



Children and Their Families Perspectives and Experiences on Poverty and Social Protection

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Disclaimer:

The work is a product of the RCA+ Team and UNICEF Indonesia. The findings, interpretation and conclusions therein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of UNICEF, the Government of Indonesia or the Palladium Group.

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Glossary and Abbreviations

<i>Adit Sopo Jarwo</i>	Popular animated TV series
<i>Angkot</i>	Public bus transportation
<i>Arisan</i>	A form of rotating saving and credit association
ATM	Automated Teller Machine
<i>Baitul Mal</i>	A regional agency in Aceh which manages Zakat (Islamic alms)
<i>Belis</i>	Dowry in Sumba tradition
<i>Bidikmisi</i>	Scholarship for tertiary education
BLT	<i>Bantuan Langsung Tunai</i> (Direct Cash Transfer Assistance)
<i>Bolang</i>	<i>Bocah hilang</i> (the lost kids)
<i>Bomba</i>	Playing cards with celebrity picture
BPJS	<i>Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial</i> (Social Security Agency)
BRI	<i>Bank Rakyat Indonesia</i> (Indonesian People's Bank)
BSM	<i>Bantuan Siswa Miskin</i> (Cash Transfers for Poor Students)
<i>Dana Desa</i>	Village funds
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Government of Australia
FHH	Focal households (neighbours of the host households)
Futsal	Five-a-side football played on a hard court rather than a field
GOI	Government of Indonesia
HHH	Host households; where members of the study team stayed with families
<i>Honai</i>	Papua traditional house
ID	Identification
IDR	Indonesian rupiah
<i>Idul Fitri</i>	Islamic festival
JKN	<i>Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional</i> (National Health Insurance)
<i>Kartu keluarga</i>	Family ID card
<i>Kedai</i>	Coffee shop
<i>Kejar Paket A/B/C</i>	Equivalency programme for primary/secondary/senior secondary school levels
KIP	<i>Kartu Indonesia Pintar</i> (Indonesia Smart Card)
KIS	<i>Kartu Indonesia Sehat</i> (Indonesia Health Card)
KJP	<i>Kartu Jakarta Pintar</i> (Smart Jakarta Card)
KKS	<i>Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera</i> (Prosperity Family Card)
KPS	<i>Kartu Perlindungan Sosial</i> (Social Protection Card)
<i>Listrik Pintar</i>	National programme on electricity
<i>Madrasah</i>	Islamic religious school
MSG	Monosodium glutamate
NGO	Non-Government Organization
<i>Ngondel</i>	Costumed dancer
<i>Ojek</i>	Motorbike taxi (informal)
<i>Ojek payung</i>	Renting out umbrellas in the rain
PAUD	<i>Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini</i> (Early Childhood Education)
<i>Pengamen</i>	Street musician
PKH	<i>Program Keluarga Harapan</i> (Conditional Cash Transfer Programme for Families)
<i>Puskesmas</i>	<i>Pusat kesehatan masyarakat</i> (people's health centre)
<i>Posyandu</i>	<i>Pos pelayanan terpadu</i> (integrated health post)
<i>Pokemon</i>	Popular animated TV series
<i>Pustu</i>	<i>Puskesmas pembantu</i> ; sub-health centre under the Puskesmas, usually supporting 2-3 villages
PNS	<i>Pegawai Negeri Sipil</i> (Civil Servant)
<i>Raskin</i>	<i>Program Subsidi Beras Bagi Masyarakat Berpendapatan Rendah</i> (Rice for Poor Households)
RCA	Reality Check Approach
RCA+	RCA+ Project funded by DFAT
RT / RW	<i>Rukun Tetangga / Rukun Warga</i> (Neighbourhood unit, the lowest level of formal community structure)
SD	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i> (primary school)
SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> (senior secondary school)
SMP	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> (junior secondary school)
<i>Sopi</i>	Traditional liquor originated from North Sulawesi or Maluku
TBA	Traditional Birth Attendant
TK	<i>Taman Kanak-kanak</i> (Kindergarten)
<i>Upin and Ipin</i>	Popular animated TV series
<i>Warung</i>	Kiosk



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RINGKASAN

Laporan ini menyampaikan hasil temuan utama dari studi Reality Check Approach (RCA) yang dilaksanakan pada Oktober 2016 dan bertujuan untuk mengumpulkan berbagai wawasan atas perspektif dan pengalaman anak-anak serta keluarga mereka dalam hal kemiskinan anak dan perlindungan sosial. Studi ini didukung oleh UNICEF sebagai komisioner dan bertujuan untuk membantu UNICEF serta Pemerintah Indonesia dalam menjelajah berbagai opsi untuk memperkuat sistem perlindungan sosial. Studi ini secara khusus membahas dan memberikan pemahaman lebih dalam mengenai pengalaman anak-anak dalam hal kemiskinan dan program transfer tunai tingkat nasional serta tingkat kabupaten yang berjalan pada saat ini. RCA merupakan pendekatan penelitian kualitatif yang telah mendapatkan pengakuan internasional dan bertujuan untuk memahami konteks, aspirasi, perilaku dan keseharian masyarakat melalui sudut pandang mereka. Dalam pendekatan ini, para peneliti tinggal di rumah masyarakat selama beberapa hari. Kesempatan ini digunakan untuk 'bercengkerama' dan berinteraksi secara informal melalui perbincangan serta percakapan yang santai dan penuh kepercayaan. Hal ini memberikan kesempatan yang luar biasa bagi para peneliti untuk melaksanakan triangulasi karena mereka dapat secara langsung mengalami dan mengamati kehidupan masyarakat sehari-hari serta berbagai relasi yang menambah kredibilitas pada temuan-temuan.

Studi ini dilaksanakan di sepuluh kabupaten di lima provinsi. Lokasi ditentukan bersama dengan UNICEF dan *dipilih dengan tujuan* untuk mencakup beragam lokasi geografis dengan konteks perkotaan dan pedesaan,

keragaman etnis serta agama dan berbagai macam mata pencaharian. Demi memastikan bahwa lokasi studi mencakup anggota masyarakat yang dapat dianggap lebih memerlukan, pemilihan beberapa lokasi menggunakan indikator *proxy* seperti angka putus sekolah pada tingkat SMA. Beberapa lokasi dipilih dengan tujuan khusus yaitu mengumpulkan pemahaman atas program transfer tunai tingkat kabupaten yang sedang berjalan (pedesaan Aceh, pedesaan Papua dan Jakarta).

Tim studi ini tinggal dengan 32 rumah tangga dan memiliki percakapan serta interaksi yang intensif dengan 1,810 orang (964 pria dan anak laki-laki, 846 wanita dan anak perempuan). Dari jumlah tersebut, anak-anak yang berinteraksi dengan para peneliti berjumlah 824 anak (460 laki-laki, 364 perempuan), lebih dari 90 di antaranya adalah anggota rumah tempat kami tinggal.

Studi ini mencoba sebaik mungkin untuk menyampaikan temuan-temuan dari perspektif anak-anak dan orang tua atau kerabat mereka sendiri dan berbagai upaya telah dilakukan demi menghindari tumpang-tindih dengan interpretasi para peneliti. Tema-tema disampaikan melalui pandangan para masyarakat dan penekanan diberikan pada hal-hal yang dianggap penting oleh para masyarakat. Bagian-bagian yang merupakan observasi atau interpretasi para peneliti telah ditandai dengan jelas.

Diferensiasi yang paling umum digunakan oleh masyarakat dalam menentukan seseorang sebagai seorang anak atau orang dewasa adalah apakah mereka masih duduk dalam bangku sekolah. Meninggalkan bangku sekolah/universitas menandakan kebutuhan

untuk bekerja dan para orang tua serta anak-anak melihat masa dewasa sebagai masa untuk mengambil tanggung jawab untuk diri sendiri melalui pekerjaan. Perubahan fisik turut dianggap penting dan, bagi anak perempuan, menstruasi dianggap sebagai hal determinan yang menandai mereka sebagai perempuan muda yang dapat diharapkan untuk membantu ibu mereka dengan cara memasak atau mengurus adik-adik mereka. Bagi anak laki-laki, bertambahnya tinggi dan kekuatan mereka pada masa pubertas menandakan bahwa mereka dapat diharapkan untuk membantu dalam pekerjaan seperti pertanian dan perikanan. Anak perempuan dianggap tumbuh lebih cepat dibanding anak laki-laki dan, oleh karena itu, dianggap mencapai usia dewasa dengan lebih cepat. Memiliki ketertarikan fisik terhadap lawan jenis, melakukan hubungan seksual dan menikah turut dianggap sebagai indikator dari kedewasaan terlepas dari umur mereka.

Dalam studi ini, anggota masyarakat yang hidup dalam kemiskinan menggunakan berbagai macam istilah untuk menggambarkan diri mereka dan istilah yang paling umum digunakan adalah 'miskin'. Istilah lain termasuk 'orang susah', 'nggak punya', 'kurang mampu', 'orang kampung' dan 'sederhana'. Anak-anak memiliki pandangan yang sama dengan orang tua mereka tentang kemiskinan tapi mereka sering menjelaskan dengan cara menunjukkan kebutuhan minimum seperti 'selama maka anda tidak miskin'. Penjelasan berikut tentang arti miskin bagi anak-anak dicatat sesuai dengan urutan penjelasan yang paling sering diberikan oleh mereka; miskin adalah... (i) tidak memiliki uang tunai (terutama untuk membeli makanan ringan/uang saku); (ii) tidak merasa kenyang (merasa lapar); (iii) jenis pekerjaan orang tua (terutama pendapatan tetap dan keragaman sumber pendapatan); (iv) jenis rumah tinggal (ukuran, bahan dan permanen atau tidak, disewa atau dimiliki serta stigma yang kadang melekat pada mereka yang tinggal di pemukiman ilegal dan kadang-kadang, apakah memiliki toilet atau tidak); (v) tidak mampu membayar uang sekolah (bukan suatu masalah pada tingkat sekolah dasar, tetapi menjadi semakin sulit pada tingkat sekolah menengah atas); (vi) 'tidak memiliki barang' (khususnya, tidak memiliki telepon genggam, TV, sepeda motor).

Anak-anak sering merasa lebih mudah ketika menjelaskan kemiskinan dengan cara membandingkan diri mereka dengan orang lain. Akan tetapi, anak-anak yang tinggal di antara komunitas yang lebih homogen mengatakan bahwa mereka tidak merasa miskin karena 'semua orang sama seperti kita'. Mereka juga menganggap orang yang menerima bantuan sosial sebagai orang miskin. Sementara, orang dewasa memiliki indikator-indikator tambahan yang terkadang memberi kesan bahwa hanya orang malas yang hidup miskin dan ketika mereka sendiri berada dalam kemiskinan waktunya hanya sementara dan diakibatkan oleh siklus kehidupan keluarga, musim tertentu dan adanya krisis dalam keluarga - pandangan bernuansa yang tidak disebutkan oleh anak-anak.

Kemiskinan turut berkaitan dengan tempat tinggal yang berlokasi dalam daerah yang kekurangan. Dua lokasi studi di NTT memiliki akses jalan yang buruk ke ibukota kabupaten masing-masing, salah satunya tidak dapat dilalui pada musim hujan. Lokasi pertama tidak memiliki listrik (NTT1) dan lokasi kedua hanya memiliki listrik pada malam hari (NTT2). Walau lokasi perdesaan di Papua lebih sejahtera dibanding lokasi studi lain dalam banyak aspek, lokasi ini tidak memiliki listrik dan jalan menuju ibukota kabupaten merupakan jalan tanah.

Masyarakat merasa bahwa akses terhadap fasilitas pendidikan telah meningkat dan hampir seluruh murid-murid sekolah dasar dalam penelitian ini bersekolah dan jarak antara tempat tinggal dan sekolah mereka berkisar 15 menit dengan berjalan kaki (kecuali di lokasi studi di perdesaan Papua dan NTT karena anak-anak berjalan lebih jauh). Namun, akses terhadap sekolah menengah atas (SMA) lebih sulit terutama di lokasi studi di perdesaan Papua dan NTT karena siswa SMA berjalan kaki selama dua jam untuk ke sekolah (Papua), harus menginap di kota besar (NTT1) atau menumpang perjalanan truk yang berbahaya demi mencapai sekolah mereka (NTT2). Menurut masyarakat, hambatan utama dalam mengakses pendidikan SMA adalah biaya yang tinggi sedangkan penyelesaian pendidikan dasar telah menjadi norma dan 'masih dapat dikelola'. Biaya pendaftaran sekolah menengah atas berkisar dari Rp.

500.000-6.000.000 tapi para orang tua dan siswa-siswi mengatakan bahwa keharusan untuk memiliki berbagai seragam sangat membebankan karena dapat memakan biaya hingga 1 juta rupiah per tahun. Mereka juga berbagi kekhawatiran tentang 'permintaan tanpa henti' oleh pihak sekolah untuk mengumpulkan uang demi berbagai layanan dan hal-hal 'ekstra' yang tidak diketahui kejelasannya. Sebagian besar dari pendidikan anak usia dini berbentuk swasta dan orang tua dalam penelitian ini merasa bahwa pendidikan ini tidak diperlukan tetapi mahal sehingga sebagian besar orang tua tidak mengirim anak-anak mereka ke pusat pendidikan anak usia dini (PAUD) atau taman kanak-kanak (TK).

Masyarakat bercerita bahwa akses terhadap pendidikan dasar dan perawatan kesehatan primer telah membaik dan sebagian besar keluarga dalam penelitian ini dapat mengakses fasilitas kesehatan primer dari tempat tinggal mereka dengan mudah kecuali dalam lokasi studi yang terpencil di NTT karena jarak menuju puskesmas terdekat memerlukan perjalanan selama satu jam dengan sepeda motor di atas jalan yang buruk. Semua lokasi penelitian memiliki posyandu yang aktif dan orang-orang mengatakan bahwa mereka menghargai dan menggunakan fasilitas ini. Sebagian besar keluarga dalam studi ini mendapatkan subsidi untuk asuransi kesehatan nasional, tetapi beberapa merasa bahwa dampak negatif dari peningkatan dalam cakupan asuransi kesehatan adalah antrean di fasilitas kesehatan, terutama di daerah perkotaan, dan mereka merasa bahwa waktu konsultasi yang mereka dapatkan semakin cepat dan hanya sepintas.

Terlepas dari kedua lokasi di NTT dan lokasi di pedesaan Papua, masyarakat merasa bahwa lokasi bank 'tidak jauh' dari komunitas mereka dan, selama studi-studi RCA dalam tiga tahun terakhir, tim peneliti telah melihat bahwa keluarga-keluarga semakin siap menggunakan fasilitas bank. Namun, penggunaan bank oleh para keluarga dalam studi ini adalah untuk mengirim uang serta menerima bantuan sosial dan tidak digunakan untuk menabung atau transaksi sehari-hari. Kebanyakan dari keluarga dalam studi ini tinggal dalam jarak 15 menit dengan naik motor dari mesin ATM.

Meningkatnya persyaratan untuk menyerahkan dokumentasi, misalnya untuk mendaftar di sekolah dan memenuhi syarat untuk berbagai program bantuan, menjadi kendala bagi beberapa keluarga. Mereka yang tinggal secara ilegal, pindah dari distrik ke distrik, mengalami kelahiran di rumah atau merupakan anggota keluarga yang terpisah sering menghadapi kendala dalam mengumpulkan dokumentasi yang diperlukan untuk penerbitan akta kelahiran, KTP dan Kartu Keluarga. Ini kemudian berdampak pada kemampuan mereka untuk mengakses bantuan sosial dan asuransi kesehatan. Walau beberapa orang mengatakan bahwa aparat desa dan lain-lain dapat membantu, ada yang mengalami pengalaman tidak baik dan ada yang diminta uang suap sehingga mereka memilih untuk tidak menyelesaikan proses pendaftaran.

Lebih dari setengah rumah tangga dalam studi ini memiliki televisi (TV) sendiri dan lainnya memiliki akses rutin terhadap TV dan menghabiskan waktu yang cukup banyak untuk menonton bahkan banyak anak menonton hingga larut malam. Para orang tua mengatakan bahwa mereka merasa TV memiliki pengaruh besar pada kehidupan anak-anak mereka. Setiap keluarga dalam studi ini memiliki setidaknya 1 telepon seluler dan beberapa keluarga memiliki sebanyak 7 telepon seluler. Anak-anak ingin memiliki telepon seluler sendiri dan melihat ini sebagai aset penting untuk berpartisipasi dalam interaksi sosial dan media sosial. Penyelesaian tugas-tugas sekolah juga semakin membutuhkan akses terhadap internet.

Studi ini beserta studi RCA lain menunjukkan bahwa tingkat pembangunan yang semakin cepat telah mengambil ruang untuk bermain terbuka. Hanya empat dari seluruh lokasi studi ini memiliki area khusus untuk berolahraga serta bermain dan tiga dari empat lokasi tersebut berada di daerah perkotaan. Di lokasi tanpa area khusus untuk bermain, anak-anak bermain di ladang, pantai, sungai dan kolam tapi penggunaan tempat-tempat ini dibatasi oleh musim.

Anak-anak menekankan bahwa memiliki uang adalah indikasi kesuksesan dan, oleh karena itu, mereka cenderung menginginkan pekerjaan tetap dan banyak mengatakan bahwa mereka tidak mau menjadi petani,

nelayan atau pedagang kecil seperti orang tua mereka. Akan tetapi, pekerjaan tetap memerlukan pendidikan, kenalan dan seringkali, uang suap. Sejumlah besar anak muda menceritakan tentang aspirasi mereka untuk mengambil pendidikan tinggi tetapi biaya menjadi kendala. Anak muda lainnya merasa ambivalen tentang keuntungan pendidikan tinggi setelah melihat lulusan perguruan tinggi yang masih menganggur sementara keluarganya dibebani oleh utang. Pendidikan kejuruan dilihat sebagai jalur yang lebih tepat untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan. Anak-anak bercerita bahwa komunitas miskin tidak memiliki panutan dan hal ini menghambat mereka dalam mencari peluang baru dan melebarkan pandangan mereka. Orang tua membolehkan anak-anak memutuskan masa depan mereka sendiri dan berharap anak-anak mereka menjadi bahagia serta dapat 'mengejar impian mereka' tapi menyesali ketidakmampuan mereka sebagai orang tua untuk mendukung ini secara finansial. Hal ini membuat mereka memilih untuk berinvestasi atas sebagian anak-anak mereka berdasarkan potensi yang dirasakan, terlepas dari gender. Walaupun anak-anak memiliki ambisi yang kuat, pengamatan menunjukkan bahwa mereka jarang menerapkan semangat ini secara akademis, sangat jarang belajar di luar sekolah dan lebih melihat sekolah sebagai tempat interaksi sosial.

Anak-anak berbagi tentang apa yang mereka paling ingin lakukan (dalam suatu bentuk urutan prioritas); (i) berbagi makanan ringan dengan teman-teman (yang terjadi di mana-mana kecuali daerah terpencil) dan anak-anak selalu ingin diikutsertakan dalam aktivitas ini; (ii) menonton TV (setiap hari jika memungkinkan dan bagi beberapa anak, menonton TV selama 8 jam di akhir pekan); (iii) menggunakan telepon seluler (terutama untuk bermain tetapi juga untuk mendengarkan musik hasil unduhan atau menonton video); (iv) berselancar di internet (di warung internet, bersama teman-teman melalui smartphone atau laptop); (v) merokok (aktivitas sosial utama di antara remaja laki-laki, kadang-kadang mulai umur 8 tahun); (vi) minum alkohol di kalangan remaja laki-laki (terutama di lokasi studi di NTT dan Papua); (vii) menghasilkan uang mereka sendiri (untuk memenuhi keperluan konsumsi mereka sendiri seperti cemilan, rekreasi, pulsa dan,

terkadang, baju serta kosmetik) dan (viii) pergi ke sekolah (karena ini merupakan kesempatan penting untuk berada bersama teman-teman).

Mereka juga berbagi tentang apa yang mereka paling tidak ingin lakukan dan ini termasuk (dalam suatu bentuk urutan prioritas); (i) membantu pekerjaan rumah tangga (meskipun hanya beberapa anak-anak yang diharapkan untuk melakukan hal ini, mereka cenderung menolak ketika diminta membantu dan orang tua cenderung tidak memaksa mereka tetapi ada beberapa anak yang mengatakan bahwa mereka merasa terbebani oleh pekerjaan rumah tangga); (ii) menjaga adik-adik (anak perempuan tertua yang paling diharapkan untuk membantu); (iii) pergi ke sekolah (terutama anak-anak yang bersekolah tanpa uang jajan, tidak memiliki bantuan yang cukup ketika membuat tugas sekolah di rumah, merasa bahwa kelas mereka sulit diikuti atau membosankan, saat mereka diharapkan untuk melakukan tugas bersih-bersih di sekolah dan bagi beberapa karena mereka "lagi tidak mau") dan; (iv) melakukan pekerjaan rumah (jarang diberikan dan bahkan lebih jarang lagi dilaksanakan).

Dalam keseharian mereka, anak-anak paling sering menghabiskan waktu dengan teman-teman karena mereka cenderung tidak mengerjakan pekerjaan rumah tangga dan jarang diberi tugas sekolah. Penekanan terhadap aktivitas bermain dan pertemanan terjadi dalam kehidupan seluruh anak-anak dalam studi ini. Anak-anak selalu mencari cara untuk diikutsertakan oleh kelompok sebaya mereka dan mereka merasa bahwa ini sangat berkaitan dengan kemampuan mereka untuk membeli makanan ringan bersama-sama, berbagi rokok, menghabiskan waktu dengan telepon seluler mereka atau di kafe internet, menonton TV bersama-sama, memiliki peralatan yang diperlukan untuk mengikuti klub olahraga atau bergaul sambil naik sepeda motor. Persahabatan dengan rekan sebaya mereka sangat penting dan anak-anak memberitahu kami bahwa ini membuat mereka merasa bahagia.

Sebagian besar dari sembilan puluh anak-anak keluarga dalam studi ini tinggal dengan kedua orang tua mereka tetapi sekitar satu dari lima anak hidup dengan hanya salah satu dari orang tua mereka atau dengan kerabat lain akibat kematian seorang orang tua atau

perceraian. Beberapa telah dikirim untuk tinggal dengan kerabat lain karena orang tua mereka tidak mampu untuk menjaga mereka di rumah. Beberapa anak yang lebih tua mengatakan bahwa mereka memilih untuk hidup terpisah dari orang tua mereka. Sebagian besar anak mengatakan bahwa mereka merasa aman karena mereka memiliki hubungan yang kuat dengan keluarga mereka. Para anak perempuan mengatakan kepada kami bahwa mereka memiliki ikatan yang kuat dengan ibu mereka sementara para anak laki-laki merasa lebih dekat dengan ayah mereka tapi banyak anak mengatakan kepada kami bahwa mereka merasa dekat dengan kedua orang tua mereka. Mereka menceritakan bahwa mereka akan lebih dahulu pergi ke orang tua mereka jika mengalami masalah di sekolah atau membutuhkan saran. Mereka juga mengatakan bahwa mereka merasa aman karena mereka memiliki hubungan yang baik dengan para tetangga. Hubungan kuat yang beragam ini sangat penting terutama ketika keluarga mengalami perpisahan.

Para orang tua dengan senang hati mengakui bahwa mereka lebih menyayangi anak bungsu mereka dan terbuka dalam preferensi mereka terhadap anak-anak mereka yang lebih gemar membantu atau berprestasi di sekolah. Mereka mengatakan bahwa mereka tidak membedakan antara putra dan putri mereka dalam hal investasi pendidikan tetapi mereka mengatakan bahwa mereka lebih protektif terhadap anak-anak perempuan mereka.

Seperti ditekankan juga dalam 'RCA Household Finance Study' (Studi Keuangan Rumah Tangga oleh RCA) pada tahun 2016 yang mencakup 11 provinsi di Indonesia, para keluarga membutuhkan uang tunai untuk membayar berbagai biaya sehari-hari serta bulanan (misalnya uang saku, listrik, pasokan air, bahan bakar untuk sepeda motor, sewa rumah, telepon seluler dan pembayaran kredit) dan biaya periodik (misalnya pendidikan, pernikahan, pemakaman). Pengeluaran rumah tangga bervariasi, tergantung pada konteks dan berkisar dari sekitar 1,3 juta rupiah per bulan di lokasi pedesaan terpencil di NTT dan Sulawesi Selatan hingga 5,35 juta rupiah per bulan di lokasi perkotaan di Papua, yang mencerminkan perbedaan dalam konteks pedesaan/perkotaan dan pendapatan tunai

yang siap dibelanjakan oleh para keluarga.

Biasanya sekitar 15-30% dari pengeluaran rutin bulanan digunakan untuk mendukung biaya sehari-hari anak-anak yang terdiri dari uang saku, pulsa telepon dan biaya transportasi tetapi pengeluaran ini menjadi jauh lebih banyak ketika ditambah dengan biaya periodik seperti pendaftaran sekolah dan seragam. Keluarga yang tinggal jauh dari sekolah menengah atas (terutama di lokasi studi di NTT) mengeluarkan uang yang lebih banyak untuk transportasi, akomodasi dan biaya hidup. Studi RCA ini dan sebelumnya telah menunjukkan bahwa ada dua periode dalam siklus kehidupan keluarga ketika keluarga merasa sangat kekurangan uang; ketika anak-anak transisi dari sekolah dasar ke sekolah menengah dan ketika ada bayi yang baru lahir. ASI eksklusif jarang dan keluarga menganggap bahwa mereka harus membayar susu bubuk dan mengatakan bahwa mereka mengorbankan biaya keluarga lainnya demi membeli susu. Ketika rumah tangga tersebut memiliki keluarga dan tetangga yang rela membantu merawat anak, para ibu cenderung dapat terus bekerja. Tetapi kami diberitahu bahwa, tanpa dukungan tersebut, mereka sering merasa kesusahan. Keluarga yang bergantung pada pekerjaan musiman seperti bertani dan memancing semakin sering mencari pekerjaan tambahan pada bulan-bulan yang kurang produktif tapi mereka merasa akan sangat terbantu bila skema bantuan dapat disesuaikan dengan pendapatan musiman mereka.

Semua keluarga yang terlibat dalam penelitian ini menerima bantuan sosial. Seperti ditekankan dalam studi RCA pada tahun 2015 mengenai Bantuan Sosial, banyak orang mengatakan bahwa mereka bingung dengan beragam program bantuan sosial yang cenderung sering mengalami perubahan. Persyaratan yang tidak jelas menjadi sumber ketidakpuasan seperti kurangnya transparansi atas jumlah bantuan yang diberikan, biaya pelayanan dan pemotongan 'pada sumber' lainnya. Persyaratan untuk mengikuti Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) dirasakan sangat tidak jelas. Orang-orang terus mengeluh bahwa kelayakan penerima manfaat sering ditentukan oleh adanya hubungan keluarga dengan anggota Administrasi Desa, terutama Kepala Desa. Beberapa sekolah terus melakukan intervensi pada program

transfer tunai pendidikan agar manfaat dapat tersebar lebih merata melalui skema rotasi atau pengurangan atas nilai bantuan yang diterima secara individu. Seperti ditemukan dalam studi RCA pada tahun 2015, program transfer bantuan sosial nasional hanya mewakili 6-12% pendapatan bulanan rumah tangga bagi sebagian besar rumah tangga tempat kami tinggal. Sedangkan di lokasi studi yang menjalankan program-program bantuan sosial tingkat lokal (pedesaan di Aceh, pedesaan di Papua dan Jakarta), jumlah yang diterima jauh lebih tinggi dan mewakili antara 25-50% dari pendapatan rumah tangga.

Orang-orang mengatakan bahwa pembayaran *lump sum* pada saat-saat kritis seperti awal tahun ajaran sangat membantu dan mereka lebih memilih untuk mendapatkan sisa saldo melalui pembayaran rutin bulanan agar mereka dapat merencanakan arus kas mereka dengan lebih baik. Walau mereka menghargai bantuan pendidikan Kartu Jakarta Pintar (KJP) yang berjumlah lebih besar, orang-orang mengeluh tentang dokumentasi yang diperlukan (akte kelahiran, KTP dan kartu keluarga) untuk mendapat bantuan tersebut. Seperti disebutkan di atas, persyaratan mengenai dokumentasi dapat menjadi kendala bagi beberapa keluarga. Mereka juga mengeluhkan tentang adanya batasan atas apa yang dapat dibeli. Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa batasan tersebut tidak mencakup kebutuhan mereka yang paling mendesak. Para orangtua berkata bahwa mereka berada dalam posisi yang lebih baik untuk mengetahui apa yang perlu diprioritaskan bagi anak-anak mereka. Hibah senilai 2 juta rupiah bagi seluruh anak-anak sekolah di Sabang sangat dihargai, terutama karena ini merupakan bantuan tambahan, bukan pengganti hibah lainnya. Dalam lokasi studi pedesaan di Papua, pemerintah kabupaten telah menguji coba empat program bantuan sosial tingkat kabupaten yang berbeda antara tahun 2012-2016, tetapi banyak orang tidak mengetahui perbedaan antara program-program tersebut atau bahwa tiga dari keempat program tersebut telah berhenti beroperasi. Sebaliknya, orang-orang mengatakan kepada kami bahwa setiap rumah tangga menerima apa yang mereka sebut sebagai 'dana desa' meski jumlah yang diterima masyarakat bervariasi. Mereka mengatakan bahwa bantuan tersebut

membuat perbedaan yang signifikan dan mereka turut mengapresiasi pemberian ini karena ditujukan kepada semua orang (universal) dan tidak diskriminatif. Hanya beberapa keluarga yang mengatakan bahwa mereka telah menerima manfaat secara langsung dari beberapa program bantuan yang memiliki target lebih khusus. Ketika pembayaran dibuat secara *lump sum*, orang-orang bercerita bahwa mereka bisa menggunakan jumlah tersebut untuk berinvestasi dalam usaha dengan tujuan menabung (pemeliharaan ternak, perikanan) demi membangun modal untuk biaya pendidikan anak-anak mereka pada masa depan.

Selain skema pemerintah nasional dan lokal, ada hibah dan dukungan lain yang disediakan oleh organisasi non-pemerintah, kelompok berbasis agama, yayasan serta inisiatif tanggung jawab sosial perusahaan swasta. Walau hal ini dapat membantu mengisi kesenjangan yang ada ketika orang-orang tidak mendapatkan dukungan resmi, mungkin akibat adanya kekurangan dalam hal dokumentasi, orang-orang sering mengeluh mengenai kurangnya informasi tentang skema bantuan serta kurangnya transparansi dalam proses seleksi penerima manfaat. Namun demikian, ada contoh skema bantuan yang berhasil memberikan informasi dengan baik dan dihargai oleh masyarakat seperti dalam lokasi studi di pedesaan Aceh ketika rincian dari program bantuan dipasang di dinding luar kedai-kedai kopi yang merupakan tempat bagi orang-orang dari segala usia untuk berkumpul, bercengkerama dan berbicara. Di Papua, beberapa skema bantuan non-pemerintah ini menjalankan diskriminasi positif bagi penduduk asli Papua tetapi hal ini dapat mengakibatkan para pendatang, yang juga hidup dalam kemiskinan, merasa terdiskriminasi.

