children, issues faced by children, as well as children's coping mechanism and support from the family. In total, there were two FGDs conducted in every *kelurahan*, all of which were held separately between male and female parents.

b) Group Interviews (GIs)

Group interviews were conducted separately based on age group (children aged 6 to 11, 12 to 14, and 15 to 17 years) and gender (male and female children). In total, there were six group interviews conducted for every *kelurahan*. These sessions aim to identify aspects considered to be important by children in relation to their experience living in poverty. Through these sessions, the research team expected to gain more information related to power relations in the family and children's aspirations.

c) In-depth Interviews

(1) Interviews with children

There were six in-depth interviews conducted in each *kelurahan*, all of which were held separately based on age group and gender, similar to the group interviews. These sessions enabled the research team to explore children's perception and understanding of poverty and well-being, their daily life, expectations, and access to basic facilities and services.

(2) Interviews with parents

Interviews with parents were conducted to gather supporting information related to children's life, background, and parents' understanding of their children's well-being. There were eight interviews with parents for every *kelurahan*, which included interviews with six parents or carers of children and two interviews with parents representing children aged under five years.

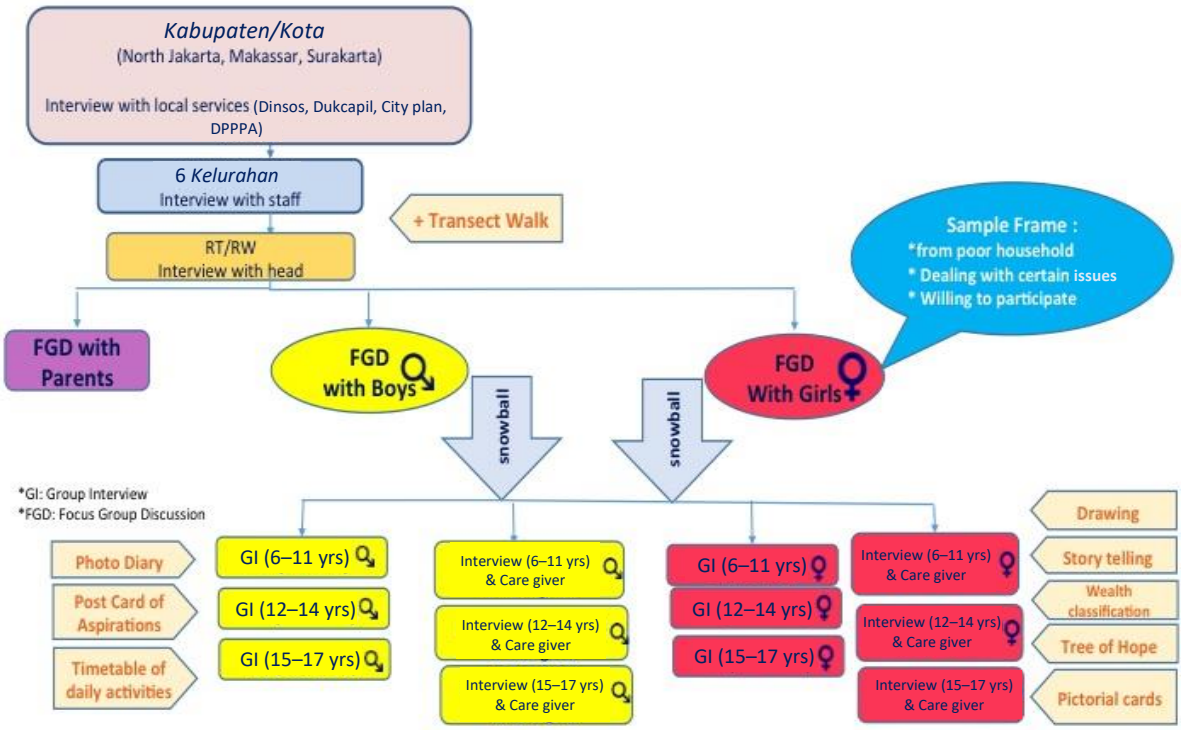
d) Interviews with Key Informants

The research team interviewed relevant stakeholders and local government officials at the *kota*, *kecamatan*, *kelurahan*, RT, RW[3], and community levels.

[3]RW is a unit of local administration consisting of several RT within a *kelurahan*.

In conducting data analysis, this study utilizes grounded theory principle, which emphasizes the development of themes and categorizations appearing in the study (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Figure 9. Flowchart of the Sampling Frame and Data Collection Activities



2.1.4 Research Ethics

a) Ethics approval

The procedures conducted in this study was complied with the standard of ethics issued by the ethics committee of the Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta to ensure that the study performs the necessary measures to minimize any harm that may come to the children during their participation in the study and prioritize their best interest.

b) Informed Consent and Confidentiality

To make sure that all participants in the study were well informed about the study, the research team was obliged to explain what the study was about and how their contributions were required in this study before FGDs or interviews were commenced. All members of the research team were trained to conduct studies with children. Written informed consent was sought to interview the children in particular, as well as other adults who were representing the children's parents or carers. Data collection tools and the information forms were designed to be simple, straightforward, and user friendly for children. Moreover, the research team also informed all the participants about how the data will be utilized as well as how the confidentiality of the information given during the interview will be protected. In addition, they were notified that there was no pressure for them to participate in this study.

To ensure that the confidentiality of the information given by the participants is protected, all recordings and transcriptions will be kept and coded in such a way that the participants will not be able to be identified.

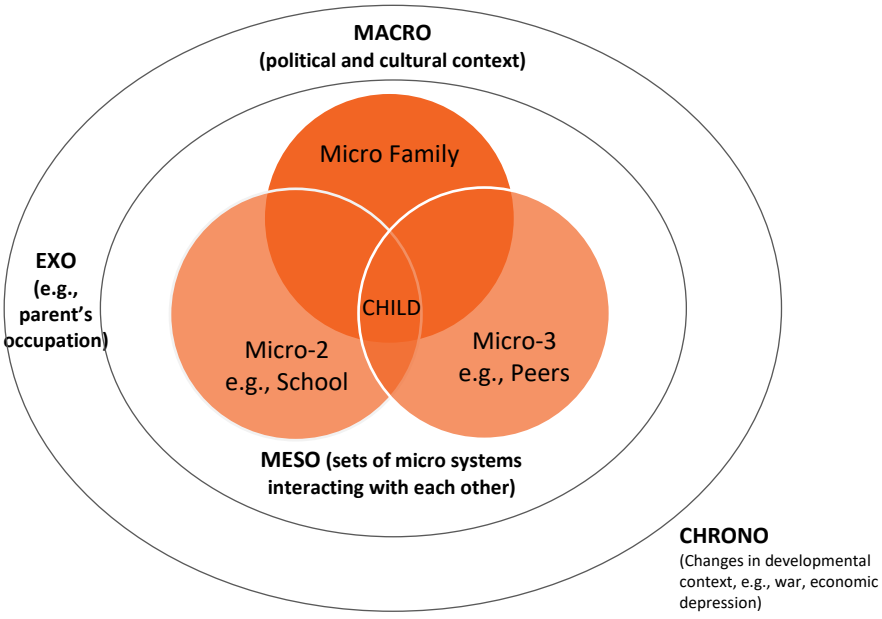
2.2 Analytical Framework

2.2.1 The Ecological Framework of a Child's Development

This study uses the development theory developed by Bronfenbrenner as one of the main analytical frameworks. Known as ecological framework, it recognizes children's and parents' perception and interpretation on their experiences with their surroundings in determining the influences of local environment on a child's development (Furstenberg and Hughes, 1997 in Dawes and Donald 2005). Moreover, the local environment as an object of perception and interpretation of children and parents is essentially acknowledged to be a context for a child's development in this theoretical framework. Besides the context factor, the framework also discusses the importance of individuals (person), forms of interaction (process), and changes overtime both in a child's development and the environment (time) in understanding child development.

Based on this understanding of the factors influencing a child's development, the framework emphasizes the level of interactions, in which the duration and type of the interactions are found to be the most crucial factors in influencing a child's development. It suggests that long-term face-to-face interactions, which are called proximal interactions, have the most enduring impact on a child's development (Dawes and Donald 2005).

Figure 10. Bronfenbrenner's Nested Systems



2.2.2 A Subjective Approach of Poverty and Well-Being

A general definition often used to describe poverty is "*a reduced or complete lack of access to material, economic, social, political, or cultural resources needed to satisfy basic needs*" (Philip & Rayhan 2004: 7). The use of the subjective approach enables the study to gain a deeper understanding of children's personal preferences, in relation to their values on goods and services. This study emphasizes the use of subjective perspective of children in understanding poverty, including what constitutes poverty, and the problems around it, as well as what is needed to move out of poverty and those problems.

Moreover, based on the concept of subjective approach, this study also tries to analyze to what extent poverty impacts needs fulfillment and deprivation among children in urban areas. It emphasizes the use of subjective well-being to understand how children perceive well-being in relation to their lived experience in poverty. Subjective well-being in this study is defined as a self-evaluation of someone's life, based on both cognitive (life satisfaction) and affective (moods and emotions) assessments (Singh and Lal, 2012). Therefore, children become a primary resource of information on their lived experience.

Recognizing the importance of a child's perspective of their experiences and environment, this study also considers the cognitive ability of children, which can be identified as part of the human progress involving the interaction of biological maturation and experience. As underlined by Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Sigelman and Rider, 2009), there are four distinct stages of cognitive development occurring throughout a human's lifespan, namely (i) sensorimotor stage (aged 0–2 years), (ii) preoperational stage (2–7 years), (iii) concrete operational stage (7–11 years), and formal operational stage (aged 11 years and beyond). All children progress through these stages in the same order with variants in rates; some children may develop their cognitive ability more rapidly or slowly than other children, depending on their interaction with the environment. Even though it is highly associated with age, the development stage is not necessarily determined by age, but it relies more on children's reasoning processes.

Acknowledging that children are progressing in developing distinctive and more advance cognitive ability throughout the stages, this study focuses on the three groups of children aged 6 to 17 years. Based on their age range, most of the children are predicted to be on the concrete operational and formal operational stages. At the preoperational stage, children start to develop symbolic capacity, which will enable them to use words referring to certain things, people, and events, in the past and future, even though those things are not physically present. The following stage, the concrete operational stage, involves the development of skills to understand and apply logical operations, enabling children to perform mental actions such as classifying, adding, and subtracting objects. Entering the last stage, the formal operational stage, adolescents develop skills to perform mental actions of using rational thinking on more hypothetical and abstract ideas, including taking more systematic and scientific approaches in problem solving (Inhelder and Piaget in Sigelman and Rider, 2009: 200). Children in these groups of age were involved as the main informants since they are expected to have established the cognitive capacity required for their participation in the study.

2.2.3 Understanding the Vulnerabilities and Resilience of Children Living in Poverty

To provide a more complete picture of the experience of children living in poverty, this study also tries to identify risk factors influencing child vulnerability to poverty as well as supporting factors that contribute to child resilience. Understanding these factors will expectedly bring us to a deeper understanding of the complexity of poverty as well as the potential that enables us to address problems facing poor children.

As a concept, vulnerability and resilience provide a dynamic framework to look at the factors behind poverty as well as the risks predisposed by poverty. As a dynamic concept, vulnerability enables us to identify people's exposures to serious risks and defenselessness against deprivation (Philip and Rayhan, 2004) which has not been provided in many poverty analyses. An earlier work by Chamber suggests that the concept of vulnerability may include a broader dimension than "shortage (lack of)" or "deprived of", as seen in various poverty indicators. According to Chamber, vulnerability is a condition in which an individual or a household is exposed to contingencies and stress, which are difficult for the individual or household to cope with. Chamber also reminded the importance of differentiating the concept of vulnerability from poverty. He pointed out that poverty may only look at the condition when a person is experiencing a lack of income, while vulnerability goes beyond that; it also looks at aspects associated with the insecurity felt by the poor as a result of the lack of income. Based on this, Chamber recalled that the policy implications of vulnerability will also differ from those of poverty (Chambers, 2006).

Although the two concepts are different, the vulnerability concept confirms a clear linkage between poverty and risk, and (risk-related) vulnerability can be defined as "... the exposure to uninsured risks leading to a socially unacceptable level of well-being" (Hoogeveen et al., 2004). As suggested by Wordsworth, McPeak, and Feeny (2005), "This dimension [vulnerability] looks at the dynamic nature of children's experience of poverty in terms of how they are affected by, or are resilient to, the changing array of threats in their environment".

Resilience, on the other hand, can be defined as the quality for being able to deal with the ups and downs of life (Fox, 2015), to survive, and to thrive with (Thomas, 2009) any potential threat in life. Resilience is a condition when available supportive factors can make a person able to avoid potential negative outcomes that may arise from adverse events experienced. A child's resilience will grow stronger when the protective factors derived from each level of interaction zone (based on the socio-ecological model) also get stronger (Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012). Besides the supportive factors sourced from external parties, some literature on resilience also reveals the importance of positive adaptation that relies on children's inner self. A child's supportive factors can be sourced from parenting capacity, family and environmental factors, and the fulfillment of a child's developmental needs (Fox, 2015).

Vulnerability and resilience are interrelated and mutually complementary. Resilience is present in vulnerability analysis, while the analysis of resilience acknowledges vulnerability as one of its components. Resilience has also been used to replace the term invulnerability (Schonert-Reichl, 2008). If we associate it with the presence of risk factors and supportive factors, it can be said that resilience is promoted by supportive factors and inhibited by risk

factors, and vice versa for vulnerability (Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012; Fox, 2015). Finally, these concepts form a framework where both of them simultaneously identify risks and potential threats around poverty and the ways children deal with them. Even though there has been no single definition for explaining resilience—neither has there been for vulnerability—almost all definitions on resilience include four components, namely (i) characteristics of the individual, (ii) nature of the context, (iii) risk factors, and (iv) counteractive, protective, and compensatory factors (Schonert-Reichl, 2008).

III. Poverty from Children's Perspective

Understanding how children see their experiences living in poverty will enable us to comprehend what is actually needed to improve their well-being; this will be discussed in this section. It is important to hear what children say about their experiences living in poverty in their own language, including what is important for them to improve their quality of life. For this reason, as explained previously, this study uses the concept of subjective child well-being to understand how children define poverty and identify factors considered important in the context of their well-being.

Using qualitative approach and grounded theory principle, this study does not arrange any specific indicators in advance; children are allowed to include anything that they think can influence their well-being. Children as the main informants were asked to identify groups in their neighborhood and their characteristics based on their welfare status. Furthermore, the research team used the term "well-being" rather than "poor" directly when instructing all activities to ensure that children were not limited by economic aspects alone. The term "poor", however, was used by many children in this study to identify the group with a lower welfare, and to some extent, a lack in well-being. Moreover, we also asked the children to make comparisons between the wealthy and non-wealthy groups to make it easier for them to measure their own condition and identify distinctive characteristics of poor children.

3.1 Understanding Children's Perspective: Aspects Constituting Well-Being

Through their descriptions, we find that children associate the lack of access to basic amenities with the life experience of poor children. This finding supports the data from prior studies and measurements, including the Socioeconomic National Survey (Susenas) explained previously, that living in poverty is more likely to cause children to be deprived. Aspects of poverty described by the children in this study, however, are found to be yet broader than those being used in conventional poverty measurements. The children describe poor children as having limited access to proper housing, transportation, clothing, food, and education and health services, as well as lacking in the quality of care from their parents, leaving them to be vulnerable.

Most of the time, the children in this study divided children in their community into two to three groups, including children from wealthy, average (*sederhana*), and poor families, where the characteristics of average and poor children are often described to be only slightly different or quite similar to each other. Moreover, we find that the children in this study can easily describe the characteristics of poverty in their living environment, with a wide coverage of details, which they observed to resemble their recent living environment. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the experiences described by children in this study might not exclusively apply only for the poor group who participated in the FGDs, but they

were in fact, according to FGD participants, commonly faced by poor children in their neighborhood.

During the FGDs as well as the group and individual interviews, most indicators used by the children to describe their experiences of living in poverty in general can be grouped into material and nonmaterial indicators. Most of the material indicators described by the children refer to the ownership of assets and the fulfillment of basic needs, including housing, vehicles (means of transportation), physical appearance (clothing and the body), food, and money. On the other hand, the nonmaterial indicators mentioned by the children to describe how children living in poverty looks like include occupations, attitude and behaviors, recreational activities, education, and health. Further details on each indicator will be discussed in the next section.

Table 4 contains the list of indicators related to the experiences of living in poverty, aspects being discussed, and the difference between the poor and wealthy groups in these aspects, as described by children. The order of these indicators reflects how frequent they are included by the children when describing their experiences.

Table 4. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions

No	Indicators Mentioned by the Children
1	Housing
2	Means of transportation (vehicles)
3	Physical appearance
4	Food
5	Occupations
6	Social relations
7	Recreational activities
8	Amount of money owned
9	Access to education
10	Access to health facilities

As shown in the table, there are ten indicators, both material and nonmaterial, used by the children in this study to distinguish wealthy/happy and poor/unhappy children. Ranging from housing to health facilities, they are found to be the most common indicators used in the children's descriptions about living in poverty. Based on these descriptions, children define poverty as disparities in the following aspects.

3.1.1 Material Goods

The ability to buy material goods, such as housing, means of transportation (vehicles), clothing, and food, is the primary characteristic mentioned by children from all age and gender groups to determine children's welfare level. In addition, children also relate the possession of electronic appliances, money, and jewelry with welfare level. It is found that

younger children tend to focus more on material things and opportunities to play with friends, while older children start to see the nonmaterial aspects, in particular aspects related to education and jobs in the future, in distinguishing wealthy and poor children. Moreover, even though in this study money was not mentioned as frequently as housing, most of the children were able to explain that the amount of money a family possessed is one of the major determinants for children to be able to fulfill their needs and get what they desire. A wealthy child is perceived to be able to fulfill their needs and get what they want easily most of the time. On the other hand, a poor child is usually hampered in fulfilling their needs due to family financial constraints. Furthermore, even though his/her needs are fulfilled, a poor child is always faced with lower quality and more limited access to everyday items, compared to a wealthy child.

a) Housing

Table 5. Characteristics Included in Children's Descriptions of Housing

Indicators Mentioned by Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Housing	✓ Ownership	✓ Rented house ✓ Illegal settlement ✓ Homeless	✓ Their own house
	✓ Physical features & attributes	✓ Small house ✓ Poor house exterior ✓ Built with nondurable materials ✓ Less furniture ✓ Less room in the house ✓ Floating stilts house (coastal area of Makassar)[a]	✓ Big, terraced house ✓ Permanent ✓ Luxurious exterior ✓ Many electronic appliances & furniture ✓ Have many rooms ✓ Spacious garden and plants (Surakarta)**
	✓ Water and sanitation	✓ No access to private toilet and safe water	✓ Have access to toilet and safe water
	✓ Living condition	✓ Poor living condition (untidy, unclean, littered, flooding)	✓ Tidy and green environment
	✓ Process of building the house	✓ Built voluntarily by neighbors (Surakarta)**	✓ Built by paid workers (Surakarta)**

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

Included in the material characteristic group, housing is the most frequently used indicator by children to describe how living in poverty looks. Descriptions related to housing in general discuss about ownership, physical features (including the availability of rooms, furniture, and appliances), living environment, and access to clean water and private toilet.