Laporan ini diakhiri dengan sejumlah implikasi studi yang diringkas sebagai berikut;

- Anak-anak yang hidup dalam kemiskinan memiliki aspirasi untuk menjadi lebih baik daripada orang tua mereka, terutama demi memperoleh pendapatan tunai dari pekerjaan dengan sistem upah atau gaji. Namun kurangnya panutan, cara belajar yang lemah dan *network* yang terbatas telah membatasi aspirasi tersebut dan mengindikasikan perlunya program

studi di luar jam sekolah, terutama yang dijalankan oleh orang-orang yang bisa menebarkan inspirasi dan menjadi panutan.

- Keluarga tidak memprioritaskan sanitasi namun para peneliti menemukan hal ini sebagai masalah besar yang harus ditangani.
- Anak-anak yang hidup dalam kemiskinan hanya memiliki sedikit peluang untuk mengakses area-area yang dibangun khusus untuk berolahraga atau bermain. Ketentuan untuk hal ini dapat dimasukkan dalam program pembangunan masa depan dan diadakannya area tersebut dapat dijelaskan sebagai penggunaan Dana Desa yang baik.
- Para orang tua merasa kesulitan menghadapi tuntutan yang meningkat dan dibuat terus menerus oleh anak-anak demi mendapatkan uang saku yang sebagian besar digunakan untuk membeli makanan ringan di sekolah. Bila ditolak, ada risiko anak-anak tidak diikutsertakan dalam kelompok-kelompok sosial dan menolak untuk pergi ke sekolah. Hal ini menimbulkan saran bahwa sekolah harus lebih aktif dalam memfasilitasi penyediaan alternatif yang terjangkau (atau gratis), sehat dan dibuat secara lokal terhadap makanan ringan saat makan pagi serta makan siang.
- Regulasi yang lebih baik atas biaya sekolah sehingga sekolah-sekolah negeri dapat mengikuti bimbingan yang seragam mengenai pendaftaran dan biaya sekolah serta persyaratan mengenai akuntabilitas kepada orang tua atas semua biaya yang diminta. Pengurangan dalam jumlah seragam sekolah yang diperlukan dapat mengurangi beban pada pendapatan keluarga.
- Dorongan bagi keluarga agar menabung untuk hal pendidikan, mengambil inspirasi dari program arisan yang dipimpin seorang siswa di perkotaan Papua dan investasi yang dibuat oleh para penerima hibah *lump sum* di Aceh dan Papua demi memenuhi biaya pendidikan tinggi.
- Selain pengakuan bahwa orang-orang lebih memilih untuk menerima uang tunai daripada barang atau bantuan sosial dengan sistem pembelian yang terbatas,

mereka juga meminta perhatian atas kebutuhan siklus hidup (misalnya suntikan uang tambahan ketika anak-anak transisi dari sekolah dasar ke sekolah menengah atau dari sekolah menengah atas ke pendidikan tinggi dan kelahiran seorang bayi), dukungan yang memperhitungkan siklus pendapatan musiman, kebutuhan atas jumlah yang lebih besar pada awal tahun ajaran yang diikuti oleh transfer rutin bulanan (bukan kuartal) dan lebih memilih transfer yang dilakukan melalui bank daripada perantara.

- Kebutuhan untuk menyederhanakan persyaratan terkait dokumentasi untuk mengakses bantuan sosial dan mendaftar di sekolah serta bantuan untuk menanggapi persyaratan bagi keluarga dalam berbagai situasi berbeda yang tidak memiliki dokumentasi yang lengkap.
- Pengakuan yang lebih besar atas nilai pendidikan anak pada usia dini dan peningkatan akses yang termasuk regulasi atas biaya terkait fasilitas yang disediakan oleh pihak swasta.
- Menyadari akan akses TV yang luas serta pengaruh TV dan menggunakan hal ini untuk menyebarkan informasi tentang hak atas bantuan sosial, prosedur, manajemen keuangan rumah tangga, gaya hidup dan perubahan perilaku melalui penggunaan budaya populer.
- Pergeseran dari pandangan sempit bahwa bantuan pendidikan hanya berlaku terhadap biaya seragam, biaya sekolah dan perlengkapan sekolah agar dapat mencakup penyediaan uang tunai yang diperlukan anak-anak untuk ikut serta dalam kegiatan belajar, rekreasi serta kehidupan sosial sekolah.



'I like playing online games everyday after school' Girl, Jakarta.

SUMMARY

This report presents the main findings of the Reality Check Approach (RCA) study conducted in October 2016 to gather insights into the perspectives and experiences of children and their families about child poverty and social protection. The study was commissioned by UNICEF and aims to assist UNICEF and the Government of Indonesia (GOI) in exploring options for strengthening the social protection system. The study specifically explores and provides a deeper understanding of children's experience of poverty and their experience of the current nationwide and district-run cash transfer programmes. The RCA is an internationally recognised qualitative research approach to try to understand context, people's aspirations and behaviours and their day to day lives through their lenses. It involves researchers staying in people's own homes for several days and nights and using this opportunity to 'hang out' and interact informally through relaxed, trusted exchanges and conversations. It also provides researchers with exceptional opportunities for triangulation because they experience first-hand and observe daily life and relations which augment the credibility of findings.

The study was conducted in ten districts in five provinces. These were *purposefully selected* in consultation with UNICEF to include geographically diverse locations representing both urban and rural contexts, ethnic and religious diversity and diverse main livelihoods. To ensure that the study locations characterised those which can be considered more deprived, proxy indicators including high school drop-out rates were used in selecting particular locations. Some locations were specifically selected in order

to gather insights into district-run cash transfer programmes (rural Aceh, rural Papua and Jakarta).

The study team stayed with a total of 32 families and had detailed conversations and interactions with a total of 1,810 people (964 men and boys, 846 women and girls). Specifically they interacted with 824 children (460 boys, 364 girls), over 90 of these were members of the families we lived with.

As far as possible findings are presented from the perspective of children and their parents or relatives themselves and efforts have been made to avoid overlaying researcher interpretation. The themes are presented through the lens of people and emphasis given to what people thought was important. Where researcher observation or interpretation is provided this is made explicit in the text.

The most common differentiator used by people to determine who is a child is whether or not they are still in full time education. Leaving school/college signals the need to work and parents and children alike see adulthood as taking responsibility for oneself through working. Physical changes are also key and for girls the determinant is menstruation which marks the time they are considered to be young women and when they are expected to help their mothers with cooking or taking care of younger siblings. For boys, increases in height and strength at puberty means they can be expected to help with work such as farming and fishing. Girls are considered to mature faster than boys and therefore are regarded as reaching adulthood sooner. Having physical attraction for the opposite sex, having sexual relations

and being married are also indicators of adulthood at any age.

People living in poverty in this study use a variety of terms to describe themselves including the most common *'miskin'* (poor). Other terms include *'orang susah'* (people living in difficulty), *'nggak punya'* (not having things), *'kurang mampu'* (not able), *'orang kampung'* (village/rural people) and *'sederhana'* (simple). Children share similar views of what is being poor to their parents but often couch explanations in terms of minimum needs *'as long as..... then you are not poor'*. The following explanations of what being poor means to children are presented in order of those most frequently shared; being poor is... (i) not having cash (mainly to be able to buy snacks/have pocket money); (ii) not feeling full (feeling hungry); (iii) what sort of work my parents do (especially regularity of income and diversity of income sources); (iv) what kind of house I live in (size, materials and whether it is permanent or not, rented or owned as well as the stigma sometimes attached to living in illegal settlements and more rarely whether it has a toilet or not); (v) not being able to pay for school (not an issue at primary school but increasingly difficult at high school); (vi) *'not having stuff'* (in particular, not having phones, TV, motorbikes).

Children often find it easier to explain poverty when comparing themselves to others. But where they live in communities which are more homogenous they say they do not feel poor *'because everyone is like us'*. They also point to those who receive social assistance as poor. Adults note additional indicators suggesting sometimes that only lazy people are poor and that their experience of poverty is temporal depending on family life cycles, seasonality and family crises - a nuanced view not mentioned by children.

Poverty is also about living in relatively deprived areas. The two NTT study locations suffer from poor road access to their respective district capitals, one of which is impassable in the rainy season. One has no electricity (NTT1) and the other has limited evening connection only (NTT2). The rural Papua study location while less poor in many aspects than other study locations has no electricity and access to the district capital is via a dirt road.

People feel that access to education facilities has improved and nearly all the primary school children in this study not only attend school but live within 15 minutes walk from school (the only exceptions were in rural Papua and NTT study locations where children had longer walks). However access to high school may be more difficult especially in the rural Papua and NTT study locations where high school students had a two hour walk to school (Papua), had to board in the main town (NTT1) or had to hitch perilous truck rides to get to school (NTT2). The main barrier to access to education was identified by people as the costs of high school while completion of primary education has become a norm and *'manageable'*. High school registration fees range from IDR 0.5-6 million but parents and students shared that the need for multiple uniforms in particular which can cost up to IDR 1 million/year was a particular burden. They also shared concerns about the *'never-ending demands'* made by schools for cash for various services and unaccounted for *'extras'*. Early childhood education is mostly private and parents in this study felt it was costly and unnecessary so mostly did not send their children to early childhood education centre (PAUD) or kindergarten (TK).

Like access to primary education, access to primary healthcare, people share, has improved and most families in this study lived within easy access of primary healthcare facilities except in the remote NTT study location where the nearest *puskesmas* (Health Clinic) was a one hour motorbike ride away on a poor road. All the study locations had active *posyandu* (mother/child monthly clinics) and people shared that they accessed and appreciated these. Most study families have subsidized national health insurance but some felt that the downside of increased health insurance coverage was queues in health facilities, especially in urban areas, and the increasing experience of cursory and swift consultations.

Apart from both NTT locations and rural Papua, people felt that banks were *'not far'* from their communities and the research team has noticed over the last three years of undertaking RCA studies that families are using banks more readily. However, bank use by study families is limited to use as a conduit for remittance and social assistance

payments and is not used for savings or day to day transactions. Most families in the study lived within 15 minutes motorbike drive from ATMs.

Increasing requirements for documentation, for example to enrol in school and to be eligible for various social assistance programmes are especially challenging for some families. Those squatting illegally, those who have moved from district to district, those who experienced home births and members of fragmented families face particular problems in accumulating the necessary documentation for the issuance of birth certificates, ID and Family Cards which then impacts on their ability to access social assistance and health insurance. While some shared that village officials and others can be helpful, others experienced frustrations and requests for bribes which led to them abandoning the process.

More than half of the study families have their own TVs and the others have regular access to TV and spend considerable time watching, with many children watching late into the evening. Parents share that they feel that TV has a key influence on their children's lives. Every study family owned at least one mobile phone and some study families owned as many as seven. Children aspire to having their own and see this as an important asset to enable them to participate in social interactions, social media and increasingly in school assignments requiring access to the internet.

This and other RCA studies highlight the problem of an accelerating rate of construction which is encroaching on open play spaces. Only four of the study locations have designated purpose-built sports or play areas and three of these are in urban areas. Otherwise children play in fields, beaches and in rivers and ponds but the usability is often constrained by seasonal access.

Given children's emphasis on having cash as an indication of doing well, it is unsurprising that their aspirations are for regular jobs and most share they do not want to be farmers, fishermen or petty traders like their parents. But accessing regular employment requires educational attainment, networks and, often, bribes. A significant number of young people shared their aspirations for tertiary education

but costs were often regarded as prohibitive. Others were ambivalent about the advantages citing graduates who remained unemployed and with families burdened by debt. Vocational education was often viewed as a better route to secure employment. Children shared that poor communities lack role models and this hindered seeking new opportunities and widening horizons. Parents let children decide for themselves about their futures and are content to aspire for their happiness and for them to '*pursue their dreams*' but rue their inability to financially support this. This leads them to making investment choices between their children and favouring those with perceived potential, irrespective of gender. Although children have ardent ambitions, observations suggest that they rarely apply themselves academically, very rarely study outside of school and see school mostly in terms of social interaction.

Children shared what they like to do most which is (in some sort of priority order); (i) taking snacks with friends (happens everywhere except remote rural areas) and is an activity children do not want to be excluded from; (ii) watching TV (everyday, if possible, and for some up to 8 hours at weekends); (iii) using mobile phones (mostly to play games but also to listen to downloaded music or to watch videos); (iv) internet surfing (at internet cafés, with friends with smartphones or laptops); (v) smoking (a key social activity among teen boys, sometimes starting as young as 8 years old); (vi) drinking alcohol among teen boys (in the NTT and Papua study locations mostly); (vii) earning their own money (to service their own consumption needs such as snacks, recreation, phone credit and sometimes clothes and cosmetics) and; (viii) going to school (because it is an important opportunity to be with friends).

They also shared what they least like doing and these included (again in some sort of priority order); (i) doing chores (although few children are expected to do this, many refuse when asked and parents are rather lenient although a few said they felt burdened by chores); (ii) looking after younger siblings (especially expected of eldest daughters); (iii) going to school (especially without snack money, those who have little help with school work at home, those finding classes difficult

or boring, at times when they are expected to do chores at school and for some because they '*don't feel like it*') and; (iv) doing homework (rarely given and even more rarely undertaken).

Given that children often have few chores and rarely have homework much of their typical days are spent with friends. The emphasis on play and friendship with peers permeates all the lives of the children in this study. Children actively seek inclusion into peer groups and this is strongly correlated, they feel, with their ability to buy snacks together, share cigarettes, spend time on mobile phones or in internet cafés, watch TV together, have the equipment needed for sports clubs or hanging around with motorbikes. Their peer friendships are very important and children tell us this is what makes them happy.

Most of the ninety nine study family children live with both their parents but about one in five live with only one parent or with other relatives because of the death of a parent or marriage break-up. A few had been sent to live with other relatives because their parents could not afford to keep them at home. Some older children shared that they chose to live apart from their parents. Children mostly shared that they feel secure because they have strong relations with their families. Girls told us they feel strong bonds with their mothers while boys felt closer to their fathers though many children told us they felt close to both parents. They shared that they would go to parents first if they had problems at school or needed advice. Children also shared they feel secure because they have good relations with neighbours. These diverse strong relationships are especially important when families face break-up.

Parents happily admit to favouritism towards their youngest children and are overt in their preference for their children who are more helpful or do well in school. While they share that they do not make education investment distinctions between their sons and daughters, they tell us they are more protective of their daughters.

As also highlighted in the RCA Household Finance Study (2016) which covered 11 provinces in Indonesia, families need cash to pay for a wide range of day to day and monthly expenses (e.g. pocket money,

electricity, water supply, fuel for motorbikes, rent, mobile phones and credit repayment) and periodic costs (e.g. education, wedding, funerals). Household cash expenditure varies considerably depending on the context and ranged from about IDR 1.3 million per month in remote rural locations in NTT and S Sulawesi to IDR 5.35 million per month in the urban locations in Papua, reflecting differences in rural/urban contexts and families' disposable cash income.

Typically between 15-30% of routine monthly expenditure is used to support their children's day to day costs comprising pocket money, phone credit and transport costs but is actually much more when the periodic costs of school registration and uniforms are included. Additional transport, accommodation and living costs are also incurred for families living far from high schools (especially in the NTT study locations). This and previous RCA studies have indicated that there are two periods in the family life cycle where families feel particularly cash-strapped; when children transition from primary to high school and when there is a new baby. Exclusive breastfeeding is rare and families expect to have to pay for milk powder and say they make sacrifices on other family expenses to be able to do this. Where families have family and good neighbour networks providing child care, mothers can often continue to work but families without this, people tell us, often struggle at this time. Families reliant on seasonal work such as farming and fishing increasingly search for additional employment in the lean months but feel they would benefit from assistance schemes aligned to their seasonal incomes.

All the study families received some form of social assistance. As highlighted also in the 2015 RCA studies on Social Assistance many people shared that they are confused by the variety of social assistance programmes and what seems to be constant changes in these arrangements. Eligibility criteria remain unclear and are sources of dissatisfaction as is the lack of transparency about disbursement amounts, service fees and other 'at source' deductions. Eligibility criteria for Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) is felt to be particularly unclear. People continue to complain that beneficiaries are often determined by the relationship families have

with the Village Administration, especially the Village Head. Some schools continue to intervene in the education cash transfer programmes so that the benefits are spread more equally through rota schemes or reduced individual disbursements. As also found in the 2015 RCA study, for most families we lived with the national social assistance cash transfer programmes contribute only between 6-12% monthly household income at best whereas in the study locations where local social assistance programmes are operating (rural Aceh, rural Papua and Jakarta) the transfers are much higher and represent between 25-50% of household income.

People shared that lump sum payments at critical times such as the beginning of the school year are helpful and would prefer regular monthly payments of the balance so that they can plan their cash flow better. While appreciating the larger sums of money provided by the Jakarta education cash transfers (KJP), people complained about the documentation required (birth certificates, ID cards and Family cards) to get included in the scheme which, as mentioned above, can be problematic for some families. They also complained about the restrictions on what can be purchased indicating that it did not necessarily cover their most pressing needs. Parents share that they are in a better position to know what to prioritise for their children. The IDR 2 million grants for all school children in Sabang are particularly appreciated, especially as these are supplementary to, rather than replacement of, other grants. In the rural Papua study location, the district have piloted four different district social assistance programmes between 2012-2016, but many people were not aware of the variety of programmes or that three of them had stopped operating. People instead told us that every household receives what they refer to as the 'village funds' although the amount people received varied. People shared it made a significant difference and appreciated it for being for everyone (universal) and non-discriminatory. Only a few families shared they had directly benefited from some more targeted assistance programmes. Where lump sum payments are made, people shared how they could use these to invest in savings endeavours (livestock rearing, fishing) to build capital for

their children's future education costs.

In addition to national and local government schemes, grants and other support are provided by non-government organisations, faith based groups, foundations and private sector corporate social responsibility initiatives. Whilst these may help to fill gaps when people have missed out on official support, perhaps through lack of documentation, people again often complained about the lack of information about the schemes and the lack of transparency in the beneficiary selection process. There are, however, examples of schemes which provide good information which are much appreciated by people such as in the rural Aceh study location where details of assistance programmes are posted on the outside walls of coffee shops, which are village hubs where people of all ages gather to hang out and chat. In Papua some of these non-government assistance schemes operate positive discrimination for indigenous Papuans but this can result in incomers, also living in poverty, feeling discriminated against.

The report concludes with a number of study implications summarised as follows;

- Children living in poverty have aspirations to do better than their parents and especially to earn cash incomes particularly in waged or salaried employment. Yet the lack of role models, weak application to study and limited networks constrain these aspirations and suggest a role for after school study programmes, especially run by those who can inspire as role models.
- Families do not prioritise sanitation but researchers found that this is a major issue to be addressed.
- Children living in poverty have few opportunities to access purpose-built sports or play areas and provisions could be made in future construction programmes and can be encouraged as a good use of Village Funds (*Dana Desa*).
- Parents struggle with continuous and increasing demands for pocket money mostly for snacks which children take at school. Denial risks children being excluded from social groups and refusing

to go to school. This raises the suggestion that schools should be more active in facilitating provision of affordable (or free) healthy, locally sourced alternatives to snacks at breakfast and lunch.

- Better regulation of school costs so that state schools follow uniform guidance regarding registration and tuition fees as well as requirements for accountability to parents for all charges made. Reduction in the number of school uniforms required to reduce this burden on family income.
- Encouragement for families for savings for education, taking inspiration from the child-led *arisan* programme in urban Papua and investments being made by recipients of lump sum grants in Aceh and Papua to support higher education costs .
- In addition to recognition that people prefer cash to in-kind or restricted purchase social assistance, they also call for a response to life cycle needs (e.g extra cash injections when children transition from primary to high school or from high school to tertiary education and on the birth of new babies), need support that takes into account seasonal income ups and downs, need larger amounts at the start of the school year followed by regular monthly (rather than quarterly) transfers and prefer transfers to be made through banks rather than intermediaries.
- Need for simplified requirements for documentation to access social assistance and enrol in school as well as assistance with navigating these requirements for families in a range of different situations where documentation is lacking.
- Greater recognition of the value of early childhood education and improved access including regulation of the costs of private provision.
- Recognising the wide access to and influence of TV and exploiting this to disseminate information on social assistance entitlements, procedures, family financial management, lifestyle and behaviour change through the use of popular culture.
- A shift from the narrow view of education

assistance contributing to the costs of uniforms, fees, school supplies towards providing children with the cash needed to limit their exclusion from participating in the learning, recreational and social life of the school.



1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents the main findings of the Reality Check Approach (RCA) study which was conducted in October 2016 and designed to gather insights into the perspectives and experiences of children and their families about child poverty and social protection. The study was commissioned by UNICEF as part of its two year strategy to develop a comprehensive evidence-based strategy to address child poverty and social protection. The in-depth qualitative findings from this study provide rich evidence to complement other research being conducted by UNICEF on fiscal space analysis and modelling alternative policy options. This study aims to assist UNICEF and the Government of Indonesia (GOI) in exploring options for strengthening the social protection system.

Child poverty rates in Indonesia have been decreasing although the number and percentage of children and families living in poverty are still not meeting targets set by GOI. The disparity of poverty rates between rural and urban areas, the cycle of poverty and the multidimensional aspects of deprivation lead to a high degree of complexity in understanding child poverty in the country.

The GOI poverty reduction agenda has an explicit focus on child poverty reduction. The 2002 Child Protection Law, which was revised in 2014, requires the consideration of both the mental and physical needs of children. The Government aims to improve aspects of children's lives including education, health and social protection. This includes provision of various cash transfer programmes, subsidies and support to income generating activities for their families. Programmes which have specifically targeted children living in poverty include the nationwide schemes Program Keluarga Harapan (PKH) –Hopeful Family Programme, and Bantuan Siswa Miskin (BSM) –Poor Student Assistance now being replaced by the Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP).

Indonesia's decentralized government structure along with the presence of individual district-run social protection schemes means there are often parallel programmes which may not be well coordinated or well integrated with other services. Previous RCA+ studies have found that many people are not aware of the differences between different social protection programmes, including their reasons for being included/excluded and the intended benefits from participating.

The GOI recognises that the current cash transfer programmes are not as effective as they should be in reducing child poverty and would like to explore alternative policy options for strengthening the social protection system. A deeper understanding of children and their families' views and experiences of poverty and what they would find helpful to address the challenges they are facing is intended to provide the evidence to design relevant child-centred social assistance programmes. Specifically, this study explores and provides a deeper understanding of children's experiences of poverty and their experience of the current nationwide and district-run cash transfer programmes.

Structure of this Report

This report begins with an overview of the RCA methodology, including adaptations made for this study as well as study limitations. The findings section begins with an overview of the study locations and an attempt to rank them in terms of relative poverty in order to help the reader contextualise the findings. These rankings are used in all the subsequent tables. The findings then cover people's views on who is a child and what it is to be poor from their perspective. The following section documents the public poverty of the study locations looking at provision of education services, health services, banking, administrative services, communications technology provision and recreation facility provision. The subsequent section covers children's views of what it is like to be a child these days, specifically examining their dreams and aspirations, what they like and dislike doing, typical daily routines and their relationships. The final sections focus on the money required for children and families' experience of social assistance programmes. The last section of the report provides study implications, intended to fuel reflection on the findings in terms of possible programme and policy interventions.

1.1 Methodology

The Reality Check Approach (RCA) is a qualitative research approach involving trained and experienced researchers staying in people's homes for several days and nights, joining in their everyday lives and chatting informally with all members of the family, their neighbours and others they come into contact with. This relaxed approach ensures that power distances between researcher and study participants are diminished and provides the enabling conditions for rich insights into people's context and reality to emerge. By building on conversations, having multiple conversations with different people and having opportunities for direct experience and observation, confidence in the insights gathered is enhanced compared to many other qualitative research methods. RCA is often used to understand longitudinal change through staying with the same people at approximately the same time each year over a period of several years.

The RCA differs from most other approaches

to research. Firstly, it is not theory-based so that there are no preconceived research frameworks or research questions. This is deliberate as the approach seeks to enable emic (insider) perspectives to emerge and to limit etic (outsider) interpretation or validation. The premise for researchers is one of learning directly from people themselves. Secondly, RCA is always carried out in teams in order to minimise researcher bias and to optimise opportunities for triangulation. Thirdly, and importantly, RCA teams are independent and make this explicit with the people who participate in the study. Our objective is to ensure that the views, perspectives and experiences of people are respectfully conveyed to policy and programme stakeholders. The researchers become a conduit rather than an intermediary. This is why RCA studies do not provide recommendations but promote the idea of sharing implications, which are grounded in what people themselves share and show us.

The approach builds on and extends the tradition of listening studies (see Salmen 1998 and Anderson, Brown and Jean 2012¹) and beneficiary assessments (see SDC 2013²) by combining elements of these approaches with researchers actually living with people and sharing their everyday lives in context.

RCA is sometimes likened to a 'light touch' participant observation. But while it is similar in that it requires participation in everyday life within people's own environments, it differs by being comparatively quick and placing more emphasis on informal, relaxed and insightful conversations rather than on observing behaviour and the complexities of relationships. It also differs by deriving credibility through multiple interactions in multiple locations and collective pooling of unfiltered insights so that emic perspectives are always privileged.

Important characteristics of the RCA are:

- **Living with** rather than visiting (thereby meeting families/people in their own

¹ Salmen, Lawrence F 1998 'Towards a Listening Bank: Review of best Practices and Efficacy of Beneficiary Assessments' Social Development Papers 23, Washington World Bank; Anderson, Mary B, Dayna Brown, Isabella Jean 2012 'Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving end of International Aid, Cambridge MA: CDA.

² SDC; Shutt, Cathy and Laurent Ruedin 2013 'SDC How-to-Note Beneficiary Assessment'; Berne; Swiss Agency for Development Co-operation.

environment, understanding family/home dynamics and how days and nights are spent);

- **Having conversations** rather than conducting interviews (there is no note-taking thereby putting people at ease and on an equal footing with the outsider);
- **Learning** rather than finding out (suspending judgement, letting people take the lead in defining the agenda and what is important);
- **Centring on the household** and interacting with families/people rather than users, communities or groups;
- **Being experiential** in that researchers themselves take part in daily activities (cooking, work, hanging out, playing) and accompany people (to school, to market, to health clinic);
- **Including** all members of households/living units;
- **Using private space** rather than public space for disclosure (an emphasis on normal, ordinary lives);
- **Accepting multiple realities** rather than public consensus (gathering diversity of opinion, including 'smaller voices');
- **Interacting in ordinary daily life** (accompanying people in their work and social interactions in their usual routines);
- **Taking a cross-sectoral view**, although each study has a special focus, the enquiry is situated within the context of everyday life rather than simply (and arguably artificially) looking at one aspect of people's lives;



RCA researcher helping the family collecting trash.

- **Understanding longitudinal change** and how change happens over time.

1.2 Study locations

The study was conducted in ten districts in five provinces. The locations for the study were *purposefully selected* based on criteria worked through in consultation with UNICEF. The following criteria were regarded as important in the purposive selection of locations:

- Location diversity ranging from remote to locations close to urban centres (in other words a range of urban, peri urban and rural areas)
- Ethnicity/religious diversity
- Areas where different livelihoods predominate (e.g. fishing, farming, wage labour)
- Areas where school dropout is relatively high (an intended proxy for poverty)
- Areas where other development indicators suggests a higher concentration of people living in poverty
- Areas with experiences of implementation of district-administered cash transfer programmes.

Two districts in Aceh, Papua and Jakarta were proposed by UNICEF as they have experience with universal cash transfer and/or are interested in testing unconditional universal child grants. In addition the RCA+ team proposed further locations in S Sulawesi and East Nusa Tenggara to capture a wider view of the issues and experiences in other areas of Indonesia.

1.3 The Study Team

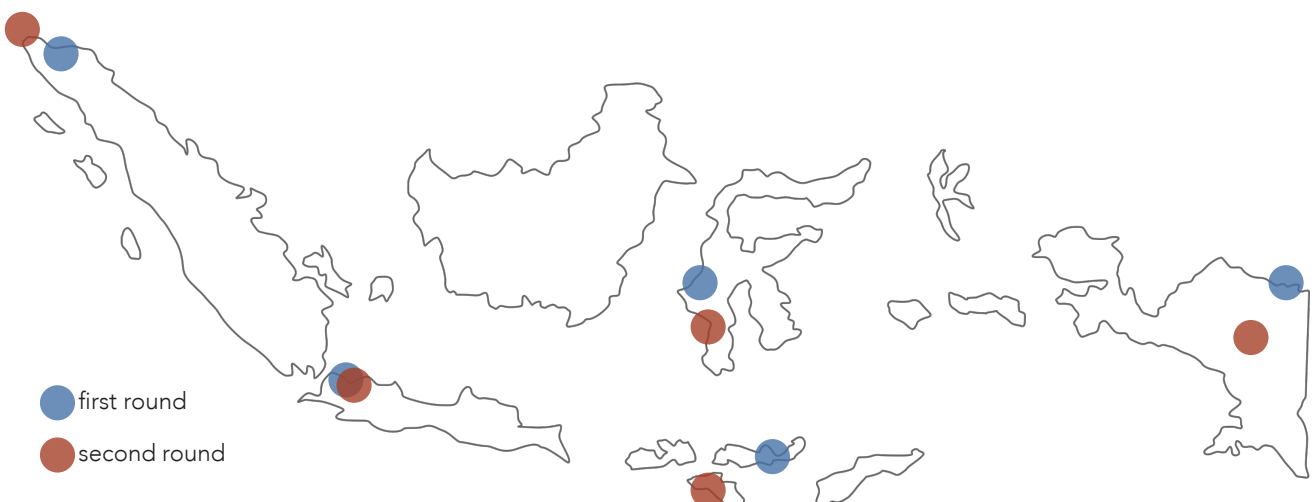
The study team comprised twenty one researchers, including two international researchers in the roles of team leader and co-team leader (see Annex 1). All team members have completed a full six day Level 1 RCA training which emphasises the good practice of reflexivity, understanding and mitigating bias, maintaining informality and ethical considerations in conducting this kind of work as well as having participated in previous RCA studies. The researchers are predominantly young enthusiastic 'people persons' from a broad range of academic backgrounds including: anthropology, arts, development studies, journalism, law, political sciences, and sociology. All researchers were required to undergo Child Protection training, which was followed by a mandatory signing of Child Protection and Data Protection policies. The sub-teams were led by experienced Indonesian RCA practitioners who had also passed a Level 2 training aimed at preparing Level 1 researchers to assume a leadership position during fieldwork.

1.4 Study Participants

Each team comprised three or four team members so that the study involved living with a total of 32 families. As well as interacting closely with neighbours of the households, the teams had further opportunistic conversations with other members of the community including local informal and formal service providers, especially teachers and health providers.

A total of 1,810 people (964 men and boys, 846 women and girls) participated in this

Graphic 1: Study Locations



study which included 824 children (460 boys, 364 girls), over 90 children were members of the families with which the researchers stayed. The study participants can be broadly categorised into three key types: host households (where the study team members lived), focal households (immediate neighbours of host households) and a range of other people, mostly those with whom the families have everyday interactions. The full details of the study participants can be found in Annex 3.

The team members entered communities independently on foot in order to keep the process 'low key'. They then spent time in the communities getting to know them, being known and making their purpose clear before negotiating access to particular homes where they would stay for a minimum of four days and nights. Care was taken to ensure that people understood the nature of the RCA and the importance of staying with ordinary families and not being afforded guest status.

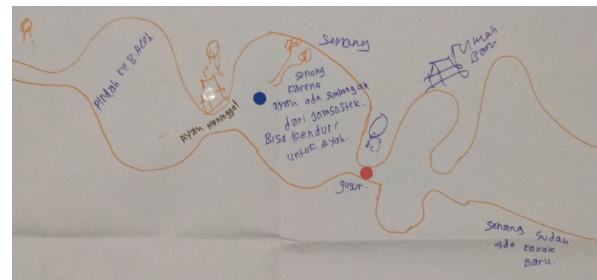
All study households were selected by individual team members through informal discussions with people in the community in situ, e.g. at *warungs* (small shops or kiosks). Each household selected had a child or children of the ages which are intended to be beneficiaries of social assistance programmes (children under 5, primary, junior and senior high school-aged children). The selected

households were at least 15 minutes walk away from each other and, where possible, even further away to ensure that researchers had interactions with a different constellation of focal households and other community members.

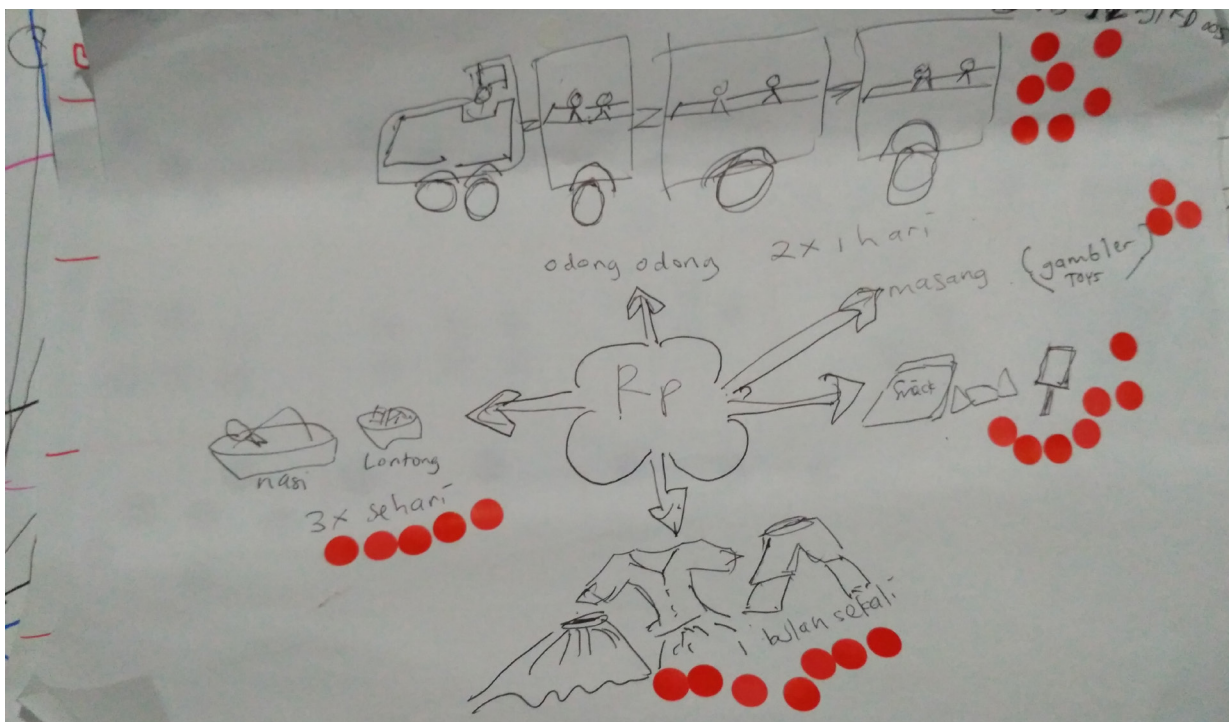
Each team member discretely left a 'gift' for each host household on leaving, to the value of about IDR 200,000 to compensate for any costs incurred in hosting them. As team members insist that no special arrangements are made for them, they help in domestic activities and do not disturb income-earning activities, the actual costs to host families are in fact negligible. The timing of the gift is important so people do not feel they are expected to provide better food for the team members or give the impression that they are being paid for their participation.

1.5 Study Process

As noted above, RCA is not a theory-based research approach although it often generates



A child's 'river of life'.



Household expenditure diagram made by a family.

people's theories of change and contributes well to grounded theory approaches. It does not have a pre-determined set of research questions, relying as it does on iterations from information gathered *in situ* and building progressive series of conversations. However, as part of the briefing process for researchers, Areas for Conversation were developed to act as a guide to ensuring that conversations were purposive. The outcome of the deliberations with the research team are provided in Annex 2: Areas for Conversations.

To illustrate context and findings, photos were taken, all with the consent of the people concerned. Whenever possible, children were encouraged to make visuals while they were conversing with the researchers, to elaborate their ideas. For example, some children depicted key moments and changes in their lives through drawing their 'river of life' (see photo). With some family members the researchers also supported discussions about household expenditure and income through facilitating the development of income and expenditure diagrams using pictures and proportional distribution of dots to indicate amounts (see photo).

Researchers also participated in children's daily activities, games and accompanied them to school whenever opportunities arose. These observations, conversations and experiences were then built into narratives and together with the visual records and formed the basis of detailed ten one-day collaborative analysis sessions with each of the sub-teams of researchers.

1.6 Post Fieldwork Process

Whilst team members never took notes in front of people, they did jot down quotes and details as needed. Each sub-team of three-four researchers spent a full day for collaborative analysis with either the study team leader or co-leader as soon as they came out of the study location. This involved sharing all their conversations, observations and experiences related to the Areas for Conversation, as well as expanding the areas based on the insights gained from people. This process enabled extensive triangulation as the same topics were explored through different researchers, from different people's perspectives, different locations, times and research methods (conversations,

observations, experiences, use of visuals including photographs).

The collaborative analyses were recorded in detail in written notes combined with other important archived material providing detail on households, villages and case studies, as well as diagrams created with people and their photographs. Following completion of all sub-teams' collaborative analysis, all sub-teams met together for the first time after briefing and were asked to take the position of study participants and identify emerging narratives from their studies. This inductive process enabled sense making and ensured that researchers do not overlay their own interpretations on the findings. The senior team used established framework analysis procedures involving three of the typical four stages process:

- i. Familiarisation (immersion in the findings)
- ii. Identification of themes and
- iii. Charting (finding emerging connections).

The conventional fourth step is 'interpretation' which we purposely eschew in order to maintain closeness to what people themselves share. The key emerging narratives from these processes were used as a basis for the report writing. Quality assurance was carried out through internal peer review with special concern to ensure the research retained the positionality of people themselves.

1.7 Ethical Considerations

The RCA team takes ethical considerations very seriously, especially considering the fact that the research involves living with people in their own homes. Like most ethnographic-based research, there is no intervention involved in RCA studies. At best, the study can be viewed as a way to empower study participants in that they are able to express themselves freely in their own space. Researchers are not covert but become 'detached insiders'. People are informed that this is a learning study and are never coerced into participation. As per American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics, RCA adopts an ethical obligation to people '*which (when necessary) supersedes the goal of seeking new knowledge*'.

Researchers *'do everything in their power to ensure that research does not harm safety, dignity and privacy of the people with whom they conduct the research.'* Acknowledging UNICEF's procedure for ethical standards, researchers asked for people's verbal consent to be able to use their stories and insights, and assured people that they would keep their sharing off the record if they did not give their consent. Researchers then signed a declaration that they had received people's verbal consent to share the insights in the collaborative analysis process.

All researchers are briefed on ethical considerations and Child Protection Policy before every fieldwork (irrespective of whether they have previously gone through this). All researchers sign Code of Conduct on Confidentiality and Child Protection Policy declarations as part of their contracts. All data (written and visual) is coded to protect the identity of individuals, their families and communities. As a result, the exact locations and identities of households and others are not revealed in this report.

1.8 Study Limitations

As with other research methods, this study has a number of limitations as follows:

- Use of local languages was a constraint in some locations as, although most adults used Bahasa Indonesia, younger children sometimes had limited or no Bahasa Indonesia skills and some older people were not able to communicate in Bahasa Indonesia. Furthermore, side talk and talk between family members and neighbours was often conducted in local languages and researchers missed these and sometimes the nuances of what was being shared.
- In many of the locations the rainy season presented a limitation due to constant heavy rain. This created challenges to meet and chat with a wide range of people as they tended to stay indoors and not hang out in public areas. It also limited opportunities to participate in some of the daily activities of children. In some of the coastal fishing communities it was not possible to experience and accompany children to go fishing which was a main hobby and livelihood for many of the children.
- In rural Aceh, one of the study villages turned out to be a very popular location for 'Kuliah Kerja Nyata' (KKN (university student study service) students to conduct their field work. In 2015 over one hundred students had stayed in the village. People treated the RCA researchers as KKN students and tried to give them guest status within their households. Our researchers had to constantly reinforce their wish not to be treated as guests in order to understand the daily realities of their lives through their eyes and their experiences.
- In rural Papua the team could not enter the community on the first day, a Sunday, as the local government does not permit any activity on this day. They had to spend the first night in the nearby sub-district town before entering the community on the 2nd day.
- In urban locations, in particular in the Jakarta slums, the densely populated and busy communities made it difficult to find time and space for individual in-depth conversations.
- In some of the rural locations there was no electricity, so family members went to bed relatively early. In these locations the researchers had to be more opportune to find appropriate times and places for more detailed discussions.
- In several locations the villages were very small (rural Aceh, urban Papua, rural Papua, Peri-Urban S Sulawesi, Rural NTT) and the researchers had to stay in different villages to ensure that they didn't bump into one another. This limited the ability for some of the teams to triangulate some of the findings as the context in the villages was different.
- In rural Papua and rural Aceh there were special events being held in the community while we were staying there (100 day ceremony and large church gathering). The families we lived with were very busy preparing for these events. Although the researchers accompanied the families in the preparatory tasks, there were fewer opportunities to have in depth conversations in private spaces with some of these family members.



Different context of study locations.



2. FINDINGS

2.1 Introduction

The findings are presented from the perspective of children and their parents or relatives themselves and efforts have been made to avoid overlaying researcher interpretation. While the findings mainly draw on the interactions with over 1,800 people and specifically the rich insights gained from living with thirty two families, they are augmented by findings from previous RCA studies carried out in Indonesia which have involved living with over 250 families living in poverty. This has helped the research team establish credibility in the findings of this study. Themes are presented through the lens of people and emphasis given to what people thought was important. Where researchers' own observations and experience are used to extend the narrative, this is explicitly acknowledged.

2.1.1 Context: The study locations

The descriptions of the study locations are provided from the observations and enquiries of the research team and are intended to provide context for insights from the study;

P1 Urban Papua

Three urban communities on the hillside, coastal and lowland swamp area, 1 hour away from main city.

Religion/ethnicity: Mixture of Christian and Muslim communities and with people from Papua, Makassar, Java, Buton.

Size: The hillside community: 300 households, coastal community: 70 households, and lowland community: 170 households.

Housing type: Stilted wooden houses over the sea, and permanent /semi-permanent brick houses on land.

Livelihoods: Kiosk owners, construction workers, working in banks and offices, civil servants, fishermen, laundry.

Electricity: Most houses have electricity connections.

Schools: Primary and junior high schools nearby, and senior high school and university 15-30minutes away by public transport.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* nearby and hospital 1 hour away in the city.

Banking: Several banks in communities.

Recreation: Beach and park nearby.

A1 Urban Aceh

An urban slum coastal location, 15min from the provincial capital. Many original inhabitants died in the 2004 tsunami and many newcomers moved into this area from different regions of Aceh and Sumatra.

Religion/ethnicity: Muslim majority, mixture of ethnicities including Acehnese, Batakese and Padangnese.

Size: Approximately 700-800 households.

Housing type: Concrete houses and semi-permanent houses.

Livelihoods: Mostly trash collectors. Also fishermen, daily construction workers, fish pond owners, merchants, traditional *bentor*

(motorbike taxi) drivers and a few government civil servants.

Electricity: metered electricity.

Schools: One kindergarten, one elementary school, one junior high school and one senior high school.

Health facilities: None except monthly *posyandu* (mother/child monthly clinic). The nearest *puskesmas* (health clinic) is about 10min by motorbike in the neighbouring slum area.

Banking: The nearest bank is about 15-20min away by motorbike.

Recreation: There are two football pitches which are used every day by children and adults.

J1 Urban Jakarta 1

Urban slum on the side of a canal, former swamp area.

Religion/ethnicity: Majority Muslim and from range of ethnicities including Betawi, Sundanese, Javanese, Bugis and Batakese.

Size: Approximately 7,000 households.

Housing type: Very simple houses made from recycled cardboard and plastic. Most have no legal papers and frequently experience eviction. Most have toilets.

Livelihoods: Mainly fishing, but in the last five years fish scarce so have sought work as daily labourers, industrial park estate workers, factory workers (paint, clothing and warehouse factories), labourers at the port, trash collectors and kiosk owners.

Electricity: Most houses have electricity connections.

Schools: All facilities on the south side of the river, including: privately run kindergarten, primary, junior high and senior high schools.

Health facilities: The *puskesmas* is being renovated and is closed and there is a *posyandu* in each sub-neighbourhood.

Banking: Many banks.

Recreation: Beaches and parks.

J2 Urban Jakarta 2

Urban slum area located alongside a canal.

Religion/ethnicity: Majority Muslim and from a range of ethnicities including Betawi, Sundanese and Javanese.

Size: Approximately 5,000 households.

Housing type: Mixture of concrete houses as well as shacks. Almost all of them are semi-permanent houses. Most have no legal papers.

Livelihoods: Trash collectors and trash traders, construction workers, small scale traders, kiosk owners.

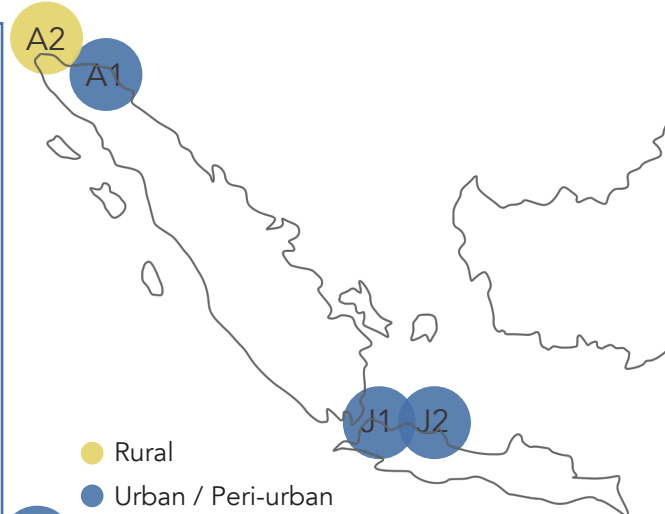
Electricity: Metered electricity.

Schools: All levels of schooling in close proximity, including a university nearby.

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* and *posyandu* in the neighbourhood and two public hospitals nearby.

Banking: Many banks.

Recreation: Green park, playground for children, bicycle track.



SS2 Peri-Urban S Sulawesi

Three adjacent villages scattered along and behind a small busy road which connects to the provincial capital 2 hrs drive away. Small shops along the roadside with more rural pockets in areas further away from the main road.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Muslim and Bugis ethnicity.

Size: In first village approximately 300 households sparsely populated, and other village recently split into two villages and is about 800 households.

Housing type: Relatively large stilted wooden houses. Brick houses along the main road.

Livelihoods: Farming mostly for own consumption (rice, corn, cassava, vegetables, nuts, fruits), livestock rearing (cows, chickens, ducks and a few horses), some people now working in daily construction.

Electricity: Most houses have metered electricity.

Schools: primary school in all villages and the junior and senior high school in one of the villages.

Health facilities: The *puskesmas* is 10 minutes by motorbike on the main road, a *Polindes* (small health post) in two of the villages.

Banking: nearest 10 minutes by motorbike.

Recreation: Karaoke at the petrol station. The district capital is about 20 min motorbike away with recreation facilities.

A2 Rural Aceh

A rural coastal location and perceived as the most isolated villages on the island. The villages are 30 minutes drive from the district capital along the coast.

Religion/ethnicity: Majority are Muslim and Acehnese.

Size: 200 households and 100 households in the neighbouring village.

Housing type: Social Assistance houses (concrete); other houses wooden.

Livelihoods: The majority are fisherman. More recently some daily construction work nearby. Some farmers, local kiosk and coffee shop owners.

Electricity: Connected 10 years ago.

Schools: In one village a primary and junior high school, in the other just a early childhood (PAUD) and primary school. The nearest senior high school is in the district capital 30 minutes away with a free school bus service.

Health Facilities: One *puskesmas* in one of the villages.

Banking: The nearest bank is 20-30 minutes by motorbike.

Recreation: Volley ball court which is used every afternoon by the adolescents, a football pitch and a children’s playground near the beach.

SS1 Rural S Sulawesi

Rural, mountainous area one hour by car from district capital. Small farming village with good road access to neighbouring villages and the district capital.

Religion/ethnicity: Majority Muslim and Bugis, with most families related to one another.

Size: 300 households.

Housing type: Mostly wooden houses (traditional stilted house).

Livelihoods: Predominately farmers (rice, cocoa, brown

sugar, pepper, corn, fruits), some poultry and livestock farming, and a few kiosk owners and flower sellers.

Electricity: Metered electricity.

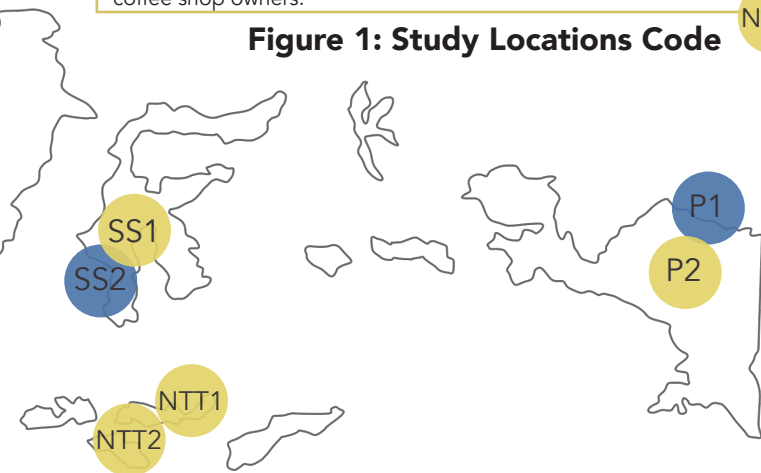
Schools: Two primary schools in the village, the junior and senior high schools are 10-15minutes motorbike ride outside the village.

Health facilities: The nearest *puskesmas* is 20 minutes by motorbike.

Banking: Closest bank is 15-20 minutes by motorbike.

Recreation: Waterfall (remote), rivers and ponds.

Figure 1: Study Locations Code



NTT2 Rural Remote NTT

Remote location 6 hours from district and 12 km from sub-district along rocky road. During the rainy season the river floods making it inaccessible.

Religion/ethnicity: Mostly Christian and Sumba ethnicity with a few Javanese.

Size: 1,900 households.

House type: Traditional wooden house (*rumah panggung*).

Livelihoods: Farmers (corn, rice, cashew nuts), poultry, fishing, a few teachers and kiosk owners.

Electricity: Limited supply from 6pm to midnight (6 hours).

Schools: Primary and junior high school in the village. Nearest senior high school is 6 hrs away in the district capital.

Health facilities: Five *Posyandu* but only one active in the village, a *pustu* in the village, the nearest *puskesmas* is 1 hour drive away.

Banking: One hour away.

Recreation: Beach, open ground for football.

Other: Poor telephone signal.

P2 Papua Rural

Remote rural mountainous location 3 hours from capital and 30 minutes on dirt road from district capital.

Religion/ethnicity: Christian population and mostly native Papuans.

Size: Two villages, one village 200 households, the other 50 households.

House type: Honai traditional houses, with some social assistance and civil servant’s wooden houses.

Livelihoods: Farming (pigs and chickens), some construction work, a few government officers (teachers, health staff).

Electricity: None, except some solar panels.

Schools: In one village only junior and senior high school, no primary school (45mins walk away). In other village primary and junior high school, no senior high school (1 hour walk away).

Health facilities: *Puskesmas* in one of the villages.

Banking: Bank Papua 30-45mins by motorbike.

Recreation: Open fields and use of recreation facilities in the city.

Other: No mobile phone reception.

Rural NTT NTT1

Rural location with three villages surrounded by rolling hills and forest. 30 minutes drive along the coast from sub-district capital. Accessible by road, but impassable in rainy season.

Religion/ethnicity: Most people are Catholic and Lamaholot ethnicity.

Size: Approximately 170 households, 130 households and 500 households in the 3 villages.

Housing type: Mixture of basic cement brick homes and more traditional bamboo houses. All with zinc roofs. Most houses with dirt or gravel floors.

Livelihoods: Farming (cashew, cassava, corn, rice, banana, papaya), some fishing and livestock.

Electricity: Most houses do not have.

Schools: Only primary schools in the village. Junior and senior high schools 30-45 minutes away by motorbike, most students move out of the villages to go to high school as there is no public transport.

Health facilities: *Posyandu* in the villages, and closest *puskesmas* 30-45 minutes in sub-district capital.

Banking: 30-45 minutes in sub district capital.

Recreation: Beach (30mins on motorbike), Open spaces for football and futsal games.

Other: Telephone signal is poor and water problems in the dry season.



Different context of study locations, coastal to mountainous.



2.1.2 Context: Researcher assessment of relative poverty of the study locations

In order to assist the reader of this report it was decided to provide a ranking of the communities in terms of poverty. Consistent with the core principles of RCA the researchers identified the indicators of poverty on which they based the ranking from emic perspectives, in other words those indicators most often used by people themselves to describe their relative poverty. However the final ranking needs to be understood as a purely external exercise.

Three indicators most often used by people when they talk about poverty are whether they have

- i. regular cash in hand
- ii. range of job opportunities to earn cash and/or good access to markets
- iii. regular and secure income.

These were used to make a preliminary ranking. People in urban/peri-urban locations said they have many job opportunities, especially in new development areas where there is plenty of work in construction. We ranked P1 as the relatively most well-off community as people said there are many (and easier) opportunities to earn cash in this developing provincial city. P2, A2 and SS2 all benefit from having many job opportunities especially in construction.

In the urban areas many people are domestic migrants who have come into the cities for work and squat illegally.

This makes them feel vulnerable and they often share that they feel they are less well off than those in rural areas who always have access to food (their own crops, foraging or provided by relatives and neighbours). They feel they have less social capital and because they do not have official residential status often miss out on state social assistance. The ranking of the three lowest ranked urban areas is based largely on the relative feelings of vulnerability linked to the likelihood of eviction but also because people in these locations do not feel there are many job opportunities as there is increasing competition for work.

The concern in the rural areas was one of physical access, especially to markets where people can sell produce and meet their cash needs. The need for regular cash means that farmers and others living in rural areas also need other job opportunities especially between harvest seasons. The two rural locations that ranked higher (P2 and A2) is because of the prevalence of social assistance (both are in special autonomous regions) as well as new opportunities to become civil servants³ and a wider range of cash earning job opportunities than those ranked below them. The lower ranked rural locations (SS1, NTT1 and NTT2) are ordered almost entirely based on the condition of the road access as other public poverty dimensions are similar with limited electricity provision and poor mobile phone signals. It takes over 6 hours for people in NTT2 to reach the district capital.

³ This district was established in 2008 and has been explicitly giving indigenous Papuans preference for civil service jobs.

2.2 Who is a child?

'As long as we don't work we are children'

(Teens, NTT1)

The most common differentiator used by people to determine who is a child is whether they are still in school. This reflects people's notions of childhood dependence versus adult responsibility as demonstrated by parents in the urban Jakarta location 2 who shared *'as long as we need to pay for them and they are asking money from us and living in our house... they are still children'*. So, even among children of the same age the distinction is made. For example, one boy of 13 who is at junior high school is a child whilst another 13 year old boy in the same community in S Sulawesi who quit schooling after primary school is expected to work. The former is indulged play time *'because he works hard at school'* while the other is viewed as lazy because he does not have a job. Similarly, in NTT1, 14-15 year olds in school are regarded as children but those who have left school are seen as adults, a recognition they themselves actively seek and one of the reasons they chose to leave school.

1

"If I work I am an adult"

A boy of 11 years working on a construction site shared that he could now smoke in front of his parents as he pays for the cigarettes from his own wages. Before getting this job his parents would not allow him to smoke.

Field Notes, rural Papua.

Another boy (21) shared *'when you start work, you can smoke and don't have to go back home'*. He explained that his parents no longer worry about him and his brother (19) as they both work.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

Physical changes are also key. For girls the determinant is menstruation. Across locations people shared that girls are considered to be young women when they have started

menstruation. At this point they are expected to help their mothers with cooking or taking care of younger siblings. For boys, increases in height and strength at puberty means they can be expected to help with work such as farming and fishing. Girls are considered to mature faster than boys and therefore reach adulthood sooner. In the urban Papua location, for example, people say that all girls are adult by the time they are 20 years old whereas all boys reach adulthood by the time they are 25 years old. Having physical attraction for the opposite sex, having sexual relations and being married are also indicators of adulthood at any age.

2.3 What is it to be poor?

We talked with children, teens and their parents about what being poor means to them. People use a variety of terms to describe themselves including the most common *'miskin'* (poor). Other terms include *'orang susah'* (people living in difficulty), *'nggak punya'* (not having things), *'kurang mampu'* (not able), *'orang kampung'* (village/rural people) and *'sederhana'* (simple).

Children share similar views of what is being poor to their parents but often couch explanations in terms of minimum needs *'as long as..... then you are not poor'*. So, for example in Aceh, a girl in junior high school shared *'as long as I can buy new shoes and my uniform fits me then it is OK'*, or a junior high school boy shared, *'as long as I can hang out with friends then it is alright'* or another girl in her early twenties told us, *'my father is tough and as long as he brings money home it is enough'*. Young children (under 10 years) we interacted with did not usually worry about their situation as long as they had friends to play with and could get snacks and toys. Those who thought they were poor had mostly absorbed this notion from their parents. Parents explain why they face eviction (urban Jakarta 1), why they cannot afford pocket money (e.g. NTT2), why they cannot travel or buy new things because they are poor. It was quite rare to hear children complain of hardship which makes them feel or describe themselves as poor.

The following insights are presented in the order of significance to people, with those

determinants of poverty which were most frequently mentioned and most emphasised first.

Being pooris not having cash

Earlier RCA studies conducted in Indonesia including one in 2014 (in SE Sulawesi, Maluku)⁴ and another in 2015 covering these same two provinces and a further five other provinces (Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, NTB and NTT)⁵ have found that people mostly equate poverty with **not having cash**. In Maluku, for example *people told us that it is not possible to exist without cash any more as it used to be in the past* (RCA Study, 2015 p17). Cash is needed to pay for food and schooling but increasingly for electricity, phone credit, cooking fuel, motorbike fuel and water. Additionally, traditional reciprocal social obligations increasingly need to be paid with cash.

The RCA study on Household Finances (2016) found that despite living in very different rural contexts people nevertheless spent similar amounts on what were regarded by families as basic daily expenses. These expenses were remarkably similar and more or less equate to outgoings of about IDR 60-100,000 per day per household. This is split almost equally three ways between the cost of (i) family meals (usually rice and fish and/or vegetables), (ii) snacks and (iii) cigarettes. Those who subsist on what they grow themselves often feel they are poor because they do not have cash to buy additional food and snacks even though they say *'we get food for free'* (father, urban Jakarta 1) and *'in the city you have to buy everything'* (father NTT1) there is still a sense that they are missing out.

So children tell us that their most felt impact of not having cash are limits on snack purchase. The 'as long as' phrase was often used in this context, for example, *'as long as we can snack whenever we want, we are fine'* (children SS1) and adults separately shared that they feel embarrassed and sad if they cannot provide pocket money for snacks for their children. Children expect pocket money and make constant demands especially so

4 Reality Check Plus project team 2015' Understanding Poverty from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty: Indonesia Reality Check Approach Sub-report 1, Effective Development Group in collaboration with Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (TNP2K).

5 Reality Check Approach Household Finances Study 'Insights from people living in poverty on their household finance management, 2016.

that they are not excluded from their peer groups for whom snack sharing is an essential element of friendship. Several RCA studies have noted that children will throw tantrums and refuse to go to school if their demands for pocket money are not met. Parents are well aware of the potential for exclusion of their children from social circles and worry about them missing school. The feeling of regret and of failure around pocket money provision comes across very strongly in conversations with parents. Indeed, it was the most talked about concern among parents involved in the RCA+ facilitated digital story telling process undertaken with parents in 2016⁶ when asked about their children's school-going.

'I'm better off than I was before as I can give my children pocket money. My father never gave me pocket money'

(Father, urban Jakarta 2)

Pocket money covers snacks taken at school; a preference of children to skip breakfast at home and eat from *warungs* together and then again to buy lunch to eat together. With no official breakfast or lunch provisions at most schools, children must bring cash in order to eat and there is stigma attached to bringing one's own lunch box. Having pocket money also means being able to buy snacks occasionally for one's friends. Children in NTT2 felt they were poor because they rarely got pocket money saying, *'better off parents give pocket money to their children'*. Children in Jakarta felt that the poor are those who cannot buy snacks but particularly commented on those who *'cannot even buy popsicles'*. These cost IDR 2,000 and represent to them the bare minimum pocket money needed to not feel poor. In the urban Papua location children said those who only got IDR 2,000 per day were poor and IDR 5,000 was the minimum to not feel poor. This means that you can buy a fried snack or yellow rice- foods that *'make you feel full'*. Likewise, in the urban Jakarta location 2, children indicated that the minimum was IDR 3,000 to buy enough to eat to *'feel full'*.

⁶ Digital Stories facilitated for INNOVASI, 2016.

'Ok, we can get snacks but we don't feel full. We usually get IDR 1,000-2,000 each day. IDR 5,000 is a good day. That pays for rice, sambal and tempe'

(Boy, 12 , urban Jakarta 2)

While in 2014, the RCA teams found that children mostly received IDR 1,000-2,000 pocket money per day, this amount has increased considerably and is more often IDR 5,000-10,000 per day and older children in high school expect more. The RCA study on hygiene and nutrition conducted in 2015⁷ noted that snack consumption has increased significantly and presented clear generational differences (p26) and noted pocket money demands ranging between IDR 5,000-15,000 per day (p28). The 2016 Household Finances RCA study noted that expenditure on snacks amounted to as much as IDR 1.5-1.8 million per month (IDR 10-20,000 per day) for many families (p29).

So important is the ability to buy snacks, some poorer children earn their own snack money or expect 'their' social assistance money to be used for their pocket money (see Box 2). Another RCA study⁸ noted a number of cases where children sell biscuits, cakes, coconuts, fish and fruit purely to raise their own pocket money. Children in the urban Papua location pointed to a boy who lives a 'hard life' because he has to sell fish in order to earn his own snack money. This and other RCA studies in Indonesia with families living in poverty finds that very few children earn money to contribute to the family. Their earnings are nearly always for their own pocket money or their own education costs. For example and typifying others, a teenage boy in peri-urban S Sulawesi left primary school because he did not like his teacher but also to be able to

7 Reality Check Approach 'We are healthy, why change?' Perspectives, Observations and Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Hygiene and Nutrition, 2015 p 26.