Children from all age and gender groups in the three study locations describe wealthy children to live in a house with better physical features (big, terraced house with luxurious exterior, and more furniture and appliances), while poor children are usually described to live in a small house with poor house exterior, built with nondurable materials; are overcrowded, have less room, furniture, and appliances, and are situated in a poor environment (unclean, littered, flooding).

> His house is a *gubuk* [shack], made from wood, and the roof is made from iron sheeting. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> They [poor children] live in a slum neighborhood, lot of rubbish, close to the sea. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> The house is small, lots of mosquitos and flies. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

Besides the physical features of housing, children also discuss intangible aspects of housing such as ownership and the process of building the house. Some children discussed the aspect of housing related to its legal status or ownership. Poor children are described as living in a rented house, which is not owned by their family and located in an illegal settlement. Some children even described living in poverty to be homeless, living on the street and sleeping under the bridges. However, child participants from North Jakarta explained that even though they know there are poor children who are homeless, there are no children in their neighborhood who are homeless.

> They [poor children] are homeless, they sleep under the bridges. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Another nonmaterial aspect of housing discussed by the children was the certain practice in the process of building the house. It was discussed only by one boy in Surakarta. However, it is an interesting description that poor people usually ask for help from their neighbors to build a house, while homes of the wealthy group are built by paid workers.

> ... the wealthy build their house by paying many people, but the poor usually ask their neighbor to help them build the house. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

In general, boys are more likely to include housing aspects in their description compared to the girls in almost all study locations, except in Makassar. It is found that children in two other cities—especially boys aged 6 to 11—discussed in detail housing attributes and appliances, such as swimming pools, plants and other home decorations, TV, sofa, air conditioner, and mattress. Furthermore, the possession of electronic appliances, which are usually categorized as housing attributes, amusement, or equipment to support their activities, is found to be more frequently used by younger boys in distinguishing poor and wealthy children, both in coastal and inner-city areas. Wealthy children are described to have one or more electronic appliances, such as TV, camera, laptop, tablet, PlayStation, and mobile phone, while poor children are often described to have none or only one of those appliances. Appliances owned by the poor are usually less branded, old-fashioned, and cheaper. On the other hand, the females are found to be more likely to use nonmaterial aspects such as cleanness, tidiness, and comfortableness of the living condition, when referring to the condition of the house and neighborhood.

Apart from the electronic appliances, it is interesting to find that the possession of mobile phones is reported to be common among poor children. Many children in this study included mobile phones to the ownership of poor children, even though the poor group can only afford certain brands of mobile phones, which are cheaper and less sophisticated compared to the mobile phones owned by the wealthy group.

> Yes, all groups [poor, average, wealthy] have mobile phones. [Are there any differences between these three groups?) The poor have a typical mobile phone, the modest one, while children from the average group sometimes have a better one, but not as good as the one owned by the wealthy. [Can you give an example?] The wealthy usually have Oppo, iPhone, the Apple brand. The wealthy usually can afford it. They don't have to think about the price, but for the poor, even the second-hand one will be okay. It is good enough for them. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

Apparently, from the description, we can also see that there are particular attributes of housing that are associated with specific study areas. This reflects distinctive characteristics belonging to certain areas and it is assumed that they are affected by physical, social, and cultural factors. In Surakarta, for example, green environment, having spacious garden, and plants were mentioned many times to be the characteristics of a house owned by a wealthy family, while in other cities, almost none of these features appeared in the children's descriptions. In the coastal area of Makassar, poor children are usually described as living in the floating stilts house, while wealthy children live in land dwellings. Similar to Tallo (Makassar), in the coastal area of Penjaringan (North Jakarta), poor children are described asliving close to the river.

> [Poor children] live in slum areas, lots of rubbish, close to the sea, and children go to school on foot, some of them ride a bicycle. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> [Poor children] live in houses on stilts. The walls and the floor are made from woods and the roof uses iron sheeting. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> Their [poor children's] house is at the riverbank. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

There is no significant difference, however, found in the children's descriptions of housing characteristics between coastal and land areas in North Jakarta. Only a few children describe poor children as living near the river and the sea, without specific housing attributes. Most of the children in these locations, as well as other study locations, usually describe poor children to dwell in small, untidy, and polluted houses. Furthermore, there are several children, especially in Surakarta and Makassar, who reported that poor children usually do not have a private toilet and clean water in their home. Therefore, poor children were reported to go to the river to wash themselves or use water from the well in their neighborhood.

> They [poor children] often face problems. It's hard for them to find food. They don't have a comfortable place to sleep. They collect rubbish and their house is often flooded. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6—11 years, Jakarta)

> It is not possible for poor people to have a private bathroom. Usually, the child takes a bath outside, while the adults use public toilet. (Discussion of activities in photos, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

These shared characteristics (poor house exterior, less furniture and appliances, situated in illegal settlement, built with nondurable materials, dirty, untidy) are observed to reflect the living environment of most children living in poverty in the country. Some of the children explained that these undesirable characteristics are some of the reasons triggering children to spend more time outside their home.

> I could be out from home for a week. I don't feel comfortable to sleep at home since there are no interesting TV shows to watch, no mobile phone. I don't know what to do when I'm at home. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years old, Surakarta)

> If all the things I need are available at home, I will be motivated to study. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

> If all the facilities are available, there's no need to go out. My friend has all of it. ... Since it is not possible [for me] to go to *warnet* [internet cafe] every day and spend money, it would be easier to finish school assignments or type my homework, if I have my own equipment. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years old, Jakarta)

b) Means of Transport (Vehicles)

Table 6. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions on the Means of Transportation

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Means of transportation (vehicles)	✓ Type	✓ Travel by bicycle or motorbike, or on foot ✓ Use *pete pete* (public transportation), *bentor* (motorized pedicabs) (Makassar)[a], *becak* (pedicabs)	✓ Have more sophisticated means of transportation (e.g., cars, motorbikes)
	✓ Quantity	✓ Have no vehicles or only 1 means of transportation	✓ Have more than 1 vehicle

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

The ownership of vehicles is used by most children in this study as one of the most common indicators of welfare. Poor children are often described to have no vehicles, or if they do, usually it would be a modest or more traditional one. Poor children usually travel on foot, or by bicycle, *becak*, or motorbike since poor family cannot afford to buy more than one vehicle and more sophisticated vehicles such as cars. On the other hand, wealthy children are usually described as travelling using more sophisticated and luxurious means of transportation, such as cars, and have more than one vehicle (cars and motorbikes).

> The rich have cars, while the poor usually only have a bicycle. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

Compared to the female group, the male group are more likely to include this aspect in their description of living in poverty. Both within the male and female groups, children in the age groups of 6 to 11 and 15 to 17 years are more likely to include this aspect, compared to children aged 12 to 14. In addition, it is found that younger boys (aged 6 to 11), especially in Surakarta, often perceived the ownership of vehicles, especially bicycles, as a factor that will enable them to travel and play with their friends. This is also reflected in the aspirations of many younger children, who desire to be able to buy and own a vehicle (cars, motorcycles, bicycles) so that they can meet and play with their friends.

> [Why did you say that a child will be happy to have a car and a bicycle?] He/she can play. [Play where?] At the embankment, [the child] will be able to ... be with friends. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

> They [happy children] like to play together [with their friends] ... They like to ride a bicycle. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

Besides the use of private transportation, the use of public transportation was only mentioned by few children in Jakarta and Makassar. Public transportation, such as buses, *becak, pete-pete*, and *bentor*, was reported to be used by poor children as means of daily transportation. However, almost none of the children in Surakarta mentioned the use of public transportation. This fact might tell us that children in this city have lower exposure to public transportation facilities compared to the children in the other two cities. In one of the group discussions with the female group from Surakarta, the girls explained that there is an issue with inaccessible public transportation in their neighborhood. Furthermore, this factor was claimed to be one of the reasons which demotivated children to go to school.

> When graduating from junior high school and continuing to senior high school, the schools are often located further away [from home]. It is hard to get transportation; then it demotivates [me] to go to school. The place where I can catch a bus here is far. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

c) Physical Appearance

Table 7. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of Physical Appearance

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Physical appearance	✓ Type, condition, price of clothing & accessories	✓ Wearing cheap, second-hand, old clothes ✓ Wearing torn, shabby clothes ✓ Wearing sponsorship shirts (Jakarta)[a] or Muslim clothing (Makassar)[a]	✓ Wearing new, expensive, branded, fashionable clothes ✓ Own gold (jewelry) and fine shoes, sandals
	✓ Physical features & appearance	✓ Dark skin ✓ Skinny ✓ Not as pretty as the wealthy	✓ Fair skin ✓ Full-bodied

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

Many children in this study also discussed physical appearance as one of the indicators to distinguish poor and wealthy children. Most of the aspects mentioned by the children under this theme related to clothing, with several children also discussing attributes such as jewelry and other accessories, followed by few discussions on body/physical features. In general, according to the children, the physical appearance of wealthy children is better than that of the poor, including the way they dress, their hairstyle, and certain body/physical features, distinguishing the poor children from their counterparts.

Most of the children in this study used clothing to indicate the level of children's welfare, including the type, condition, and price of clothing. Poor children are often described as wearing worn out clothes (old, torn, shabby) since they can only afford cheap or second-hand clothes and often cannot afford to buy new clothes. On the other hand, wealthy children are usually described as wearing new, pricey, branded, and fashionable clothes. There are no significant differences found in this aspect between children in the coastal and inner-city areas of the three cities. Only in Jakarta, however, we found that wearing promotional or sponsorship clothes from political parties or commercial brands was reported to be a common practice among poor children.

> The poor only have gimmick or sponsorships shirts from political parties. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> Their [the poor's] clothes are ugly … torn … shabby. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> The wealthy wear fashionable clothes. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

Closely related to the aspect of clothing, jewelry and accessories were used by several children in this study to distinguish the appearance of poor and wealthy children. Several children interviewed mentioned things like gold (jewelry) and other fine items, such as shoes and sandals, to be in the possession of wealthy children. On the other hand, poor children are perceived to be unlikely to afford such items.

Another aspect that was included by a number of children under the physical appearance theme was body or physical features. Poor children are often described to have darker skin color, skinny figure, and shabby appearance. On the other hand, wealthy children are described to have lighter skin color (white), neat hairstyles, and a tidy appearance and be more overweight. Under this theme, the study finds little differences among children in the three study locations. Children in Jakarta included more varieties of characteristics related to physical appearance compared to children from other study locations, including clothing, hairstyles, jewelry, and facial expressions. In Makassar, a girl described poor children to be skinnier than children from the wealthy group. Furthermore, a boy in Surakarta described poor children to have darker skin color compared to the wealthy children, which is linked to the aspect of living conditions. Housing, in particular, is related to the actual cause of physical differences between the poor and wealthy children. Poor children are found to play more often outside and be exposed to sunlight as they consider their house uncomfortable, while wealthy children have less exposure to the sunas they are inclined to spend their time indoors in the comfort of their home.

> ... The wealthy children feel comfortable in their home; they spend most of their time inside their house, taking a bath, sleeping, and studying. ... The wealthy have fair colored skin. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

However, there is no specific difference found between children living in coastal and inner-city areas when describing these aspects of physical appearance.

In general, boys are found to talk more about physical features compared to the girls. Interestingly, there were more boys discussing certain body features (skin color, hairstyle, facial expression) compared to girls in all age groups. Among the girls, however, more girls in the age group of 15–17 are found to include aspects of jewelry and accessories in their descriptions compared to girls from other age groups. Moreover, girls aged 12–14 and 15–17 years, especially in Surakarta, are more aware of the appraisal of physical looks (proper or inappropriate, pretty or less pretty) than others since they have more comments and concerns toward the way their neighbors and friends dress. Many girls, mostly in Surakarta, reported that some children in their neighborhood dress inappropriately (too short, too tight). This is possibly due to the influence of their parents and other family members; girls who dress inappropriately typically have parents or siblings who have a similar style of dressing. This finding highlights the fact that females might be more influenced on the non-native or additional attributes of appearance (e.g., trend of fashion) but at the same time are more burdened/bounded by social norms on how to dress appropriately.

d) Food

Table 8. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions off Food

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Food	✓ Availability	✓ No food at home ✓ Food bought at traditional market ✓ Asking for food from friends and neighbors	✓ Food is available all the time ✓ Food bought at malls
	✓ Type of daily meals	✓ More traditional dishes (bean curd, tempeh), usually with rice, instant noodles, dried rice (*aking*) ✓ Mostly with vegetables and fish; rarely consume poultry	✓ Variety of dishes as recommended in *4 sehat 5 sempurna* (balanced diet) ✓ Western food (spaghetti, hamburger, pizza)
Daily intake (frequency)		✓ Less daily intake (1–2 times a day) or sometimes not able to have meal at all	✓ Minimum daily intake is 3 times per day
Practice of eating out			✓ Eating out at restaurant (Jakarta)[a]

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

Children consider food to be one of the important indicators to distinguish level of welfare, as it is discussed many times by children in describing how they live in poverty. In general, the descriptions related to food usually discuss food availability, type of meal (menu), daily consumption or intake (frequency), and practice of eating out. Type of meal (menu), among others, becomes the most frequent topic discussed by children. Compared to the female group, the male group, in particular boys within the age group of 6 to 11 years, was more likely to include this aspect when they distinguish poor and wealthy children. Among the three study locations, descriptions of poor children struggling to get food to eat are found to be more common in Makassar. There is no specific difference, however, on the description of all these aspects of food consumption between boys and girls in all age groups and study locations.

The aspect of food availability described by the children is related to the ability to buy and provide food for daily consumption. Children described living in poverty as having no food at home because poor families cannot afford to buy food items. Therefore, poor children usually have to ask for food from their friends and neighbors. On the other hand, wealthy children are described as not only having food all the time but also being able to afford to go to a restaurant. This practice of eating out, often associated with the consumption of

food from other countries (western, Japanese dishes), was mentioned particularly by a number of children in Jakarta and Surakarta.

> I was not allowed to eat pizza since we have no money. I eat rice with egg, tofu, tempeh, fish, and fried rice. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

Besides their reliance on friends and neighbors, financial constraints experienced by the family in providing food are also claimed to be one of the factors triggering some children to steal, as explained by a 16-year-old boy in Surakarta.

> In the past, when they had just opened the new supermarket in Matahari [name of a shopping centre], I wanted it [food], but no one bought it for me, so I took it. I was in elementary school at that time. I was stealing [...] when I got caught. Since then, I never stole again. Then, they brought me to the police station; they called my father to pay the bail for me. When we arrived at home, I was told to ask if I wanted something and after that I never stole again. (In-depth interview with 15 to 17 year old boys in Surakarta)

Children also compared the type of daily meal consumed by poor and wealthy children. Poor children are often described as consuming traditional food (bean curd, tempeh) and vegetables with rice or instant noodle, while meat and poultry consumption is very rare. Fish was reported to be the only animal-sourced protein often consumed by a poor family. Some children also mentioned that poor children usually consume rice with salt or crackers as a side dish or parched/dried rice (*nasi aking)*. On the other hand, wealthy children are often described to have more varieties on their menu as recommended in *4 sehat 5 sempurna*, which include fruit, vegetables, meat, and dairy products, such as cheese, and milk. Moreover, western food, such as spaghetti, hamburger, and pizza, are assumed to be better; therefore, they are associated with the consumption pattern of a wealthy family.

> Sometimes [poor children] eat rice with salt. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> [Poor children] only eat tofu ... fried tofu with *indomie* [instant noodles] ... rarely eat rice. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

> [Wealthy children] eat pizza, spaghetti. ... Poor [*sederhana*] children are okay to eat common meal. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

Another aspect of food that was included by the children was the frequency of daily intake. Living in poverty is associated with having less daily intake or sometimes having no food to consume, as explained previously. Poor children are described to have one to two times of daily intake only, while daily intake for wealthy children is described to be at least three times a day, or more frequently. The aspect of frequency is found in the descriptions given by the males and females in all age groups in all study locations, but is found to be more common among children in Makassar, as explained previously.

> [Poor children] eat two times a day. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Makassar)

e) Possession of Money

Table 9. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of the Possession of Money

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Money	✓ Amount	✓ Have no money, no pocket money ✓ Often not being able to fulfill daily needs and buy things they desire	✓ Possess lots of money ✓ Able to fulfill daily needs and buy things they desire

As discussed in the previous section, the possession of money was mentioned by many children in this study as one of the factors that determines children's welfare level. Many children were able to explain that the amount of money possessed by the family determines access to many facilities and conveniences for children.

> Having a wealthy life means never being deprived, as it is for wealthy people ... they always have enough money for their daily life. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

In relation to this aspect, many children also expressed their desire to have more money to be able to help their poor parents. Furthermore, many children in all age and gender groups associated this with their idea of working to earn money for their parents and family. However, it is found that children use a variety of ways to earn money for additional pocket money and helping their parents. Children in coastal areas, for example, earn money by selling what they catch from the sea, while children in inner-city areas usually rely on the most accessible informal work, such as shelling peanuts or becoming a parking attendant.

> [To get more money] Usually [I] exchange the salt. Salt and crab. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Makassar)

> The younger kids do the same thing [becoming an unofficial parking attendant]; they are willing to do that as they want to help their parents. I have tried to work there as a parking attendant, but I was worried I won't be able to finish high school. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

Even though the idea of getting work to earn money is found in all age groups, children from the older age group, especially those aged 15 to 17, are found to be more likely to discuss this idea. One of the girls who attends senior high school in North Jakarta explained that she does not want to continue her education to the university level because she prefers to work to earn money. She was sure that she will get her chance to continue her education when she is able to earn money.

> After graduating I want to work. ... [Don't you want to continue your study?] I can continue my study later; I don't know why, but I am not motivated to go to the university. I want to

> earn money first. When I am able to earn money, I will continue my study. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Besides the pressure to earn money so that they can help the parents to support the family, children from the age group of 15 to 17 years seem to be more affected by the financial constraint, in particular on the aspect of social relations. One of the boys from the age group of 15 to 17 years explained that financial constraint has limited him to be able to play with his friends.

> My friends are being hostile and avoiding me. I do not have anything, just the house ...I do not have money, so I cannot play with my friends; in this era everything is about money. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

In general, the older boys (aged 15–17 years) are more likely to use this aspect in describing the life of poor and wealthy children, compared to the girls. However, there is no specific difference found in children's description related to this aspect among the participants within all study locations.

3.1.2 Nonmaterial Aspects

Nonmaterial aspects include things which cannot be bought or do not have monetary value. It is interesting to see that many nonmaterial characteristics, which are not included in many existing measurements of child poverty, are described and associated with experiences of living in poverty by many children in this study. Moreover, these aspects frequently appeared and were considered by the children as crucial factors influencing their well-being, as reflected in their aspirations. These characteristics are predominantly psychosocial issues, which will be discussed the next section.

a) Occupations

Table 10. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of Occupations

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Occupations	✓ Type of work (done by children and/or parents)	✓ Blue-collar jobs (trash collector, manual laborer, beggar, parking attendant) ✓ Unemployed	White-collar jobs (office staff, entrepreneur)

Most of the children in this study are able to identify certain occupations to be related to welfare levels. The aspect of occupation refers to the type of occupation that has been done both by children and parents. Most of the time, the children did not differentiate clearly between occupations done by parents and children. A few children in Jakarta and Makassar, however, specifically mentioned that the poor and wealthy children have different types of occupations in different working environments. Children in all age and gender groups agree

that usually poor children themselves, or their parents, are either jobless or doing blue-collar jobs for their living, such as collecting garbage, used bottles, and second-hand items; doing manual labor; and becoming a beggar or parking attendant. The work associated with the poor are nonhygienic and uncertain (hired on a daily basis), are done in an uncomfortable environment, and very much rely on physical strength. On the other hand, the wealthy group is associated with white-collar jobs, such as office staff and entrepreneur. There are no specific differences on this aspect found in the descriptions used by children in all study locations to distinguish the poor and the wealthy.