8 The Reality Check Plus project team, 2015 Reality Check Approach 'Sub Report 2 Understanding social assistance programmes from the perspectives of people living in poverty' Effective Development Group in collaboration with Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (TNP2K) p29-31.

earn his own money from harvesting tobacco in his parents fields which he spends almost entirely on cigarettes; children working as trash collectors in the urban Jakarta location 1 use all their earnings as pocket money, a nine year old boy in the rural Papua location will catch birds to sell for cash for drinks at the kiosk and a ten year old in the urban Aceh location recycles bottles with her family making IDR 12,000 for her own pocket money.

2

Use my KIP money?

One evening I was staying with 'my family', the nine year old daughter demanded that her mother give her extra snack money as she was going over to her friend's house to work on a group Biology assignment. Although she had already had dinner the daughter argued that she must have snack money as her friend's mother owns a kiosk. When her mother refused, she argued that she wanted to use the KIP money that the mother received earlier that week, 'Then can I ask for my KIP money, I know you went to the bank to withdraw the money a few days ago, can I have it?' However, the mother said that she had already used half the money for daily needs and the rest would be for her daughter's school needs. The daughter felt she deserved it as pocket money.

Field Notes, S Sulawesi 1.

Being poor..... is not feeling full

While some parents were concerned about the nutrition of their children and worried that there was insufficient protein in their meals at home, children themselves like to snack and worried more about feeling full. When they feel full they say they feel less poor. Children shared that sometimes the spices their mothers put in the food make it difficult to eat and 'parents buy what they like not what we like to eat' (urban Jakarta 2). Other children said that the adults eat most of the rice prepared at home so they often feel hungry and resort to snacks (urban Jakarta 1).

'This is how we live, this is how poor people live. We cannot eat fancy stuff and eat only fish and sometimes corn' (grandma, SS2) echoes how others felt about rarely eating meat or chicken. These are limited to special occasions because of the cost. Previous RCA studies have found that families living

in poverty feel that they eat quite well and balanced diets albeit repetitive. Meat is a luxury eaten only for special occasions. But children do not worry about this, what concerns them is the ability to buy snack food whenever they want and whenever they feel hungry.

Being poor is..... what my parents do for work

Previous RCA studies repeatedly point out that people feel that those with their own business or permanent salaried employment are better off, especially those who have civil service (PNS) work such as health staff and teachers.

'People noted that a salaried job meant not only job security and 'fixed money' but also that the incumbent would be considered credit-worthy and be able to purchase assets such as a motorbike, television and fridge or use loans for house construction and education, especially higher education'

Source: RCA study 'Understanding Poverty from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty, 2015, P 19.

Aspiring to these jobs is a major motivator for parents to send their children to school and wanting their children to be better off than they are themselves. For example, conversations in the urban Aceh location led to teens pointing to those who work for a company or as civil servants as being better off than their own families and in the urban Jakarta 1 location children noted a number of local people who were better off because *'they have businesses. They are rich people'* and *'rich people work in offices'*. However, some fishermen in the Aceh locations noted that there are *'too many civil servants- so there are no jobs or money'* and felt fishing was better both in terms of income and because it did not need spending on tertiary education.

Poor children's parents do not have salaried work and even if their work is seasonal (fishing, agriculture) support the need for daily cash by seeking out a range of income earning pursuits. A family we met in a previous study in W Sulawesi echoed others saying *'We are poor because we have to seek work all the time, while the rich (like teachers and kiosk*

owners), sit and get money' (Household Finance RCA study, 2016 p 27). This same study found that seeking multiple ways to earn cash was a major focus for poor families. Of the thirty four families in that study all but one⁹ had multiple income sources with more than half having at least three and some having as many as six or seven income streams (p39). People in this current study said they felt less poor if there are opportunities to earn cash in their area (Papua, Aceh and NTT). So, for example a father in urban Aceh shared that he feels less poor since moving to the city as *'I am able to work on several jobs; trash collecting, running a food stall and sand-papering cars'*. Though others feel that there is more work outside big cities as demonstrated by families in Papua who said that there was lots of cash income earning opportunities for them and their children such as *'hunting and selling birds, collecting firewood to sell and carrying stock for others'*.

Multiple job opportunities

3

The rainy season is especially hard here as people rely on scavenging for their incomes. They turn to selling *gado gado* (Indonesian salad) or meatball soup. They also find work on Government road and canal construction projects, earning IDR 80-100,000/day.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta 2.

When the paddy harvest fails people resort to selling bananas or pick up casual work in construction.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

Here between harvests income earning opportunities are few but people help neighbours, sells livestock and 'my mother' cooks for students who come to the area doing fieldwork.

Field Notes, rural Aceh.

⁹ This family would have had more than one but for the fact that the mother had recently given birth and was looking after her baby.

Table 1: Parents work

Location	Farmer/ fishing	Construct- ion	Kiosk/ Petty trade	Trash collector	Service (cooking/ laundry)	Driving	Salary	Main breadwinner			
								mother	father	both	other
P1	1	1	1		1	1		1	2	1	
P2	1		3				1		1	2	
A2	3				1				1	1	1
SS2	2	1							2		1
SS1	6								1	2	1
J1			3	2				1	1	1	1
NTT1	5								1	2	
A1			1	3				1	1	1	
NTT2	1	1	1				1		3	1	
J2		1	3	1				1	1	1	1

poorer

'You can be poor in Jakarta because there are not many jobs there. But you can't be poor here'

(Man, Papua)

Many families prefer to earn their cash in the informal sector as it ensures a cash flow to meet daily expenses. So, for example, a trash-collector in urban Aceh told us he chose this work specifically because he could bring home cash on a daily basis.

Being poor iswhat kind of house you live in

Adults and children widely use housing as an indicator of relative poverty although an

earlier RCA study in Sulawesi and Maluku¹⁰ pointed out that people felt it was not necessarily a reliable indicator, particularly as people often renovate just the front of their houses to make them look better than they really are (p 21). People in this current study spoke of small, flimsy houses, especially those made of bamboo or recycled trash, without cement floors as homes for the very poor. While three of the study households lived in such houses, most of the others lived in simple wood or bamboo structures. Large brick or cement houses with cement floors and corrugated iron roofs are regarded as better houses. In the slum in Aceh children said that *'poor people are like us and live in*

10 Reality Check Plus project team 2015' Understanding Poverty from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty:Indonesia Reality Check Approach Sub-report 1, Effective Development Group in collaboration with Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (TNP2K).

Table 2: Study households toilets

Location	Type of toilet				
	Own indoor	Own outside	Own simple hole	Public toilet	none
P1	✓			✓✓	✓ sea
P2		✓	✓✓		
A2		✓	✓	✓**	
SS2	✓✓	✓			
SS1	✓✓✓				
J1	✓✓✓			✓	
NTT1		✓✓✓			
A1	✓		✓	✓	
NTT2	✓				✓✓
J2	✓*			✓✓	

poorer

*shared toilet with 3 other households

** use mosque and the sea



Example of an outside toilet owned by a study family.

Table 3: Study household houses

Location	House material			rented	owned	No person/room						Toilet
	Wood/Bamboo	Cement/brick	Mixed			1	1.5	2	3	4	5	
P1	4			1	3		✓✓✓					2/4
P2	3				3		✓		✓	✓		3/3
A2	2		1		3	✓✓	✓					1/3
SS2	3				3	✓✓✓						3/3
SS1	3				3	✓	✓			✓		3/3
J1	1**	3			4		✓	✓	✓		✓	3/4
NTT1	2		1		3			✓✓✓				3/3
A1	2**		1*	1	2		✓		✓✓			1/3
NTT2	2		1		3	✓✓	✓					1/3
J2	1**	2		2	1			✓✓		✓		1/3
total	23	5	4	4	28	8	9	6	4	3	1	21/32

poorer

*Post-tsunami relief house
 **Plywood & recycled materials

houses made of trash'. In one of the Jakarta slum locations, children said 'the poor live in shanty houses' and 'poor people are just like us. We don't have a big house. Families that don't own their own house are poor'. In the urban Aceh location, children shared that they felt poor because they live in semi-permanent houses unlike others in villages who live in permanent houses. House ownership can be important for many as an indicator of being better off and not having to pay rent. For example, in one of the Jakarta slum locations, many have built their own houses although there are government apartment blocks to rent in the area especially for those relocated from slum areas. Those who have constructed their own places are regarded as 'better off because they don't have to rent' (father, urban Jakarta). Only four of the urban study families rented accommodation while eight owned their own houses.

Overcrowding was not mentioned as an issue. Table 3 which provides information on the number of persons per room¹¹ exemplifies this as most families have ample space. Those with less space mostly comprised those living in slums but even these did not mention overcrowding as an issue of poverty, except a few boys in the urban Jakarta 2 location who choose to sleep at others' houses because there is little room in their own house. Most of the study children sleep with siblings, their parents or grandparents and only about five of the ninety two children in homes we stayed in sleep on their own. Children slept on the floor (on plastic/straw mats or thin mattresses)

¹¹ Living room and bedrooms but excluding kitchen and bathrooms.



Examples of study households.

in about half the study households.

Having one's own toilet, even if it is only a pit latrine, was also mentioned by children in Aceh, Java, NTT2 and peri urban S Sulawesi as an indicator of being better off, 'we are poor because we don't have a permanent toilet' (children, NTT2) and 'if you want to pee there will be dogs barking at you' (girl SS2). However, previous RCA studies have shown that a toilet is not necessarily a high priority for families especially where there are flowing rivers or the sea and a preference for defecating outside¹². Even when social assistance provides toilets people may still prefer defecating outside, for example a family in rural Aceh received housing assistance two years ago and altered the standard design by excluding the toilet so they could have the extra room and continue to use the sea for defaecation.

Table 3 shows that only 21 households have their own or shared toilets (and three with toilets are rented) and that this is not necessarily correlated to their economic position. Spending money on toilets is a low priority as earlier RCA studies have shown¹³.

Clearly defined poverty ranking

4

People here rank poverty according to the houses. The lowest is 'masyarakat kumuh' (slum community) who live in 'bong' without electricity or running water. *masyarakat miskin* (poor community) are considered a little better off as their shacks are made of plywood and they pay rent. The next level are those who do not have to pay rent and access electricity through 'bridging' arrangements from others' houses (known as *nyalur*). Finally at the top are those with their own electricity connections.

Field notes, urban Jakarta 2.

Owning the land on which one's house is constructed is important for adults. Children squatting illegally with their families were very aware that this made them poor but rather than focusing on the insecurity their parents worry about, they were more concerned about the stigma attached to this. In one to

12 Reality Check Approach 'We are healthy, why change?' Perspectives, Observations and Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Hygiene and Nutrition, 2015 p 44.

13 As footnote 12.

the Jakarta urban locations, children shared comments like 'People know I come from the 'grey village' (illegal settlement) and they know I come from a poor family' (girl, urban Jakarta1); 'We are just village boys from a village family. Not from here. We do not belong here. We belong to the village. We don't own land here' (boys, urban Jakarta 1) and 'I know we could be evicted any time. If we get moved we will go back to the village—but I like it better there as it is fresh and we can play in the paddy fields' (girl, 9, urban Jakarta 1). They also feel the neighbourhood is 'really unhealthy, you have to cover your nose the whole time. See, the river is black. My father can give me money every day but these conditions make me feel poor' (girls, urban Jakarta 1). In another Jakarta slum, teenage boys tell us they have been evicted three times and others here say that the fact they all have very small houses close to each other indicates they are poor. Some of the teens shared that there is not enough space in the house to sleep so they stay at friend's house or on the verandah.

Being poor isnot being able to pay for school

Previous RCA studies indicate that parents have aspirations for their children to be educated for good jobs and make sacrifices to be able to support this. Parents in this current study once again strongly confirmed these ambitions. Parents shared (especially in Papua and Jakarta) that they have remained poor because they themselves were not well educated

'This (poverty) is a consequence of me not being well educated in my childhood'

(Father, J2)

'I am in the situation I deserve because I only finished primary school'

(Father, J2)

Children share that they do not want to be farmers or fishermen like their parents and

often see education as a means to secure salaried employment. *'I know I should get a good education for a better future. I want to be like my aunt rather than my mother who only went to primary school'* (girl, 11 urban Jakarta) typifies what many children share. While this current study found that it is extremely rare for primary school age children to miss out on school because of economic reasons, the RCA study on household finances found that one of the greatest problems facing people was the ability to afford the costs of education at transition to high school from primary school:

The costs for children at primary school level range between IDR 300,000- 750,000/year, can double at junior high school level and can double again at senior high school level. These costs exclude the more or less mandatory demands for pocket money, which is rarely less than IDR 2,000/day and can rise to IDR15,000/day. Taken together education costs amount to IDR 900,000- 3.6 million per child per year, equivalent to between 3 and 12 month (basic) food costs for the family.

Source: RCA Study on Household Finances, 2016 p.33

Children shared that those who cannot afford these costs are poor and include those who cannot transition from primary to secondary education (or beyond) because of these prohibitive costs. In NTT 1, a boy shared that he could not continue into senior high because his grandparents take care of him and could not support this. Similarly, a girl in rural Aceh shared that she could not continue to university. Another girl was aggrieved that

Selling Livestock to pay for school

5

When 'my family' needed money to send their daughter and son to high school, they sold chickens to the neighbours for IDR 200,000. They also keep pigs in order to be able to sell them to pay for school costs. In another family they sold their pigs to raise the IDR 2 million for the registration fee for their son to enter senior high school.

Field Notes, NTT2.

her parents cannot afford the IDR 3million monthly fee for university when her friends *'who also have poor parents attend'*.

'We are poor because we cannot afford good uniform and shoes. I asked my parents for new shoes for ages but I still only have worn out ones. They say they have no money for new shoes. I also have no stationery or bag'

(Girl, 13, NTT2)

Being poor is..... not having stuff

While parents talk about not being poor means owning livestock (especially as easily liquefiable savings) and owning their own means of production such as chain saws, boat engines, their own sorting shed (for trash collectors) etc. they are less likely to mention having a motorbike, TV or fridge although many do. Whereas children are very conscious of what consumer goods they and their families own as indicators of their relative poverty. For example, a boy in urban Aceh shared *'poor people don't have good motorbikes. Like my family, we only have a bentor (motor rickshaw)'*. In NTT2 children said, *'we are poor because we do not have motorbikes or cars'*. A small girl in primary school in urban Aceh shared that she asks her mother to drop her off some distance from the school so she completes her journey on foot because she is embarrassed that her mother takes her on a pedal bike not a motorbike like her friends' mothers. In the urban Jakarta location 1, teens echoed this saying *'those who don't have motorbikes are the poor'* whereas younger children here said that richer children have roller skates. Usually motorbikes are bought on credit but often the bikes are second-hand or bought illegally (often without number plates).

While previous RCA studies have indicated



Children use motorbike ownership as an indicator of their relative poverty.

that mobile phones are very common and most families own at least one¹⁴, the indicator for relative poverty is now the make or sophistication of the phone rather than ownership *per se*. Teens in one of the urban Jakarta locations feel owning a smartphone distinguishes the better off from the poor as well as having sufficient credit to be able to play online games. A girl in Aceh shared that she is bullied at school because she does not have a smartphone and labelled 'poor' and another girl in the urban Jakarta location 1 who studies in vocational school compared herself with friends 'who have a room of their own, TV, internet and mobile phones. I don't have these. I don't have a laptop but need it for school now' (see Table 4 and 5 for TV and mobile phone ownership). Children owned their own phones in about one third of the study households, often old phones discarded by their parents.

In over a third of the study homes, children had no assets of their own at all. A few children had bicycles or motorbikes and only in about seven households did children have toys. These were often modest and sometimes second-hand.

As noted in the 2016 RCA study on adolescent nutrition and activity¹⁵, children are acutely aware of exclusion from certain sports and after school activities because their parents cannot afford the equipment and kits. For

example, a boy in JK 2 shared that his friend wants to join in the *futsal* but 'can't because he cannot afford the shoes'.

We are poor compared to others

Children often found it easier to explain 'being poor' by comparing themselves to others. Children in S Sulawesi did not think they were poor but could point out those who were rich because they had big houses and cars and say they particularly notice this when they are taken to the city by their parents.

There is a popular TV programme 'Anak Jalanan' (Street Kids) screened in the early evening about a motorcycle gang who, despite coming from wealthy backgrounds prefer to rebel by spending their time together on the streets. Children in the rural S Sulawesi location compare themselves to these characters; 'poor people are like us, wearing dirty clothes, walk around hunched and don't have good hair like those on TV' (girls, primary school grade 4 and 5). Children in NTT2, also basing their assessment on TV, describe the kind of motorbikes, clothes and accessories that better off people have, 'We only have one set of clothes for three days but rich people have lots of clothes, they have white skin and good shoes. The girls have jewellery'. Primary school girls in NTT 2 shared that people living in big cities have help to do chores and 'do not have to pull water from the well'. Parents too see the rich as being 'able to do anything they want'.

Children watch TV soaps and newscasts which perpetuate the idea that Jakarta is a big city where people are not poor. Teens in rural S Sulawesi shared how they aspired to city life and the way young people are able to 'hang out' there. But at the same time many shared they would be scared of actually going there even though they might have a better life; 'big cities scare me, there are lots of tall buildings, their accent is different. I won't be able to stay even one day there' (girl 15, rural Aceh), 'we would worry we would get lost, be left alone without money' (boy, 6, rural S Sulawesi). Rural parents share the perception of Jakarta as a place where people have good housing, constant cash and better jobs and regard those with connections to any big city as 'doing well'. Children and parents alike feel that having the capability to travel is an indicator of 'doing well'.

14 Reality Check Plus project team 2015 'Understanding Poverty from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty': Indonesia Reality Check Approach Sub-report 1, Effective Development Group in collaboration with Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (TNP2K).

15 Reality Check Approach, 'Adolescent and their families perspectives and experiences on nutrition and physical activities', 2016.

6

Palm reading determines poverty status

Children here read each other's palms to determine if they are poor or not. They believe that if you have the letter 'M' appear in the lines of your hand it means you are poor (*miskin*) and if you have the letter 'K' (for '*kaya*' or rich) then you are better off. The right hand dominates if the letters are different on each hand as '*you work with your right hand*'. So if the left hand has a 'K' you will not have enough money to make you rich. They confirmed that they had a friend with a 'K' on each hand whose mother is a civil servant and they live outside the village. '*She can have anything she wants because having a mother who is a civil servant means you are rich*'.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

But just as frequently people we interacted with who were living in poverty pointed to people whom they felt were worse off than them. Children and parents alike tended to be accepting of their situation and value patience. As a S Sulawesi father put it '*If you don't have money then you have to be patient*' or a father from urban Aceh who said '*It's impossible for me to be rich. As long as the children grow up and can live independently, that is fine with me. There are other families who are poorer than me such as our neighbours who are orphaned.*'

Poor people are those who get social assistance

'The Government only helps poor people' (man, Papua) and *'Our village gets lots of aid, lots of social assistance for farming ... so it must be poor'* (man, rural S Sulawesi). Those who do not receive social assistance often conclude that they are therefore not poor, even though it is well known that targeting social assistance is not that good¹⁶. Echoing many others in this study and other RCA studies, a mother in urban Aceh shared *'People who get social assistance are poor*

¹⁶ The Reality Check Plus project team, 2015 Reality Check Approach 'Sub Report 2 Understanding social assistance programmes from the perspectives of people living in poverty' Effective Development Group in collaboration with Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (TNP2K) p29-31.

but I never got it, not because I am not poor but because I never knock on the doors of those in charge'. Others say that farming assistance which is supposed to be for the poor actually requires one to own land and reason '*so it is not for the poor then*'.

Children used getting social assistance as an indicator of poverty so, for example, a 12 years old girl showed us her social assistance card saying '*only students from poor families have this card*' (J1).

We are the same so we don't feel poor

Related to the need to compare their lives with others to think about relative poverty, many children in homogenous areas indicated that they did not feel poor because '*we are the same as our friends*'. For example, children in NTT 1 felt '*biasa aja*' (just ordinary) rather than poor. Others used more ideological reasons not to make distinctions. For example, a boy in junior high school in Papua shared that rich or poor are all the same as '*the same pastor prays for them when they die*' and a girl in junior high school in Aceh shared that her koran teacher had told them it was '*rude to look at people based on their economic condition*'.

Parents, like their children, also often shared the feeling that they were not poor because they were the same as others living in the area. Where '*no one is rich here- everyone is the same*' (young mother, NTT1) and '*there is no one who is rich and none that are very poor. We're all poor, there is no difference*' (rural Aceh) then there is a sense of social harmony and cohesion.



Many children in homogenous areas indicated that they did not feel poor.

7

Looking after each other means we are not poor

People here are very proud of their tradition of sharing food. They feel better off than others especially those in the city. *'As long as you have a field you are not poor. You can sell produce and here people will buy even if they don't really need it just to help out'.* Another said *'People in the city are very poor. I saw an old man there who was on his own and not being taken care of. This would never happen in our village'.*

Field Notes, rural Papua.



Sharing food tradition in Papua.

Parents across study locations often said that they did not feel poor as long as they could work. Some equated the willingness to work with being able to secure income somehow. Even a father considered by others in the community to be very poor felt that *'as long as I am independent, as long as I can work, it's fine for me. I can work and feed my family'* (rural S Sulawesi).

Being poor is..... because you are lazy

Quite often people, though not children, refer to the poor as those who are lazy. In the 2015 RCA study on poor peoples' perspectives on poverty, people in Maluku especially felt that there was no reason to be poor as there was an abundance of fertile land and fishing opportunities leading to the conclusion that it was only laziness that made someone poor. This view was echoed in this current study especially in Papua and rural S Sulawesi; *'If you have land and work hard then you will be OK'.* Some are quite vocal about the contempt they feel for lazy people, *'only a lazy person does not have money'* (woman, urban Papua) or *'no one here is poor because you can use anything here. If you can't then you're lazy. Lazy is worse than poor. If you need vegetables you can pick*

them. If you're poor you can work to get out of that condition but if you are lazy you will definitely be poor' (farmer, rural S Sulawesi).

People often shared that begging is unacceptable and will do anything to avoid this. Echoing others, a man in Aceh shared *'I am confused by people who look healthy and could work but don't. They are beggars'* and others in Papua expressed sentiments like *'poor is if you have to beg. I really don't like beggars'* and say they often scold beggars, especially drunk young men.

Being poor is.... not all the time

Parents often shared that poverty was not a permanent state but they experienced periods of difficulty either related to seasons or to life or critical events. Children were less likely to take this broader view of their families' situation. Flooding, dry seasons, poor weather affect different livelihoods differently. Some of the issues experienced and shared include;

Critical events:

- Severe flooding in urban S Sulawesi in 2015 which destroyed paddy.
- Paddy failure in NTT2 (because of excessive dry season) meant farmers had to sell their pigs to be able to buy rice.
- Market price fluctuations e.g. cacao price may drop by as much as 30% (rural S Sulawesi), iron prices decreased because of imports which affected the price of recycled iron putting some trash collectors out of work.
- Loan default and business failure.
- Downturn in some businesses e.g. *angkot* drivers in Aceh post tsunami have gone out of business as so many people now have money for motorbikes.
- Eviction from illegal settlements (e.g. urban Jakarta 1 – families get evicted multiple times and each time have to pick themselves up).
- Death and illness of main breadwinners. Three of the families in this study have recently suffered health problems with increased medical costs (or transport costs to hospital) and lost earnings.
- Imprisonment of main breadwinners

Seasonality

- Gluts of produce depress prices or make it impossible to sell, *'Who buys fish? Everyone has fish. Who buys cassava, everyone has one'* (NTT1) .
- Good times e.g. at coconut (Aceh), cashew (NTT1) or cassava (NTT1) seasons when buyers from outside come into the community (but so do traders selling goods so cash profits are soon gone).
- Hard times between harvests where, for example, people have to rely on stored corn during the dry season and have to earn cash in constructions in the district town (NTT2) or have nothing to sell (rural S Sulawesi, NTT1, rural Aceh). People in the rural S Sulawesi location feel that the closer they get to harvest time the poorer they are.
- Seasonal strong winds prevent fishing at sea (urban Papua, rural Aceh) -only the desperate risk this. Rains adversely affect octopus fishing in Aceh

8

Cengbeng; seasonal earning

Cengbeng, as my neighbour explained, is a celebration to remember the dead in the Chinese community which takes place during Chinese New Year. This is the only time in the year that families visit the graves of their dead relatives.

The community I lived with reside within an old and very large cemetery. Before the New Year, they clean the graves, cut the grass and decorate with flowers and ornaments with the hope that visiting families will give them money for this. It is well organized and involves community meetings to decide who will clean up which area of the cemetery. *'If we want to plant flowers, we must finance it ourselves'*. There are no fixed charges as it is up to the family to pay what they want to. It may be IDR 500,000 but may be as much as IDR 3-5 million. *'It just depends on the family. If you get a good one, they may give you 1 or 2 million, even though you only do simple cleaning. But for lots of decoration we might get IDR 3-5 million'*.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta 2.

- Rains make it difficult for the various street performers (*pengamen* (musicians) and *ngondel* (costumed dancers) and those who provide food for them, for those searching for nails in the rivers.
- Clove growers in Aceh wait six years before they can begin to harvest.

9

Seasonal work for trash collectors

'The returns when collecting trash depends on our effort. If we are willing to work for hours from early morning until early evening- the returns are good. I can collect an average of 30-40 kg of used materials, like nails, zinc or small iron each day. If I get lucky, I can also collect a few kilos of high value materials like aluminium, copper and brass'. 'My father', like other trash collectors, usually sells through a local trader who sells directly to the re-cycling industries.

But even when they work hard, they still face problems with fluctuating market prices. The price of mixed used metal is now around IDR 2,500/kg, IDR 10,000/kg for aluminium, IDR 50,000/kg for copper and IDR 30,000/kg for brass. *'The price of rongsok (mixed used metal) is in the middle now- it has been almost IDR 3,000/kg, but there was also time it went down to IDR 1,500/kg or even IDR 900/kg. Of course the time prices are high is usually only a few weeks, while low prices stay much longer, perhaps 2-3 months'*. He blames the Government for the downturn in prices. *'Why do they allow companies to import rongsok? Over supply deflates the price in the local market'*. Although others believe the *rongsok* may be smuggled in which accounts for this happening infrequently. When the price is low 'my father' is not motivated to collect, *'why work all day long and only get IDR 25,000?'* At this time he looks for construction work or sells *gado-gado*. He earns about the same as trash collecting but says he enjoys trash collecting much more.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta 1.

2.4 Public poverty – the supply side

2.4.1 Access to Education

Getting to school. Across all study locations children live close enough to primary schools to be able to walk to school and the distances are well within the international standards for this age group with walks of less than 15 minutes. Only in NTT 2 and rural Papua locations did primary school children have longer journeys, walking up to 45 minutes. As found in previous RCA studies¹⁷, anyway people rarely walk and prefer going even short distances on motorbikes. So, for example primary school children take motorbikes in rural S Sulawesi and urban Jakarta 1 locations even though walking would take them only 5-10 minutes.

Only in Papua and NTT did we experience school access problems and this was only for high school students. In the NTT2 location, the only junior high school available is some six hours walk away and the only way to get there is to hitch rides on passing trucks, a risk, people tell us, because the drivers are often under the influence of alcohol. In NTT1, the junior and senior high schools are about 20 miles away and so students have to move to stay closer to the schools. In the urban Papua location, only the primary school is within the community and all higher education is a minimum IDR 12,000 round trip bus journey away. With some having to pay a further *ojek* fare from where the bus drops them to their school costs can be as high as IDR 24,000 per day. In the rural Papua location the walk to high school takes 2 hours and the alternative of a motorbike taxi costs a prohibitive IDR 200,000 round trip. In the rural Aceh location, an earlier access problem which people shared had inhibited transition from primary to high school has now been solved by the provision of free school buses.

Sometimes parents choose to send their children further away to school than the local schools. Generally, children assert quite some agency on these decisions as we found in earlier RCA studies¹⁸ and seeking opportunities to stay with a cohort of friends

17 Reality Check Approach, 'Adolescent and their families perspectives and experiences on nutrition and physical activities', 2016.

18 Indonesia Reality Check Main Study Findings 'Listening to Poor People's Realities about Basic Education' 2010, p 20.

is sometimes the main reason for choosing a school. There are other reasons, including in one of the urban Jakarta locations, where parents like to send their children earlier to school saying, '*we know when it is the right time*' and they enrol their six year olds in schools which are less strict about enforcing the standard age restriction of seven years old. In urban Papua, study parents shared that they too wanted to enrol their children earlier and sent them to a Christian school in another village. Distance or risky journeys may be another reason. So, for example, in NTT2, parents chose a senior school which is further away because the road to the nearer one is in very poor condition. It may also be because the local schools are not considered to be good quality (see below).

Early childhood education. Early childhood education is not compulsory in Indonesia and currently only 0.023 % of centres providing early childhood education are public and the rest are either private or community run¹⁹. These are *Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini* (PAUD) or early childhood centres often catering to children as young as 2 years and are often family-run as well as the slightly more formal *Taman Kanak Kanak* (TK) or kindergartens catering to older children (usually 4-6 years). Such facilities were available in most of the study locations. Only in rural S Sulawesi, urban Jakarta 1 and NTT 2 was this not mentioned. However, few of the families we stayed with use these facilities mostly because of the cost. Some felt that children were too young to benefit, prefer to play at home and, in some cases the facility is considered too difficult or risky to access, for example in the urban Jakarta 2 location where the kindergarten is a 10 minute walk which includes crossing a busy road. Anyway, a Foundation visits this community every Saturday and teaches the young children reading, writing and counting.

The costs of pre-school are considered high and often prohibitive by families living in poverty but, as noted above, this is neither compulsory nor considered necessarily important by parents. Because early childhood education is so rarely a public provision the institutions charge registration

19 Denboba, Amina, Amer Hasan, and Quentin Wodon, eds. 2015. 'Early Childhood Education and Development in Indonesia: An Assessment of Policies Using SABER'. World Bank Studies. Washington, DC: World Bank. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0646-9. License: Creative Commons Attribution CC BY 3.0 IGO.

fees and monthly fees. Registration fees vary between IDR 25,000 - 1 million and often parents in this study shared that they consider they are too expensive. In NTT1 a father shared that costs for PAUD can be as much as IDR 2.5 million per month including uniform and monthly fees although others pay much less. In the rural Aceh location the costs for the kindergarten (TK) are a tenth of this at about IDR 25,000-30,000 /month and in NTT1 some pay only IDR 15,000/month. A young mother in the rural Aceh location felt that enrolment and monthly fees were high because they act as a child care facility when parents are working.

Early Childhood (PAUD) costs

10

The village leader's wife set up the PAUD some years ago because she did not want to see young children playing in the trash their parents collected for a living. It started free but now charges IDR 60,000/month but this is better than the kindergarten (TK) in the area which charges IDR 100,000 per month as well as IDR 1 million registration fee.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

Costs of education. As mentioned above (section 2.3 What is it to be poor?), not being able to pay for school ranks about fourth in the most cited determinants of poverty by people themselves but people refer almost entirely to the costs of high school education and above rather than primary school. While some primary schools charge a registration fee between IDR 200,000 (rural S Sulawesi) and IDR 2 million (urban Papua), a registration fee is always charged for high school enrolment. This varies from a minimum of around IDR 500,000 to over IDR 2 million at junior high school and IDR 1million to IDR 3.5 million at senior high school or vocational school (SMK). In the urban Papua location, the senior public high school charges IDR 6 million registration fee. As Box 11 indicates there are often unofficial extra charges levied on top of official registration fees.