> Every day they [the poor] collect used bottles, cans, and other stuff. ... the rubbish. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> They [the poor] collect rubbish; they search for used Aqua [bottles; Aqua is a brand of mineral water] and they transportation water or become a porter. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

In relation to working children, it was explained that poor children are often pressured to work because they have to earn money to help their parents and sometimes have to drop out of school to work. The practices of poor children both working and going to school have been reported as well by some children in this study.

> [I] am demotivated to go to school; working is better. ... Sometimes [poor children] are less motivated to go to school because the condition of the [poor] parents. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> Unhappy children have to work, have little or no money, and drop out from school ... because of the financial issue; poor children only think about how to earn money. Continuing their education means that they put more burden on their parents. You need money to go to school and that is not possible for poor children; therefore, even though they are in elementary school, they work. We have to pay the registration fee, the uniform, everything needs to be paid. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

b) Social Relations

Table 11. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of Social Relations

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Social relations	✓ In dealing with living condition (individual)	✓ (Mixed responses) lazy, demotivated in study, delinquent, often fight with others and argue with their parents ✓ Not confident ✓ More diligent, eager to study, and save money	✓ Arrogant, showing off, consumptive, high achiever
	✓ In their relationship with friends and family	✓ More friendly/sociable and willing to play with anyone in the neighborhood ✓ Have only few or no friends, often being shunned and harassed ✓ Often ask for money from friends ✓ Dysfunctional family, neglected by their parents	✓ Not friendly, not willing to play with the poor group in the neighborhood ✓ Have many friends and get along with their friends ✓ Well-functioning family

Many children in this study associated social relations with children's level of well-being. The social relations can be categorized under two themes. The first one is more related to the way children deal with their living conditions. They describe things related to individual attitudes and behaviors in dealing with their daily problems arising from their living conditions. The latter is related to the relationship between children and their friends and family, which includes how children interact and maintain their relationship with their family, predominantly parents, friends, and neighbors. There are no specific differences found between children in coastal and inner-city areas in all study locations in describing these aspects. There are mixed responses, however, in the descriptions of attitudes and behaviors of poor children in both contexts. In Jakarta and Makassar, there are more negative attitudes and behaviors used to describe poor children; poor children are perceived to be lazy, demotivated in study, and delinquent/irresponsible, and having habits of smoking and hanging out until late at night. Compared to children from those two study locations, children in Surakarta perceived poor children to be more positive, both in individual and social relations contexts. Many children described poor children to be more diligent and eager to study, and prudent with their money (saving money) since they want to improve their life in the future; however, there were few children who associated several negative attitudes and behaviors with poor children, such as being envious and impressionable, and

engaging in many social problems and delinquency. Furthermore, the girls in Surakarta, particularly those aged 12 to 14 and 15 to 17 years, talked more about how poor girls in their neighborhood face the risk of becoming involved in prostitution, as they see it as an easy way to make money.

> [Poor children] are unmotivated to study and mischievous, and often fight with their friends. They are lazy to say prayers. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Related to the aspect of social relations, poor children are often described to have poor relationship with their parents due to the low quantity and quality time between children and parents at home. Most children agreed that their parents need to spend more time paying attention to their children, as reflected in their aspirations. Children also explained that conflicts between children and parents are more likely to occur in the poor family since parents often fail to fulfill children's request for the fulfillment of their needs.

> [Poor children] are not treated well by their mother. They do not spend their time together; their mother does not look for them when they go out to play. But this child [pointing at the picture of a happy child] has a good life. If the child plays outside, the child's mother, the child's parents will look for the child. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> It is said that love from parents is important for the child. There are lots of children here who do not get enough love from their parents, so they become less motivated to go to school or to do anything. The children think that their parents do not care about them. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Moreover, poor relationships between parents and children were sometimes worsened due to frustrated parents expressing their anger on their children.

> My mom does not have money. When we are hungry and she does not have money, she gets angry at us. … We are beaten and get hurt. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

In general, we found that the girls in all age groups are found to be more likely to discuss relationships with the family, particularly with their parents, compared to the boys. However, there is contradiction among the children, both in the female and male groups, in describing this aspect since there are other groups of children who perceived poor children to be more compliant and willing to help their parents and so they have a better relationship with their parents.

> [Poor children are] willing to help their parents. ... They help their parents to clean the house or by working. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

Despite the contradiction, it is obvious that the family situation becomes one of the most influential factors for children to feel happy or sad about their life. Most of the children who reported themselves to be unhappy/sad (rate their happiness very low) were in a dysfunctional family (divorced parents, separated with their parents).

> [The child rates her happiness to be 0%] Because my father and my mother are separated. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

In the aspect of relationships with friends, poor children are generally perceived to be more open and friendly with their friends and neighbors, disregarding their social and economic status. On the other hand, wealthy children, perceived to be more exclusive, spend most of their time at home, and only make friends with the wealthy group.

> Wealthy children look for friends who are similar to them, equal to them. They do not make friends with children from the average or poor group. They think it is shameful, not their thing. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> They [wealthy children] do not like [to play] together with children from the average group. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

Even though poor children are described to have more positive attitudes towards their friends, being poor children, they were reported to experience unfair treatment such as being bullied, shunned, and verbally harassed, so poor children only have a few or no friends to play with. This issue was reported especially by the male respondents. On the contrary, friends and neighbors were mentioned several times by the children to be the sources of help when poor families need food and money.

> When I pass by, my friends often say, "Do not make friends with him since he is evil. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

> [Poor children's] Life is miserable; when they do not have money, they ask for money from their friends and they are often harassed verbally. But this child [pointing to the image of a happy child] has a lot of friends. Many children play with this child; the child is neat. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years old, Jakarta)

c) Recreational Activities

Table 12. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of Recreational Activities

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Recreational activities	✓ Type & place	✓ Travel and play around their neighborhood or at the mosque ✓ More traditional activities (soccer, playing kites, marbles), playing in the dirt	✓ Able to travel further, go on an expensive trip ✓ Able to travel with parents
	✓ Instruments	✓ Have limited options of entertainment and toys ✓ Keep many street animals as their pets (cats, chicken, etc.)	✓ Have more options of entertainment and toys ✓ Have dogs as their pets (Makassar)[a]

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

Another nonmaterial aspect that was included by many children to describe living in poverty was recreational activities. In general, many children explained that poor children

have limited or almost no alternatives in choosing types of activities, equipment, and places to visit to spend leisure time, compared to wealthy children. If for example, wealthy children can afford to travel to many places of interest, in comparison, poor children are described as only able to travel and play around their neighborhood or at the mosque and disused fields. Furthermore, poor children are perceived to be more familiar with traditional activities, such as playing soccer, kites, and marbles. On the other hand, the use of gadgets and electronic equipment, such as PlayStation, is highly associated with leisure activities among the wealthy children and was more likely to be reported by children in Jakarta. Additionally, a number of boys and girls in Makassar also associated the possession of certain types of pets with a welfare level. It is interesting to find that wealthy children were usually described to have dogs, while many poor children don't have pets or they keep animals like chickens, ducks, and cats as their pets.

> [Poor children} always play around here … playing soccer, or in the dirt, since there are no other options here, playing with sand. … That's all I know. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Compared to other age groups, the younger group (6 to 11 years) are found to be more likely to include recreational activities in describing the life of poor and wealthy children. However, there were no activities that are found to be specifically related to certain study locations.

d) Access to Education

Table 13. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of the Access to Education

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Education	✓ Opportunity & attitude to education	✓ Not able to attain higher education ✓ Need to work and study in parallel to afford going to school	✓ Able to continue school to higher level ✓ Not prioritizing school (Surakarta)[a]
	✓ Performance at school		✓ Perform well at school ✓ Have more supporting facilities

[a]Distinctive characteristics in certain study locations.

Many children in this study discussed the education aspect in relation to children's level of welfare. Being poor children in general was associated with the lack of opportunity to go to school or attain higher education, besides the lack of motivation to go to school. There were several factors mentioned by the children that could be related to this, such as their ability to afford school fee, equipment, and supporting facilities. In terms of dealing with academic difficulties, poor children were reported to have no access to the additional

courses required. Furthermore, the idea of working was mentioned many times by the children as a way out for many poor children to earn money so that they can help their parents to support the family, including to finance their education. Therefore, for those reasons, living in poverty is often associated by many children with lower performance in school and dropping out.

> [Wealthy children are] Able to attain higher education. They can get what they want and not drop out of school, while the poor cannot continue their education, like me; I can only study up to junior high school. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years old, Surakarta)

In general, the girls were more likely to discuss this aspect in relation to well-being, particularly among girls in Jakarta. Almost all children from all age and gender groups in this study were able to see the linkage between aspects of education and children's well-being. However, children from the older age group (15 to 17 years), both male and female, were more likely to link how the unmet needs of this aspect will lead to the lower opportunity of a better job in the future.

e) Access to Health Services

Table 14. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions of the Access to Health Services

Indicators Mentioned by the Children	Aspects Being Discussed	Characteristics of Poor/Unhappy Children	Characteristics of Wealthy/Happy Children
Health	✓ Type of health providers accessed	✓ Seeking health treatment at the community health center (*puskesmas)*	✓ Seeking health treatment at the hospital
	✓ Health status	✓ Less healthy	✓ Healthy

Compared to the other aspects, health is one of the indicators that were the least frequently used by children in describing well-being. Health status and practices of accessing certain types of health providers are two aspects mentioned by several children to distinguish children's level of welfare. More children in the younger age group (6 to 11 years) are found to include one of these aspects in their descriptions about the life of wealthy and poor children. The children associated poor and wealthy children with practices of accessing certain types of health providers. If poor children are treated in a community health center when they are ill, wealthy children are described as seeking treatment at the hospital. There are a few reported stories of poor services given by health providers when poor children access health services. However, since children interviewed reported that none of them experienced this issue when they accessed health services, there was no further discussion on this issue.

Related to health status, a few children also described poor children to be less healthy than children in the wealthy group. However, there is no further explanation on the details of this aspect; the children merely mentioned the overall health status of children both in the poor and wealthy groups. There is an indication of self-medication practices among poor families

when their children get sick by taking over-the-counter drugs that can be bought in the store, but only a few children discussed this. One of our female respondents even reported practices of ignoring her illness and not seeking treatment each time she becomes unwell. She explained that she prefers to do nothing and wait for her illness to go away as it is assumed that going to the doctor will put more burden on her parents.

> … I try to ignore it [when get ill]. … Sometimes I get fever and headache, but I ignore them. … I do not want to put more burden on my parents. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

3.2 Viewing from the Perspective of Children

As we can see from the descriptions given by children previously, poverty is perceived to affect both the material and nonmaterial aspects of children's life. In general, material aspects were reported by children to be affected the most, while many nonmaterial aspects were considered to be equally important for their well-being. Children associate their experience of living in poverty to the experience of being deprived of many aspects of their life, leaving them with limited access and alternatives to basic amenities (food, clothing, housing, sanitation, transportation, health, education, etc.). Poor children were also reported being deprived of other necessary aspects important for their well-being, particularly relationships with parents and friends, and recreational activities (leisure, playing).

To include children's point of view on their well-being, the concept of subjective well-being has been increasingly emphasized in this study's measurement of child well-being. As it is included in the child well-being framework developed by UNICEF (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2002), subjective well-being in this study becomes the main idea, in which subjective experiences of children (how children interpret, evaluate, and express their happiness and deprivation) become the primary source of information.

Looking at children's subjective experiences in this study, it is found that children understand the effect of poverty on those dimensions being included in UNICEF's framework (material well-being, health and safety, education, family and peer relationships, and behaviors and risks) that will have impact on their well-being. Discussion on the health aspect, however, is found to be rarely mentioned among children in this study. Moreover, indicators used by the children to describe well-being highlighted many unexplored aspects in the conventional measurement of child poverty and well-being. More importantly, children as an individual and as the member of certain groups (groups of age, gender, and community) are found to have certain themes in their descriptions of well-being, which influence what aspects are being emphasized in their story.

Differences in the way children describe their experience in this study are found to be affected by several factors, including the individual, family, and external factors (community, or higher-level system). The individual factors include influences originated from the child's inner self. The age factor is found to be one of the most influential individual factors since age defines at what development stage the child is. It determines the characteristics of a child's description about living in poverty; younger children (aged 6 to 11) are found to be more focused on material aspects compared to the older group because cognitive ability within this age range (6 to 11) limits children to recognize more tangible and concrete

things than the abstract one (Sigelman and Rider, 2009). On the other hand, children entering adolescent stage (age 12 to 14) will have more exposure to social environment since they become more attached to their peers; they start to recognize social status and compare themselves to their peers (Diener, Helliwell, and Kahneman, 2010). It explains why children at this age are found to be more aware of being 'poor' (even though they do not use the word 'poor' to identify themselves; this will be explained in the next section) and why older children have the tendency to be more demanding towards their parents to fulfill what they desire, compared to the younger ones. Therefore, at this development stage, the quality of relationship and communication between children and their parents determine how children understand their condition, as well as their family's condition, in relation to their well-being. Failure to communicate and build understanding on this often intensifies conflicts in poor families, which will further alienate adolescents from their family and home.

The study also finds differences in experience related to well-being between male and female respondents, which are more related to gender norms and tasks in their community. In terms of mobility, for example, boys are found to have more flexibility than girls as reflected in their daily agenda reported in this study. Boys usually spend more time outside home for playing, hanging out with their friends, or working (older children). On the other hand, girls spend more time inside home or around their neighborhood since they are usually assigned to do more domestic tasks, such as taking care of their younger family members, cleaning the house, washing clothes and dishes, etc., compared to the boys in the family. It explains why boys are more likely to discuss the ownership of vehicles (transportation)—how it enables them to play and go around with their friends—while the girls' discussions related more to assets.

Discussion with children from different age groups also revealed that it was common for girls to do more house chores because it is culturally acceptable for females to be responsible for doing those types of work. Internalized by parents and family, doing those tasks is seen by girls more as a responsibility than a burden, even though it often restrains them to go out or play with their friends. Therefore, girls are found to spend more time at home helping their parents, especially their mother, who is responsible for all domestic work, making girls develop a greater sense of responsibility and attachments to their parents. It explains why the girls were more likely to discuss issues related to the family, in particular issues between children and parents, when describing well-being.

When it comes to education, however, there were mixed views among children about who needs to be prioritized in the family. Several boys argued that it is necessary to prioritize boys since boys are more reliable in terms of being the breadwinner for their family, while the girls usually leave their family to follow their husband after they finish school. Nevertheless, the importance of education is found to be recognized widely, even among the girls; some girls believe they are more reliable in terms of being more diligent in school; therefore, the family needs to prioritize girls. Even though there are still many poor children who do not go to school due to many factors, it seems that the importance of education has become more and more internalized among the poor, in particular the children, regardless of their gender. Unfortunately, it is not the case with the health aspect; the awareness of how poverty impacts on health is found to be very low among children in this study. Most children in this study live in a poor neighborhoods and as underlined in a vast array of literature, it will put children into higher developmental vulnerability, including their

health (Villanueva et al., 2016). This finding may highlight the importance of health education among poor families.

Another factor that influences what aspects are emphasized by children in describing their experience living in poverty and defining their subjective well-being is family, in particular family poverty and relationships between family members, especially between the child and parents, as illustrated in the story of Mia in Box 1.

Box 1
Growing Up in Severe Poverty

Mia (not her real name), a 7-year-old girl, lives with her 70-year-old grandma since she was 3 months old. She does not have anyone but her grandma since her parents got divorced. Her father is in prison and her mother lives with her new family. Living in a very small house, Mia and her grandma rely on their neighbors for their daily needs since her grandma is too old to work. They do not have access to safe water and private toilet in their house. They use water from the well and go to public toilet every day. Her grandma is everything to Mia. She loves to spend the day with her grandma at home every day. Her grandma teaches her how to count. She often plays outside her home, but she never goes to school. When we interviewed Mia, at the beginning, she was afraid and started to cry every time we asked her to answer a question or to do the activities (drawing, coloring). After approaching her for a while, she was finally willing to play with us. When we asked her about her feelings, she said that she was sad and the only day she feels happy was when we came to her house, asking her to play with us. One of the reasons why she feels sad is because she often gets hit by one of the adults in her neighborhood. When we asked Mia the reasons to be happy, all she could think of and describe were food and clothes. She told us that she likes to be with her grandma because her grandma gives her meals and also clothes. She likes all the clothes given by her grandma. When we asked her about her dreams, she said that she wants to have a bicycle.

> [Who do you love to see, your grandma or your mom?] Grandma ... . [Why?] Because she gives me food, rice with fish, noodle, bread, and bolu fish ... . [What else?] I love all the clothes Grandma gives me ... . [How about your mom?] Nothing.

The story of Mia shows not only that she was focused on material aspects, which happens to many children at her age, but also that she is deprived of many aspects, even in the most basic material needs, such as food and clothing. Therefore, food and clothing are found to be the primary theme in her descriptions about well-being. Moreover, Mia did not recognize any themes related to family relationship, which is very common to be found in the discussion among children at her age. These two factors—severe poverty and lack of family relationship—are seen to influence her subjective well-being the most. Compared to other children at her age in this study, Mia perceives her well-being to be lower, as she reported herself to be sad all the time. The impact of poverty level on well-being is profound, as it was found in a previous study that the higher the social and economic status (SES), the subjective well-being (SWB) of children is more likely to be higher (Manzoor, A. et al., 2015). Furthermore, in this study, lower well-being is more likely to be found among children with family issues, as reported by Mia.

In a broader level, factors such as cultural values and traditions in their community, and exposure to information and facilities are also found to influence the way children described well-being in this study. Therefore, children in different study locations might have different perceptions of well-being, which reflects the values, traditions, and circumstances in their neighborhood and the city. In Surakarta, for example, discussions on the aspect of housing included how their neighbors help poor members of their community build their homes, while the wealthy hire skilled workers. Compared to the other two cities, Surakarta is well known to be a city with a stronger communal system; therefore, such community support might be a common practice in Surakarta, which cannot be found in other study locations. On the other hand, we found a greater variety in descriptions related to physical appearance and eating out among the children in Jakarta, highlighting the fact that children in a city like Jakarta are exposed to more fashion trends and entertainment facilities.

Considering these factors in relation to the well-being of children, there are several interesting themes that this study would like to highlight.

3.2.1 Children Do Not Perceive Themselves as Poor

It is interesting to find that there are many children that we met in this study who identified themselves to be in the average group and did not consider themselves to be part of the poorest group in their community. Furthermore, even though there are a few children who admit they are poor, they tend to identify themselves with other terms, such as average group, which in the Indonesian context is understood to be slightly different from the "poor" group.