Some schools charge monthly fees. For example, in the NTT1 location primary school fees are IDR 70-100,000/month and junior high school fees are IDR 500,000/month. In the rural S Sulawesi location no monthly fees are charged until senior high school level. In

the urban Papua location, monthly fees for schools are relatively higher than other study locations; primary school IDR 150,000/month and junior high school IDR 220,000/month.

As Box 11 points out registration fees may require 'extra' payments and parents in the urban Papua location shared that they are confused about what are official costs and what are unofficial costs. Non-payment of fees leads to withholding of school completion certificates. For example, in the rural Aceh location a daughter of one of the study families told us she had graduated from senior high school six month previously but had yet to receive her diploma because her family had not been able to settle the outstanding fees of IDR 90,000 for the last quarter. The school has insisted that she must also pay a penalty (a flower tub). Without the diploma she cannot apply for jobs.

unofficial extra costs for school registration

11

Many parents here shared that they have to pay 'extra' fees in addition to the registration fees to ensure that their children are enrolled in junior high school. Without this 'extra', they are afraid that their children will not be registered. Parents of primary school children worry about this and feel they have to specially save up. A mother, originally from Makassar has one child in junior high and another in senior high school. She paid this 'extra' of IDR 250,000 each to four teachers for her child attending the public junior high school. *'It's a must otherwise it will be very difficult. I don't want my child to have problems at school.'* She does not have to pay such 'extras' for her older child who is in a private senior high school. A neighbour told me the same thing and said it was specially directed at migrants who are expected to pay if they want their kids to be accepted in school. She also paid IDR 1 million for her child to be enrolled into the junior high school and felt they were forced to do this. On top of this 'extra', parents also have to pay for other demands made by the school, for example paying IDR 5,000 every day which her son says is used to buy brooms and fans. She is angry about this saying, *'Who needs to buy fans every day?'*

Field Notes, urban Papua.

School uniform is a significant cost and, as has been pointed out in previous RCA study reports, the need for so many uniforms is particularly complained about. The 2009/2010 RCA study²⁰ noted:

In all locations²¹ except one, students are expected to have at least four sets of uniforms; the national uniform, school specific batik, sports and scouts uniforms. In some schools, they are expected to have a fifth set which is Muslim dress (p 25-26).

Subsequent RCA studies²² have indicated that this continues to be a burden. Parents in this current study again voice their frustrations about these costs. For example, in the NTT1 location, five different uniforms are required costing about IDR 875,000 and people here will buy second-hand uniforms at half the price for their PAUD and kindergarten children but do not have this option at higher levels. In the urban Papua location the set of five uniforms cost around IDR 600,000. In the rural Aceh location the schools require them to buy only the batik, scouts and sports uniform but these cost IDR 500,000 and in the rural S Sulawesi location two uniforms have to be bought directly from the school (the batik and scouts) whilst the other uniforms are purchased from shops. Poor families shared that where possible they tried to find ways around having to purchase these uniforms so they can use their money for other more pressing needs. In urban Aceh, a family chose to send their 14 year old daughter to a particular junior high school because this school provides three of the uniforms for the students (batik, scout and the white uniform). However, the school does not provide the sports uniform which is the most expensive at IDR 110,000 and the family cannot afford to buy this uniform. The school allowed the girl to wear just a white shirt, but she shared with us that this just makes her feel embarrassed around her friends. Another family in Aceh who send their children to a different school wanted to buy second-hand uniforms but the

20 Indonesia Reality Check Main study findings; 'Listening to Poor People's Realities about Basic education', May 2010.

21 Ten locations (three in West Kalimantan, three in S Sulawesi and four in NTB).

22 'Understanding Social Assistance Programmes from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty, Reality Check Approach Sub report 2' March 2015 p28; 'People's Views and Experience of National Social Assistance programmes', March 2015 p25.

school insists that uniforms must be bought directly from the school so they felt obliged to spend their assistance money on new uniforms.

12

Strings attached to the university scholarship

'My sister' in the village is now 20 and has graduated from senior high school. She shared with me that her real dream was to become a doctor but that this was not possible. She majored in social sciences at senior high but likes economics and wanted to continue to university to study this. 'I want to study while I work. I want to be independent'. Two years ago when she was 18 years old she was given the opportunity of a Bidikimisi scholarship intended for poor students. But she was told it would involve an IDR 2.5 million registration fee. Her mother said 'we don't have money like that'. I asked more about this and eventually found out that it was her senior high school which had made the demand for payment.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

Boxes 11 and 12 not only describe the lack of transparency in registration fees but also indicate there are other charges levied. People in other RCA studies have described these as 'never-ending demands'²³. They can be so high that they can affect the choice of school (see Box 13) or require families to make special savings arrangements such as families in the rural Papua location who purposely keep chickens to meet these regular requests. The following lists a range of these 'constant demands' which parents feel are not notified in advance, require immediate response otherwise their child may be victimised for non-payment and are often not properly accounted for;

- 'I constantly have to buy exercise books at IDR 70,000 per book and photocopy costs (boy, 16, senior high school, urban Papua),
- Graduation costs, study tour, farewell parties and extra coaching (urban Jakarta 1),

23 Reality Check approach; 'Perspectives, Observations, Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Household Financial Management', 2016 Box 13.

- School renovation costs at IDR 10,000/ month /student (NTT1),
- School bus fee IDR 500 per student per day despite the service supposedly being free. Parents say this is cigarette money for the driver and the fee was instigated by him. (rural Aceh),
- Unofficial school transfer fees of IDR 1 million which can be paid in kind (chickens, rabbits) if necessary (rural Papua),
- Payment for furniture (urban Aceh), beautification (rural Aceh),
- IDR 100,000 each semester to the school committee (NTT1),
- IDR 100,000-200,000 per month for 'additional courses' at primary school. The course are not compulsory, but the eight year old child we lived with told us that all his friends join the classes so he does too (urban Aceh).

13

Told to pay for the chair

'We used to live in another village and moved here in 2010 so my eldest son had to transfer primary schools. But the new school in the village said there was no seat and that we would have to pay for a school chair. We did not have the money for this so we took him to another school in another village where they just asked whether or not he could read'. The boy is currently in 5th grade in this school some 10 minutes walk away.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

Selection of schools. On the whole, parents assess the quality of the school based on whether their children are happy there or not. As mentioned above, since choice of schools is often based on going to the school where friends are this is pretty much guaranteed. The other concern for parents is attitude and behaviour of the students. So, for example, parents in the rural S Sulawesi location were unhappy with the local primary school because some students smoke. In the NTT1 location there are many students, some as old as 14-16 years who are held back in grade 6 in the local primary because of *'bad attitude and behaviour'*. One family in the rural Papua location shared that they sent their daughter

to a different senior high school because *'at the closer one the boys get drunk a lot and are a bad influence'*.

While it is clear that families appreciate good teachers who live within the community (e.g. in the rural S Sulawesi location where three women primary school teachers all live in the school compound), elsewhere they are sometimes quite indulgent of teacher absenteeism. In the NTT1 location, only three of the ten teachers actually attend the primary school and these arrive at least an hour late yet parents are happy because the school is at least nearby. In the rural Papua location, there is often no teacher at the primary school particularly since the permanent teacher refused to stay in the community. *'If you are registered PNS you only have to go once to the school to get your salary-even the principal only goes once a month'* (teacher, rural Papua). But in this area there is also frustration about student absence with teachers telling us that only 30-50 students out of 100 registered actually attend each day, though children say *'There's only one teacher today. What's the point of going?'* especially as access is difficult particularly in the rains.

Less often parents send their children to other schools because of poor quality teaching, for example in one of the urban Jakarta locations, parents choose to send their children to a privately owned junior high school and a Papuan father shared that he



Parents particularly complained about the need for so many uniforms.

sent his daughter to school in the provincial capital because he wants her to improve her *Bahasa* skills. Other parents in the same location wished they had had choice as they feel the '*children in 6th grade have the same understanding as children in 3rd grade in other areas*'.

As pointed out in the earlier RCA study²⁴ teachers in Papua complain about the threats and intimidation from parents if they fail their children. Teachers again told us that they are expected by parents to pass all the children. SMK students here shared that they often skip school because they feel '*lazy or have problems with parents*' but they are not concerned because they know they will pass the exams as long as they sit them.

The main motivation for children to go to school is for friendship- it is the place where they can meet and hang out with their friends. The recent RCA study on adolescent nutrition and physical activity²⁵ found that friendship is key and children like to skip breakfast at home in order to cement friendship circles at school by eating together there and participation in physical activities are circumscribed by what friends do. This is so strong in some places that where there are few children in school or the children are not ones they want to associate with, then children will avoid going to school altogether. So, for example in the rural Papua location teenage boys told us they did not want to go to the junior high school as there were only four students in their class and others said they prefer to skip school if their friends are troublemakers and disturb them too much.

The experience of school is often shaped by the teachers children encounter. They tell us they dislike strict and intimidating teachers who may even cause them to decide to leave school. For example, a particular maths teacher in a primary school in the S Sulawesi location '*gets angry and hits the students with a ruler*'. A 13 year old boy shared that he left school at 8 years old because he was afraid of this teacher. In urban Jakarta students shared that they disliked the new head master who has introduced bans on purchasing snacks outside the school and insists they eat from the school canteen where he has banned the

24 Reality Check Approach Report 'Education Study in Tanah Papua', 2015 p36.

25 Reality Check Approach, 'Adolescent and their families perspectives and experiences on nutrition and physical activities', 2016.

consumption of instant noodles and MSG. In the other urban Jakarta location, one primary school has a reputation for stern teachers who use corporal punishment so children choose an alternative.

2.4.2 Access to Health

Getting to health services. Like schools, most of the study locations had relatively easy access to primary health facilities although hospitals were further away. Only one location faced difficult access to the health clinic (see Box 14) and one (urban S Sulawesi) was considered too far away.

14

Difficult access to the puskesmas

Although most communities have their own *puskesmas*, the nearest *puskesmas* in one location in NTT2 is an hour motorbike journey away and the road is bad. The cost of an *ojek* is IDR 40,000 round trip. There are five *posyandu* but only one functions monthly. People tend to prefer to use traditional medicines. When children are ill, a family member climbs the mountain to get access to a mobile telephone signal. They phone relatives living in the district capital and ask them to purchase medication which then arrives one to two days later. This works better than making the trip to the *puskesmas* as one study family explained, '*my daughter fell and cut her leg and we took her to the puskesmas but they had no medication for the wound. So we contacted a relative to send it*'.

Field Notes, NTT2.

People will use the *puskesmas* for minor conditions and will go directly to higher level facilities if they feel it is more serious, although it usually requires a referral letter from the *puskesmas*. But many claim they do not get sick or see minor ailments as '*everyday normal thing*' which does not require treatment, a common finding noted in both the 2015 RCA study on hygiene and nutrition and the 2015 RCA study on perspectives and experiences of frontline health providers. This means numbers attending *puskesmas* are low as typified by the Head of the *puskesmas* in the NTT2 location who said that less than ten patients are seen daily.

Costs of healthcare. Although those with health insurance (JKN) do not have to pay for health services, self-medication and use of traditional treatments are prevalent. Some medications in health facilities require payment. Incomers in some areas in Papua complain that they have to pay while the indigenous Papuans do not. In the urban Papua location, people said that the indigenous Papuans do not have to pay anything for giving birth in hospital, only a '*uang capek*' or small tip for the nurse who bathes the baby.

But the biggest complaint is long queues in urban health facilities (urban Papua, Urban Jakarta, urban Aceh). Because of the long queues in their local *puskesmas* people in the urban Aceh location prefer to go to a *puskesmas* 5 km away, a facility which received post-tsunami aid and is considered better quality anyway. In another community in the urban Aceh location people are philosophical about the waiting time at their *puskesmas* as they appreciate that treatment is free because of the province's semi autonomy status but '*because it is free you have to be patient*'. Long queues also mean that examinations are often cursory and result simply in a prescription, '*But medicine alone does not cure us*', commented a mother in the NTT2 location. Like schools, staff absences are also a problem, for example in the NTT2 location, the *pustu* has two midwives allocated but the place is often closed.

Poorly resourced local health services

15

The *puskesmas* was intended to be a model but '*it has run out of medicines this last five days and there have been no doctors for the last two years*'. This is despite having special accommodation for clinic staff which is regarded as high quality.

Field Notes, rural Papua.

The *pustu* only has '*one type of medicine-you get the same thing if you have 'flu' or malaria*'. There is general dissatisfaction about this *pustu* which also does not keep regular opening hours'.

Field Notes, NTT1.



Long queues is the biggest complaint at urban health facilities.

Attendance at baby clinics. By contrast to low use of health centres, the use of monthly *posyandu* facilities where babies and toddlers are weighed, immunized and given check-ups is high²⁶. People are particularly diligent about the monthly check ups during the first six months to a year and mothers showed us their Kartu Menuju Sehat (KMS 'Towards Health Cards') and the baby record books they used for these visits. The *posyandu* services are free in the urban S Sulawesi location (with photo ID) and will be free in NTT2 location once the *posyandu* is fully operational. In the rural S Sulawesi location mothers shared how much they enjoyed the *posyandu* on the 15th of every month and told us the nurse and cadre (local volunteer staff) work well together. One of the cadre there says she has learned a lot and now promotes healthy eating and advises mothers who attend to avoid eating instant noodles, meat and sugar. Some shared that although they know that immunization of their babies is important they do not like to see them cry; '*my baby cried for 4 nights so I decided I will never take her to the posyandu again*'. Children share that they are afraid of injections and in the S Sulawesi location they said their mothers dissuade them from tagging along when they visit the *pustu* by telling them they will get an injection if they come. In the urban S Sulawesi location, the *posyandu* provides family planning implants '*banyak anak banyak rezeki* (many children, many blessings) is not applicable any more so we are trying to help the government by using contraception' shared one mother here.

²⁶ As found in other RCA studies eg. Reality Check Approach 'We are healthy why change? Perspectives observations, experiences of people living in poverty on their hygiene and nutrition', 2015 p 78.

Birth arrangements. We were also made aware of efforts by frontline health staff to encourage mothers to give birth in health facilities rather than at home although some mothers say they still prefer home births either with a traditional birth attendant or a nurse. These efforts have included imposing penalties for home births. For example, in the rural S Sulawesi location, people shared that there is a new regulation which fines mothers IDR 600,000 for giving birth at home and charges only IDR 100,000 for delivery at the *pustu*. In the NTT2 location the fine for delivering at home is IDR 500,000 and mothers share they understand the reasoning behind this, *'baby deaths have decreased—a baby is fragile, if you give birth by yourself you cannot protect the baby'* (mother) but the road to the *puskesmas* is very poor, transportation is costly and taking a truck while in labour is felt to be risky. As a result some mothers have given birth in secret at home. In the NTT1 location, mothers now eschew the traditional birth attendant (TBA) because they too have been threatened with fines. A daughter of one of the study families there was told she could not deliver at the *pustu* as there was only a TBA to help her and she had to go to the *puskesmas* an hour's drive away.

2.4.3 Access to banks and ATMs

Getting to banks/ATMs. The 2016 RCA study on household finances found that people rarely use banks, that they were often located far from the community and families living in poverty could often not even name a bank (p68). In this current study location in NTT and rural Papua banks were located far from the community. To reach a bank in the two NTT locations costs people IDR 40,000 and IDR 60,000 round trip.

Social assistance through banks. Social assistance programmes (national and local) are increasingly requiring payment through bank accounts to ensure the beneficiaries receive the full amount of entitlement. The KJP and KIS are administered through bank cards which can be used at any ATM machine and do not require access to the bank itself. Most of the families in this study were within 15 minutes motorbike drive of ATM services although those in both rural NTT locations were much further. Those receiving social assistance through their bank account often withdraw the whole amount at one go.

Remittance. Apart from the requirement to open bank accounts to receive social assistance, others open them to be able to receive remittance money from relatives or (rarely) because they plan to borrow money from the bank. The accounts are not used for savings because people prefer to be able to see their savings (livestock, trees, jewellery) or because the process seems complicated.

2.4.4 Access to administrative services

Registration documents. Since 2015, schools have been instructed to require children enrolling to have a birth certificate and to be eligible for various types of assistance names must be included on the *Kartu Keluarga* (family card). In some places people need to be able to show their ID card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP)) as well. Without these forms of documentation or where there are discrepancies between different forms of documentation, families can face considerable problems exercising their entitlements. Box 16 describes a not uncommon problem.

16

Documentation problems

Dodi (16) and his family moved to Banda Aceh only 4 years ago and have faced immense problems with documentation. He could not be enrolled in junior high school because he needed the *Kartu keluarga*, (Family Card) and birth certificate. His family only got a Family Card when they moved but his name was missed off because they did not have a birth certificate for him. The family took legal action but the court did not believe their story and assumed he was orphaned in the tsunami and was not legally adopted. *'They did not believe me that Dodi is my son! I cried in the court, begged the judges to re-consider'* explained his mother. They had to repeatedly take the issue to court to finally convince them and every time it cost them IDR 300,000. *'We didn't know what the IDR 300,000 payment was for. They just said that if we wanted to continue, we should pay them first'*, said one of Dodi's older sisters.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

Getting registration documents. Access to documentation services varies enormously across locations. In the NTT 1 location, people highly appreciated the local village officials who are always in the village office by 8.30 am and efficiently handle the documentation required for social assistance. In one village in the rural S Sulawesi location the village office is considered to be helpful and no fees are charged for documents. In the urban Papua location, people say it is easy to get documents either free or with a *uang rokok* (a very small bribe equivalent to cigarette money).

The requirements to get a birth certificate vary from place to place. In the NTT2 location, for example, the birth is first recorded in the village office and then requires a six hour trip to the district office to get the certificate. There is also a requirement here to prove that the marriage has been blessed by the priest. As weddings are expensive this condition can be difficult to fulfil (see Box 18). In the rural S Sulawesi location, the *surat keterangan lahir* (letter of birth) is issued by the *puskesmas* or *pustu* and then the certificate is obtained from the Civil Registry in the district. Those born at home in the peri-urban Papua location or with TBAs (e.g. in Jakarta) cannot get the letters of birth required as a prerequisite for the issuance of the official birth certificate. Once time elapses the problem of trying to get a birth certificate gets harder as families in urban Jakarta shared. Some shared how they have tried to contact the *shaman* or TBA who was present at the birth to confirm the birth but this can be very difficult. The many administrative requirements lead parents to give up trying to get birth certificates for their children but this leads to other problems such as not being able to fulfil the strict requirements for KJP (but it is sometimes possible to get KIP instead because schools help with the process 'because they know how to bend the rules' and birth certificates do not need to be shown). In one of our urban Jakarta locations there are many children not enrolled in school because they do not have birth certificates, a particular problem for abandoned children. A ten year old boy shared 'I want to go to school but I don't have a birth certificate'. He does not have one because his father used to live on a boat and does not have an ID card. They

have been told they can pay IDR 600,000 to get one illegally.

More documentation problems

17

The family that I lived with has spent around IDR 500,000 in bribes so far to acquire ID cards and a Family Card but still they have not managed this because of discrepancies in the numbers on the cards. Fortunately, a Sumba village Church has started explaining administration issues to people and helping out when they face problems by mediating on their behalf.

Field notes, NTT 2.

Squatting means that families in one of the Jakarta urban locations do not have an address or land certificates and cannot get ID cards. But in parts of this community they have received ID cards during the run up to the election of the Governor, they say, in exchange for votes. Those without ID cards find they have to pay for services at the *posyandu*.

Documentation problems resulting from traditional 'bride price' requirements

18

Sumba people still practice dowry and call it *belis*. The prospective groom's family first meet the bride's family which is then followed by negotiations among the bride's relatives about how much *belis* they will request from the groom's family. Usually, they will ask for a minimum of 10 horses, 10 goats and 10 pigs. 'Sumba women are expensive', they said. But in the village I stayed in everyone says they are poor and cannot pay the *belis* and so let their children fall in love and live together while the groom saves up for *belis*. But this means there has not been an official Church ceremony and blessing and also that the marriage is not registered. This, in turn, means that any children born are not entitled to a birth certificate. School teachers I spoke with said that since 2015, they cannot accept children into school without birth certificates.

Field Notes, NTT2.

Table 4: Study households TV ownership

Location	TV (Units)/household		
	none	1	2
P1	✓	✓	✓✓
P2	✓✓		✓
A2		✓✓✓	
SS2	✓	✓✓	
SS1	✓✓	✓	
J1	✓✓✓	✓	
NTT1	✓✓	✓	
A1	✓	✓✓	
NTT2	✓✓	✓	
J2		✓✓	✓

poorer

2.4.5 Access to communications technology

Infrastructure. Only two study locations (NTT1 and rural Papua) have yet to get grid electricity and NTT2 has connection only in the evenings. These locations also have poor or no mobile phone signals.

TV access is increasing. 18 of our families own TVs and most of the rest who don't regularly watch TVs within the community. Those living in locations without electricity still manage to watch TV (only those families in the rural Papua and one family in the NTT 2 location do not watch TV). Watching TV it is very popular among children and adults alike. Children watch Indonesian soap operas, Indian soap operas, Korean dramas, Hollywood movies and Malaysian cartoons. Parents feel their offspring are very much influenced by popular culture.

Proliferation of mobile phones. Mobile phones are ubiquitous particularly as cheap versions of known brands are available and there is a good trade in second-hand smartphones. Every study family had at least one mobile phone and some had as many as seven, even where mobile phone signals are non-existent or poor. As mentioned above in the section on 'what it means to be poor', the type of phone owned is regarded by children as a key indicator of economic status and five of the families owned smartphones, albeit second-hand. The RCA project was asked to facilitate digital story telling among parents in mid 2016 and found that their biggest preoccupation was worrying about buying phones for their children because they pestered them for them but also because they felt that they might be labelled as poor if they could not provide this. When parents come into lump sums, for example at harvest time or end of construction contract payments, they will often prioritise the spending on phones for their children.

Being able to access social media is very important for teens and young people. Facebook is most widely used but some use other applications such as Twitter, Instagram or Whatsapp. Teens in the Jakarta locations use Facebook a lot and like to share their feelings and private life, often adopting false addresses and identities, for example making up their profile details to imply they are graduates from high school. Dating often starts with chatting on Facebook messenger.

Table 5: Study households mobile phone ownership

Location	Mobile phones (units)							Mobile: person ratio (range)	HHH children with own phone	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
P 1			✓*	✓				✓*	1:1-1:2	3
P2		✓✓	✓						1:4-1:5	2
A2		✓	✓✓						1:1-1:2	2
SS2		✓	✓	✓*					1:1-1:4	3
SS1	✓✓								1:3-1:5	0
J1		✓		✓	✓			✓	1:2-1:3	0
NTT1	✓*	✓	✓						1:2-1:6	0
A1	✓*	✓						✓	1:1-1:6	0
NTT2		✓✓							1:2-1:3	1
J2	✓	✓✓							1:1-1:3	0

poorer

*Includes smartphones

Internet access. Being able to access the internet has become important and sometimes a requirement for school assignments. In the urban Aceh and urban Papua locations in particular senior high school students shared that they need laptops in order to complete school assignments. They can buy them second-hand, choose brands from China or buy them on the black market. Children tell us they use their smartphones to access the internet but also spend time in internet cafés where they play games, download music videos and movies. In all study locations older children use mobile phones to play games, watch videos, listen to music and access YouTube. Where the signal is weak, they gather together in spots where the signal is stronger, for example in the NTT1 location, there are two popular spots, one under a mango tree and another in the middle of a field.

Some children have iPads and laptops, often loaned by the school and intended for academic purposes but used to play games and download movies or bought for them by parents when they get lump sum payments.

Other media. Newspapers are rarely read and radio too is barely listened to. In the NTT2 location there is a mobile library provided by the local government which comes to the school from time to time. Children told us it is free and they can take the books home and they love it. In particular children love the picture books but teachers told us they thought it would have been better if the library loaned text books rather than popular picture books.

2.4.6 Access to recreational facilities

Places of recreation. The 2016 RCA study on adolescent nutrition and activity²⁷ noted problems with diminishing spaces for play and recreation especially with escalating construction programmes and few special provisions for sports and play within communities. The study location descriptions provided on page 9-11 endorse earlier findings as only four study locations have any designated recreation spaces with facilities for play or sports and three of these are urban

(Aceh and both Jakarta locations). However, in one of the urban Jakarta locations there is no space for the children to play football and the playground with slides and swings has been commandeered by food stalls. In other locations, children play in open areas such as fields, rivers, ponds and beaches but are restricted by the seasonal use and availability of these play spaces. If children want to use properly constructed sports fields or courts, this entails trips to the city of between 20-45 minutes and the associated transport costs.

2.5 What is it like to be a child these days?

2.5.1 Our dreams

Unsurprisingly, given the importance attached to earning cash, children share aspirations for regular and permanent employment for themselves and to be able to support others. Among younger children this means wanting to be teachers, doctors, nurses, police or military personnel. Parents strongly support these aspirations, as one mother shared *'they will change our lives as they will get a regular income'* (Mother, NTT) and another says she hopes her daughter will delay marriage and get employment for a while *'she needs to support us first'* (mother, urban Papua). Older children sometimes err towards other forms of regular employment including working in offices, in shops, as pilots and flight crew, footballers or in the military which fit with an image of *'being cool'*. Boys in urban Aceh and urban Jakarta locations shared that they thought fighting in a war would be *'cool'*. One talked about loving war movies, having his photo taken in front of a tank and being excited when he sees a soldier jogging in front of his house. A girl in the rural Aceh location feels that becoming a policewoman will be cool because *'you rarely see women police- it will be cool, right?'* and boys in one of the rural NTT locations wanted to be police because *'they wear cool clothes'*.

Working for a company carries much appeal, especially among children in the Jakarta locations. They see this as the route to *'making lots of money'*. For example, one 16 year old boy wants to work for a reputed car manufacturing company as he has heard they

²⁷ Reality Check Approach, 'Adolescent and their families perspectives and experiences on nutrition and physical activities', 2016.

give good salaries and if he fails he will strive for a better position in the shipping company where he already works. A 15 year old girl in the same community wants to work in an office *'I'm already on track as I go to SMK, if I get the diploma I hope my mother will work hard to send me to university.... Then I will learn English to get a better job'*.

Others aspire to owning their own businesses giving them the chance to do what they really want and to avoid the hassle of competing for jobs. Getting employment, people frequently share, involves knowing the right people and having money to bribe and if you don't have either *'it is really difficult'*. Self-employment, though, is recognised as difficult too as capital investment is required. For example, the eldest son in one of the families in the urban Papua location wants to start a mobile phone business but does not have the money, another boy in the rural NTT location wants to be a hairdresser but has no money for equipment.

Nine of the children from the study homes shared that they hope to continue their education to university and, for some, this will mean the first time anyone from their family has reached this level. Some parents shared that they felt that salaries would be better for their children who had university degrees backing this up with examples such as *'working in a government office or bank you get a starting salary of IDR 3-6 million but if you go to university the starting salary will be IDR 11 million'* (parent, rural Papua) and *'you have to graduate if you want to become a pegawai (office employee). University is my son's future'* (mother, urban Papua). Parents in the rural Papua and rural S Sulawesi locations sell pigs and cows in order to raise the money needed for tertiary education. Other parents shared how upset they are because they cannot support the financial costs of university education.

But for many young people, they see getting SMK qualifications as a better route to getting work. For example, a 17 year old girl in the urban Papua location shared that her SMK course included internships and peers had managed to get paid work with the same companies after graduation and this was a strong motivation for others in the area to choose SMK rather than University courses. Others felt that completing senior high school

was sufficient to enable one to get a job but also necessary these days as even working in a mall or a factory requires senior high school certificates.

But some talked about tertiary education being a waste of time as jobs are difficult to find after graduation. In the rural Aceh location people shared that it was not unusual for graduates to return home and become fishermen; in the rural S Sulawesi location young people said things like *'what's the use of higher education if there is no job vacancy?'* (boy, 15); in the rural NTT location *'education is important but you won't get anything if you are from here as there's no job'* (man, 20) and others said that because there were no jobs *'you would just end up with debt instead'*. In the urban Papua location people talked about the difficulties

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Dreaming to go to University

The daughter (20) we lived wanted to study economics at University and to get a permanent job in a bank. When she was 18 years old she received the Bidikmisi scholarship but wasn't accepted at the state university. She said *'I really don't like multiple choice questions and all the questions were multiple choice. I like to write a story and explain the details. I didn't pass the exam and couldn't go to university.'*

The other option was to go to a private university but this costs IDR 3 million each semester and she was mad at her parents when they said they couldn't afford this. *'My other friends also have poor parents but they can afford this, but how come we can't?'* Chatting with her father one day in his field he shared he hoped to send her to University one day but the total cost including food and lodging he estimated to be IDR 50 million. In the meantime she has a volunteer job as an early childhood teacher getting only IDR 1.6 million per year with some training allowances and she supplements this by taking in laundry earning about IDR 240,000/month. She says it will take her ten years to become a PNS teacher.

On the last evening she showed us the university prospectus and the examination papers that she has carefully kept. She still dreams one day she will be able to go to university.

Field Notes, rural Aceh.

of getting a job after graduating. For example, a recent nurse graduate has yet to get work and says many of her year have got jobs in banks, offices or shops negating, in her view, the whole purpose of the two years nursing study. Another sells fish in the market because she could not get a civil service job after graduating. It is well known that securing a civil service job often entails bribes.

Role models are very important in shaping dreams. So in the urban Papua location some have decided to go back to school or continue to university after seeing their peers who went to university being successful. Those aspiring to run their own businesses have family members or role models in their community. In one of the slum locations in Jakarta, university students run Saturday classes in English and drawing. Many, especially girls, see them as role models and want to emulate them. Others are inspired by role models on TV, so young children in one of the Jakarta slum locations aspire to be singers and movie actors *'it's nice- they have lots of money'*, many boys want to be motorbike racers like their heroes in the *Si Boy Anak Jalanan* soap or football players (see photo). But others are disappointed not to have role models in their community- *'people here don't know how to support your aspirations'* (children, urban Jakarta) and in the urban S Sulawesi location young people rue that *'there are not many role models to look up to here'* and think that is why people move away to work outside of the village.

Three boys still in primary school shared their aspirations to become priests. Two say it is because priest get 'good food and own great motorbikes'

(Field notes NTT)

Most parents let their children decide their futures themselves and they shared with us they would gladly support their dreams. They use the language of achieving happiness and dreams a lot in our conversations. But sometimes they reluctantly admit that their

children's aspirations cannot be supported financially. Sometimes parents feel they have to make choices between their children, supporting those who show academic promise, are doing well at school as evidenced by good grades and awards they receive and responsibilities given to them at school.