> ... Usually like that [children from the average group are better than the other groups], most of them, like us. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> I play every day, but the other kids go to school. But the kids from this group [the poorest group called *sederhana*] are like me; they do not go to school. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> Well, I am not one of the rich, but I'm not poor; I am in the middle, *Alhamdulillaah* ... When I am able to work full-time, I can earn money and make my parents happy. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

This might tell us a few things about how children feel about living in poverty. It could be an expression of denial since being the poorest members of a community can be a shameful experience. In several group discussions, we also found that children identify significant proportions of this *sederhana* group in their neighborhood, sometimes higher than the poor. It may strengthen the assumption about how children do not see themselves in the poorest group and at the same time tells us that poverty is commonly found in these neighborhoods being studied. These findings may bring us to a further conclusion; the fact that children do not identify themselves in the poorest group and prefer to use other terms than 'poor', highlights an undesirable image attached to the 'poor' label. Therefore, programs aiming to reach poor children in this country may consider how the use of the 'poor' label may bring undesirable influences on children.

Nevertheless, the fact that almost all the children in this study could give a description of living in poverty resembling their living environment reflects that generally children are aware of how the community classifies the poor and wealthy groups, and how close their life is to poverty. Children are most likely to be influenced by adults, in particular parents, in perceiving the experience of living in poverty, as reflected in Table 15. Comparing characteristics used by parents and children in their descriptions, most of the characteristics used by parents are included in children's descriptions.

Looking at parents' and children's descriptions on well-being, it is interesting to see differences in the way children and parents as adults describe the characteristics constituting well-being. Most children are more likely to include the tangible aspects, which usually refer to material possessions that have influenced their daily life. Discussion on intangible aspects, which usually refer to immaterial things that can have long-term impacts in their future life (e.g., education), were mostly discussed by older children. This highlights the developing sense of responsibility and ability to understand less concrete concepts. On the other hand, the way parents described characteristics constituting well-being were found to be similar to older children; parents see more intangible aspects, such as education, health, social relations, and religious practices, as important aspects of well-being. These differences can be seen as a result of development stages and level of exposure to the social environment. Children recognize more tangible aspects due to their development stage and their lower level of exposure to the social environment compared to adults who are much more advanced in these two aspects.

Table 15. Characteristics Used by Parents and Children in Describing Well-Being

No	Characteristics Included by Parents	Characteristics Included by Children
1)	Housing	1) Housing
2)	Education	2) Means of transportation (vehicles)
3)	Food	3) Physical appearance (clothing, jewelry, and accessories)
4)	Physical appearance (clothing and body features)	4) Food
5)	Money	5) Occupations
6)	Occupations (including working child)	6) Social relations (including individual & social relationships)
7)	Health	7) Recreational activities (including the use of electronic appliances, ownership of pets)
8)	Recreational activities (including the use of electronic appliances)	8) Money
9)	Social relations	9) Education
10)	Vehicles (means of transportation)	10) Health
11)	Birth certificate	
12)	Child activity	
13)	Number of children in the family	
14)	Religious practices	

On the other hand, this finding might tell us about how children see themselves in relation to their well-being, known as subjective well-being. As mentioned previously, according to (Singh and Lal, 2012), how individuals view subjective well-being reflect their judgement of their own life. Even though children are aware that they are on the edge of poverty, they do not perceive themselves to be in the poor group because they view their experience differently. Most of the children rated their well-being at 50% and above on a scale of 0 to 100, which reflects how children do have a significant proportion of positive emotional state and life satisfaction in their overall lived experience. It also highlights the 50% or less of negative emotional state and life satisfaction since not all of their needs have been fulfilled, but on the other hand they see their family and friends equally important as the source of happiness. As explained previously, children who identified themselves to be unhappy (rate their happiness to be very low) are more likely to have a family issue (divorced parents, separated from parents).

3.2.2 Social Relations and Environment

The impact of poverty related to the material aspect is emphasized by all children in this study. Even though the nonmaterial aspect was not mentioned in as much depth , the impact of this aspect of poverty on children's lives is evident. This is very much reflected in

the expectations of children written in aspiration cards. Table 16 contains the list of aspirations expressed by the children participating in this study.

Table 16. Children's Aspirations

No	Addressed to	Aspiration
1	Themselves	Material: Have a big house, money, PlayStation, and vehicles (car, bicycle) Immaterial: Attaining their goal and be successful Continuing education and get a job Make their parents happy
2	Family	Material: Parents will buy vehicles, decent house, gadget and electronics (TV, iPad), more daily allowance Immaterial: Parents are more caring, having more quality time with children, live in harmony, not getting angry, not beating them, treated fairly by parents
3	Government (local government, governor, president)	• Aid for people & improvement for the existing program • Improvement on physical environment: the availability of playground and public facilities School nearby with decent buildings More clean, neat, green environment, the availability of TPS Dealing with flood • Improvement of social environment: Fieldwork for parents and children dropped out from school Dealing with street fight, conflicts among community, risky behaviors More secure environment Activities for children Free (of charge) school Improved attitudes and behaviors of community
4	Friends and neighbors	• Not being bullied • Have many friends to play with
5	Schools	• Improvements in the way teachers interact and educate children

Looking at children's aspirations, it is very clear that improved social relations and environment are the most desired things for most children to improve their well-being. Many children in this study described troubled relationships between children and parents in poor families due to reasons such as busyness, low quantity and quality time for family to gather, stressful environment, etc. It was found that the level of knowledge and skill of parenting is a major factor affecting relationships between parents and children in poor family. The study finds that parents from poor households are stressed out not only because of their financial struggles but also because of their lack of knowledge on how to deal with their children. The poor financial situation often creates stress and forces parents

to spend most of their time outside of the home to earn money, resulting in limited interaction with their children and family.

We also found that most of the parents in this study are more likely to be permissive due to feeling guilt-ridden for failing to fulfill their children's needs. Therefore, most of the poor parents in this study are found to have the tendency to be less critical and grant whatever their children request. They endeavor to buy things that they cannot afford (e.g., tablet, laptop PC, mobile phone) without considering whether the children need them or not, as their children often nag. This is found to be one of the major factors hindering parents from being able to communicate their constraints in fulfilling the needs of their children. It was found in previous studies that parents from lower socioeconomic class less frequently reason with their children, are more restrictive and authoritarian, and show less warmth and affection to their children (Conger and Dogan in Sigelman and Rider, 2009; McLoyd in Sigelman and Rider, 2009).

Living in a poor neighborhood, children have to deal with many social and environmental problems (unsafe and overcrowded neighborhood, alcohol and drug abuse, flood, conflict with friends and neighbors, etc.). Many children reported that these problems affected them negatively, making them feel uncomfortable, insecure, and worried. More importantly, being able to name the authorities responsible for these issues, children showed an understanding of who needs to be involved in addressing problems in their neighborhood. It shows us that children are aware of the existing problems in their environment, which can be seen as an opportunity to actively engage them as agents of change in their neighborhood.

3.2.3 The Use of Private Transportation and Mobile Phones among Poor Families

a) Transportation

The fact that means of transport is one of the most frequently mentioned aspects by children tells us that transportation has become one of the primary needs for poor children and their family. Furthermore, the fact that many children reported a motorbike to be one of the most common means of transportation for the poor in their neighborhood, shows the preference in using private transportation, in particular motorbike, among poor family in urban areas. There are several factors that can be assumed to contribute to this and one of them is inaccessible public transportation for the poor. Since the poor community usually live far from the main road, they have limited access to existing public transportation. That is why even in the city like Surakarta where public transportation is provided, the poor is the group that benefits the least from this service. An additional factor is the affordability of a motorbike which has improved access for the poor to their own private transportation.

b) Mobile Phone

Ownership of mobile phones was reported to be common among poor children, especially within the older age group (12 to 14 and 15 to 17 years). This is interesting as a mobile phone was included as one indicator of material value in many conventional surveys of poverty in the country; with poor families assumed not to have the ability to afford it. This

fact might tell us not only about the trend of shifting priorities among poor families but also an increasing need towards communication tools among the poor. Another influencing factor is that mobile phones have become more affordable, at the same time there is a lack of public phone facilities. This also highlights the opportunity of improved access to communication and information for the poor. Further study on this issue will be needed since identifying the pattern of preferences is necessary to understand how poor families will allocate their resources and how this will impact on the children. Furthermore, understanding what factors drive these preferences and how the pattern of consumption behaviors relates to these items will also be useful for efforts in utilizing these items to improve poor children's life.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are aspects in the conventional measurement of poverty related to children's well-being that have not been explored and are important to understand the deprivation experienced by poor children. Aspects included by children to define well-being in this study underline the importance of family, in particular the quality of parenting, and improved environment as much as the fulfillment of basic material needs. Differences in their needs and abilities to recognize what is important to their well-being need to be seen as an outcome of the developmental process throughout a lifespan. Future programs aiming to improve the well-being of poor children need to recognize and strengthen nonmaterial aspects while continuing to ensure poor children's provision of and access to basic amenities. More importantly, children's ability to recognize problems and potential in their life and their environment leads us to conclude that children can be a great resource of information key to improving their well-being. It is therefore essential to acknowledge the importance of involving children in studies related to their well-being.

IV. Living in Poverty: Children's Everyday Experience

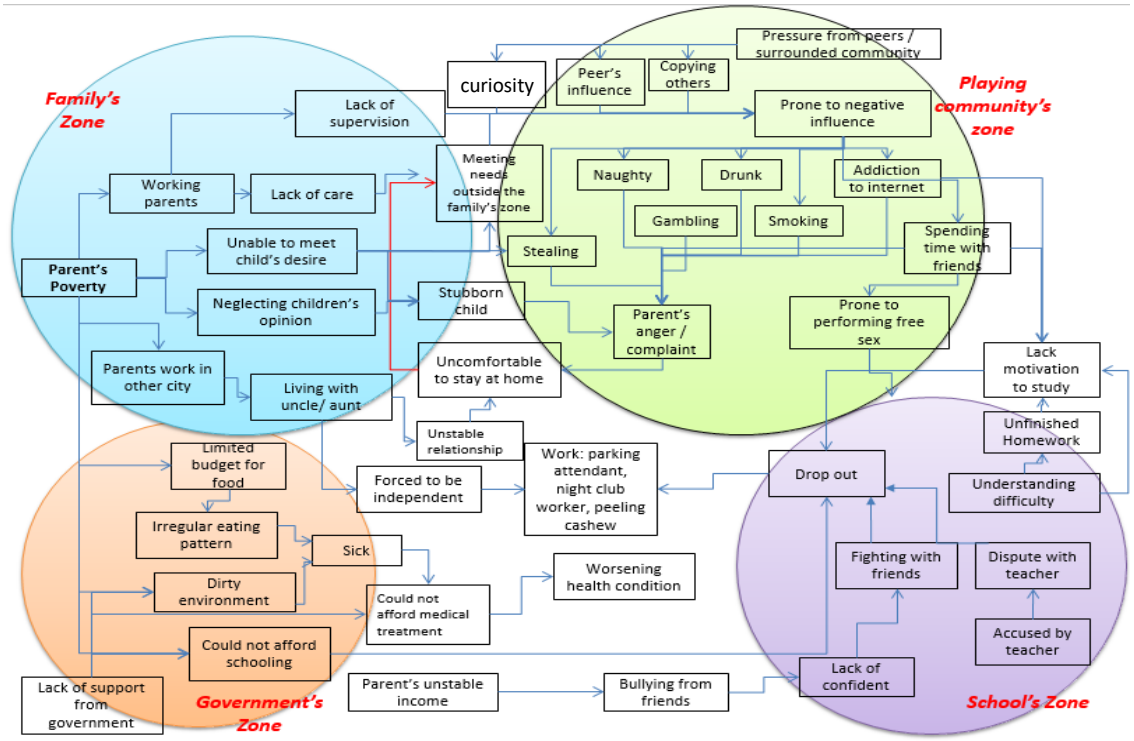
4.1 Problems Facing Poor Children

Through the FGDs, group and individual in-depth interviews, body mapping, and photo diary that children actively participated in, this study aims to understand the problems faced by children, their main causes, and children's coping strategy based on their own perspective. In addition, children were also asked about issues that they consider to be the most significant problems and issues that need to be initially resolved. Therefore, this chapter will attempt to list and elaborate several problems told by the children themselves. The problems were grouped according to UNICEF's framework on children's well-being dimensions. Several dimensions that are analyzed in this study are material situation, family's quality care, child protection, education, health and living condition, and participation (UNICEF, 2013).

The problems that were raised by the children interviewed in this study were first mapped out to obtain a clear understanding of the interactions within the zones of interactions they live in. The problems faced by children are interrelated. There are four zones of interactions: the family, peers, school, and government zones. It appears that most problems faced by children are from the family and playing community zones. Family problems are seen as one of the most significant and influencing problems since they are related to many problems in children's life. Family poverty is found to be the root of children's problems. Children feel that their parents are unable to provide sufficient care for them; therefore, they try to fill the longing of parents' love from other sources outside their home and family. However, often children are prone to negative influences from their peers or surrounding community. As reported by many children in this study, adults and peers in their neighborhood are constantly displaying behaviors that could potentially influence them in negative ways, such as smoking, gambling, fighting, getting drunk, and swearing. Out of curiosity, children then will experiment with those things, which will eventually lead them to more complex problems. At school, problems are often evident, including from teachers' and friends' attitude, leading to fighting with friends, and even with teachers, as well as difficulties in understanding school lessons. Furthermore, children in this study also raised concerns regarding a lack of support from the government on many issues related to basic amenities, such as access to food and medical treatment, and the quality of physical and social environment.

The mapping of information from children interviewed in this study in Figure 11, illustrates linkages between problems experienced by children. It shows how the family's or parents' poverty becomes the source of many problems, leading to other problems in all aspects of children's life. At the same time, the figure highlights the importance of the family's role in efforts to address problems in many areas of children's life.

Figure 11. Problems faced by poor children



As discussed previously, problems reported by children in this study can be categorized into several dimensions including material situation, family's quality care, child protection, education, health and living condition, and participation, in which specific themes were discussed by children.

4.1.1 Material Situation

a) Family Poverty is the Root of Child Poverty

As mentioned earlier, given the position of children who are still largely depended on their carers, poverty faced by their parents often becomes the root of children's poverty. According to children, their parents struggle to make ends meet because they cannot find a well-paid job and sometimes they have to pay off debts. Economic limitations have made parents unable to provide ideal facilities or maximum support for the children. In more severe cases, economic limitations force children to work as well to help their parent to make ends meet.

Children interviewed in this study said that they do not get enough pocket money from their parents and they can only afford clothes of lower quality, compared to the wealthy children. Subsequently, children reported feeling sad, which may have led them to become involved in criminal behavior.

> I don't get enough money. I'm not allowed to buy what I want because I don't have any money. My mother is not working. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

> If there is no money available, we must borrow from others. However, if people don't like us, they will say bad things behind our back: "They have a lot of debt, yet they have many children". (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> My parents' income is not stable; they also often fall sick. So, I am working. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

b) Lack of Material Goods

The findings of this study show that there is mixed evidence on the aspects children associate with happiness. There are many children in this study who associate only material belongings to their happiness and reported themselves to be unhappy. Among other material belongings, a gadget is found to be one of the most wanted things, especially among boys. While knowing that their parents cannot afford to buy a gadget, parents' failure to explain it to their children may lead to the problem of children having an attitude that everything can be obtained instantly, especially for children who are older (13 to 17 years). Moreover, the desire to get things that they cannot afford is also found to encourage children to work without considering the cost of lost opportunities, such as time to study and the risks related to their safety.

On the other hand, there are children who reported themselves to be happy even though they are aware that they still lack material goods. This group of children considers aspects such as the presence of friends, and family to influence their happiness.

> I feel grateful because I still have my parents, cousins, a house, and motorcycle. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, in Jakarta)

4.1.2 Family Quality Care

From the discussions and interviews with children in this study, both in-group and individually, there is an indication that parents are hindered to provide quality care for their children. The lack of time and energy is the most cited reasons on why parents cannot provide quality caring. However, several children interviewed in Jakarta also explained that there are some parents who are unwisely using their time to hang out and chitchat with their neighbor, neglecting their children.

> They said that parents' affection is important for children. Here many children lacking parents' affection, making them lack motivation to go to school, or to do anything. It is because children think that their parents don't even care about them. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> They [the parents] maybe only think about themselves; they do not think about their children. They behave like teenagers. They like following current trends among teenagers. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> Children here play around freely and get dirty … without supervision from their parents. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> Here you can see children playing without any control from their parents. … Their mother must feel bothered by them and would rather not care about them. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> [Poor children] are not being cared for by their mother; the mothers only think about themselves without thinking about their children. They just do not care. On the other hand, wealthy children [pointing at the picture of wealthy children] are better; their mother, their parents care for them. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Children interviewed in all study locations often complained that their parents only pay them little attention because they are too busy earning a living. Boys appear to have more concern about this problem than girls do. The consequence of parents spending little time with their children is lack of interaction and communication. It often becomes the root of conflicts and misunderstandings in their relationship, which will be discussed further in this report. Furthermore, children reported that they often feel that their parents cannot control their temper, are easily annoyed, and are over reactive towards small problems. In addition, children also reported that their parents can be a negative influence by smoking and swearing in front of their children when they are angry.

> He smokes [pointing at the respondent's friend] because he is copying his parents' behavior. … Parents usually smoke in front of their children. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

We also found a number of children who preferred spending their time with friends instead of their family. The reasons are varied from feeling uncomfortable at home because there is nothing to do, to being tired of listening to their parents' complaints.

> I could leave home for a week. I can't be bothered staying at home. There is no entertainment [movie, mobile phone]. I just feel uncomfortable at home. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

> I have many friends. … We watch movies. Sometimes we also do motorbike racing, play *joged sirah*, just dancing till late at night. Then, I don't go back home. … I sleep at my friend's house or at the internet café. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

> I feel bored at home; I always hear complaining [by the respondent's mother and grandmother]. I prefer going somewhere and entertain myself. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Several children are found to live separately from their immediate family and parents due to reasons related to their financial situation and divorced parents. Financial limitations often force parents to work in a different city and leave their children with their extended family members like grandfather, grandmother, or their uncle and aunt. Another factor found was the separation of parents that forced children to live with either one of the parents, which is often reported to have triggered sadness and disappointment among children. In this case, the situation often gets worse when their parents marry again and have a new family, leaving children with no option than to accept it and live with their stepparent, who in many cases is reported to be less affectionate compared to their biological father/mother.

> I was hit [by the respondent's stepfather] in my stomach until it got swollen. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

> Since I was little, I have been living with my uncle. My mom passed away when I was in junior high school. I do not know my father's whereabouts as well. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> When I was about to eat, my stepmother gave me a stare …, then said "What a nice life you're having, getting food without having to pay anything! [being sarcastic]. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> I want to have a harmonious family [unlike now]; I always fight with my brother and stepmother. I want to eat together [as a family]. … For now, I can only share my stories with my father. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

This condition might put children in an unpleasant situation, as reported by one child in Makassar who often gets bullied by her neighbors, saying she is evil, as her parents are separated. She reported to personally feel very sad about it and did not understand why they behave that way when in fact she never makes trouble for them. What is worse is that this unpleasant behavior is often followed by physical bullying by other children in the neighborhood.