20

Choosing between children

Father believes his eldest daughter will be the successful one in the family and makes his favouritism clear to the rest of the family *'She is the brightest so we hope we can afford to send her to university'*. About his son he says, *'oh he can just go in the army or become a football player. He doesn't like to study'*

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

They also couch their hopes in terms of what they hope will not happen, a minimum default position such as *'as long as they don't become drunks or use drugs'* (parents, urban Jakarta); *'as long as they don't work in a café, a market or as labourers'* (parents, urban Jakarta); *'as long as they don't work in something which is corrupt- like the police'* (mother, rural S Sulawesi); *'I hope they avoid bad influences and don't leave school early'* (parents, rural NTT); *'I will support my boys if they don't rape or steal. I would have more headaches if my children were girls'* (father, urban Papua) and *'I just want him to have a normal life, graduate from school, get work, get married so I don't have to worry about him in the future'* (mother, urban S Sulawesi). Others specify hopes that their children will grow up better than themselves; *'I really hope my children will not have to work hard like me- it hurts your body and shortens your life. I hope they can work as civil servants or for private companies'* (mother, rural S Sulawesi) and a mother tells her 16 year old son *'I don't want you to be like us (trash collectors). You are the one who can help change the family... I want you to be successful and continue your education'*.

Although children shared these aspirations for future secure and good employment, they mostly display little interest in school and study. This has been apparent in previous RCA studies and in this current study only two families paid any attention to homework

and in both cases this was due to the efforts of the guardians who insisted on study time each day.

Rather, the dominant preoccupation of children across all the study sites is with friendship, play or hanging out with friends. As mentioned above, the choice of school or afterschool activities is one children usually make themselves and is based on what their friends do. Parents are indulgent of their children, more so than RCA researchers have noted in other countries, wanting above all for their children to be happy and liked and included by their friends. This extends to giving in to pocket money demands, demands for toys and gadgets, letting them off chores, allowing them to skip school as long as this furthers their opportunities to have fun with their friends and avoids confrontation. Parents often share with us that they will do anything to avoid their children crying or screaming, especially as it embarrasses them in front of relatives and neighbours.

2.5.2 What we like to do most

We chatted with children of all ages about what they like and do not like to do. The following is a summary of what they like to do most and is presented in the order most frequently talked about.

Taking snacks together with friends is one of the most important aspects of children's lives and happens almost everywhere. Only in five of the families we stayed with is snacking rare and these are all rural families except one exceptionally poor urban family. In the urban Papua location which was considered the least poor because of easy cash earning opportunities, children took snacks up to 4-5 times a day. They buy their own snacks at the many kiosks popping up in every community. For example, in the urban Papua location we counted seven small kiosks in a single short alley and some of these stay open as late as 3am. The most popular snack is popsicles especially when the weather is hot, but also children love packaged snacks such as candies, biscuits, wafers, cheese puffs, crackers and instant noodles, as well as traditional Indonesian snacks including corn, tofu or vegetable fritters, fried banana, meatball soup. Instant tea, energy drinks, sweetened iced drinks are hugely popular. Snacks cost as little as IDR 500.

As noted in the section 'what it means to be poor', children rank the inability to buy snacks as a key indicator of being considered poor. It is a social activity they are excluded from if they do not have pocket money to buy snacks. Mostly children get snack money from their parents although some get from older siblings who work and live at home. Most have regular daily amounts usually between IDR 2,000-5,000 each day (although sometimes IDR 7,000-15,000 and sometimes IDR 20,000-30,000). But often if this is spent parents will give more, especially in the less cash poor urban Papua location. *'Uncountable!'* exclaims a mother in one of the Jakarta slums, echoing parents elsewhere when talking about the amount of money she spends each day for her children's snacking. Children often shop at kiosks for their parents and usually are allowed to spend the change on snacks for themselves.

Snack money is not necessarily taken from 'additional' social assistance money, but is a need irrespective of the source of money. So important is having snack money that some children earn this for themselves as the examples in Box 21 illustrate.

As observed in all the recent RCAs conducted in Indonesia, denial of pocket money results in children throwing tantrums or manipulating their parents into giving in. For example, a kindergarten boy in the rural NTT location refuses to go to school if he is not given pocket money, a five year old girl in urban Jakarta shouts *'I want a snack now, I want it now, mum, snack, mum, snack!'* until her mother, like others, gives in because she is embarrassed in front of the neighbours. A Papuan mother from the urban slum shares *'I feel bad if I can't give pocket money to my child. I feel embarrassed and concerned about what others will think'*. A father in another Jakarta slum location gives pocket money to his children despite his wife's efforts to provide them with a lunchbox, *'because I just want to make sure my children are not embarrassed with their friends'*. Some parents shared that they have debts with kiosks in order to service their children's demands for snacks.

Watching TV has become very important for children. This is a relatively new phenomenon especially for rural children as when we undertook RCAs in Indonesia in 2009/10



Instant noodle
IDR 2,000

crackers
IDR 500

chips
IDR 1,000

biscuits
IDR 1,000

candy bar
IDR 500

spicy cassava
IDR 1,000

Popsicle
IDR 1,000

Sweet ice drink
IDR 1,000

krupuk
IDR 1,000

Fritter
IDR 1,000

Meatball soup
IDR 5,000

salty peanuts
IDR 1,000

snack prices

21

Earning our own snack money

'My brother' who is in grade 1 junior high school does not always get snack money from his parents, so, he carries fish ashore for the local fishermen and swills the blood off the boats. He gets paid with a fish which he then sells to buy snacks for himself.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

Father uses used car batteries to electrify the fences on his farm to keep wild boar out. When these are spent, his children take them to sell, getting IDR 10,000 for each battery and spending this on their own snacks, fritters, pop ice and sweetened drinks.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

'My sister' is in junior high school and sometimes accompanies her older brother and mother to the city after school to sell fish, she gets IDR 20,000 all of which she spends in the market on snacks.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

'My sister' is 12 years old and sometimes uses her baby sister as an excuse to get snacks. She often has to look after her and will claim the baby is hungry but she gets snacks for herself.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta 1.

The many construction sites here provide many opportunities for casual work. Boys as young as 11 years old work for cash to buy cigarettes.

Field Notes, rural Aceh.

During cashew season in August and September, school children will use the school break time to collect cashews to sell to local traders. During a typical 15-20 minute break they can collect enough to make IDR 50,000. This happens every day for about 2 ½ months. The cash they earn is spent on snacks within a couple of days.

Field Notes, NTT1.

Children here say they do not feel full after only eating at home so they pick up casual work when they can to pay for snacks.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta 1.

many villages lacked electricity, very few families had TVs and those that did ran them off generators and expected neighbours to come and watch with them. As Table 4 indicates 18 homes we stayed in had TVs. Three of the homes which did not have TV are all in the rural Papua location where there is no electricity (interestingly this was also the location where we came across the only children who did not demand pocket money). In the rural NTT location which also did not have electricity, children had access to TV run on generators or use laptops (see Box 22).

22

Lack of mains electricity does not stop us watching TV every night

There is no electricity provision in this village but there are nine generators supplying electricity for around 110 houses. Only six families have TVs but children from neighbouring houses can watch TV with friends. They go in the early evening and spend about 3-4 ½ hours watching 'soaps' every day. Others here have laptops and will watch movies together. Three teachers have laptops and share films with their students, often English cartoons. 'My elder brother' works in the Village Office and often borrows the laptop from there to watch movies in the afternoon.

In another study family, the daughter who works in Jakarta owns a laptop with many local and foreign movies. Teenage boys come to the house around 7.30 each evening to watch. Their favourite are movies featuring Vito Bastian (Indonesian film actor). They stay until the generator is switched off or later when the laptop battery dies, usually around 10- 10.45 pm, when they go home.

Field Notes, NTT1.

All the children in our study families with TVs watched it in the early evening, some watched straight after they got home from school and a few watched before going to school. They stayed watching until bedtime and some fell asleep in front of the TV. During the weekend, children spent as much as 8 hours watching TV. As mentioned above, they love the various soap operas but younger children also like the children's programmes such as *Upin and Ipin* and *Adit Sopo Jarwo*.

Using mobile phones is a growing preoccupation, especially in the two urban locations which are least poor (urban Papua and urban S Sulawesi) but elsewhere most children either have their own mobile phone or share their older sibling's phones or borrow their parents'. Most children play games on their phones and not infrequently spend as much as four hours doing so. But they also upload videos, especially music videos (popular ones right now are Justin Bieber, Usher, Katy Perry and Bruno Mars). They like to imitate the singers and dance together spending an hour or two doing this. In some places, children download music at local kiosks paying IDR 10,000 for 200 songs (rural Papua). Even in rural NTT1 where the phone signal is very poor, most children have mobile phones to listen to previously downloaded music, watch videos and play games. Teens spend a lot of time using social media.

As indicated in the section 'being poor ... is not having stuff', mobile phones are ubiquitous and some children as young as 2 years old (Urban Papua) have their own. They are bought by parents or provided by relatives who are better off. Poor families buy



Girls play games on mobile phones.



Children spend as much as eight hours watching TV on the weekend.

the less well known and local brands which are cheaper and cost around IDR 200,000-300,000. There are also opportunities to buy illegally, for example a family from the urban Papua location purchased the latest model Iphone for IDR 1 million when the shop price is IDR15 million.

23

Mobile phone use

Here children, teens and adults use mobile phones up to 6 hours a day. Even some two year olds have their own mobile phones which they watch continuously. Sometimes they squabble over who controls the phone so parents give them one each to hold. When young children use the phones of adults, it means they have access to movies with graphic content including violence and sex.

Teens use their mobile phones to play games but mostly to use social media. They also watch videos together and like Korean and Indian movies best.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

Hanging out at internet cafes is very popular in some areas. For example, in one of the Jakarta urban locations, the local internet café is filled at the weekend with teenage boys who watch Youtube and cartoons from morning until late at night. They pay IDR 6,000/hour here but in another internet café run from the owner's front room in the other Jakarta location, they pay only IDR 3,000. This venue is packed from when it opens at 7am until late evening. In the urban Papua location the local internet café charges IDR 5,000 per hour and we found that mostly children under 16 frequent it almost every day staying for about three hours at a time. High school students use Facebook and watch Youtube while younger ones mostly play games.

In the urban Papua location teens congregate in an area where they can get internet connection from around 8 pm. Some go alone and others join friends. Some bring their own laptops while others use their mobile phones. Sometimes this becomes a good spot for dating. Girls come home around 9.30 pm but boys stay out sometimes as late as 3am and watch porn. In the rural NTT location, teenage boys exchange Chinese and Asian porn videos using Bluetooth.

Smoking is common among boys and a way to cement friendships. Even some primary school boys smoke as children in the rural S Sulawesi location told us '*we pick up the habit from our older brothers and cousins in junior high*'. In the urban Papua location, the primary school boys buy cigarettes one at a time for IDR 2,000 from the local kiosks. They tell us most start smoking at about 10-12 years old. Older boys (15-20 years) in the rural S Sulawesi location hang out in front of their houses smoking and drinking traditional '*sopi*' (alcohol fermented from sugar palm) and beer every evening telling us '*this is what boys do in the evenings*'. In the urban S Sulawesi location, a not atypical thirteen year old who left school at eight years old smokes heavily and shared that he spends the pocket money his parents give him on cigarettes. Young teenage boys in the rural NTT location smoke openly in front of their teachers, one of whom often shares cigarettes with them but they still hide this from their parents. They feel girls who smoke are '*bad girls*' even referring to the ones they see on TV as '*whores*'.

Alcohol consumption. Teen boys in the rural NTT location drink a local alcoholic drink called *moke* when they help their parents in the fields which '*makes them sleep late*' the following morning but does not, people say, result in drunkenness. Although people say that the new regulations on alcohol sales made about five years ago in the urban Papua location have resulted in five fold increase in the price which has reduced drunkenness, the boys there still drink regularly and while we were staying in the area still got drunk and caused disturbance. Women shared that they stay at home because of this. The boys buy alcohol from stores or drink home made '*sopi*'. They hang out in particular known spots but drinking is specially rife during music festivals and parents shared their concern about this. In the urban S Sulawesi location drinking alcohol is considered part of cultural tradition. The community encourages drinking of the traditional *balok* or *aren pahit* as long as it is not to excess and regard this as a healthy thing to do and welcomes youth to the Village House to drink.

In the urban Papua locations teen boys buy and consume 'weed' which costs IDR 50,000 per roll.

24

Drinking and smoking weed

'Kids from wealthy families mix with kids from less wealthy families. They drink together. That's why, even if the parents have good jobs, civil servants or teachers, their children might still be influenced by bad behaviour like drinking and smoking weed. Then they become lazy about schooling and drop out,' explained 'my grandfather' who is also the neighbourhood leader. He added 'You are safe now here, walking here and there, because alcohol is expensive as the Governor banned it and the price increased. They won't sell it to you if they don't know you.'

Field Notes, urban Papua.

25

Teen recreation

Children and teens go out regularly in the evenings. The teen boys go to a *wifi* spot and will stay until 1 or 2am when they eat together (usually chicken from street vendors costing IDR20,000). They chew betel and smoke cigarettes. They drink whisky (IDR250,000 per bottle) or Red Drape (IDR 50,000) or Bintang beer (IDR60,000). After big football matches here there is always a party with dancing throughout the night. Girls come to these events wearing short tight dresses.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

The police or the Village Head in an area of the city sometimes arrange parties with sound system playing loud hip-hop music. The daughter of the family I stayed with likes going to these and she drinks alcohol. She has friends in the city and loves to gossip about boys with them. But others in the village disapprove and refuse to send their children to school in the city because of these '*bad influences*'.

Field Notes, rural Papua.

Earning our own money. Children often help their families with income generating activities. For example, a boy in one of the urban Jakarta locations helps his mother each day rising at 4am to help transport goods to their kiosk and helping again after school with cleaning up and bringing unsold goods

back home; a twelve year old girl in a different Jakarta location helps her sister in her kiosk after school, in the urban Papua location, children as young as six years old help in their parents kiosks, a sixth grade girl in the rural NTT location helps her mother sell cakes outside her primary school. Others in rural areas may help with the planting and harvesting. In most cases this help results in pocket money or snacks and children are happy to help so that they can earn for themselves. A 10 year old daughter in the urban Aceh location told us that she saved IDR 200,000 by helping her father who works as a trash collector taking the labels off water bottles so they can be recycled and used this to buy herself new clothes for Idul Fitri.

In one of the urban Jakarta locations, a number of children (aged 10-14) are involved in *ngondel*, which involves them dressing up in costumes (provided by 'the boss') and dancing to music. One of our researchers met a group every day of the field work and found that they did this work because '*other work needs certificates and ID*'. They perform at traffic lights, amidst traffic jams and sometimes on the street and collect money. They work long hours especially at weekends where they work into the early hours of the morning but they say they earn about IDR 70,000 per day. Other children rent out umbrellas in the rain (*ojek payung*) and can earn up to IDR 140,000 from this. One boy (12) shared with us that he was pleased to earn around IDR 27,000 which he shared with his mother, using his portion to buy snacks and toys. He plans to buy a bigger umbrella so he can earn more.

Going to school for some is an important part of friendship and bonding. School is liked mostly because it is a place to be with friends rather than a place for learning. For example, in the rural S Sulawesi location, friends come by the house to pick each other up to enjoy each other's company on the way to school. In the rural Papua location the walk to school is 2 hours and children tell us that this is the best part of the day as they can chat with friends. They even eschew the taxis which anyway cost IDR 200,000 round trip so that they can prolong this part of the day.

2.5.3 What we least like to do

Doing chores seems to be less required of children than before. During the 2009/10 RCA studies we found many children were expected to do a number of chores daily although it did vary from location to location. Some girls then were expected to do as much as three hours a day of chores such as preparing food, washing clothes and dishes although:

'our observations suggest that many children (mostly boys but some girls too) are not required to do chores and may refuse to do chores. These children spend a lot of time playing and loitering'

Source: Indonesia Reality Check Main study Findings Listening to poor People's Realities about Basic Education, 2010, p39.

In eleven of the thirty two homes we stayed in children helped with dishes, washing clothes, cooking, buying goods from kiosks, sweeping the yard, helping with younger siblings and, in some places, with collecting water and firewood and gathering fodder for livestock. Girls are generally expected to do more of the chores than boys. In the urban Jakarta locations children expect payment for doing chores and will also pay each other to do the work for them.

Some children shared that sometimes they feel over-burdened with the chores. For example, in a family in the urban Aceh location the eldest daughter (10) complained vociferously to her younger brother (9) '*You never do anything, so you don't know what it is like for me- I have so much to do*'. Similarly, the eldest daughter in a family in the rural NTT location left school when her mother died in order to take care of the house and wishes she was still in school as it was easier. She only does what her father asks her to do and whenever he is out, spends time watching TV, texting or takes naps. She rarely goes out because she says she has too much to do.

More commonly children refuse to do the chores they are asked to do. For example, a mother in the rural Aceh location shared '*It disappoints me sometimes. I don't like the attitude of my daughter- a daughter is supposed to help her mother in the kitchen or at least clean the house before going out.*

But my daughter just goes out. I try to tell her but she doesn't want to listen to me'. And another mother in the rural S Sulawesi location, like others we met, bemoaned the fact that her daughter never helps around the house. But on the whole, parents are lenient about chores so that even when they ask for help and this is not forthcoming they do not pursue it.

Looking after younger siblings is expected of some children especially older daughters and especially in Papua. Some are also asked to care for neighbours' children when they are busy and while some feel this is just a normal part of everyday life others complained about the burden this puts on them. An 11 year old girl in the rural Papua location has to look after the neighbour's two year old until about 7pm each evening for which she gets paid but she shared that she then feels too tired to study. Girls in one of the Jakarta locations shared that they frequently have to look after younger siblings when their mothers go to market or visit relatives and this may be for half a day each time.

Going to school for some children in this study is something they dislike. This may be because they are not given snack money (and feel excluded from their peer groups), are not helped at home (see Box 26, 27 and 28), find the classes difficult or boring, are expected to do chores at school or simply '*don't feel like going*'. Parents have little influence when children decide they will not go to school and they often share their concerns about this with us. In the urban Papua location parents let the children decide when they want to go to school (something which is very much influenced by their peer group), but if they don't go and they know about it they will give them house chores or expect them to look after younger siblings.

In a family in rural Papua only two of the seven school-age children go to school and in another family in urban Jakarta only two out of six school age children go to school. A nine year old from this family is teased by the others for going to school '*Why do you have to go to school? Why don't you stay home like us?*'. This, he tells us, makes him cry and he wants to drop school.

26

Not going to school because he didn't have the carbon paper

'My brother' aged 12 is in primary grade 4. He does not read very well so asked his older sister to check through the instructions the teacher had given them on what to bring into class the next day for art class. He was excited about the prospect of the art class and wanted to make sure he had the necessary items including carbon paper to copy patterns with. But his mother ignored him that evening and he was not able to get the needed carbon paper. Next day he did not go to school and told me *'I hate drawing'* as an explanation for his absence.

Field notes, urban Jakarta 2.

27

Not going to school because 'ill'

The entire four days of my stay with the family, the son (13) did not go to school. He claimed he had a headache. The headache seemed to only be apparent in the evenings and mornings. One day he took me on a hike to a local scenic place and ran and jogged the entire way. On the third day his sister claimed she too was ill. Her mother put her hand on her forehead and said *'You don't have a fever'. 'No, but I have a headache'*. Her mother gave her paracetamol to help her sleep. Next morning she said she still had a headache and said she would not go to school. She started playing soon after and her brother mocked her for not really being ill. They argued at length. The brother said she only stayed home to watch a soap opera on TV. *'I'm sick... I took medicine yesterday and you didn't'* she countered.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

28

Not going to school – 'feel lazy today'

The two girls (aged 6 and 10) did not go to school on the first two days of my visit. The first day it was because mother woke up late and she could not prepare breakfast in time. The second morning they said they felt 'lazy' and stayed at home. They told me that *'school starts when the sun comes up – there is no fixed schedule'*. The road is long and muddy and so in the rains or, even when it is cloudy and looks like rain, children stay at home.

Field notes, rural Papua.

Doing homework is very rare. Earlier RCA studies have also found that children rarely get given homework and even more rarely complete it if they are given it. For example, an eleven year old boy in a family in the urban Aceh location shares that he does not like school (he says he only goes to school because his mother forces him) and struggles to do any homework. Schools and children tell us this is often because they do not have enough textbooks and worry about children taking them home (and losing them or damaging them). This, together with the lack of enforcement on chores, means that children have lots of free time and time with friends.

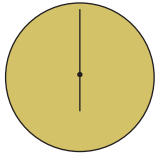


Children were told by the teachers to dig mud from the hills and bring to the school yard to level it. This took all day.

2.5.4 Typical days

The following provides a description of typical weekdays for school children across the study locations. The routines of over ninety nine children observed are remarkably similar.

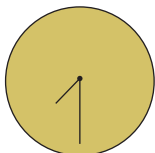
- am
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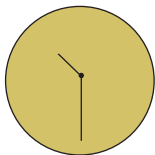
Most of the children in this study go to school so they generally wake early around 6-6:30 am. Most do not take breakfast at home as they prefer to take snacks at school with their friends.

A few do some chores before leaving for school, such as sweeping and helping younger siblings wash and dress.

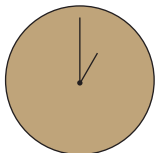
Walk, take motorbike or public transport to school. Motorbike is the most common and children either ride alone (some even as young as primary school age) or are taken to school by parents or elder siblings. Motorbikes are preferred to public transport as fuel is cheap.



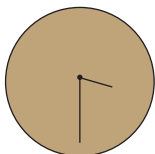
School officially starts about 7-7:30 am in most study locations but often classes start late as teachers are late. (Some children attend afternoon shifts which start between noon and 1 pm).



Primary school children below grade 4 finish around 10-11 in the morning while junior high and senior high schools finish between 1-2pm (although some finish earlier, around noon-12:30). Although the start time for school is often late the closing time is always 'on time'.

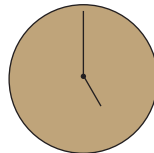


Some children have after school activities or they simply want to hang out with their friends and so leave for home between 2:30 and 4pm. Those on afternoon shifts finish between 4:30-6pm.



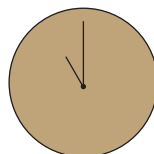
After school, children mainly play or hang out with friends until dusk. They play sports, wander around, play games or just chat. While staying with families, we

saw children skipping, running, cycling, playing football, badminton and volleyball playing traditional games, motor bike racing, fishing, swimming in the river or sea, flying kites, playing with marbles, playing with rubber bands, playing cards, cooking out together, going to the beach, playing Playstation and a whole range of games on mobile phones, roller-skating, singing karaoke and just hanging about chatting. Some watch TV in the afternoon at home or at their friends' homes.

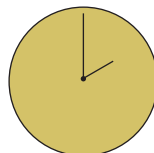


Children take dinner any time between 5pm and 9pm, often with the TV on.

Watching TV in the evening is very common with children staying up until 10 or 11 pm and sometimes falling asleep in front of the TV. In places without grid electricity such as one of the rural NTT locations, TV watching is circumscribed only by the period when the village generators are working



Younger children go to sleep around 9pm (often waiting to see their favourite TV programme first) while older ones sleep around 10:30-11pm. Only the children in the rural Papua location go to sleep early, sometimes as early as 6pm because they have to wake early for the 2 hour walk to school.



Teens, especially boys often congregate with their motorbikes or phones and hang out with each other, sometimes until the early hours of the morning.

For children who don't go to school, the day usually starts later, around 7-8am (although some in the slum location in Jakarta will sleep until 11:30 am). Some leave the house to play for the entire day but others accompany their parents to their place of work. When they do so it is rarely to help out but more often to play. For example, children in the rural S Sulawesi locations play all day in the



How children play.

fields while their parents work until evening. Others will spend all day watching TV. Older children are often working in construction sites or in the informal sector and will work every day.

2.6 Our relationships

The emphasis on play and friendship with peers permeates all the lives of the children in this study (and indeed all other recent RCA studies in Indonesia). Children actively seek inclusion into peer groups and this is strongly correlated, they feel, with their ability to buy snacks together, share cigarettes, spend time on mobile phones or in internet cafés, watch TV together, have the equipment needed for sports clubs or hang around motorbikes. Their peer friendships are very important and children tell us this is what makes them happy.

Children also shared that they feel secure because they have strong relations with their families. This is especially with siblings with whom they play or by whom they are cared for. Girls told us they feel strong bonds with their mothers and boys tended to say they felt closer to their fathers though many children told us they felt close to both parents. They shared that they would go to them first if they had problems at school or needed advice. Close bonds are also apparent with nephews and nieces and cousins, especially if they live nearby. All these close family bonds mean that even when parents separate or divorce or even abandon the children, children tell us that it doesn't bother them as they can forge loving relationships with others just like children we stayed with in rural S Sulawesi who rarely see their parents since their divorce and say *'we're not bothered'*.

Seventy seven children we lived with during this study live with both parents. Fifteen (about one in five) currently live with only one parent or grandparents as a result of divorce or death of either the mother or father and two children were sent to live with other relatives because the families could not afford to have them at home. Some of the study families had taken in other children to care for them on behalf of their brothers or sisters. Mothers, in particular, take on the caring roles. In the Papua and NTT location, in particular, fathers spend time carrying their young children around and playing with them but the feeding and cleaning roles are still

29

Friends and Play

'My sister' (9) loves to play with her friends. She is often out all afternoon and only gets back home at dusk. 'My sister' said she would like to have friends who are pretty and not naughty but said she doesn't have friends like this. We made a map together to show where she likes to play- she drew the house of her close friends and cousins and the friends she knows from school whom she plays with after school. She drew the *warung* where she likes to spend her money and the other places she often goes to; ricefields, cacao fields, by the river and waterfall.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

30

Kicked out

I met an 18 year old vocational school student who lives with his three friends in a rented room in the slum paid for by his sister. He shared he had had problems with his father ever since he remarried and was eventually kicked out. The boy blames himself telling me *'I did not listen to my parents, I stole betel nut from them and they often referred to me as an adopted child (anak piara).'* He first went to live with his older sister who lives in the market but she had her own family and so he moved to this rented room and she provides some support.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

31

Glad father moved out

The second daughter who is in grade 6 of primary school told me that she feels estranged from her father who left the family home 2-3 years ago. She says she never asks about him and has no intention to search for him. She actually feels better since he left as the arguments and fights have stopped. Her mother works in a café and she says she feels very embarrassed when people say that she must be a prostitute. *'But she is not'*, the girl insists. The girl shares that she is very close to her grandmother with whom they live and looks to her for support and affection.

Field Notes, Jakarta.

largely carried out by mothers. On the whole, parents dote on their children (more so than RCA studies in other countries have found) as evidenced by their own statements that their children are their main priority and they will stop at nothing to make them happy. For example, parents in the rural NTT locations shared *'Children are our first priority. You have to spoil them'* and a father in urban Papua shared that *'I love my sons so much and will grant them every wish they have- especially my youngest'* (see Box 33).

Some older children do not live with their parents. Once again this may be the children's own choice and preference. For example, we came across six examples of boys in the urban Papua location choosing to live with grandparents for periods as long as 6 years. Sometimes this was because grandparents were seen to be more indulgent or sometimes it was because relations with parents or other members of the family were strained or they have been abandoned by their parents. Many other teen boys in this location have moved to live with their sisters or aunts or rented their own rooms in the community because they were kicked out from home or because they could not get on with

their fathers. Sometimes the move to stay with grandparents is a decision to provide the grandparents with companionship or assistance. Others move to stay with relatives who may help them seek work. Children in the rural NTT and rural Papua locations have to move to the city for their senior high school education and sometimes move earlier for junior high school. They usually stay with relatives during this period.

Children are comfortable and familiar with neighbours often spending much time with them. Children often get on well with adults in the community and show respect by greeting them unprompted. In the rural Papua location it is very common for neighbours to take care of their neighbours' children and in one of the Jakarta slums it seems adults without children of their own gladly take care of others' children. We were told that often children are side-lined when their parents divorce and remarry and end up being cared for by neighbours or relatives just like a ten year old boy in the Jakarta slum who was left to live with his grandfather as his divorced mother started a new relationship and is living with her new family some 2 ½ hours away. This familiarity with the wider

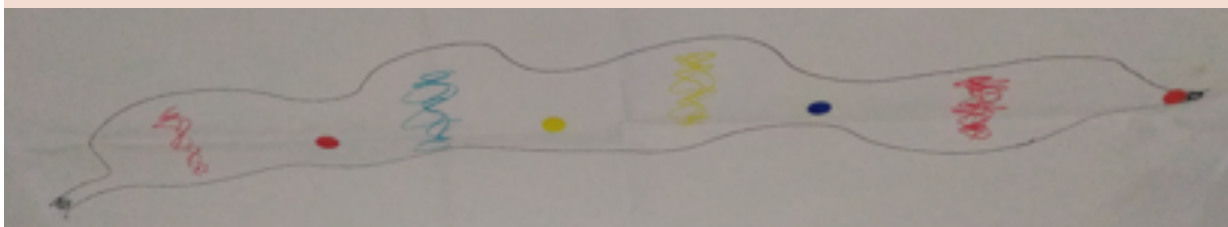
Dinda's River of life

Dinda is an adolescent living in a small island who shared her ups and downs with us through drawing a river of life.

She picked a red crayon to represent her primary school as a difficult time when she was bullied by her peers because of her boyish appearance. She preferred to hang out with boys. *'It was not because I did not want to be like them (dress or act like a girl), but I just did not think that girls should be spoiled or weak. Even though you're a girl, you should be tough!'* She then drew with blue to represent relief when she transitioned to junior high school where her peers were more open and mature because she could be herself without any judgment. She added a yellow dot here saying *'I like yellow, it is bright colour'* and later she placed a blue dot illustrating how glad she was that her friends were always with her even in the bad times. For instance, recently there was a low moment when she was accused of cheating. *'I was really sad, but then my friend defended me'*, she said. She feels friends are accepting and admitted that she has closer relations with her friends than her own younger sister.

Finally she added a red dot to depict the relationship she has with her mother. She does not like the way she controls her, deciding what activities she can take part in and how she has to act. She'd love to live independently from her parents.

Field Notes, rural Aceh.



community also helps children to feel secure.

In one of the Jakarta slum locations there are said to be about sixty abandoned children, all out of school. In the other slum location there are children referred to as *'bolang'*, an abbreviation of *bocah hilang* (unidentified or missing children) because people are not sure who their parents are. One of our researchers spent some time with these boys. They are 12-18 years old and left school at some point in the junior secondary schooling and hang around the community notably the internet cafés. People say they sleep *'everywhere'*, sometimes under the bridge or in the internet café. Others regard them as troublemakers.

There is quite an obvious difference in the way the youngest children in a family are treated by their parents compared to older ones. The youngest often gets lots of attention while the eldest, especially if they are girls, are expected to help in the house and not infrequently get ignored. We observed parents lavish affection on the youngest, constantly giving in to demands for snacks, toys and gadgets. They are often viewed with some pride and amusement as being the naughtiest. For example, a father in the urban Papua location happily admitted that his youngest is naughty and that he buys more gifts for him than the older ones. A mother in the same location often slaps her older child but dotes on the younger one, *'I like this one better, he is a sweet boy but his older brother is troublesome, I don't like him that much'*. Often the favouritism which can be very overt is because parents prefer the children who are helpful or more accomplished in school. This can put pressure on children to try to meet their parents' expectations. So, for example a 16 year old son of one of our urban Aceh families rarely hangs out with friends and constantly strives for high ranking at school and a girl in the Jakarta slum say *'I want to make my parents happy because maybe if they are happy they will stop shouting'* (girl, 11 years old).