> My life is so hard. … My father and mother have been separated. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> Every time I pass them [the respondent's neighbors], they will always say things like "Do not befriend her [the respondent] because she [the respondent] is evil. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> My parents … I want them to be the way they used to be. I don't want to see my mother and father have fights anymore. … I love them both; I love my family. (Boys' FGD, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

4.1.3 Child Protection

a) Violence in the Family

Many children in this study reported incidents of violence done by their parents and other family members. However, it is important to note that issues related to violence are one of the most challenging issues to be explored during the study. In a small number of interviews and discussions, children reported that their parents act violently whenever they behave badly or can't perform tasks their parents have told them to do. Moreover, children also said that sometimes when their parents release their anger or frustration through these violent acts, particularly in the confined space and basic and inadequate facilities at home, it often adds to the tension among family members.

> My father sometimes beats me on the lower part of my body. Sometimes he uses a duster used for cleaning the mattress [to beat up the respondent]. … Once when I got home, maybe he became discontent because I was so smelly; he beat me without stopping. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

> I once had a fight with my parent. At that time, I did not feel like I had made any mistake, but he [the respondent's father] suddenly hit me. And then, I hit him back and ran away afterwards. I did not have any courage to go home; then I decided to stay at my friend's house for two days before going back home. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

Violent acts done by parents are found to be a common practice among families in this study and are more likely to be committed by the father than the mother, as well as the older siblings than the younger ones. Furthermore, boys are more likely to experience violence at home than girls. In terms of the form of violence, it ranges from verbal to physical abuse.

An elementary school boy in Surakarta talked about his experience dealing with his father's violent acts. He reported that he was often beaten by his father because he could not take good care of his younger brother. Seeing him being beaten, his mother scolded his father and protected him from his father.

> I was at the fifth grade of elementary school. I could not take care of my younger brother. … I only cried at that time [when his father beat him]. … My mother defended me by saying to my father, "Do not beat him [me], *Pak* [Husband]! He is still young. Have a pity on him". (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

A similar experience was shared by one of the teenage boys in Jakarta; the boy was beaten by his mother since he disobeyed his mother and had a fight with his brother. He was physically punished by being beaten with items like a wooden stick, mop, or an empty water gallon to several parts of his body, including his arm, thigh, and head. The boy was sometimes also beaten by his father for refusing to give him a massage. His father even asked him later to leave the house.

> My mother beat me because I was fighting with Khrisna [the respondent's little brother]. If my mother feels upset, she will beat my legs, both of my legs, by using a wooden stick. It's so painful. I just can't do anything but stay at home and wait until she feels better; and then I go outside. Sometimes I cry. The wooden stick is usually used to prop up the clothesline. She usually uses a mop to hit my hand or an empty water gallon to hit my head, especially when I don't obey her orders to buy her water. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> At home I am always scolded, especially when I refuse to follow their [the respondent's parents'] order. It is so upsetting; if they ask me to do other things while I am watching TV, I feel too lazy to get up. Then they start to scold me. If that happens, I just run away from home. And I just run to the front of the house when they are about to hit me. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

The boy also reported that his older brother is violent towards him for similar reasons; the boy refused to follow his brother's request to buy cigarettes and instant noodles.

> He is so rude. ... If I do not follow what he wants, he will kick me. Sometimes [the respondent's brother hits] my thigh. He asked me to buy cigarettes and noodles, but I didn't want to do it. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

b) Violence among Peers

The study finds that violent acts are often done to children not only by adults, but also by their peers, both among boys and girls. In general, there are several reasons that have mostly been cited for children to inflict violence on other children, ranging from showing off their physical strength or arguing over the rights to use the playground to misunderstandings among children. If younger children are involved in a dispute for teasing other children, the older children tend to commit violence as a form of revenge. They do

this to show solidarity among friends, besides sometimes to fight for a girl or compete over a territory, which becomes the source of their income.

In terms of forms of violence, children reported abuse ranging from verbal to physical violence committed by their peers for the aforementioned reasons. An elementary school girl reported herself to be beaten by other children on her face, breast, and thigh every time they play together.

> Maxi [yelling out a friend's name]! He always beats me! (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Makassar)

> Udin [kicked me] and told me to go away! (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Makassar)

On the other hand, in North Jakarta, another child respondent who had committed violent acts told the interviewer that he did it for revenge as his friend had been beaten up by other children.

> It was because those kids from another school near the trade center teased and hit my friend. He [the respondent's friend] then told me about it. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

From the body mapping exercise conducted during this study, a worrying trend was revealed with regard to violent acts occurring among children when they are playing. Children reported that the habit of touching private or genital body parts is common among children across age and sex groups in different study locations. A girl participating in this study shared her story when she and her friends was playing a sordid game.

> I hate it when someone touches my thigh and breast. It is usually the boys who touch my thigh, while the ones who touch my breast are the girls. This usually happens when we are playing a game. I do not know why they like to do it. Usually, they touch my breast after telling a rude story. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

Furthermore, children also reported that little arguments or petty disputes among children may lead to a brawl in the area. Some of the children interviewed also used the term "war" to describe the brawl because it involves children throwing harmful items, such as glass bottles, at one another. In addition, children also reported the involvement of parents in the brawl to defend their children, which often leads to a greater problem in the neighborhood. This study finds that brawls between neighborhoods are quite common and more prevalent in Makassar and Jakarta. Moreover, the presence of motorcycle gangs has also raised concerns about safety among children in Makassar. Both boys and girls reported this issue as one of the most significant problems that needs to be addressed in order to keep peace in their neighborhood.

> People from the other neighborhood like to start a brawl. Maybe they want something from our place. I was once involved in the brawl and got sprayed with tear gas. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

c) Negative Influence from Peers

The study finds that children have started to experiment with several risky behaviors at a young age, such as gambling, smoking, consuming alcohol, stealing, and engaging in illegal street racing. Concerns about issues related to these behaviors were raised especially by children living in Makassar and Jakarta. In Makassar, it is reported that children engage in gambling (in particular cockfighting) as early as junior high school. Most of the children in this study said that they started gambling just for entertainment and additional pocket money.

On the other hand, reported problems around the use of alcohol and smoking appeared across study locations and age groups, even though it is found to be more prevalent among older children. In Makassar, children even reported a common practice of pooling money to collectively buy and share inhaled glue since they find it to be fun and pleasurable. This practice, however, is found to be more common among older boys (junior high school level and above). One of the boys in Surakarta told the interviewer that he started to develop the habit of drinking alcohol two years ago since he was challenged by his friend. Ever since, whenever he wants to drink or feels frustrated, he will buy alcohol and get drunk in the city central park (*alun-alun*) or at his friends' house. A similar story was shared by one of the boys in North Jakarta, who was first introduced to smoking and drinking in second grade of elementary school. He told the interviewer that he first saw others nearby smoking and was then introduced to alcohol by teenagers in his neighborhood, which made him curious; he eventually decided to give it a try.

> It was in the evening, and we were still playing outside. They asked me to buy some drinks and we were going to drink them together. … Well, what can I say? … There are a lot of reasons [why I decided to drink]; I get a headache because of there's a lot of things to think about. Sometimes I just drink whenever I want to and I don't drink when I don't want to. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

> At first, they [a group of adolescents living around him] showed us [repondent and friends] how to drink and then they asked us to try until finally we got addicted to drinking. But now, we don't want to do that again. … Back then, we always drank whenever we celebrated something, but now we don't anymore. I have quit. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

The types of delinquency driven by negative peer influence vary according to existing local norms, age groups, and gender groups to which children belong. Among children from the six research locations, children from Makassar had reported the widest range of child delinquency, including truancy or skipping school, drinking, smoking, drug abuse, risky sex behavior, stealing, gambling, fighting, and brawling. In Jakarta, the types of child delinquency reported by children include fighting, brawling, drinking, smoking, drug abuse, and engaging in risky sex behavior. Meanwhile, children in Surakarta reported less engagement in delinquency, namely skipping school, smoking, drinking, engaging in risky sex behaviors, and fighting. Around the riverbanks in Surakarta, it is hard to find children who have recently consumed drugs in their neighborhood because most of them have been moved to another place following the relocation of illegal residents living in riverbanks.

Drinking behaviors are reported to be more prevalent in the inner-city area of Surakarta, especially among older children and adults, while only a small number of children are reported to have a drinking habit. Most of the child delinquencies, including engaging in risky sex behaviors and gambling, are found to be more prevalent among boys than girls. Gambling is reported to be done both by children and adults and it is only found among children in Makassar.

Another form of delinquency reported by children in this study is the use of addictive substances, including inhaling glue; however this was reported only by children in Makassar. The information provided by children around the practices of children using drugs and inhaling glue, however, is limited. Children reported that some of their friends who are addicted to drugs suffer from tiredness, stress, and sleep disorder (oversleeping).

> Some of the people here use it [drugs] to get the feeling of satisfaction. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> He [referring to the respondent's friend] almost died because of inhaling glue. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

It is interesting to find that children in all the study locations, in particular the older girls, raised the issue of being prone to prostitution because of their working environment or peer influence. Moreover, practices of early marriage and unwanted pregnancies among their peers were also reported by many female children in this study.

> They [respondent's friends] like to have parties ... and they like to wear shorts. Then they were touched by the boys. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

d) Working children

Children in this study reported practices of working children, either to assist parents, working together with friends or family members, or being hired individually. A junior high school aged girl in Makassar who works together with her younger sister as a trash collector related their everyday struggle.

> My sister and I collect trash every day at the central market. My sister sits in the pedicab while I pedal. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

Many children raised their concern about working children and saw it as one of the problems that needs to be addressed. Most of the reasons elicited from children on the issue of working children are related to family financial situation: a number of children reported that their parents are no longer working due to illness; many children explained that they want to have more pocket money since their parents can only give them a very small amount of money; and a number of others said that they need to earn money, so they can help their parents to afford daily needs. On the other hand, there were some children who reported that they themselves work to buy glue to inhale since they have become addicted to it. This case, however, is only found among children in Makassar. In contrast, even though the idea and practice of working are quite common among children in all study locations, some children in Makassar and Jakarta said that it is hard for young people in their neighborhood to find a job, leaving many of the working-age young people to be jobless.

> His parents [points at the respondent's friend] don't usually provide him money. That's why he needs to earn money by himself. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Makassar)
>
> *Mbah* [Grandma] Umi usually asks me to carry water. I can carry up to four carts of water and get paid Rp10,000. … Besides, I usually get Rp10,000 for pocket money. However, I rarely ask for pocket money from my mother. That is why I prefer to work so that I can get money by myself. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)
>
> … I collect bottles from rubbish bins, from the streets, whenever I find them. I will sell the collected bottles to get money, for an amount depending on the total weight of the bottles. I usually get around Rp2,000 to Rp5,000. I use it to buy food, [such as] rice, crackers, anything for eating. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)
>
> I don't go to school. I became a parking attendant. … In a day, I can get Rp15,000 to Rp20,000 at Alfamidi [a minimart]. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Makassar)

The topic of working children were more likely to be revealed during discussions with children at the senior high school level, except in Makassar where the issue of working children is also discussed among younger children at the junior high school level. However, this study finds no significant difference between boys and girls in regard to this issue.

According to the children, there are certain types of work that are popular among children. These are usually unskilled jobs and vary based on the characteristics of their surrounding area. Children living in inner-city areas, for example, reported the most common types of work done by children in each study location to include; waitress in cafés or restaurants (Surakarta), trash collector (Jakarta), and sheller of cashew nuts, and parking attendant (Makassar). Meanwhile, children from the coastal area reported working in the fish market or peeling shrimps and clams as the type of work typically done by children in their neighborhood.

> Girls usually work shelling cashews.. We can get Rp45,000 per 6 kg of cashew peeled per week. ... The money earned is given to mother afterwards. (Teen girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)
> My back hurts due to long hours of working [peeling cashews] (Teen girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)
>
> I usually take a part-time job at Season City [a function hall and hotel]. At that place, people hold parties or ceremonies, such as wedding ceremonies. My job includes collecting plates and attending to stalls. I get Rp60,000 for half a day's work, or Rp120,000 full-time from morning to evening. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

One of the most important topics raised by children on the issue of working children is their working environment. Children interviewed in this study told the interviewer that they are dealing with several problems at their workplace, ranging from issues around safety and health to social problems. The study finds that working children are exposed to different risks, depending on the types of work they undertake. In the coastal area of Jakarta, girls at the senior high school level who work as shrimp peelers in the frozen food industry, reported symptoms such as back pain and respiratory problems (difficulties in breathing). They also reported that every day their only free time to rest is during the lunch break and

they are constantly exposed to chemicals such as chlorine, that are used to clean the shrimps.

> My waist hurts due to long hours of working. ...
>
> I am not allowed to sit. ...
>
> My neck and chest also hurt because of the cold temperature from the machine beside me. ...
>
> We are not allowed to bring bottled water into the factory; therefore, I get dehydrated.
>
> (Girls' group interview, girls aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Furthermore, girls who live in the inner-city area reported that many of their peers working as waitresses at cafés, where they also accompany karaoke customers, are highly prone to sexual harassment

4.1.4 Education

Another issue raised by children as a problem is access to education. Financial constraints experienced by families limit children's access to higher education, to enroll in better schools, and to attend school every day. Although most families in the study receive social assistance programs, in particular the school-related financial waiver such as BSM, children reported that many financial barriers are still hindering them from going to school. Furthermore, children mentioned the hidden costs of transportation, additional tutoring class, and pocket money, which cannot be covered by those kinds of assistance programs. Children often complained that money given by their parents is not enough to cover these hidden costs, discouraging them to go to school. Facing these financial constraints may result in children giving up on their schooling. In addition, these barriers are often reported to be one of the causes for children having to seek work. They may have to juggle their work and study or give up their school for work.

> Children coming from a poor family must work or else there is no money available; then we need to give up on our education. ... Now, to enroll in a school, we need to pay the enrollment fee, clothing fee, and any other fee as well. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)
>
> Every time we get a reminder letter from the school, it means that we have to pay something. For example, we haven't paid for books and have to pay it soon. I was so anxious and when someone offered me a job, I felt like this was it. This way I can make money. Just focusing myself on working to get money, I didn't even think about going back to school. At the end of the day, we will have to find work though. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)
>
> I'm sad. Sometimes I can only watch my friends going to school; then I'm all alone. I just wait [..] for my friends to finish their class. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

School environment is also reported to be one of the factors influencing children's motivation to go to school. The stories around this factor include both physical and social environment, ranging from the school location and condition of the classroom, to overcrowded classes and the influence of peers to skip classes. These are viewed by children

to affect their enthusiasm to go to school. Children in North Jakarta told the interviewer how he does not like to go to school since it is located close to a wet, dirty, and stinky market. Children also mentioned the school's distance from home as one of the barriers, as well as the challenges of studying in a humid, overcrowded class that is polluted with a putrid smell from the waste.

> I get bored in class; there is no fan available. I have no options but to quietly go outside and look for some fresh air. … It is not convenient at all because my school is located near the garbage dump of a wet market. People in the market are very dirty. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

As discussed earlier, peers are reported by children to influence them in many ways. In regard to education, this study also finds that among all age groups in the study locations, peer pressure plays a significant role in determining children's motivation to go to school. According to children, when surrounded by peers who are unmotivated to go to school and choose to work over studying, they have a high probability of following their peers. In fact, many children told the interviewer that there were times when they skipped classes mostly because they were influenced by their peers. Moreover, children reported feeling uncomfortable at school if they encountered problems with their friends as well their teachers. Several children raised their concern about the attitude of teachers; children reported that they feel discomfort towards the physical punishments given by teachers to children for not doing homework or making jokes during the class.

> I feel so lazy. At home, I told my parents that I want to go to school, but actually I did not go to school. The reason is because I always fight with my friends and with my teacher as well. … Finally, I decided to drop out. (Boys' group interview, aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> Most of my classmates are misbehaving. If one student doesn't do the homework, the rest of the class will do the same. To us, the homework is so difficult. There was a time when all of us didn't do the homework and got punished by the teacher. We had to do 200 squat jumps and 50 pushups. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Choosing to enroll in private schools is a another reason children are excluded from accessing assistance from the government. There are children from poor families who opt to enroll in private schools due to the traveling distance from home to public schools and the availability of specific majors in private schools, particularly for those who plan to enroll in vocational school. In Surakarta, for example, transportation becomes one of the major issues hindering children—in particular for those living around the riverbanks—from going to school, as its located quite far from the city center and main road. In general, children prefer to enroll in schools which are within walking distance even though it is a nonrecipient of government support. In North Jakarta, one of the boys opted to go to a private school located quite far from his home since the school has the major that he is interested in. Furthermore, children in North Jakarta reported that to be accepted in a public school and get the benefits from government programs, they must attain a certain level of graduation score. It leaves many children from the poor family unable to access the public school and government programs; children from the poor family are more likely to attain a low score at school since they cannot afford additional tutoring lessons despite experiencing difficulties in their studies. Since they can only attain a low graduation score, their parents can only enroll their children in private schools, which are found to be more expensive compared to

public schools. Moreover, this option often leaves them ineligible for assistance as only a limited number of private schools receive government assistance.

Out of the six locations, the case of children dropping out from school was most prevalent in Makassar and the coastal area of North Jakarta. Among all the study locations, Surakarta demonstrates a better school enrollment for children, which can be attributed to the existence of social protection programs supporting children to stay in school; these programs are provided both by the central and city governments. Additionally, nowadays children in all study locations, experience no major differences in the opportunities to pursue education provided by parents to boys and girls.

Amidst the stories shared by children who had dropped out of school, there are positive reports of children being able to continue their education to higher levels. One contributing factor is the role of an older sibling as well as parents who care about the child's education, acting as a good mentor. However, the study finds that many children reported the absence of support and positive role model from parents or other family members to motivate them to excel in their studies. Children told the interviewer that when they see older siblings discontinue their education after finishing elementary school and are immediately able to earn money, there is a higher chance for children in the family to leave school and not to be bothered to strive for a higher education level.

> There are so many children who long for their parent's love [but cannot get it]; therefore, it makes them lazy to go to school. They even think that their parents do not care about them. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> If I do not go to school, then I can earn money from working. That's why, now I just want to focus on earning money. Two of my older brothers are also like that; they only finished elementary school. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

4.1.5 Health and Living Condition

a) Prone to Diseases and Limited Access to Health Services

This study finds that poor children are greatly exposed to safety and health risks, and have limited access to health services. It was revealed that children in several study locations are prone to contagious diseases caused by lack of hygiene and poor living conditions. In Makassar, for example, we found that children are exposed to the risk of contracting tuberculosis from other infected children in their neighborhood. Even though the government has launched the Universal Health Care Scheme (JKN), children reported that they still have to spend money on other costs, such as transportation, that may discourage them and other family members to access the health services. As a consequence, self-medication practices and seeking traditional treatment are quite common among children in this study. Many of them told the interviewer that they prefer to buy medicine from a local stall or to use traditional medication with the help from the local religious leader, or even ignore the illness and do nothing. In addition, some parents in Makassar reported that they are not registered as a recipient of JKN since they cannot afford to pay the premium. As a result, they were not able to access the free or affordable public health services at the time when their children were sick. Issues regarding access to public health services, however, are found to be more common in Jakarta and Makassar as the Local Government

of Surakarta had already established a local health insurance scheme covering all citizens of Surakarta. This scheme is reported to be easily accessed, that is, only by showing the identity card.

> I never go to the doctor when I get sick. I just buy medicine from the stall nearby and that works for me. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> [After having an accident] My legs were to be amputated … [because] it was so painful when walking …; however, instead of having a surgery [to get my legs amputated], I got a traditional massage. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

As for the causes of health problems, children reported several factors, including lack of nutritious food. Children reported they rarely practice healthy habits, due to the lack of access to clean water and proper sanitation. They reported that they have poor access to adequate amounts of nutritious food, which is also reported by parents interviewed in this study. Although less prevalent, there are children under five years old in this study who are reported by their parents to be suffering from malnutrition. Acknowledging the importance of having sufficient levels of nutrition for children to grow and develop well, this condition may affect their later developmental stages of life. Another thing that might need to be looked into further is the fact that there are children in this study who are found to have not been immunized against diseases yet since their parents were worried that the children would be ill due to its side effects. This practice appeared in the story told by children in Jakarta and a few parents in Surakarta.

Maintaining healthy habits, in particular the practice of maintaining personal hygiene, is another health-related problem reported by children in this study. Some children told the interviewer that they often feel uncomfortable with their friend's bad body odor. They also explained that since these children do not have access to proper sanitation, either in their home and their neighborhood, they may be unable to wash themselves thoroughly and regularly. Many children in this study reported themselves or their neighbors to have no access to toilet at home nor to a clean and proper toilet in their neighborhood. Children reported that the public toilets in their neighborhood are mostly not functioning well (too dirty, broken, no light, lack of clean water supply) or are too far from their home. This issue was particularly raised by children living in the coastal area of North Jakarta. In addition, children also reported that the local government provides free access to water in their neighborhood to address the problem of water shortage.

b) Not Having Enough Food

As previously mentioned, access to food is one problem identified by children in all study locations and age groups. Children raised their concern about not having not enough meals for their daily consumption; they often eat less than three times a day since their parents cannot afford to buy food. Children also reported this issue as one of the causes for them not being able to perform well at school.

> Well [financial issue] is the issue experienced by almost all of the children. Sometimes when we want to eat but there is not any money, then we cannot eat. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

> My mom does not have money. When we are hungry and beg for food ... then she will scold us. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

> I want to have breakfast but there is no food available. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Children also complained about the food quality in their neighborhood, in particular the hygiene of food sold in many food stalls in their surroundings. The research team found that in most study locations, many small stalls selling snacks and meals can be easily found. The food sold at the stalls varies from traditional snack like *cilok* (round fried sago), jelly, vegetable fritters, and instant noodles. These stalls are very convenient for children; they can buy food anytime they want when they have pocket money, especially when parents do not cook at home.

c) Poor Housing and Living Environment

Almost all children in this study reported that they have to deal with problems related to a poor living environment. Issues related to living in unclean environment were raised by children in all study locations across age and gender groups. Children explained that people living in their neighborhood often dump their garbage carelessly; people throw their garbage to the river or to the places that are not designated for landfill since there are only a few garbage bins available in their neighborhood. As a consequence, their neighborhoods are often flooded in the rainy season.

> I wish that the people in my community did not freely throw garbage everywhere or even throw it in the sea. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

Poor housing is one of the problems discussed by children. Many children live in semipermanent, overcrowded houses built on illegal land in a congested neighborhood, and are prone to being homeless as well as exposed to social problems resulting from tense interactions between people living adjacent to each other. In these poor living conditions and unsafe environments children are prone to robbery and disasters such as floods and fires.

> We have two pillows. They are usually used by my mother and brother. I don't use a pillow and it's difficult for me to sleep. That one is our blanket; yes it's also used by my mother and brother. I do not use it because it feels rather hot. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

> We are lacking in everything; our house floor is made from wood, the house is small, and there is no room inside. ... It is so uncomfortable. The water seeps into the house when it is raining outside; there are leaks everywhere [in the roof]. We usually move to the other side of the house to avoid the dripping water, patch the leaks, or place buckets on the floor to catch the water. It also feels hot inside when the sun is shining. (In-depth interview, boy aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

> There is garbage under this house; lots of it. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> This is the toilet of this house [pointing at the improper toilet used by the family]. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> If [the water level] rises, it will sweep all the garbage. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years in Makassar)

Children living in slum areas reported problems related to access to public facilities, including clean water supply, public transportation, public toilet, and playground. Access to clean water was reported as one of the greatest daily problems children have to deal with. A junior high school girl in the coastal area of Makassar explained that she has to queue and pay Rp14,000 to buy 14 jerrycans of water for members of the whole family.

> Water is a big problem for us. In the morning before going to work, I have to queue to buy water. … We use a water hose and pay Rp20,000 (US$2). This is better because there are times when we do not have water at all. When that happens, I go to work without taking a bath; I just wash my face and spray perfume on my body. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> Here it is difficult to get water, we have to use a water hose. The water will flow [through the hose] from the well. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Makassar)

As previously mentioned, limited access to public transportation was also reported by children as one of their daily problems. Living quite far from the main road, most children in this study, in particular children from the riverbanks in Surakarta and the inner-city area of North Jakarta, mentioned the issue of transportation as the reason why they did not go to school or came late to school. Other public facilities that were often reported by children to be inaccessible and even unavailable are public toilets and playgrounds. As discussed earlier in the previous section, the available public toilets are mostly in poor condition, causing people to be reluctant to use them and choosing to perform open defecation. Practices of open defecation in the river, however, were only reported by children in Makassar. Children also complained about the lack of playgrounds in their neighborhood or the surrounding areas, which doesn't allow them to have a safe place for playing with their friends or enjoying their hobbies (e.g., doing sports like football). As reported by children in Jakarta, as well as children in Surakarta and Makassar, playgrounds in their neighborhood are used for parking lot and marketplace.

> Please give us back our playground! I need a football field to realize my dream. (Boys' group interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

> I do not play at the field anymore; now it is used as a parking lot. Honestly, I really want to play at the field. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

> If we want to play football on the field, we need to climb over the field gate. However, the field is very dirty. There are many goats' poo there. … If we want to play, we need to move the goats to the spot near the garbage bin first. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

d) Participation

It is interesting to find that children raised concern about their participation in activities within their neighborhood. Although it is not discussed directly as one of their daily problems, several children in this study expressed their dissatisfaction on the availability of events in their neighborhood where they can participate. Several children reported that there have only been few less-engaging children's activities that they have participated in

and most of these activities are more focused on providing information on typical issues like drug abuse or holding regular competitions on public holidays. Moreover, children also raised concern about the exclusivity of certain groups to participate in particular events. A girl living in the inner-city area of North Jakarta told the interviewer that she was never invited to participate in organizing events for the Independence Day commemoration in her neighborhood even though she is enthusiastic about it. She also explained that only children from certain areas in her neighborhood are usually invited to participate.

All the study locations committed to being child-friendly cities where children participation is considered to be one of the most crucial aspects in all local government plans and programs. Therefore, child forums can be found in all study locations as a platform for children to actively participate in and contribute to the city development plan. However, as mentioned previously, while the child forum exists, children reported that there have been very few engaging activities for children held through the forums and it seems that these activities are mostly initiated and designed by adults. Several children in this study reported that the child forum is still dominated by children from the elite class in their neighborhood, without giving the opportunity to the marginalized children to channel their voices.

4.2 Vulnerability and Resilience of Urban Poor Children to Poverty: Risk Factors, Positive Adaptation, and Sources of Support

In the previous section, we have seen the picture of the various problems faced by poor children in their everyday lives. From what was expressed by the children, we have learned how the problems they face have affected many aspects of their lives, have shaped their perspectives and the way they see themselves and their surroundings, and have further impacted their own expectations as well as hopes for their future life.

Using the vulnerability and resilience framework, this section aims at increasing learning on child poverty and identifying factors behind the curse of intergenerational poverty. In this section, we will try to use the lessons we had from this research activity to better understand how children living in poverty are vulnerable to being involved in many problems that hinder them from achieving optimal development and put them at risk of being trapped in adult poverty. In another way, we will also try to increase understanding of children's resilience from how they survive their everyday life while living in poverty. For these purposes, we will map out the risk factors that make children living in poverty vulnerable to having various problems in life, as well as the positive adaptations made and sources of support depended upon by children. The adaptations and support involved in overcoming children's problems in their everyday life contribute to building their resilience.

In this study, vulnerability and resilience were not asked directly to children, but questions around these issues were embedded in dialogues with children. We asked them about problems' causality, experiences of violence, intrahousehold power relations, children's access to basic services, and children's hopes and aspirations during a series of FGDs, group interviews, and individual interviews. We then tried to map out the information revealed by the children to identify the risk factors that make children vulnerable to poverty, as well as the supportive factors contributing to children' resilience.

Based on the mapping results, it is evident that the contributing factors of vulnerability and resilience of children vary according to the children's interactions with the surrounding environments, as suggested by the human ecological model developed by Brofebrenner (Dawes and Donals, 2005; Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In this section, discussions on risk and supportive factors contributing to children' vulnerability and resilience are divided based on their levels of interaction, adopted from the human ecological model (Brofenbrenner, 1994), which maps out children's interaction with the surrounding environment based on its intensity; and the Emery's and Forehand's model, which classifies children's surrounding environment based on the source of protective factors (Thomas, 2009). Following children's levels of interaction in this section, the discussions will be divided into intrafamily zone, extrafamily zone, other external factors, and internal zone (children's individual factor); which are explained at the end of the chapter.

4.2.1 Risks inside the House: Parents' Poverty, Disharmony and Separation, and Lack of Quality Care

When we mapped the various problems raised by the children, it appears that most of the problems they face occur outside the family zone, especially those related to their interactions with their peers. However, when we mapped the causes of the problems, it is quite apparent that issues in the family zone have been the trigger for children's involvement in many situations outside the family zone. Family—especially the parents—is the last resort for children where they put their hope and expectation for support. However, when family function diminishes, children try to find its substitution from outside the family zone. Children will be increasingly vulnerable to interactions with people from dysfunctional families outside their own family zone.

Through a series of discussions and interviews with children, it was revealed that parents' poverty and diminishing family function have been the root of various problems faced by children in their daily life. Given children are still largely dependent on their caregivers, poverty faced by their parents often become the root of their poverty. The diminishing family function is usually described by children in the form of lack of attention from parents, careless parenting, as well as disharmony among family members, either between children and parents, or among children.

a) Parents' Poverty

Economic limitations have made the parents—or other caregivers—unable to provide ideal facilities or maximum support for the children. Based on observations during this research, this is particularly evident in the fulfillment of children's basic needs, such as living condition, health, and education. In some cases, family poverty has also encouraged children to do economic work with implications for the children's schooling.

(1) Poor Living Conditions

Economic limitation has forced poor families to stay in slums that are located in illegal settlements. Such living places lack basic facilities (including water and sanitation), making children prone to disasters (flood, fire, and rising sea levels), exposing them to risks of an unsafe environment, and leaving them with limited playground areas. The children we

spoke to are those who come from poor families and live in slums in the most disadvantaged part of the city, or in slum areas in affluent suburbs in the city, whose living conditions are relatively less decent compared to the surrounding neighborhoods.

Living conditions can be a source of vulnerability not only because the children live in houses of substandard condition in overcrowded and unsafe environments, but also because they experience uncertainty as a result of living in a rented house or a house that stands on illegal land. Under such conditions, they can be moved anytime when the rental scheme cannot be extended or when evicted from the land. Some of our research locations are illegal settlements which are excluded from the provision of basic services such as water, sanitation system, and electricity. Another research location, namely the riverbanks of Surakarta, is an area where there has been forced evictions by the city government. Due to their illegality, people living in the location depend greatly on electricity extensions from their legal neighbors and the water bought from water sellers or taken from public sources, such as public toilets, water taps at the mosque and the well, or water taps owned by other people. In most of the locations, children have been the ones responsible for carrying water to houses using a cart; the water can also be distributed using a water hose.

Some children in the research locations live in semipermanent houses standing on illegal land in a poor environment not up to the health standard. The poor living conditions are compounded by the lack of playground so that children can only play in small alleys between houses or in the public streets around their houses. This, however, leads to friction between children and adults, as experienced by some children in the inner-city locations. They feel unhappy with the behavior of adults in their neighborhood. Moreover, friction also occurs due to overcrowding inside the house. In many cases, children have to share the limited space they have with other family members. Table 17 summarizes the description of children's living conditions based on observations conducted by the research team as well as the individual and group interviews with children.

Table 17. Characteristics of Respondents' Living Condition

Living Condition	Jakarta Inner City	Jakarta Coastal Area	Surakarta Inner City	Surakarta Riverbanks	Makassar Inner City	Makassar Coastal Area
Housing	On land; permanent and semi-permanent houses; high density	On land and floating; semi-permanent houses; high density	On land; permanent and semi-permanent houses; high density	On land; semi-permanent houses (and a small number of children living in permanent houses); medium density	On land; semi-permanent houses; high density	On land and floating; semi permanent houses; high density
Location	Inner city; legal settlement	Coastal area; soon to be evicted land	Inner city; *mager sari* (settled on land owned by other people—landlords)	Riverbanks and surroundings; evicted land and legal settlement	Inner city; illegal settlement	Coastal area; illegal settlement
Water	Buy from other people having official water account	Buying water from distributor (using jerrycans)	Own pump, or buy water from other people	Own pump, or buy water from other people or from public toilet	Own pump, or buy water from other people or from public toilet	Buying from water distributor (use jerrycans) or from public water source
Sanitation	Sharing toilet, public toilet	Public toilet	Sharing toilet, public toilet	Sharing toilet, public toilet	Sharing toilet, public toilet	Sharing toilet, public toilet

Source: Information summarized from interviews, FGDs, group interviews, and researchers' observation.

One of UNICEF's Child Poverty Insights publications talks about children in urban poverty; it notes that the degree of transience, crowding, insecurity, and the poor condition of many urban poor communities to some extent would lead to weak social capital which further results in children being potentially exposed to problems related to crime and violence. This uncovers yet another reality about risks facing children when they are living in overcrowded slum areas. In addition, the persistent problems associated with the low quality of life lead to health risks, including diarrheal diseases, other waterborne and foodborne diseases, respiratory illnesses, worms, skin and eye conditions, and malnutrition. Moreover, growing up in an unauthorized informal settlement which is not recognized by the city, often means that children become unreached by any basic service (Bartlett, 2011).

(2) Limited Access to Health Services

As mentioned before, living in poor conditions means that poor children experience greater exposure to safety and health risks, whilst they also have limited access to health care facilities. The reason mostly mentioned by children for their inability to access health care facilities is that parents are always busy at work so that there is no time to take their children to the facilities. Among the six research locations, better access to health services has been seen in the inner-city area of North Jakarta. In the area, besides the various health care programs provided by the central and city governments, the local cadre also actively helps people to better access the services. In addition, the *puskesmas* is also located not too far from the location. However, there are still some people who do not access the health services due to various constraints such as transportation cost, and limited time and money.

(3) Limited Access to Education

Among the risk factors contributing to the development and future of the children is the problem in child education. In socioeconomics discourses, education is believed to be an important component for a person to have vertical mobility as well as to end the poverty trap. Economic limitation faced by the parents is often the main reason why children cannot afford a high level of education. In many cases, poor parents cannot afford to pay school fees as well as other additional costs that may include pocket money for their children at school, transportation cost, additional tutoring cost, and fees charged by the school for students' books. For example, when children have difficulty following the lessons at school, poor parents cannot afford to send their children to participate in additional tutoring lessons. In more severe cases, the parents' financial limitation often becomes the reason for the children's dropping out of school and getting a job at an early age.

While education is believed to be a way for children to achieve a better future, inability to access proper education has made some of them pessimistic and not daring to have a dream. Moreover, they are also at high risk of being involved in work activities. As schooling becomes more expensive, working becomes a rational choice for them not only to reduce parents' burden but also to help the family by making money. In the future, dropping out of school will make children vulnerable to not being able to get a decent job as many employers require job applicants to have a certain level of education.

(4) Children Are Forced to Work

Often, family poverty encourages children to work so that they can help their parents by making a living for the family or at least meet their own needs, which cannot be met by their parents. Children working at a young age poses the risk of limiting their future. Although its impacts are still under debate, work is closely linked to educational outcomes of children. Several studies have found that the income derived from work can be used to support the continuity of children's schooling. However, other studies find that working activities can threaten the sustainability and outcomes of children's education. Despite both findings, the risks posed by working activities clearly impact on children's safety.

b) Parents' Lack of Time, Energy, and Knowledge to Provide Quality Care

Economic constraints have encouraged parents to work hard to make a living. In many cases, both parents have to work in order to obtain sufficient income to make ends meet. Busy working parents are left with little time and energy to spare for the children at home. Hence, the children lack attention and supervision.

As frequently mentioned by the children, lack of attention and affection from their parents has made them more vulnerable and likely to being involved in delinquent behavior, such as inhaling glue, getting drunk, smoking, consuming drugs, and engaging in risky sex. Some of the children we spoke to also complained about how parents in their surroundings are busy chitchatting and following the current trends normally followed by teenagers—using their own words, the children call it "behaving like teenagers".

Additionally, there are parents with limited understanding of how to ensure quality of care for their children. Sometimes the lack of time and energy in caring for the children forces parents to fulfill all the children's wishes and requests without carefully considering its impacts. In many cases, this is the way they choose to eliminate guilty feelings from failing to meet their children's other needs. Therefore, when children ask for anything, parents feel compelled to grant it without considering whether it is crucially needed or not.

Complaints about the lack of attention from parents were revealed by all children from different age and sex groups at all research locations. As revealed by the children, the lack of attention and affection from their parents becomes the cause of various problems they experience; these may include addiction to drugs, problems with their education, negative peer pressure, risky sex behaviors, child endangerment, working children, child neglect, disharmony in the relationship between parents and children, negative behaviors (behaving rudely, swearing and talking crudely), and addiction to technology (internet café, PlayStation). Vulnerabilities experienced by children as a result of parents' lack of attention differ depending on the children's level of interaction. During the research, we found that vulnerabilities faced by children are differentiated by the age and gender of the children. From what we observed, boys are more vulnerable than girls because the scope of their interaction is more widespread and at further distances, compared to girls'. Parents tend to be more protective of their daughters and the social norms dictate that girls are not to play until late at night. It is apparent in all locations that girls are more likely to play within the vicinity of the house and neighborhood, while boys can freely play far away from home. Similarly, in terms of age group, older children are more at risk than younger children in various problems due to their wider scope of interaction.

c) Family Disharmony, Violence, and Separation Impacting Children Negatively

Not all of the children come from a complete family, which is seen to be the ideal social norm. Some of them do not have both parents living with them as a result of divorce, one or both parents living and working in another region, or both parents having already passed away. Children in these situations tend to live with their relatives, such as their grandparents, uncle, and aunt. Living in an incomplete family situation forces children to deal with psychological and social impacts. Moreover, a child whose parents are separated are sometimes stigmatized by the surrounding community.

Not only children from incomplete families, but also children coming from complete families often feel unhappy with their home life due to disharmony among family members, especially between parents and children. When parents encounter a problem either from the workplace or other sources outside home, they come back home angry; this further impacts the way they treat the children at home. Financial constraints are also found to be a stress factor faced by parents in poor households, often making parents more tense. Stressed parents are found to be one of the potential causes of violence in the family.