Although parents do not make distinctions between their sons and daughters in terms of investing in their education and encouraging them to do well, they share that they often feel more protective of their daughters. This was very apparent from the 2016 RCA study

on adolescent nutrition and physical activity²⁸ where we found, especially in east Java, girls were prevented from going out after dark. A mother in the urban Papua location sums up the concerns that many have especially related to girls getting pregnant or a gaining a bad reputation *'I give more freedom to my boys because boys know the limits but girls don't. I don't want my girls to be like the girls in the market who hang out until the early hours of the morning. I don't want my girls to be naughty like that'*.

32

Educate the promising ones

Only two of the family's six children live at home now. While the eldest is married, two are studying in senior high school, a 4 hour truck journey away. Another son lives an hour away with his aunt. Mother always prioritises the two middle children, a girl of 15 and son of 17. She herself never finished primary school but these two have both got their junior high school diplomas which mothers shows me with pride. Her elder son (20) and her two younger children (13 and 7) she calls *'dumb'*. The son never completed primary school having been held back in class several consecutive years. She has sent her small son to live with his childless auntie (*'for company'*) and her 13 year old daughter used to live with neighbours because mother felt they could not afford her schooling *'I just want to invest in my smart children and not in the ones who are stupid'*. The 13 year old wants to finish her education even though her parents say they couldn't promise to be able to send her to Senior High school telling her she must remember she is from a poor family and they cannot easily give her what she wants.

Field Notes, NTT2.

²⁸ Reality Check Approach, 'Adolescent and their families perspectives and experiences on nutrition and physical activities', 2016.

33

Indulgent father

'My father' says being a father 'is the best' and says his two sons, 4 and 6 years old, energize him when he comes home from work, even if he is exhausted. 'My children are my happiness'. Later he tells me, 'My first son is shy and never makes demands' but the younger one yells if he does not get his way. 'Sometimes I skip work because he does not want me to go and I have to lie to my boss'. I noticed that the boy cried every time the dad left the house and he pacified him each time with an IDR 10,000 note. He told me, 'One time, I took him to the mall to buy clothes. But he stopped in front of mobile phone shop and yelled and cried for a tablet. It was IDR 2 million and I asked my wife if we had that much money and we bought it. I couldn't refuse because of the yelling and crying.... It was embarrassing. I know others will say if you don't have money don't go to the mall'. But the tablet was soon broken 'He has broken countless toys and phones. He plays with it for a few days and breaks it, or leaves it outside and it is gone'.

One evening I am there he reminds his boy that they will pick up the blue roller skates they have ordered after he gets his salary. They cost IDR 800,000. On the final evening I spend with the family 'my father' takes his younger son to the warehouse where he is a driver. The boy sat on his iPhone 6 Plus which he had only just had repaired. 'Although I would have been furious if someone else had done this I calmed myself by asking my boy what he would like to drink and we drank teh pucuk (bottled tea) together.'

Field Notes, urban Papua.

34

Slapping

Adults and children slap often here. Adults slap children on their face or hands to express disagreement, frustration or even affection or to punish even very young children. Children slap each other frequently and it is encouraged by adults. A one year old was urged by his mother and a man to slap his 18 month old cousin for no reason as he waited for his mother. The boy was confused what to do so the young man took the boy's left hand and slapped the cousin with it. The cousin fell against the door and cried but the two adults simply laughed.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

Despite the indulgent attitudes of parents giving into their children's demands and bending over backwards to ensure they are happy and have friendships, physical punishment and yelling is quite common although in some places it is frowned upon. Across all study locations slapping with an open palm is the usual way to mete out physical punishment. In the Papua locations slapping is ingrained more as a form of teasing and sometimes even to express affection which at first seemed to our researchers to be aggressive until they understood it better. Adults and children will sometimes take a stick to each other and it is usually mothers who do this. But children slap their parents too, especially younger ones making demands, for example, for snacks and attention.

'We talk loud here. We sound angry but actually we are soft hearted'

(Parents, NTT)

2.7 Money needed for children

As highlighted in the RCA Household Finance Study (2016) which covered 11 provinces in Indonesia, families need cash and as pointed out in the section above 'what is being poor', it is 'having cash' which is the determinant of poverty most often used by people. People told us that they need cash to pay for a wide range of expenses including regular monthly

payments (e.g. electricity, water supply, fuel for motorbikes, rent, mobile phones and credit repayment) and periodic costs (e.g. education, wedding, funerals). This is one of the main reasons people say they prefer to receive social assistance in the form of cash.

Household cash expenditure varies considerably depending on the context and ranged from about IDR 1.3million per month in remote rural locations in NTT and S Sulawesi to IDR 5.35 million per month in the urban locations in Papua. These differences are also reflected in the poverty ranking of communities with urban Papuan families having the most disposable cash income and rural NTT and S Sulawesi the least. Of course, this also reflects the relatively higher costs associated with living in urban locations. Families must spend more on food and may have to rent houses or land. Illustrative examples of household expenditure are found in Annex 5. These should not be interpreted as representative of the community but are the experience of particular households that our researchers lived with. More detailed analysis of the household expenditure from people living in poverty in Indonesia is explored in the RCA Household Finance Study (2016).

Families shared that they incur significant expenses related to their children. Typically between 15-30% of their household regular monthly expenditure is to support their children's day to day costs comprising pocket money, phone credit and transport costs (see annex tables). This is much more when the periodic costs of school registration and uniforms are included. The 2016 RCA study on household finances demonstrated that consolidated school costs for a child, especially for high school can amount to the same amount as families spend on food and also equal to amounts spent on snacks. The latter should really be included in school costs as for most children pocket money for snacks is essential. Additional accommodation and living costs are also incurred for families which are supporting children's education at schools in nearby towns and cities. For example the family in rural NTT mentioned above (Box 35) with two of their children in senior high school in the district town find that the monthly school expenditure is IDR1.2 million (equivalent to nearly 90% of their total household expenditure or IDR 1.4 million per

35

Costs of keeping children in senior high when they have to board

The cost of educating the two middle children in senior high is a constant worry for the parents and they both feel they have to work really hard to send money to them in the district town where they attend school. They are rice and maize farmers with seasonal income and also get a small income as village security staff.

Type of regular expenses	Amount (IDR)	Per month (IDR)
Monthly pocket money for 2 children in senior high school	1.000.000/month	1,000,000
Daily food for family	Rice : 2/3 kilos for 5 days; Sugar; Salt; milk for piglets.	200,000
Extra money for their senior high school children	Approximately IDR 200,000/month	200,000
TOTAL		1,400,000
Children related Expenses		1,200,000 (86%)

Nevertheless they believe that education is a long term investment and their children would get jobs with regular incomes in the future. The family, which includes another younger daughter at junior high, gets 'IDR 1.25 million from the *Keluarga Sejahtera (KKS)**¹ programme' every quarter but this goes to mother's bank account and is all spent on the 'two promising children'. Mother tells the younger girl she must remember she is from a poor family and they cannot easily give her what she wants.

Field Notes, NTT2.

*She told us this is from the KKS programme but it is possible she may have confused this with the PKH programme.

month) and they only manage because of the contribution they receive through social assistance.

The 2016 RCA study on Household Finances²⁹ found that there were two particular times when families felt particularly cash-strapped. One is when children transition from primary to high school and the other is when the family has a new baby. The period with a newborn is difficult, people explained, because mothers often have to give up work and the costs of giving birth and caring for a baby are high. In the Papua locations in this study those with small babies shared that they had relatives and neighbours who would help with taking care of their young babies and that they were comfortable with these arrangements which meant that mothers could continue to work. They compared themselves with those who recently moved into the community and did not have this support network and who found this time very difficult and expected their older children, if they had them, to take care of babies. As this and other RCA studies have found exclusive breastfeeding is very rare and families expect that there will be costs associated with buying milk powder but did not complain about it, saying that they anticipated this and made cuts in other areas of their family budget to accommodate these extra expenses. Buying milk powder for a baby is said to cost about IDR50,000-75,000 per week³⁰, the same as amounts spent on older children on their snacks/pocket money and amounting to a significant drain on family resources equivalent to the weekly expenditure on food for the entire family. Box 36 describes how some families are extending the milk powder to make it last longer.

Children in this study mostly had few clothes and shoes other than their school uniforms so clothing costs are very low but many families also shared that they are expected to buy new clothes for their children for Idul Fitri or Christmas. Some families told us that they can use donations they receive at Idul Fitri to buy the clothes (urban Aceh), whereas several other families said they tried to save

money to buy new clothes. If parents could not afford this, then children also shared that they would use their own money to buy new clothes.

36

Making milk formula last longer

One evening I was helping 'my mother' in the kitchen and watched her mixing SGM milk powder with flour, sugar and water in a glass for her 13 month son. She explained that she had stopped breastfeeding when the boy was 2 months because she was ill. The milk formula she used cost her IDR 94,000/week and when the baby was 5 months old, they could not afford it anymore. This was when, on the advice of her mother in law, she started to mix it with other things. She mixes 2 tablespoons of formula with 2 tablespoons of sugar and 5 tablespoons of rice flour in about 250 ml of water which she then adds to about 800 mls of boiling water. This mixture is enough for the whole day. Another mother told me this was normal practice in this community, *'In fact, my cousin only used rice flour, without any formula. She had breast pain at that time. Her children were even chubbier than mine who had formula. We are just farmers –so it is difficult to afford pure formula.'*

Field Notes, urban S Sulawesi.



Families felt particularly cash-strapped when there is a new baby.

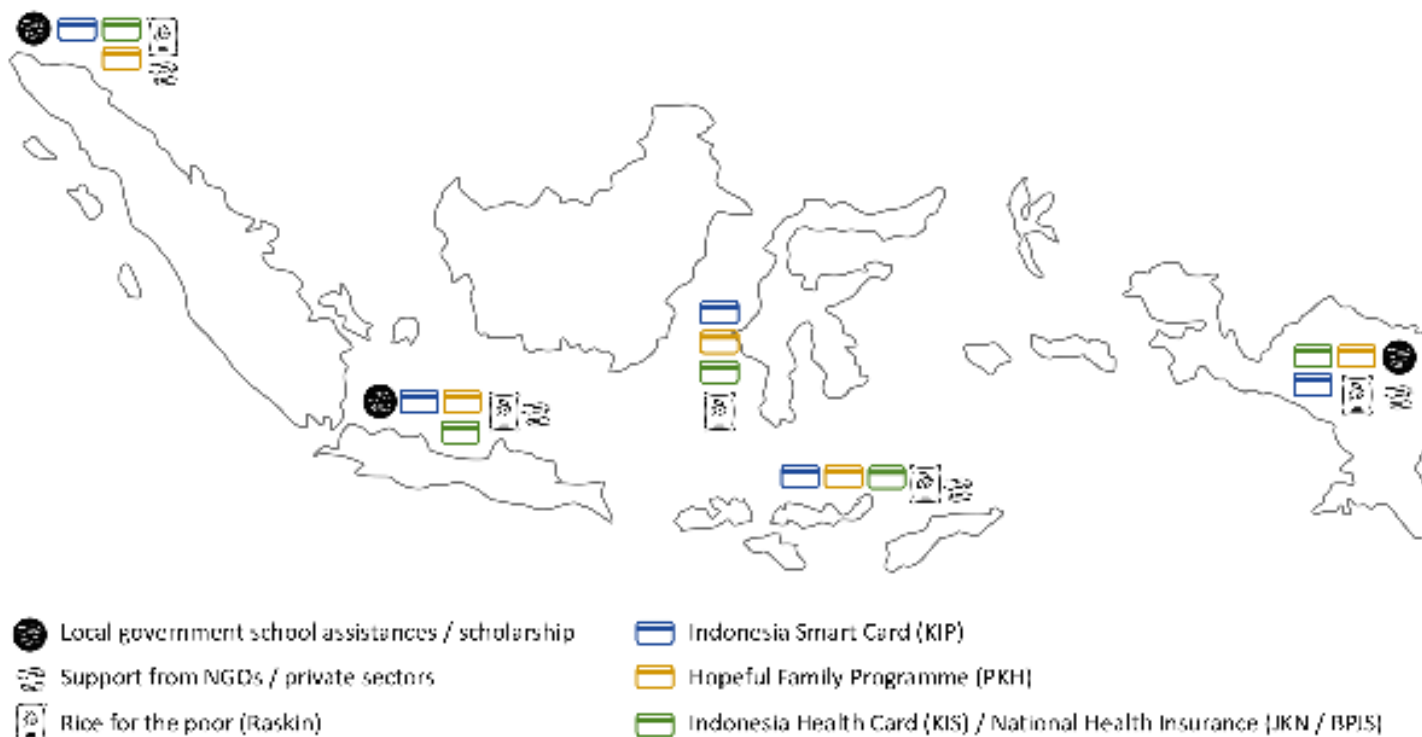
²⁹ Reality Check Approach 2016 'Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Household Finance Management', Jakarta p 49-51.

³⁰ Reality Check Approach 2015, 'We are Healthy Why change?' Jakarta, p 71 and Reality Check Approach 2016 'Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Household Finance Management', Jakarta, Box 5.

2.8 Experience of social assistance

There are a wide variety of child focused national and local social assistance programmes that people receive in the different locations and figure 2 gives some idea of the ones we came across during this study.

Figure 2: Social Assistance programmes working in the study areas



For most families we lived with the national social assistance cash transfer programmes equate to only a small contribution of family income. As uncovered in the 2015 RCA on social assistance the cash transfers contribute between 6-12% monthly household income at best and therefore do not cover the actual costs they are intended to cover. Some people said they appreciate it as a *'nice addition'* but not especially significant (p39), whilst many others thought the amount is so small that *'it is not very helpful'* and therefore people said *'it's ok if we don't get it'* (p39).

However, in the locations where local social assistance programmes are operating (rural Aceh, rural Papua and Jakarta) the amount families receive in cash transfers is much higher and represents between 25-50% of household income. For example, a family we lived with in rural Papua earned IDR 1,500,000 from their kiosk each month and now also

receive IDR 1,500,000 from something they refer to as *'village funds'*. In the rural Aceh and Jakarta locations, families shared that the social assistance provides closer to 25-35% of monthly income (see tables 6). In these communities families are highly appreciative of the social assistance they receive and they say it has had a significant impact on their lives and the ability for them to send their children to school. In rural Aceh and Jakarta, people now say they are able to send your children to school and you are *'stupid if you don't'*.

Many families told us it helps receiving larger instalments of the social assistance funds at key times especially at the start of the school year when registration fees are required, they have to buy uniforms and sometimes tuition fees to pay. One family in rural Papua shared their frustration that they received the social assistance money only after the time when

Table 6: comparing the different education support cost schemes

Location	Education level	Costs / month			Support provided / month				Support shortfall
		School costs*	Costs uniform, bags, shoes	Costs including food at school	KIP/ BSM**	KJP**	Sabang scheme ***	Papua scheme ***	
Jakarta	Primary	40,000	90,000	220,00	37,500	100,000			120,000
	Junior high	120,000	200,000	400,000	62,500	150,000			-
	Senior high	200,000 (SMK 500,000)	603,400	785,400	83,400	200,000			585,400
Aceh	Primary	Free	41,700	301,700	37,500		167,000		134,700
	Junior high	Free	66,700	248,700	62,500		167,000		81,700
	Senior high	Free	41,000	197,000	83,400		167,000		30,000
Papua	Primary	25,000	25,000	25,000				833,400	-
	Junior high	40,000	40,000	40,000				833,400	-
	Senior high	75,000	75,000	175,000				833,400	-

*Includes monthly tuition fees and the annual registration fee cost for public schools

** means tested ***universal

they needed to pay for the registration fee of IDR 750,000 for their first choice of state school for their daughter. Without the funds they had to enrol their daughter in a private senior school which charged only IDR 50,000 registration fee.

Apart from the need to cover these irregular one-off expenses, people told us they prefer to receive the rest of the social assistance money in monthly instalments rather. This, they say, makes it easier for them to plan their finances as they know when and how much they will receive on a regular basis. If large lump sums of money are received then some people in urban Papua shared they are more tempted to spend it quickly rather than save it. As a 19 year old boy in urban Papua shared when he receives large sums of money he refers to it as '*uang panas*' (hot money) and may use some of it for dating, gambling, alcohol or cigarettes. People also told us that they want to receive the full amount of the social assistance money and did not trust it when deductions are automatically taken at source. For example, a father in Jakarta shared that he did not like that half of his son's monthly tuition fees of IDR 75,000 for the private madrasah is automatically deducted from his KJP card.

As highlighted also in the 2015 RCA studies on Social Assistance³¹, many people shared that they are confused by the variety of social assistance programmes and what seems to be constant change in these arrangements.

31 'Peoples views and experiences of the national social assistance programmes', March 2015.

They are unclear about the intention and intended recipients and especially confused by the different acronyms. For example, a father in urban Aceh whom we lived with shared that he believed the KIP programme is a replacement for BSM (fuel subsidy) assistance, in S Sulawesi a mother, echoing others, told us that BSM is completely different from the new KIP programme because she interpreted the acronym KIP (Kartu Indonesia Pintar) as assistance for smart children and queried why those receiving the money '*aren't smart*'. People hold onto the old names for different kinds of assistance making it quite difficult to track what they really get. Many still talk about receiving BSM (or even sometimes BOS) money and in some areas the KIP scheme is not fully operational so appears to still be organised like BSM and administered through schools, enabling schools to continue to distribute funds as they decide rather than as officially allocated³².

The table below illustrates the various social assistance programmes that families received in each household we lived with. Overall compared to findings from RCA studies in 2014 and 2015 the research team felt that there seems to be more consistency in who receives social assistance. In the earlier studies, some families were getting some form of support but did not receive others that they should have been entitled to³³. In

32 So, for example, distributing the money equally among students, using rota systems so students do not receive consistent support.

33 Different ministries use different cut off points within the Universal Data Base depending on their budgetary constraints. This means that some less poor families may

Table 7: Social assistance received by study households

Location	Study household	UNIVERSAL GRANT	POVERTY FOCUSED		EDUCATION			HEALTH		
			Rastra (formerly RASKIN)	PKH	KIP	KJP	Sabang	KIS (ie PBI recipients of free health care)	Non-PBI (contributory health insurance)	Local scheme
P1	Ch		✓		✓				✓	
	Riz		✓		✓					✓
	In		✓		✓				✓	
	DH		✓		✓			✓		
P2	Riz	✓	✓							✓
	In	✓	✓							✓
	DH	✓	✓					✓		
A2	AL				✓		✓	✓		
	IZ		✓		✓		✓*			✓
	PRC		✓		✓		✓**			✓
SS2	BR		✓		✓					
	ST		✓		✓			✓		
	Zak		✓	✓	✓			✓		
SS1	LB		✓		✓					
	Liz				✓					
	YO				✓			✓		
J1	AN					✓		✓		
	IM		✓			✓		✓		
	RD		✓			✓			✓	
	KR								✓	
NTT1	BR		✓		✓				✓	
	ST		✓		✓			✓		
	Zak		✓		✓				✓	
A1	AL		✓		✓*			✓		
	IZ		✓		✓*			✓		
	PA		✓		✓*			✓		
NTT2	LB		✓		✓			✓		
	Liz		✓		✓			✓		
	Zik		✓		✓					
J2	YS					✓		✓		
	RD		✓			✓		✓		
	KR					✓			✓	

*Recipients of Baitul Mal programmes (Zakat money distributed to students)

**Recipient of Poor Fishermen's School programme

^ have the card but haven't received any money yet

✓ Local education authority means- tested grant for 2 years, since curtailed

this study we find more families who receive KIP also receive JKN assistance. PKH was operational in most of the locations but only one of the families we lived with received it. In this family though she thought it was a replacement card for BLT (see Box 38).

not get all forms of assistance. However, the poorest families should receive all forms of assistance and the families stayed with in this study should all have been entitled to all assistance, based on the community perceptions of which families are most 'in need'.

But there are still discrepancies which worry people. In particular, for narrowly targeted programmes such as PKH, people shared they are confused with who is meant to receive the support and cannot understand why some families receive the assistance whilst other families which they perceive to be 'more needing' or 'poorer' don't receive the assistance. For example, in peri-urban S. Sulawesi a family we lived with shared that four families out of 40 households received

PKH, but they felt only two are actually poor. A group of mothers in urban Aceh debated between themselves why some of them and not others had been invited to a PKH socialisation meeting. (see Box 39). In Jakarta, a family we lived with told us that the previous night some families received a letter telling them they were eligible for PKH assistance. In their neighbourhood 70 out of 250 families received the letter and they told us the houses were selected based on an economic census conducted a few months ago. Many families, they shared, are recent widow and widowers who have children. The letter required them to bring various documents including the KIP and KKS or KPS cards to the meeting which they erroneously believed is because they are not allowed to benefit from PKH if they are receiving other assistance and *'the PKH administrators want to check you are not double dipping'*.

Some shared that they knew the social assistance programmes for children are for *'poor families who cannot send their children to school'* and accepted that sometimes they will have to wait their turn to receive the support. As found in previous RCA studies³⁴ provision of school assistance is often administered at the school level through a rota scheme. So, for example, in the rural S Sulawesi location a family we lived with told us that every three months the school rotates distributing the IDR 400,000 'BSM'³⁵ money to different *'poor students'*. Last semester their eight year old son received the money but his older brother who goes to the same primary school didn't receive it. The explanation from the teacher at the school is one we have heard many times before that there are many poor students and *'only enough assistance for 13'* (out of 90) so every semester they rotate the funds around the poor students. In the urban Aceh location, a family told us that their eldest son got assistance from the Ministry of Social Affairs for two years, but now it has stopped (see Box 41). They are not sure why he no longer receives the support but *'perhaps it is not my turn anymore'*.

As the administration of the social assistance programmes varies across study locations, the following describes people's comparative experiences of the education-

related schemes. Some common insights that people had across the locations about their experiences and preferences for social assistance programmes are:

- People say they want to receive cash and decide for themselves what their priorities are to spend it on. They do not like being restricted to certain items.
- People prefer to receive the funds directly and not through the school where they may encounter service fees.
- People are not aware of conditionalities or the enforcement of any conditionality (PKH or KJP).
- People are frustrated with bureaucratic processes to access social assistance programmes, such as the ones described for KJP.
- People prefer more inclusive programmes, and don't like it when they are excluded from other social assistance programmes if they receive a local district programme.
- Many families already have to go to the bank to pay regular bills (e.g. electricity), so prefer receiving social assistance through bank accounts. Only in more remote locations where the bank is quite far away was this seen as a burden.

Eligibility issues in communal households

37

'Oh I got 1 million from the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP) but only once. Some people came by my house to do a survey and said I was not eligible anymore' explained a 11 year old girl cousin of 'my family'. Her family inherited some houses from their grandmother which they rent out but her father simply works as a caretaker of the nearby cemetery. They rely financially on her eldest brother who has started an Internet Café in their former living room. *'They found 6 motorcycles at our house, so they said I can't get support anymore'* the girl explained but these were actually owned by her eldest brother and sister in law who live in the house. *'Do you think you still deserve the KJP?'* I asked her and she shrugged her shoulders, not sure what to answer.

Field Notes, urban Jakarta.

³⁴ 'Peoples Views and Experiences of the National Social Assistance Programmes', March 2015, p23.

³⁵ Term used in this community to refer to the KIP.



38

Confusion with too many cards

'I have 13 social assistance cards' the host mother told me. She explained to me that the red one (Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera) is to replace the yellow/gold card (Kartu Perlindungan Sosial). The PKH card is still a temporary card which she received in September and she said 'it is a replacement card for BLT'. There are 3 KIP (Kartu Indonesia Pintar) cards, one each for her 13 year old daughter, 11 and 8 year old sons. She said that she went to the Post Office in September and got '(around) IDR 1 million from those three cards'. All members of the family have the KIS (Kartu Indonesia Sehat) except the 13 month baby boy and the four year old daughter who are not yet listed on the family card. In addition, she showed me her Listrik Pintar card, which she said she used in February to get electricity credit. She shared that they now have free electricity from the government so she doesn't need to use the card.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

A family confused by all of the cards they have received.

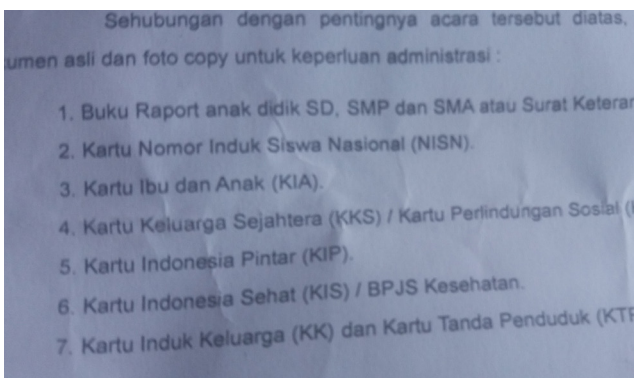
39

Who is the PKH for?

I was talking with 'my mother' in front of the house as two other mothers came by. 'This is insane! They said that the meeting was about social assistance, but there were a lot of people wearing jewellery in that meeting!' They were referring to the PKH socialisation meeting held the day before. The other said, 'From what I can see, there are lots at that meeting who are close to the Village Head.' She continued, 'To be honest I do not know why I got invited, but the family you (referring to me) stay with don't. They said that PKH is for families with school age children, but my youngest child now is in her 5th semester of university! They also said that it is for pregnant mothers, I am a widow and already old, how can I get pregnant again? If it is possible I will give it to 'your family'. Look at them, they are poor and have three school age children but they do not get it. Those PKH people said they only follow the data, which is really unclear!'

The other mother also shared, 'I also got an invitation to attend but don't know why. They told me to bring a Kartu Indonesia Pintar as proof my child is a poor student but neither of my children are old enough for school so how can I have that card? I ended up going to the meeting without the card'.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.



Invitation to attend PKH meeting required people to bring IDs and social assistance cards.

40

Ambiguous eligibility for social assistance

I lived with an extended family. 'My father' farms corn, cacao and rice. His brother lives with his family underneath his house and is also a farmer. Their sister who was separated from her husband ten years ago lives next door with her two children (17 and 12). She receives many types of social assistance (BLT, Raskin, KIS and KIP for her 12 year old son) because the authorities categorise her as less fortunate. The brothers are jealous as they feel they are poor farmers and have more children than she does. Furthermore, she has remarried and they feel the help she now gets from her husband means she is no longer less fortunate.

Field Notes, rural S Sulawesi.

42

Unfair distribution of social assistance

A Christian preacher shared how unhappy she was with the distribution of assistance for school children in her community. She had only come to hear of it when she saw a long queue in front of the village office. Others had been informed by the head of the neighbourhood but neither she nor her brother had heard about it even though they both have school-age children. She was particularly outraged that her brother who is a fisherman and suffering financially was not called. She made an official complaint that the locals had not received the information because, unlike the incomers, they never give bribes to the government officials. But incomers told me that *'as non-native inhabitants, we would not receive any assistance unless we give money to government officials'*.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

41

'Not My Turn Anymore'

The 'father' I lived with is a trash collector and told me that only his oldest daughter (10) got social assistance from the Ministry of Social Affairs two year ago. He told me that someone from the Ministry of Social Affairs came to their house and asked them some questions and observed their house. Weeks after that, they got information that his daughter was awarded a *'scholarship'*. He could not recall the name of the scholarship but he told me that she got IDR 1.5 million/year which must be used only for school needs like stationary or uniforms. *'If we want to take the money, I had to call the people from the Ministry of Social Affairs first. After that, my daughter and I made an appointment to meet in the Syariah Bank, where we were asked to sign a form. We had to provide receipts so that bank officer knew that the money was used for school needs.'* He also added, *'The good thing about that scholarship is even though the recipient of the scholarship was my eldest daughter, I can use the money to buy school equipment for my other children. So it was possible to buy three backpacks.'* But now, *'we do not get it anymore. She only received it for two years. People from the Ministry of Social Affairs said that it's already other people's turn. I understand that it is not only me who is poor in Indonesia, others also need that scholarship.'*

Field Notes, urban Aceh.

2.8.1 People's perspectives of KIP

As highlighted above, many people still talk about receiving BSM rather than referring to it by its current name, KIP. In general people understood that the BSM/KIP assistance is to help poor families with children's schooling. However, despite these being national programmes, the amounts and frequency of the instalments varied across study locations. In some places people and teachers believed the assistance should rotate among poor families with school going children (see above). In general, people thought the assistance is for school-related expenses but also can be used to support other expenses. However, as pointed out in previous RCA studies³⁶ and shared again by a mother in S. Sulawesi, echoing others, *'BSM doesn't cover all the education costs'* as there are many other costs that families incur (see section Money needed for children).

In many locations (both Aceh and Papua locations and S Sulawesi) schools continue to distribute the money directly. In peri-urban S. Sulawesi the teachers collect the money for the students from the bank accounts and then distribute this to them at school. In some cases people told us that they need to pay a *'service fee'* to the teachers. In the urban Aceh location, teachers had told parents that payment of this fee *'is voluntary'* but parents shared their frustration that in practice they had had to pay.

2.8.2 People's Perspectives on Kartu Jakarta Pintar

In Jakarta people told us that *'poor families'* can receive assistance from either KJP or KIP/BSM but not both. Many people complained that the KJP is *'very bureaucratic'* and the stringent requirements to supply a birth certificate, family card and ID card excludes many of people. People who did not have the required documentation can nevertheless access KIP *'with the help of the school'*.

There is considerable confusion in distinguishing between the KJP and KIP but in general people said they preferred to receive the KJP as it is more money. The amounts and timing of the disbursements

varied from monthly disbursement of IDR 100,000-350,000 to six monthly semester disbursements of IDR 1 million (primary), IDR 1.8 million (junior high) and IDR 2 million (senior high). Parents told us they are grateful for the funds and as one father explained, echoing others, *'now I don't worry about sending my children to school'*. A 33 year old mother told us that *'anything related to the school is complicated, so having this card is really useful'* as she doesn't get lots of requests from the school anymore to pay for items.

People also told us they are frustrated that the money is restricted to particular school-related items. A father in Jakarta told us, echoing others, *'parents should be allowed to manage the money'* and *'every kid has different needs'*. People recalled that when the scheme was first introduced the money could be withdrawn from the bank and used for anything; *'very useful as the family could withdraw the money and use for family needs'* (mother). However, now the card can only be used in certain stores to buy uniforms, books and shoes. These restrictions a vocational student described as being *'dumb'*. He explained that his family is in debt now as they could not pay his vocational school registration fees with the KJP money and they are also struggling to pay the semester fees (see Box 44). Some people said that they previously found shops where they used the card to buy other household items. However, they said the Jakarta government is *'getting stricter with enforcing the restrictions'* related to using the card and have clamped down on these practices. One family shared that their KPJ card was confiscated as they were caught getting fake receipts from a shop, but no other family shared they were required to get receipts and show them to their schools.

As with people's experiences with the PKH programme, people are not aware of any conditionalities and in no cases did people share knowledge of any conditions being enforced. Many students we met did smoke cigarettes and are not aware this could have implications on them continuing to receive KJP. Nobody was aware that the KJP card could be taken away if they break school rules, for truancy or being regularly late for school.