Children experiencing family disharmony and separation are likely to experience problems related to emotional well-being, such as stress, boredom, uncomfortable feelings to be at home, and unhappiness. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, many children were greatly impacted emotionally by violence from other family members. Such conditions eventually lead to children seeking happiness outside the home and facing various problems. Just like children who are more vulnerable with the lack of the attention from parents, children with problems of family disharmony and separation experience a similar tendency with vulnerabilities associated with their interaction with environments outside the family zone.

4.2.2 Risks outside the Family Zone: Pressure from Peers, Workplace, School, and Adults in the Neighborhood

In addition to family, children in their daily lives also intensively interact with other peer elements outside the family zone, including playmates and adults in the neighborhood, school, and workplace, for those who are already working. Children's interaction with people within and outside the family occurs alternately through daily activities, roles distribution, and relationships that are direct and continuous (Dawes and Donald, 2005). The intensity of engagement between children and the surrounding community outside of the family highly depends on the quality and intensity of the interaction within their family. In many cases, children who have a good and strong attachment to their parents and other family members have less dependency on people outside the family. In contrast, children who lack in family attachment have more intensive interaction with and dependency on people outside the family.

In the following section, we will discuss risk factors faced by children resulting from their interaction with different environments outside the family zone which they have a direct contact with in their daily life, such as peer and playmates, and people in the neighborhood, school, and workplace. In addition, we will also cover how these factors become the sources of vulnerability in children's lives.

a) Children Are Exposed to Risky Behaviors and Violence among Peers

It is quite apparent that children we spoke to during this research have the tendency to interact more with people outside the family zone rather than with the family. Along with the pressure experienced by the children at home, life outside the family zone offers them convenience and comfort. When children cannot enjoy quality time with their parents—sharing moments and interacting with other family members—they will try to find happiness outside. It can come from friends who share the same experiences, or other people in their surroundings.

Negative peer influence and peer violence are among the risk factors emerging from children's interactions with their peers; bringing considerable impact on their vulnerability. The negative influences of peers have been the root of many problems faced by children, such as drug addiction, inhaling solvent glue, drinking, intergroup brawls, engaging in risky sex behaviors, child pregnancy, joining gangs, skipping school, working, low school performance, stealing, gambling, and addiction to gaming and the social media (at internet cafés and PlayStation rentals). Besides exposing children to safety risks, peer violence can potentially be a trigger for children to commit other acts of violence, be it verbal or physical.

(1) Exposure to Risky Behaviors by Peers

During the research, we found that in most cases children had their introduction to delinquency or misbehaviors from peer influence, usually their close friends. As discussed earlier, the types of child delinquency caused by negative peer influence vary according to existing local norms, age groups, and gender groups to which children belong. Most delinquent acts such as risky sex behaviors and gambling, appear to be done by boys and only a small proportion by girls. Interestingly, from our discussions about child delinquency, it appeared that problems of risky sex were only mentioned by the girls' group and not the boys'. The girls' concern may be led by the fact that the impact of such behavior most would likely be felt by girls; such early pregnancy.

(2) Peer Violence

There are several reasons for peer violence reported by the children. In most cases it is because the perpetrators just want to tease other friends or play around, and it is not to be taken seriously; or they feel upset about what was said by other children; and in other cases they need to show their solidarity and enact revenge for their friends in the same group who have experienced violence.

The reasons for children to be involved in violence depend very much on the age and gender of the child. Among younger children, peer violence is mostly carried out only for fun and usually when playing. On the other hand, for older children, the reason behind peer violence is driven by a specific motive—not just for fun—such as taking a revenge as a form of solidarity with friends.

From the body mapping exercise conducted during this research, a worrying trend was revealed in regard to violence during playing activities. There is a tendency that touching private or genital body parts has become a new common thing among children in different age and gender groups in different locations.

Disputes among children are found to be normal in their daily interactions within peer groups and often occur over matters of ownership of physical materials and spaces to interact (Cobb-Moore, 2008). Many studies have found that children make an effort to manage and negotiate disputes that they face (Cromdal in Cobb-Moore, 2008; Butler and Weatherall in Cobb-Moore, 2008). When dealing with disputes, some children change the language they use to communicate with their counterparts, such as by using local dialect to convince or put pressure on others. Children also change roles during their interaction, such as where one would take a more senior or dominant role.

b) Exposure to Risks from Working Activities and Environment

Working children face various vulnerabilities associated with safety problems and the time spent working; with impacts on their health, as well as the loss of opportunity to attend school and to play with peers. Moreover, given that the children are often too young to manage money, in some cases, they have problems managing their finances. The money they receive from working is used to buy things that can be destructive to their development; such as buying solvent glue to inhale or going to internet cafés or PlayStation rentals. Children working at a young age, while their peers are still at school, can also experience mental pressure because of low self-esteem and feelings of inferiority. This especially happens when they meet with friends that have a better life.

Work can be dangerous and have an impact on a child's health not only because of the nature of the work itself, but also the child's capability; many children are not old and strong enough to bear the workload required. Children face different risks in the work they do. They do different kinds of work depending on where they live and the age and gender groups they belong to. In the inner-city area of North Jakarta and the riverbank area of Surakarta, only small numbers of children of junior high school age and under are working. Most of them are at school. On the other hand, girls of senior high school age in the inner-city area of North Jakarta usually work as attendants in local shops. Most boys in the inner-city area of North Jakarta are working in retail and are employed in the informal sector, such as becoming parking attendants or workers at motorcycle wash centers. In the central area of Surakarta, there are junior high school boys working as parking attendants; most of the boys and girls in junior high school age or under, go to school.

In the coastal areas of North Jakarta and Makassar, many boys and girls have worked from a young age. In the coastal area of North Jakarta, the types of work carried out by younger children are carrying water, removing rubbish, and scavenging for bottles or plastic materials. Moreover, there are a number of younger boys who scavenge pieces of metals in the water for resale. Meanwhile, the older boys do jobs as parking attendants or work at the fish auction center. The older girls, on the other hand, mostly work at seafood processing plants. In the coastal area of Makassar, younger children—especially girls—help their mother to peel shellfish and shell cashews at home. In the inner-city area of Makassar, both younger and older boys work as parking attendants or do other informal jobs. Working children are exposed to safety risks in line with the types and responsibilities around the jobs. To some extent, children are also exposed to the dangers of working locations. Moreover, safety risks can also come from other people working at the same workplace, either children or adult.

c) Risks at School

Children are exposed to several risk factors in their interactions with people at school, which makes them vulnerable. These include teachers' attitudes towards individual children that makes them feel uncomfortable, interactions between children and friends at school, poor school facilities, school policies that cannot be met by children and their parents, and children feeling overwhelmed by the lessons and homework. To a certain extent, the risk factors can make children vulnerable to violence at school and feeling unhappy, and discontinuing their studies.

How a risk factor influences the vulnerability of children also depends on children's own behavior. Children's behaviors, on the other hand, are greatly influenced by their socialization and core relationships with parents and primary caregivers, as well as by the social status of their family. Securely attached children would be more likely to behave well when encountering the school socialization process, which typically pressures children to be like their peers or risk social rejection. These challenges are faced by poor children from day to day and they would in some ways undermine their school performance (Unity, Osagiobare, and Edith, 2013).

As mentioned previously, there were a few children who expressed their discomfort towards physical punishment from teachers when they do not do the homework or when they are the focus of jokes made in class. Punishment from the teacher could make children feel uncomfortable and to some children, it could be a reason to discontinue their study. Besides the complaint related to the behavior of people at school, children can also be excluded from school when the school applies policy which cannot be met by students, such as when the school prohibits pregnant children to go to school, even though it is not part of the national education policy.

d) Exposure to Behaviors Displayed by Adults in the Surroundings

It is quite apparent in all research locations that social problems in the neighborhood become a concern for children. In several discussions and interviews, children expressed their worries about the negative behaviors of adults that affect some children in their neighborhood. Such behaviors include undertaking risky sex; speaking crudely; smoking; drinking, which appears in almost all the research locations; and gambling, which greatly appears in the Makassar research locations. Other factors coming from the surrounding community that can put children at risk include violence from other people in the neighborhood—either verbal or nonverbal violence—and clashes between local groups. Living in a slummy and overcrowded environment makes children prone to violence committed by adults in their surroundings.

The forms of adult violence are not only limited to physical violence but also the decisions they make that undermine children's rights, including the right to having dedicated spaces for playgrounds.

4.2.3 Risks from Unfriendly Policy and Society

Based on the discussion of the dynamics of children's daily zones of interaction, in this section we will focus our perspective on a broader level and discuss factors that are at the macro sphere. These factors may not necessarily directly involve the respondents, but indirectly affect the well-being of urban poor children, as learned from children during this research.

The identification of factors in children's interaction layers, as mentioned in the earlier section, is much inspired by the nested ecological model developed by Bronfenbrenner. In terms of external factors, the model identifies three layers of the external system in children's life, namely the exo-system, macro-system, and chrono-system. Exo-system describes a context in which children do not interact directly, but the influence is felt through the people who have proximal relations with them. Macro-system explains the

broader context that may include government policies and prevailing norms in society where children live. Chrono-system explains a context which has a very broad nature and affects many people in the world, including children (Dawes and Donald, 2005; Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Considering the focus and coverage of this research, the external factors to be discussed in this section may include those revolving around the same level as the exo- and macro-system of Brofenbrenner's model.

Mapping the external risk factors faced by urban poor children makes us aware that poor children in urban areas are facing quite intense challenges which could come from various sources. It is also quite clear that when facing various risk factors associated with the lack or absence of basic services, given the limited space in the city, urban poor children are particularly at risk in the management of land use, compared to their rural counterparts. Some external risk factors identified during this research include city land use management (which is felt by children in the form of lack of playground) and less inclusive systems (affecting children in the form of exclusion at school, lack of access to basic services, and public facilities such as public toilets and transportation that are not designed to be child-friendly.

a) Lack of Playground for Children

> There is no playground, so we play in the streets. (Girls' FGD, girl aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

Play activity is an important aspect of child development, which helps children in shaping intellectual and cognitive, motoric, and emotional skills. It supports children's capacity to build relationships and establish communication. Learning through play during childhood can support children in building resiliency which becomes the foundation for their success in the future (NAPCAN and Bec Pierce Australia, 2012; Whitebread et al., 2012; White, 2012). However, with limited space, playing becomes a challenging thing to do for many urban poor children.

Lack of playgrounds has been reported by children in all research locations. Each location has its own reason for lacking playgrounds. In the inner-city area of North Jakarta, for example, as explained by children, there was a playground in their area, but it has been dismantled and the space converted by the FBR (a Jakarta based ethnic-cultural solidarity movement) for other functions, such as for their operational office, garbage dump, and parking lot.

The lack of a place to play becomes the main reason for children to play in places that are potentially harmful. Unsafe playgrounds become a source of vulnerability because children could have a life threatening accident. The potential risks faced by children can be very different depending on the characteristics of the location where they live. In most of the research locations, children usually play in the alleyways, on roadsides, in small spaces around the river embankment, in local school yards, at the mosque, or in public parks, which are all usually far from their neighborhood. In the river area of Surakarta, children are used to playing along the riverbank where illegal settlers have been evicted and houses demolished, leaving only the foundations. A particularly worrying risk for the riverbank and coastal locations of Surakarta, North Jakarta, and Makassar is that children may fall and drown in the river or the sea. Such accidents often occur when children are playing; a group

of elementary school girls in the riverbank area of Surakarta told a story about their friend who drowned in the river one year ago.

> So many cases [people drowning in the water] here. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)
>
> It is usually children [who drown in the water], and so do the adults. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)
>
> [They said that there was a boy who drowned] because of the whirl in the water. (Girls' group interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Surakarta)

The unsafe conditions of existing playgrounds are further exacerbated by various public policies that are not child-friendly. In some locations in this research, city development undertaken by the government has reduced the space for children to play. In the coastal area of North Jakarta, the development of public apartment complexes has resulted in children losing their playground. In some of the research locations, there are a number of companies operating in the area that pose safety risks for the children; such as a former ship workshop.

Furthermore, the lack of playgrounds in all research locations has led children to play more at internet cafés and gaming centers. In some cases, children use the internet to search for resources for doing school homework. However, in many cases, children use it for playing online games and accessing social media. Also, the trend has been worrisome for parents because children become addicted to gaming and the internet.

The lack of space allocated for playgrounds in the city has clearly contributed to increasing urban children's vulnerability to security and personal safety risks. The condition is even more exacerbated for urban children living in poor illegal settlements, which do not appear in the existing city land use planning. Even though research on the impact of play deprivation on children's outcome is still limited (Whitebread et al., 2012; Brown, 2013),[4] one thing is for sure in that play deprivation and/or the lack of outdoor playgrounds will impede children from receiving a variety of benefits that could be derived from outdoor playing activities, which could profoundly increase creativity, imagination, social connection, and learned behavior (Parsons, 2011).

b) Less Inclusive System

Urban children are often assumed to have better conditions than their rural counterparts due to proximity to a wide range of basic services and opportunities from the center of economic growth. However, the powerlessness and informalities (of status, dwelling, work, etc.) experienced by many children coming from urban poor families often prevent them from being able to access public services optimally and, in many cases, excludes them from many opportunities (UNICEF, 2002).

[4]Most of the studies on the impact of play deprivation use animals as the object of observation (such as rats and monkeys).

(1) Lack of Basic Facilities

Existing urban development policies, which do not fully identify the existence of urban children in city spaces, and other related state administrative policies that are very rigid, have led to many of the poor living in illegal territories that are not registered for basic services. As revealed throughout this research, the children have been deprived of various aspects, including the deprivation of shelter, clean water, playgrounds, health care, education, and transportation. All children are entitled to descent basic services in order to grow and develop optimally. The deprivation of basic services often becomes the cause for children to face many obstacles in their daily lives.

As discussed in the previous section, following poor living conditions and lack of space for playing, access to clean water has been the next most frequently raised problem by children living in illegal settlements in almost all research locations. People have to pay quite an amount of money to be able to get access to water. With a limited amount of water being distributed, there is always a time when people have to be in a queue for buying water and children have been the ones sent by their parent to be in the queue. Other complaints are on the transportation system. Complaints about transportation were mostly expressed by children from the riverbank area of Surakarta; this has been one of the factors that discourages them to go to school. In the inner-city area of North Jakarta, this problem often makes children arrive at school late.

The limited access to basic facilities felt by urban poor children is only a piece of the larger problem related to the lack of inclusiveness in the existing urban city planning. In many other cases found during this research, we also heard complaints from children that the public toilet in their neighborhood they use everyday is not safe. This was revealed by children in almost all research locations when they were relating stories about sexual crime incidents that have occurred in the public toilets around their residence.

(2) Less Inclusive Education

Lack of inclusiveness is also felt in the field of education, especially among children with special needs. This was experienced by a junior high school aged boy in the coastal area of Makassar. He was forced to drop out of school when he was in the 3rd grade of elementary school, as he was suspected to have epilepsy, which made the teachers feel that they were unable to teach him anymore. The absence of information about schools for children with special needs in nearby locations led to his parents finally deciding not to continue his education.

The research team found that the lack of inclusiveness in education experienced by the children is not caused by the national education system but more due to the local specific policy at the school level, which is heavily influenced by the social norms prevailing in the surrounding communities. For example, in many cases beyond this research, students becoming pregnant before marriage were no longer allowed to attend school. They were only told informally about this by the teachers, or they were indirectly rejected through implicit prohibition shown by other people and friends around them; this made them to feel reluctant to continue school (Utomo and Utomo, 2013; Setyadharma, Engelbrecht, and Balli, 2015).

4.2.4 Coping with Hardship in Everyday Life

Complementing our earlier discussion on vulnerability, in this section, we will discuss further children's resilience by mapping the different forms of positive adaptation and supporting factors available for the children. Before we begin the discussion, it is important to note that resilience—as well as vulnerability—is a dynamic yet interactive concept. Children's resilience is influenced by many factors that could come from their inner self. It is also influenced by heredity factors (such as their genetics) and all other things which contribute to child development, as well as supporting factors derived from the surrounding sociocultural environment (Herrman et al., 2011; Fergusson and Horwood, 2003; Fox, 2015). In this regard, an important thing to bear in mind is that children may have different levels of resilience, depending on the conditions and challenges existing in their lives. Among all the different aspects that have often been observed by experts, one aspect is the gender of the children (Boyden and Mann, 2005).

Identifying and mapping children's resilience are important steps in poverty dynamic analysis since they would give us an understanding of what factors could support a person to deal with poverty during childhood and be able to survive it, and in the best case to be able to avoid the adulthood poverty trap (Boyden and Cooper, 2007).

a) Children's Positive Adaptation

While accessing sources of support would heavily rely on other people and things that are beyond children's control, positive adaptation becomes the first alternative for many children to overcome difficulties in their daily lives. In many earlier studies on resilience, positive adaptation is often associated with coping strategies, degree of confidence, and the ability of children to use existing sources of support to overcoming problems in life (Schonert-Reichl, 2008; Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012).

As discussed in the earlier section on problems and vulnerability, every child would face an extremely different degree of difficulty in their daily life. Broadly speaking, challenges in children's daily lives may include things related to children's personal relationships with people in their surroundings (such as problems with parents, friends, and teachers), negative influence from peers, safety risks, economic hardship, and problems in learning and following lessons at school.

It is very interesting to note that with all the limitations they have—especially when compared to adults—children have a variety of ways to overcome problems in life. These may appear simple, but for some, they are the best efforts they can make in the circumstances. As related by the children, to avoid a fight with their senior, they will simply decide to go to school by another path so that they will not meet the senior who has challenged them to a fight on an earlier day. To avoid bad influences from his friends, a boy in the coastal area of North Jakarta made himself busy by learning to repair bicycles at a workshop belonging to his neighbor. For children to be able to buy things they really want, they will save the pocket money they get from parents.

Notable in this research were the adaptations made by children with some mentioning of closeness with parents and God, an important support which gives them strength to positively adapt with any hardship in life. A girl in the inner-city area of North Jakarta

revealed that the support given by her father drove her to bravely face a school senior who challenged her to a fight. As her father advised, as long as she is not guilty, then she should not be afraid.

> Instead, my father supported me to face her in a fight. I knew I am strong enough. So, I went to fight her right away. I wasn't guilty, so there was no reason for me to be afraid. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

Efforts to draw themselves closer to God provide children with strength and peace of mind, as revealed by a junior high school girl in the riverbank area of Surakarta. During the participatory photography exercise, she selected photos of worshiping activity as her favorite photos. Her reason was because worshiping gives her peace.

> Have you read [the gospel]? It feels peaceful when reading it. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

She later expressed that there is one verse of scripture that has been her source of big strength in life, which is Psalm 119, verse 105.

> Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light unto my path. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Surakarta)

Even though some children worship under the pressure from their parents, in the end, they also feel a sense of peace afterwards, as revealed by an elementary school boy in the inner-city area of North Jakarta.

> … However, praying can give me peace. If I don't pray, my mom will get angry with me and I won't be given any money. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

However, the study also finds that children's lack of knowledge and power in some cases would make them undertake forms of adaptations that bring about risks, such as when children decide to work. That form of adaptation can be avoided if children get enough protection from their parents. This also indicates that children's ability to adapt positively very much depends on the role of family function—in particular the parents and caregivers (Mutimer, Reece, and Matthews, 2007).

b) Parents as the First and the Last Resorts

It is the nature of family—especially the parents—to serve as the provider of basic materials and nonmaterial needs, love, and affection for the children. However, it seems that most of the children involved in this research feel that this family function is diminishing, and poverty has hindered them from having sufficiently fulfilled children's needs for love and affection, as well as enhanced material well-being. At this point, children feel that every additional support from their family is very meaningful and important, especially if it is given when they are really in need.

An elementary school girl in Penjaringan shared her happy moments when her parents spent time with her.

> We [my parents and I] usually go together … sailing around with the boat. ... [I also feel happy] When strolling around with my mother. (In-depth interview, girl aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

Children believe that their family—especially parents—are the ones who will always be present whenever they need support. In spite of the ups and downs in children-parent relationships, as mentioned by children in most of the discussions and interviews held in this research, support from the parents is the first as well as the last resort for them. Motivation given by parents can encourage children to keep trying and do their best to reach their dream and attain a better life.

> I was dreaming of becoming a famous athlete, but my teacher said that becoming an athlete is not a dream [because it is not considered a job]. It is more like a hobby, my teacher said. [But] My father told me, do not be afraid of having a dream [whatever the dream is]. (In-depth interview, girl aged 12–14 years, Jakarta)

Effective parental supervision and control to some extent can also be a savior that protects children from the negative influences of others. The love and affection from parents shown when children are feeling miserable can be a reason for them to try to be a better person and not to be involved in delinquency anymore. Parents' hard work can also be the reason for children behaving well.

> My parents are so afraid because so many people around us are involved in risky behaviors [such as free sex and drug abuse]. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> In the past, there were many girls who got pregnant before marriage. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> That was when I was still in junior high school … that was why my parents sent me to another city to live with my aunty and pursue my study there [so that I did not get such bad influence]. (In-depth interview, girl aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

> I felt sorry for my mom. She saw me being taken away by a policeman and she cried then. … I was involved in a brawl with my friends. I got my clothes torn and my mom then sewed it. I really felt bad for her. I was also bleeding and I couldn't bear to see her wash my clothing [with blood all over it]; she then sewed it. … Since then, I decided not to be involved in brawls anymore. If someone asks me, I will just say not to bother me. I will try to be better behaved. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> I was afraid to lose and be caught by my mother. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

> I do not have the heart to disappoint my mother. She is working hard to make a living [for me]. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Makassar)

While parents' attention and the quality of their relationship with parents matter for the children, it seems that parents are not always aware of the issue. As described by children and parents in separate discussions and interviews when mapping information on problem causality, it appears that the importance of child-parent relationships still escape parents' attention (see Table 18).

c) Children's Problems

Table 18. Problems Faced by Children

According to Children	According to Parents
- Delinquency (drug addiction, smoking, drinking, brawling, fighting, gambling, stealing) - Education problems (dropping out, skipping school, school distance, lack of money to go to school) - Risky sex behaviors (early marriage, young pregnancy, risky sex) - Safety - working children - Unemployment - Living environment (water and sanitation, flooding, garbage, eviction) - Lack of playgrounds - Health and nutrition (lack of food) - Quality of children-parents relationship (lack of attention, violence, separation, disharmony) - Family disharmony and separation - Addiction to gaming and social media	- Delinquency (drug addiction, smoking, drinking, brawling, fighting, gambling, stealing) - Education problems (dropping out, skipping school, school distance, lack of money to go to school, cognitive impairment) - Risky sex behaviors (early marriage, young pregnancy, risky sex, prostitution) - Safety - working children - Living environment (water and sanitation, flooding, garbage, eviction) - Lack of playgrounds and social activities - Health and nutrition (lack of food, immunization, not having health insurance, communicable diseases) - Family disharmony and separation - Addiction to gaming and social media - Civil rights (not having birth certificate)

What becomes a concern for parents is how to fulfil their children's needs the best they can, whereas most of the children's needs identified by parents are those visible to them. Despite the fact that there are parents who give their attention to the quality of the children-parent relationship, most of the parents we spoke to seem to have missed this aspect of the problems.

When children lack the chance to share their feelings about the hardship in their everyday life with their parents or other family members, it can actually lead them to being involved in a number of problems outside the family, besides experiencing intrafamily disharmony.

Any support received by children when they have problems with their parents or other family members usually come from their peers and the people in their surrounding community. A senior high school boy in North Jakarta revealed the way his neighbors and religious teacher provide motivation when he has a problem with his parents:

> They [my neighbors] patted me on my back [give me support] when I was scolded by my mother. They said to me to be patient and keep calm; that way I became high-spirited again and played with my friend afterwards. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

> My head, I just feel happy whenever my *ustadz* [religious teacher] strokes my head. Usually when he is praying for me, he strokes my head. (In-depth interview, boy aged 6–11 years, Jakarta)

d) Supports from Peers and People in the Surrounding Community

Besides the parents and other family members, other important sources of support come from friends and other people in the neighborhood, such as local initiators.

Friends have been an important part of children's life, as they are the ones that children spend most of their time playing with. Friends even become more important to children when they are deprived of love and affection from the parents and other family members due to various reasons including parents being too busy working or parents being unable to treat them well. Most of the children we spoke to during this research felt that friends would provide support in times when they encounter problems in their family. Friends would also be present when they are in conflict with children from other groups. Similarly, when their friends encounter problems, the children we spoke to would certainly be present to protect them.

A high school boy in the inner-city area of Surakarta shared his happy feeling; he said that he feels happier when playing futsal with his friends. He never has any problems with his friends, unlike with his family.

> I can only be happy if I can be together with my friends. At home there is nothing special. I am happier outside the home, especially when I'm with my close friends. … I have never had problems with them. When we play futsal, it feels like we have no problems in our life. So, I spend most of my time outside rather than at home. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Surakarta)

A boy in the inner-city area of North Jakarta shared his story about violence he commited against other children. At first he found out that his friend was hit by other children. Then he felt that he had to exact revenge for his friend.

> It was because those kids from the other school near the trade center teased my friend and hit him. He then told me. I finally realized my plan to take a revenge by hitting the children who had hit my friend before. (In-depth interview, boy aged 15–17 years, Jakarta)

Having friends or being accepted by a circle of friends will bring positive impact on the life of human beings; this not only includes psychological aspects, but also physical health. Having a good quality friendship will certainly build a person's emotional and physical well-being, which in turn will also contribute to reducing the likelihood of someone suffering from depression when facing stressful events (Brown et al. in Gottman and Graziano, 1983).

Focused on examining how children become friends, the research conducted by Gottman and Graziano (1983) found that children's friendship is developed when there is common ground between them, that is, when they find things that can be done together, and when they mutually explore similarities and differences. The intensity of friendship between friends can be said to have been achieved when they are facing a complex problem but can see it as a new adventure to be gone through together. Another research supporting these findings has suggested that children in the same peer group would most likely to expand their role within communal activities, including communal productions and sharing, which require active cooperation among the peer group members (Corsaro in Cobb-Moore, 2008).

e) Local Initiators

One interesting story from is about the support from people in the neighborhood who pay a great attention to providing a place for children to actualize and develop themselves. Mbak[5] K, a woman in the riverbank area of Surakarta, founded a traditional dancing studio. Being concerned about children in the area not having the space to play and actualize themselves, she was motivated to found the studio. The studio provides traditional dancing lessons on certain days. For joining the lessons, children—mostly girls—only need to pay around Rp2,000 (US$0.2), which is very cheap. By joining the lessons, children not only get the skills but also the opportunity to participate in external events around the city, such as traditional dancing shows. Moreover, children can also play around in her house's yard when they are not attending the lessons.

Another story comes from the inner-city area of North Jakarta; based on information from the children we spoke to, there is Pak Haji[6] who lives near the ex-playground and provides Quran recital and martial art lessons. The research team did not have the chance to meet with Pak Haji, but based on the information from the children who have attended the lessons, they usually have the Quran recital lesson first in the afternoon and then the martial art lesson in the evening. In the coastal area of Makassar, a senior high school boy shared his experience of getting moral support from his neighbor Oom (Uncle) R who owned a bicycle workshop. From Oom R, he learned about bicycles and usually gets support when he is looking for a job. He prefers to spend his time at the bicycle workshop rather than hang out with his friends.

All of these local initiatives are found to have positive influence on poor children in the neighborhood; children are connected to their neighborhood and peers and are able to channel their energy during their leisure time. Even though these kinds of initiatives have the potential to bring a greater impact in the community and neighborhood, many of the initiatives found during the study were run in a very small-scale way by individuals and lacked the resources.

4.3 What Can We Learn from Vulnerability and Resilience Mapping?

Based on the mapping we did before, it is clear that children's interactions with the surrounding environment are like two sides of a coin. On the one hand, it can be a source of strength for them to live their life, but on the other hand, it can also be a source of vulnerability that affects the welfare of children. As we have already discussed, the family can be a major source of power for a child. Encouragement and support, as well as protection from parents and other family members are strong reasons for a child to have dreams and obviously to be able to achieve higher education to get a better future. On the contrary, when the family is not functioning properly because of the poverty that pressures family harmony, the family becomes the main driver of children falling into negative things, including delinquencies. Reduced family function, for some children that we spoke to, is the

[5]A way of addressing an older female.

[6]A way of addressing a man who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

main reason for them to seek escape into environments outside the family that cause them to be involved in various forms of delinquencies that could threaten their own future, such as consuming prohibited substances, fighting, and even stealing.

Outside the family, most of the interaction time spent by children is together with their peers, both in the environment around their neighborhood and at school for children who are still enrolled in school. Peers are people with whom children play and share in their daily lives. Sometimes, peers also become the source of support for children when they are facing problems both at home and at school. For some children, however, interaction with peers can bring about negative influences that in some cases encourage them to engage in various forms of delinquent behavior.

The same thing applies to children's interaction with other external layers that they may not be directly in contact with on a daily basis. Their presence impacts the lives of children, in terms of the education system, government policies, and the existence of companies that operate around children's neighborhood, which may be in the form of schools and public infrastructure. When the school, including its operational regulations, and teachers apply inclusive practices and are friendly in their interactions with the children, these can become supporting factors for children to continue their education. Inclusive and affordable schools are very meaningful for children who come from poor families.

Basically, the national education system guarantees the right of every Indonesian child, including children from poor families, to a proper education. However, the implementation largely depends on the attitude of the school and the teachers as the frontline of the education system; they are the ones that are in direct contact with the children. The school is the party that directly implements and manages the operational funds allocated by the government, such as the School Operational Assistance (BOS) and Cash Transfers for Poor Students (BSM). However, it was found, children in this study pointed to the fact that the attitudes of the school and teachers are still heavily influenced by social norms, and in a few cases girls who are pregnant outside marriage are unable to continue their education. A harsh reality was experienced by a small number of children we spoke to when they were not able to meet the expectations of their teacher, or they felt uncomfortable with the attitude of teachers, which made them decide not to come to school anymore.

Although not necessarily evident, government policies and the existence of companies that operate around children's residential neighborhood, in many cases influence the lives of urban poor children. particularly the management of urban space with only a limited number of policies for the urban context. Most of the children who were respondents in this study live in urban slum areas. They have to face the challenges of living in illegal settlements which lack public facilities and infrastructure. They must also live in unhealthy environments with poor sanitation and contaminated water sources. Despite the fact that their parents occupy illegal space as a place to live, the children still have the right to earn a decent living to support their growth and development. Related to this, it becomes an important issue and the responsibility of the government and nongovernment parties to manage city spaces and to acknowledge children—including children from poor family—in city planning and urban space management.

Interaction experienced by children can be positive—and a source of strength—but also negative—and be a source of vulnerability. Children living in poverty face more risks in their interactions. They belong to poor families that are lacking in many aspects in terms of access to basic life support services, such as shelter, health, and education. Living in poverty also brings pressure on relationships between family members; and for the children we spoke to, a harmonious family often becomes a necessity. Living in a slum or rundown neighborhood also puts children at great risk due to the interactions with other residence.

Among all level of engagement, interactions between children and parents and other family members are the most important in affecting the lives and welfare of children. While the family plays an important role in the life of children, the poverty experienced by parents is often a major barrier to the realization of a harmonious family, which leads to many problems that expose risks to children. Therefore, any intervention and policy aiming to address the vulnerability and improving the resilience of urban poor children will need to consider family as a unit of intervention.

V. Lessons Learned

In Indonesia, many children in urban areas still live in poverty although better infrastructure and a wider range of services are available. In 2013, around 10% of urban children were defined as poor. They are deprived of proper sanitation, housing, birth registration, and education, and are more vulnerable to child labor. This study elaborates on the phenomenon of urban child poverty by enhancing understanding of its complexity and impact on well-being from the perspective of children. According to their explanation, children tend not to use the term "poor" when identifying their own wealth level. They prefer to use other words such as "average", which in Indonesian context is only slightly different from "poor". Interestingly, although children are aware that their conditions are close to poverty, most of them rate their subjective well-being at 50% and above.

The description of living in poverty given by poor children can be grouped into material and nonmaterial aspects, although there are several different emphases across gender and age groups. In the material aspect, children raise the indicators of housing and built environment, physical appearance, and the possession of money as the common measurements of well-being. Meanwhile, the indicators of nonmaterial aspect include occupations and social relations between parents, peers, and the community.

Family, particularly parents, is an important aspect in children's life and it has a significant impact on the well-being of children. Economic constraints faced by poor families force parents to spend more time outside of the home to earn money for the family. This situation results in children experiencing limited interaction and communication, as well as a lack of attention and affection from their parents during their period of growth and development. As a consequence, problems occur not only in the relationship between parents and their children, but also in a broader scope of interaction, resulting in misunderstandings, conflicts, violence, and negative influences from peers or the community. However, children's interactions with the surrounding environment are like two sides of a coin. On the one hand, it can be a source of strength for them to face life, but on the other hand it can also be a source of vulnerability that affects their welfare.

Furthermore, repositioning children as a source of knowledge has spawned many valuable insights that will enrich the conventional perspective of child poverty. Several reflections below can be an input for stakeholders who are concerned with the well-being of children.

a) **Children are able to identify poverty comprehensively in many aspects and on the variety scale of living interaction.** It means that the poor children are aware of their circumstances. They can clearly distinguish the poverty indicators of material and nonmaterial aspects as well as tangible and intangible matters; relating these to their position both as an individual and a member of a group/community. Additionally, most poor children are also able to elaborate the complexity of their problem as well as analyze what the main causes, effects, and future impacts are. If examined more closely, this ability is actually a very valuable source of knowledge, so the themes of well-being can appear and work effectively for children. Therefore, children and their voices should be included together in the mapping of poverty and the formulation of solutions.

b) **Neglecting the voice of children means ignoring their well-being.** Even though this study has showed that most poor children are able to elaborate the complexity of their situation and problems, one thing that is also important is how to ensure that their voice is heard by others. Children usually feel inferior when they want to explain some situations they have been experiencing, especially to their parents or the adults around them. It is people's mindset that children's knowledge is still insufficient and they do not have the capacity yet to engage in serious discussions; that the children's perspective is not considered of value. However, in more serious problems, neglecting the voices of children may lead to the risk of arbitrary action. In some cases, children being the victims of violence committed by parents, teachers, or peers indicates that both parties have failed to open up space for discussion. Similarly, at the level of community and even cities, arbitrary behavior has also occurred such as the dismantling of playgrounds and repurposing of the space or the exploitation of children's time and energy to win particular competitions.

c) **The principle of inclusiveness needs to be the main key to resolving this situation.** And, indeed, becoming inclusive does not mean fulfilling all the wishes of children. It means an effort to understand their needs more closely, include them as a consideration when decision-making, and disclose the reason when their wish cannot be fulfilled fairly. This principle can be adopted for particular purposes, such as to improve the inclusiveness of schools (poor-friendly school) or to promote the inclusive city planning approach (child-friendly city) by strengthening the establishment of child forums (FA) at least on three aspects, namely (i) membership, (i) design, and (iii) political capacity. More broadly than that, this principle can also be expanded to reach other (formal/informal) children's groups/organizations which are of similar interest, age/gender, territory, socioeconomic manifestation, etc.

d) **Poverty faced by family is the root of children's problems.** It means that family, especially parents, must be an integral part to alleviating child poverty. Given the situation that children are still largely dependant on the caregivers, children from birth require adequate attention from their parents to grow and develop properly. Unfortunately, financial constraints have made parents spend most of their time and energy working rather than giving attention to their children. Moreover, some parents do not have sufficient knowledge and skills in parenting. Consequently, poor children lack parental supervision and guidance in their everyday life.

e) **Many parents from poor families consider that working hard helps them sustain their children lives.** Earning more money means expanding their opportunities to get out from poverty deprivations, such as solving the problems of education and health costs, food, and house improvement, so as to make children happier. However, this assumption needs to be reconsidered. Many children consider the attention of parents as the most important indicator of well-being, as it which makes them happy despite living in poor conditions. In other words, parents who live in poverty require help to improve their capacity to provide quality care for their children, and on how to manage their time and resources. At the community level, the effort can be initiated by improving the role of current community-based organizations, such as centers for family information (PIK) and family welfare and empowerment organizations (PKK), to provide consultation services, information dissemination, and training. In the future,

they can be developed to map and reach the country regulators and support systems, as well as help children solve their problems.

f) **The neighborhood is a place of adaptation and to learn about life.** At least a third of poor children's time is spent interacting with other people outside the family zone, including when they are not getting enough care from their parents. The social environment, such as the school or playground, is a second place for children to learn about life and can be a greater influence than the family's. The social zone influences child well-being by offering the convenience and comfort of interacting and sharing activities among peers or with other adults. To some extent, this zone can be also a place for coping with problems or getting support. In such a situation, the thing that is important to be understood is how to build a child-friendly environment because most of the problems that children face as they grow take place in this zone. Such problems include smoking, low school performance, addiction to gaming, gambling, stealing, drug abuse, and working. Therefore, the awareness of child well-being should not only be encouraged among parents but also among community members.

g) **Poor children's aspiration.** To some extent, the government, both at the local and national levels, with their policies becomes an influence on the lives of the poor children. In the context of urban areas, many children live in slum, which are illegal and lack public facilities, infrastructure, and services. Almost all children in this study complained about the lack of good sanitation, clean water, public transportation, and public space. Moreover, some of them also admitted facing difficulties in accessing educational and health facilities because of hidden costs, even though the government has provided several assistance programs. Examples of hidden costs in education are the costs for transportation, uniforms, and books; lab work fees; and the costs for school events, e.g., performing arts and study tours. In the health aspect, self-medication is found to be a common practice among many children in poor families; they prefer to buy medicine at the local stall because it is cheaper and simpler than spending more time and money going to the clinic.

h) **Besides providing proper public facilities and infrastructure, governments need to address the hidden cost associated with social protection programs.** Poor children apparently require broader financial and/or in-kind assistance to overcome these situations. In the short term, the solution is to expand the components of the social protection programs or provide subsidized or free transportation. In the long term, the solution can be to provide unconditional cash transfers for poor and marginalized children so that they can meet their priority needs in a more flexible way. The implementation of this program can be based on the Mongolian Child Money Program (CMP). Since 2026, the CMP has gradually moved from a targeted and conditional approach to a universal and unconditional approach with 89.5% of the grant used for children's needs such as books and stationery, clothing, kindergarten or school fees, savings, public transportation, as well as tuition fees (UNICEF, 2007).

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