³⁶ 'Understanding Social Assistance Programmes from the Perspectives of People Living in Poverty Sub-Report 2', March 2015, p28-30.

43

Not able to follow the KJP accounts

'My mother' claimed they get IDR 9 million every year paid directly for school fees and IDR 150,000 each month for their son's transport. She said that *'the transport money I can use to buy food for my son'*. The family cannot understand the bank account book and do not know what is credit and which one is the debit. They have to ask a supermarket worker to tell them. However, they know that KJP can be used to buy things in the supermarket.

We looked together at the print out of their account book from June 2013–August 2016

Month/Year	Income (IDR)
June 2013	540,000
September 2013	540,000
November 2013	1,080,000
December 2013	2,100,000
Total for 2013	4.26 million
September 2014	1,080,000
June 2015	2,580,000
December 2015	2,580,000
Total for 2015	5.16 million
April 2016	2,580,000

These income figures are confusing the family. The current balance when 'my brother' last checked is IDR 299.000, so mother is convinced that *'it means that the transport money of IDR 150.000 for 2 months is already transferred into our account'*. But in fact it reflects the August payment (which did not appear on the statement) minus more than IDR 600,000 which mother has used for shopping in the last three months. This included payments for perfume, air freshener and soft drinks for themselves and coffee and tea for sale in their own *warung*.

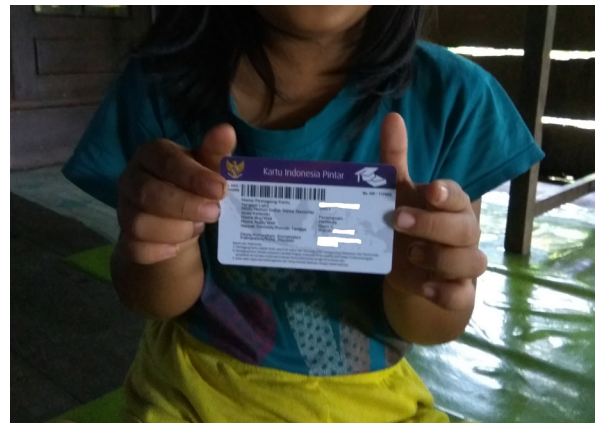
Field Notes, urban Jakarta.

44

Cash is better as assistance

My 16-year-old 'brother' gets IDR 350.000 every month with KJP. Initially they bought school uniforms and books but also it helped to buy rice and other needs for the family. Then the system changed and he could not get cash any more and they could only purchase school-related items such as books, shoes, uniforms through appointed stores. This change happened just when 'my brother' was about to enrol in vocational high school. 'My sister' said the family did their best to get him into the school, paying half the enrolment fee up front with an arrangement to pay the rest in instalments. But there are also semester fees to pay. *'If I enrolled in a public high school it might not be that hard for my family, but I need to go to vocational school so I can work right after I graduate'*, 'my brother' said. He shared that he knew some families had tried to use the cards to withdraw cash from ATMs and others had tried to use fake receipts so they could get some cash although he explained that their cards were subsequently blocked. 'My brother' said, *'It's a stupid system! We need cash! Of course some people might use it for other things but I really need it to pay fees for school! I wouldn't be working night work if the card is cashable'*. Just recently he has heard that in the future the fees will be able to be paid with the card, *'A friend from another school told me that. I hope it's not a rumour'*, he said to 'my sister'

Field Notes, urban Jakarta.



KIP does not cover all education costs as there are many other costs that families incur.

2.8.3 People's perspectives on Sabang IDR 2 million grant

In rural Aceh all students of primary, junior or senior high school receive IDR 2 million each year. This assistance, people say, is provided by the Mayor who pledged it in his last election campaign. The next Mayoral election is in 2017 and some people said he is pledging to increase the assistance to IDR

Poor Fisherman Student Scholarship

45

A father pointed to a notice posted on the coffee shop wall, 'See, there is a Ministry of Fisheries scholarship for the children of poor fishermen in this village. Each year twelve scholarships are given out on a rota so the same person cannot always get the scholarship every year.' We looked closely at the announcement where it stated it was for students of primary grades 5 and 6, grade 2 and 3 junior high and the same grades in senior high as well as 5th semester University students. In order to apply, students needed to submit; i. a copy of their BRI bank account, ii. a statement letter from the school or university stating that the applicant is an active student iii. a copy of their school report card or academic transcript, iv. a copy of their parents' ID card, v.a copy of the Family Card. The youngest son in 'our family' shared that he used to get that scholarship when he was in primary grades 5 and 6 receiving IDR 180,000 per month each year.

Field Notes, rural Aceh.

Spending social assistance money

46

'I got IDR 280,000 BSM money when I was in the 2nd grade junior high and I used the money to buy this fan for IDR 270,000,' explained the second daughter of the family I stayed with. Her younger brother said, 'Every student from primary to senior high will get IDR 2 million per year from the Central Government, but because our family is considered a poor family I also get BSM money and there are other scholarships as well. For example if you are the first rank in primary school you will get IDR 300,000, and if you are the first rank in senior high school you will get IDR 600,000.'

'We bought this motorbike secondhand with the assistance money. I need it because the senior high school is far from the city and there was no free bus back then. We also bought the iron, rice cooker and smartphone from that money'. Another day, when we were having lunch, mother shared, 'This gas stove was bought from the money that my daughter got from the school. She said she did not like the food that is cooked with the wood burning stove we had before'.

The youngest son used part of the assistance money that he got to buy a boat. 'Now the boat is used by my older married brother so he can go fishing. Sometimes I join him after school.'

Field Notes, rural Aceh.



Kitchen of a study family before and after they received social assistance money. The cash was used to buy a refrigerator, gas stove, iron, rice cooker, smart phone and a boat.

5 million for senior high school students. The money, people told us, is paid into a bank account in the child's name in a one time disbursement each year. Teachers assist in setting up the bank accounts. The students are required to complete a form and submit it with their family card and a week later the teacher gives them the bank book. The cost of setting up the bank account is IDR 100,000 which is deducted from the first instalment.

People talked enthusiastically about the assistance and how it has encouraged them to ensure their children complete school. A *warung* owner who is mother of five children explained to us that *'people are stupid if their children don't finish school now as everything is provided'*. A 15 year boy (grade 2 junior high school) had wanted to leave school like his five elder brothers who left during their primary schooling but his parents insisted he continued so that they could receive the IDR 2 million per year. Some of this money he has already used to buy a boat which his brothers borrow too, while the rest of the money has been used to cover school costs. Some of this money he has already used to buy a boat which his brothers borrow too, while the rest of the money was sufficient to cover the 'official' and 'unofficial' school costs.

People told us that they want to be free to decide the most pressing needs for their family and children. Unlike in Jakarta where people are frustrated with the restrictions of the KJP, people in Aceh appreciate that they can spend the money on what is important for their child and family. For example, a family in Aceh who are receiving a large proportion of their income from social assistance funds, showed us the various items that they have bought with the social assistance money. This included a motorbike which the daughter bought so she could get to senior high school, an iron which the daughter now uses to iron neighbours clothes to get additional income, a fishing boat which the youngest son bought with his assistance money, a stove and a fridge (see Box 46).

People also shared that they like that the IDR 2 million grant is inclusive and if you receive the funds you are not excluded from other programmes. In Aceh families shared that they also received assistance from KIP and other district government authorities and local NGOs. In rural Aceh in one fishing community there is a rotating Poor

Fisherman's Children assistance provided by the Ministry of Fisheries (see Box 45). In urban Aceh there are also a number of other child assistance programmes provided by the Baitul Mal, an Islamic Foundation and other local government and private sectors. These programmes cover: poor families assistance (IDR 800,000 / year); education assistance for poor families (IDR 400,000 / year); scholarships for fatherless children; housing assistance, scholarships for fatherless children; and small micro-enterprise capital loans.

2.8.4 People's Perspectives on the district social assistance programmes in rural Papua

In the rural Papua study location people told us that every family receives funds but were very unsure of where these funds actually came from. Families shared they did not receive KIP, but also did not suggest that this is because they are receiving the special assistance instead. There is some confusion and variation on the actual amount people receive, with some families saying it is IDR 1million per family member every 3 months whilst other families stated it is IDR 1.5million per household every 3 months.



Livestock rearing as a means to pay for school transition costs.



Children receive school supplies for attending koran recitals.

Going just for the cash

Children in 'my community' were so excited when 'my brother' announced that they will be an event for children in city centre which he was co-ordinating. *'Can I come, brother? Can I come?'* many children were keen to join. *'No, you are too small. And you are too big'* he told them as he selected twelve children aged 12-18. *'What is the event about, brother?'* they asked but he said, *'just come and see'*.

So we all rented a pick-up truck to go to the city centre. I asked the children what it was all about but they did not know. The brother co-ordinator explained that it was about *'giving voices to children and protecting children from exploitation'* but nothing more.

A woman in formal dress welcomed us when we arrived in a room full of posters about children's empowerment. We were called in one by one to register. Finally she gave white envelopes to the brother for each child, *'Do you have more kids?'* she said *'There are three more on the list'*. The brother then called my name, the driver and randomly beckoned a boy from the street to sign. After we signed, he collected three more envelopes and said. *'Okay, done. Let's take a picture together'*. The lady then said *'Thank you for coming kids!'* and just before leaving she said to the brother *'You do know that each kid is supposed to get IDR 300,000—but it is cut by IDR 100,000 for administration'* and the brother nodded.

There was no programme only 15 minutes to sign the register and take a picture. That was it. We left in the truck but en route the brother demanded the truck stop and leapt out. *'where is the boy from the street? He took my envelope! I got nothing, I got nothing!'* He got back in the truck and distributed the other envelopes. Each child got IDR 200,000. Brother reminded them that he had got nothing and asked them how much they were going to give him. The children laughed and one boy said, *'I'll treat you to a meatball, thanks brother'*.

Arriving home, other children teased the twelve telling them they should share the money. I asked the twelve what they would do with the money and they all said they would use it for pocket money. A 17 year old boy said he'd spend his on cigarettes *'all the cash will be burned up'*, he quipped. An 18 year old planned to spend his on a date that night.

I asked people in the community about these 'children's activities' and was told they were just about *'getting the transport money'*. A fourteen year old girl said, *'Sometimes we just go and sign the register, sometimes we have to listen to somebody's speech... I don't know what they are about as I sleep. I only go for the money'*.

Field Notes, urban location.

People were clear that every family is intended to benefit although in the neighbouring village they told us the Village Head only distributed it to *'people who helped build the village office'*. Some people shared that the local government also provides some programmes to help build houses (see box 48), start local businesses (see box 49), and for pregnant mothers (see box 51). Although three of the district government programmes stopped in 2016, people were not aware that they had been stopped, some people misused the money and the amount received was less than the official benefits.

In particular in Papua and NTT, families shared that they preferred to use their social assistance money to invest in livestock. The livestock can then be sold when large expenses are required for schooling transitions, weddings or other key events in their child's life. In Papua and NTT an adult pig

could sell for IDR 3.5-5million and chickens for IDR 0.5-1million. People told us that pigs can also start breeding after just one year so can provide lucrative incomes. A farmer's brother shared his story that he has managed to send his all 13 of his children to university through raising livestock and working hard on the farm. Other families shared that when they needed money to send their children to their next stage in schooling then they will sell their livestock.

2.8.5 Other experiences of local education support programmes

In some of the communities families also received cash and in-kind support for their children from religious institutions. In NTT a family shared that they received assistance from the church for their daughter to continue her education at a Christian senior high school in the district. They told us the

Housing Assistance

48

The house of my host is not *Honai*, the traditional Papuan house. It's a stilted wooden house with a zinc roof and cemented toilet at the back. *'It is rumah sehat (healthy house)'* my 'mom' said. The family got assistance from district government to build the house, *'we had to collect wood (for the wall) from the forest by ourselves, then the government sent materials, such as zinc, cement and ceramic toilet – they would have cost us about IDR 10 million but were free'* my 'father' explained. Only those who initiated collecting wood got housing materials. The houses are called *'sehat'* (healthy) because the family have to build a wooden toilet in the house and plant some flowers around the house. However, there is no water supply for the toilet so the family say *'it's easier to go to the river'*.

My family told me they prefer to stay in a *Honai* house rather than the social assistance house. *'I like Honai better'* my 'brother' said, *'It's warmer at night'*.

Field Notes, Rural Papua.

Assistance to start a kiosk

49

My 'mom' has a kiosk next to the other neighbours' kiosks on the main road. It's a simple hut they built by themselves one or two years ago. *'We got IDR 5 million from district government to start the kiosk'* she told me. *'Only people who build a hut first got assistance'* she explained. When they got the money she shared that *'my husband and I went to the city and spent half the money to buy groceries and the rest he spent on alcohol'*. She then put all the groceries (i.e. noodles, sugar, tea, coffee, biscuits) in the kiosk and is now selling some of the goods. She told me she didn't make much money because *'no one buys stuff here, if they need noodles, I will just give it to them'*.

Field Notes, Rural Papua.

Fish pond Assistance Wasted

50

My 'father' got IDR 30 million to make a fish pond. A few years ago his uncle who works at the district Department of Fisheries offered him to make a group-business proposal. To receive the assistance he said you first had to dig the hole in the ground yourself. So he asked some neighbours to help dig the hole in front of the house. When he got the assistance money, he gave IDR 1.5 to 2 million to each of the neighbours.

With the remaining amount of money he and his wife went to the city for a week. He shared that his wife stayed in a hotel and visited relatives. She went to the market and bought new clothes. While he stayed in different hotels with friends, spending millions on partying all night, drinking and gambling. He said *'we were accompanied by young ladies while gambling, I paid each lady IDR 2 million'*.

When the uncle came back to see the pond he found out all the cash had been wasted. He angrily bought piping for the water, seeds and fish food. *'I gave him work but he is so lazy'* the uncle exclaimed. When I was there we fished together because the uncle needed to take a picture for reporting the business to his office and bring some fish for colleagues as a proof that the business is running.

Field Notes, Rural Papua.

Assistance for Pregnant Mothers

51

A mother we lived with shared that she received assistance from the local government for baby items. She said this use to be cash, which she preferred, but it was changed to clothes and biscuits as some mothers previously used the cash to buy cooking oil and other household items. She also recalled that when she was pregnant she use to receive some money for support.

Field Notes, Rural Papua.

NGO including the excluded

52

There were several social assistance programmes working for the slum community. Among these, people appreciated the social assistance programme offered by an NGO which supports children who are not in school and who don't get government assistance to continue their education. All five such children in the community receive IDR 15,000 as the transportation fee to and from school. The transport fee was given out only when the kid attended class at school. Every month, the head of the NGO invited the five to shop together spending up to IDR 250,000. The conditions and follow up in this programme was praised by the community *'it is one of the best social assistance programme.'*

Field Notes, Jakarta 2.

Children's own Arisan for school needs

53

Inspired by the adults' practice of *arisan* (a version of rotating savings and credit programme), a 12 year old junior high school student formed one for her classmates so they would have money to purchase school-related items. Every day, the members contribute IDR 2,000. and the weekly winner takes the lot but it can only be used to buy school-related items, such as pencils, books and school bags and the girl who organises this makes the purchases herself to ensure this. The winner can decide which items to be bought and whether or not he/she wants to have the money spent that week or saved until it reaches a higher amount.

Field Notes, urban Papua.



Scholarship in Papua

54

'I did not get scholarship because I am not coming from here' Maria has just graduated from high school and now sells fish in the market. *'The scholarship is only for Ondo Afi's (tribe chief) family,* and although she was born here in Jayapura (her grandparents moved here forty years ago) and was the top student in her class, she is not regarded as *'putra daerah'* (daughter of the area) *'Many students come from the mountain area to study here and they got support from their district governments.'*

By contrast Nila, an ethnic Papuan, is keen to study in Jayapura next year. Many of her friends got scholarships from the district government as she explained, *'Top students will get scholarships, especially if you enrol in political studies, public administration or economics as this district needs a lot of new civil servants'.* Each student can get IDR 20 million per-year, *'for school fees, books and living costs. All covered!'* Special scholarships were given to students who are able to speak English, *'top seven students study abroad, with support from the Mayor'.*

But Nila says she will not get a scholarship 'Because I cannot converse in English. I am not the top student at school either'. 'My Dad will sell two pigs so I can go to university' she said.

Field Notes, urban Papua.

church only provides assistance to poor families *'who are devoted to the church and to high performing children'*. In one of the urban Jakarta locations, a family shared that the church supports them to get a free medical check-up every year for the whole family. In the rural Aceh location, children get school books, pencils) and often rice boxes and cakes when they attend the Koran recital which is led one of the leaders at the mosque.

In some locations NGOs are also active and provide additional support, especially to those who are excluded from the social assistance programmes. In Jakarta NGOs provide assistance to families who don't receive social assistance with IDR 250,000 on the 5th of each month for pocket money (see Box 52).

In rural Papua there are also different scholarship programmes offered by the local government and local branches of private companies. They are often only for indigenous Papuans and may be limited

Not included in social assistance lists

55

A father shared that the Village Head has all the data of the poor families in the community from a survey conducted by the local government. They complained that many of their fellow trash collectors are not included in this list. They have appointed a leader who has organised a new survey to include all the trash collectors (see photo). They plan to give the list to the Village Head to request that they also receive the social assistance. They are not convinced this will have much effect as they said they are not close to the Village Head who is originally from Medan and only his father-in-law is from the community. If this doesn't help then they are resigned to the fact they will have to wait until the current Village Head leaves before they can get any social assistance.

Field Notes, urban Aceh.



A new survey organised to include the trash collectors on the social assistance list.

to meritorious students. Some scholarship programmes target children who can speak English well providing opportunities to study abroad in a bid to bolster local tourism. In one village the Village Head shared that there are seven students currently studying abroad, 'six from the city and one from the village'. The Village Head said that this is because 'the mayor is smart and puts education as a key focus' and that 50% of the budget is spent on education.

In Urban Papua the Pertamina Foundation provides scholarships valued at IDR 7 million per year for students and provides work experience. But special positive discrimination schemes for indigenous Papuans results in incomers often feel discriminated against. For example, a 20 year old girl currently studying

nursing claimed her name was removed from her earlier application for a pharmacy course in favour of an indigenous Papuan.

In many locations people also shared their relationship with the village authorities are key factors in determining if they receive social assistance programmes. In Aceh, the Baitul Mal programmes people told us can be difficult to access depending on your relationship with the Village Head and Sub-village Head. People shared that Baitul Mal programmes are implemented through the Baitul Mal administrator or through the Village Head. A father told us that if it was through the Village Head then only people with a close relationship would receive the assistance. A mother we lived with in rural Aceh shared her despondency about her situation 'we are never included, ever since we moved here until today. I don't know which door to knock on, which way to go to get social assistance. I have no words to explain, no more energy, I just accept my condition'. A mother in urban Aceh told us that from the IDR 400,000 Baitul Mal assistance she had to pay IDR 100,000 to the teacher and complained to them saying 'Why are you cutting our social assistance money from our son, is your salary not enough?'

Similarly in other locations (rural Papua, both NTT locations, urban S.Sulawesi and one of the Jakarta locations) people shared that the relationship with the Village Head or Sub-village Head often determines if they receive assistance or not. In NTT, a mother told us that even though she has a KIP card she still does not get any money as she says 'the Village Head is corrupt'. She explained there is no point in complaining as 'the (Village Head's) door is always closed and he won't listen to us'. Other families in the same village also voiced similar concerns, with people sharing that they didn't receive PKH and thought this only went to families 'close to the Village Head'. In peri-urban S Sulawesi some families complained that they did not receive 'BSM³⁷' and other social assistance programmes and only those families who are close to the Village Head or the Village Administration received the assistance. Two mothers said they complained to their sub-Village Head but it was no use as they said he is a 'small man, who cannot look after the people'. Another family complained to the

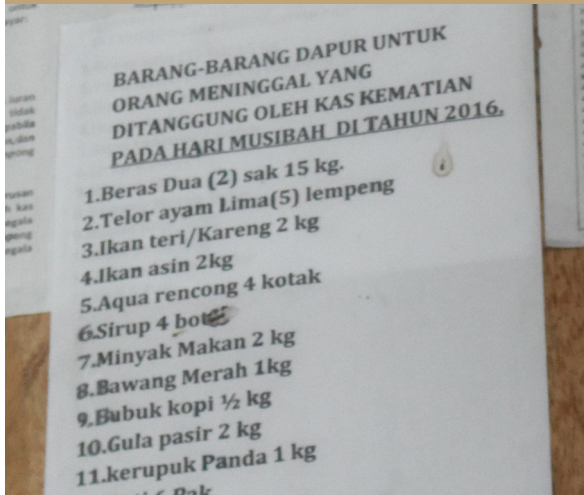
³⁷ Meaning KIP.

Coffee Shop Information Boards

56

There are many *Kedai* (coffee shops) in the village and they are never empty. The walls are covered in announcements and one owner explained, '*People from the village office always use kedai when they have something to announce*'. When we were there we saw lots of announcements on the wall (see Poor Fishermen Scholarship Box 45).

Field Notes, rural Aceh.



sub-district health department when they did not receive a KIS card, but told us that they were told they would have to wait for the Mayor to confirm their entitlement to KIS and he is now in jail for corruption.

In many of the communities there is a lack of public information on the programmes. The Village Head is often said to have a '*list of the poor people*' and decides who should receive the assistance based on this and other more personal factors. In Jakarta the head of the RT/RW showed us that they have received socialisation material on the KIP programme but said that most people could not understand this so '*even though there is a document like this I need to explain it to each family*'.

However, in a few communities more open practises are employed so that the details of the programmes are more widely understood. In the rural Aceh study location, details of assistance programmes are posted on the outside walls of the coffee shops, which are village hubs, where people of all ages gather to hang out and chat. While we were in the village we saw announcements about the children of poor fishermen's scholarship programme and a recent announcement about the community contributions to the 100 day funeral celebration that took place

when we were there (Box 56).

2.8.6 What if you received a windfall of IDR 300,000?

Some of our researchers probed with their family members a hypothetical scenario of receiving a one off windfall of IDR 300,000 to gauge people's reaction to receiving lumpsum amounts.

For children the amount of IDR 300,000 was seen as quite significant in most contexts. For young children in NTT who rarely received pocket money this was described as a '*symbol of richness*' and would be enough to '*buy a house or car*'. For other younger children in Jakarta this amount was viewed as enough for '*something special*' and could be spent on a birthday party or roller skates. Some other boys in Aceh said would treat themselves to some new clothes or shoes for Lebaran. Specifically, children said they would not spend the money on snacking, as this is not special.

For adolescents, this amount of money was often seen more as a supplementary amount to contribute to an ongoing expense or planned purchase. a teen in peri urban S Sulawesi saw that this amount of money is not particularly significant and could be used to pay for his motorcycle fuel costs and daily needs, whilst a teen in NTT said she would use the money to pay for the repair of her mobile phone. A 15 year old boy told us that he would use this money to purchase a laptop computer which he has been saving for. So far he has saved IDR 800,000, and he really wants to be able to buy a laptop as he is the only student in his class who does not have a laptop.

For parents, the amount of IDR 300,000 was often seen as insignificant. Particularly in the context of Papua, where a father, typifying others, laughed off this suggestion that this could be considered a windfall saying it means '*nothing, nothing, nothing...if you go to the market then to buy a fish will cost you IDR 100,000, the ojek cost to get to and from school is also IDR 100,000) and kids can spend IDR 100,000 – 150,000 per day on snacking and food*'. In S Sulawesi a mother said that it '*meant very little*' and could only be used to pay for some essential kitchen items such as cooking oil, tea or hand soap and detergents.



The boy sleeping in front of the TV, his parent said 'He is tired because of going to school', South Sulawesi

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

The following implications emerge from the in depth conversations and interactions with children and their parents living in poverty across the study locations. The implications are mostly presented from their perspective rather than with the interpretation of the research team unless explicitly noted.

- Children living in poverty, like their parents, accept their condition largely without complaint. They live in simple (often wood) homes, own few (if any) assets themselves, have few or no toys, nearly always share sleeping space which is often on mats or mattresses laid on the floor, have few clothes and shoes and have few role models or help with learning or accessing work. They nevertheless have strong bonds of friendship and school-going is seen largely in terms of social interaction. They have few family obligations or demands on their non-school time leaving them free to play and hang out with friends for large portions of the day. When they earn money it is usually only for their own needs and is their choice.
- Children share aspirations to be better off than their parents, especially accessing regular waged or salaried employment but researchers find that their application to change is weak, with few taking studies seriously and almost none doing homework. The research team feels there is an opportunity here to help children enjoy and apply themselves to study in after-school clubs where learning is both fun and another social activity to engage in. Examples of the Jakarta Saturday programme where children not only get learning support but also meet 'role models' and extend their networks were much appreciated in the areas where his operated.
- Few children have access to acceptable sanitation but researchers find that this is rarely mentioned as an issue and improved sanitation is rarely a priority for their families yet warrants attention suggesting a need for acceleration of behaviour change communication programming and support to install and use sanitary toilets.
- Only four study locations had purpose built play or sports facilities and this study and others points to a need to preserve open space for children's play. Provisions can be made in future construction programmes and can be encouraged as a good use of Village Funds (*Dana Desa*).
- Children need and want cash and this is the main factor they say makes them feel poor as it affects their ability to participate in social and education aspects of their lives. They need cash to pay for snacks, breakfast and lunch (often taken at school), fuel for motorbikes, to participate in school activities and phone credit. Parents shared they feel considerable pressure to provide pocket money for their children to buy snacks. Schools generally do not facilitate the provision of healthy options for breakfast or lunch at school, and children instead buy snacks which amounts to a considerable daily expense, which parents share is burdensome. Based on this study and the 2016 RCA study on adolescent nutrition and exercise, the research team feels that schools could do more to provide healthy

affordable, locally sourced alternatives to snack food provision and use this opportunity to promote healthy eating. The research team feels that there is merit in consideration of the provision of free school based meal programmes which fulfil the children's social needs to share these meal times together but provides a healthier alternative with less pressure on poor parents to support their children's increasingly 'competitive' and unhealthy snacking behaviour.

- As has been voiced in other RCA studies, people continue to be frustrated by the additional costs and what they consider unnecessary costs they incur for schooling. The need for so many school uniforms is a major burden which they feel could be addressed. More transparency in contributions to the running of the school and 'service charges' levied as well as advance warning of these and other incidental costs would help families plan their cashflow without being forced to be reactive. The research team feels that there should be more standardisation and regulation of education costs within the state provision so that registration fees, monthly fees and other charges are more uniform and to ensure that all charges are always clear. While these costs vary widely the provision of national cash transfer assistance will have very different impact in different contexts.
 - The research team feels that attention needs to be given to supporting families to save for school expenses and that inspiration can be taken from the child driven *arisan* programme in urban Papua study location (Box 53) and described in this report as well as from evidence that families use larger lumpsum grants such as those received in rural Aceh and rural Papua study locations to invest in livestock or other ventures which yield good return as savings for their children's higher education costs. Others could be encouraged to make their cash transfers 'work harder' for them.
 - The research team feels that social assistance provisions are more in evidence than before and that they are working better and all the families in this study receive some form of social assistance
- whereas RCA team members stayed with families living in poverty who were missing out on social assistance much more frequently in the past. Children, and their parents, say that they prefer to receive cash rather than in-kind support, so that they can choose how to spend the money. '*Every kid has different needs*' is a recurring theme in conversations and different contexts mean children can access different resources. Restrictions on what social assistance money can be spent on limits the families choices in managing their daily needs. In particular people told us that when programmes like KPJ restrict what the money can be spent on, not all education costs are covered, such as registration fees.
- People suggest that social assistance provisions need to take better account of the family life cycles. In particular, people told us that costs of accessing senior high school or university are often prohibitively high. Families without strong networks of support for baby care also face financial hardship as mother's income earning opportunities are constrained and costs of feeding are high. This suggests that more could be done to support higher education costs as well as publicising special support programmes more widely (some promotion is only on the internet and makes access difficult for many families living in poverty) as well as identifying needy families with young families for special support. The cost benefits of breast-feeding should, the team feels, also be promoted as a key motivator towards exclusive breastfeeding.
 - The timing of social assistance money is important for families. People suggest it is best to align payments around key times when expenses are high, for example at the start of the school year or at the birth of a new baby. In addition to these periodic needs, people prefer to have regular monthly instalments as they feel it helps them manage their money better. Parents also shared that seasonality often has big impacts on their family income and experiences of poverty. Adjusting social assistance benefits to take into account seasonal experiences would help families cope in these times.

- People shared they prefer to receive social assistance cash transfers directly rather than through the school or 'middle men', especially as this often clouds transparency. As more and more people are using banks many prefer to receive through bank accounts. This is a significant change as only recently RCA studies found people eschewed banks and researchers feel this indicates an impact of the Government intention to make people more familiar and comfortable with banking. Some people suggest it would be beneficial if they could receive assistance in setting up accounts, understanding how the account works, financial planning and financial literacy.
- The 2015 mandate for submission of birth certificates to enrol in school is restricting many children from attending school. The strict documentation requirements for benefitting assistance such as KJP has also created a barrier to access for many who should be eligible for help. People tell us that they want the documentation requirements for social assistance eligibility to be simplified and special provisions made for those with difficulties retrieving or reconciling past documentation. People tell us they want simple, clear and local solutions to obtaining the documentation. Lessons can be learnt from the S Sulawesi study location where the process is efficiently processed for free at the Village Office.
- Families tell us they find it difficult to understand why some programmes are limited to certain families, and often they believe they are received by families that are not most in need but are able to use networks to access the assistance. This lack of transparency and perceived unfairness leads many to feel that universal programmes are better. As previous RCA studies have noted, there is a lack of clarity in describing different social assistance programmes.
- Few families use early childhood education facilities largely due to the high costs of private provision and say they do not see the benefits. The research team feels that the benefits of early childhood education needs further promotion and that standardisation of private provision costs and amenities would improve access. Furthermore increased access to early childhood (PAUD) and kindergarten (TK) would also reduce the burden of childcare by older siblings.
- Many children have mobile phones or want to have phones and they view not having as a key indicator of being poor. Mobile phones are important for children to communicate and play with friends, connect to social media and the internet. Many older children shared that being able to access the internet is becoming essential for their school assignments. The research team feels that the importance of mobile phone access to children is not being recognised sufficiently and that families prioritise this over toys, books and clothes for the welfare of their children. More generally the research team feels that social assistance benefits need to be seen in terms of what children need to participate fully in school and social life and a more nuanced understanding of the cash constraints children living in poverty feel (participation in school activities, sports, snacking and learning resources) and which exclude them from full participation.
- As we have found in other RCA studies, families increasingly own and watch TV even when they do not own themselves and are influenced by soap operas, advertisements and films. TV can therefore provide an appropriate channel for dissemination of information about social assistance entitlements and regulations, domestic financial management, advice on administrative processes as well as lifestyle choices and behaviours. But lessons can also be learned from successful information dissemination such as the announcements posted in local coffee shops in Aceh.
- People tell us that the definition of a 'child' is much more fluid and contested. It is based less around the actual age and more related to whether the boy/girl is at school or not or physical changes in their body.



Rollerblading is the new trend among children in Jakarta. Rollerblades cost IDR 200-700.000, some parents take loans or using social assistance money to buy them.



Annex 1: Study Team Member

Team Leaders

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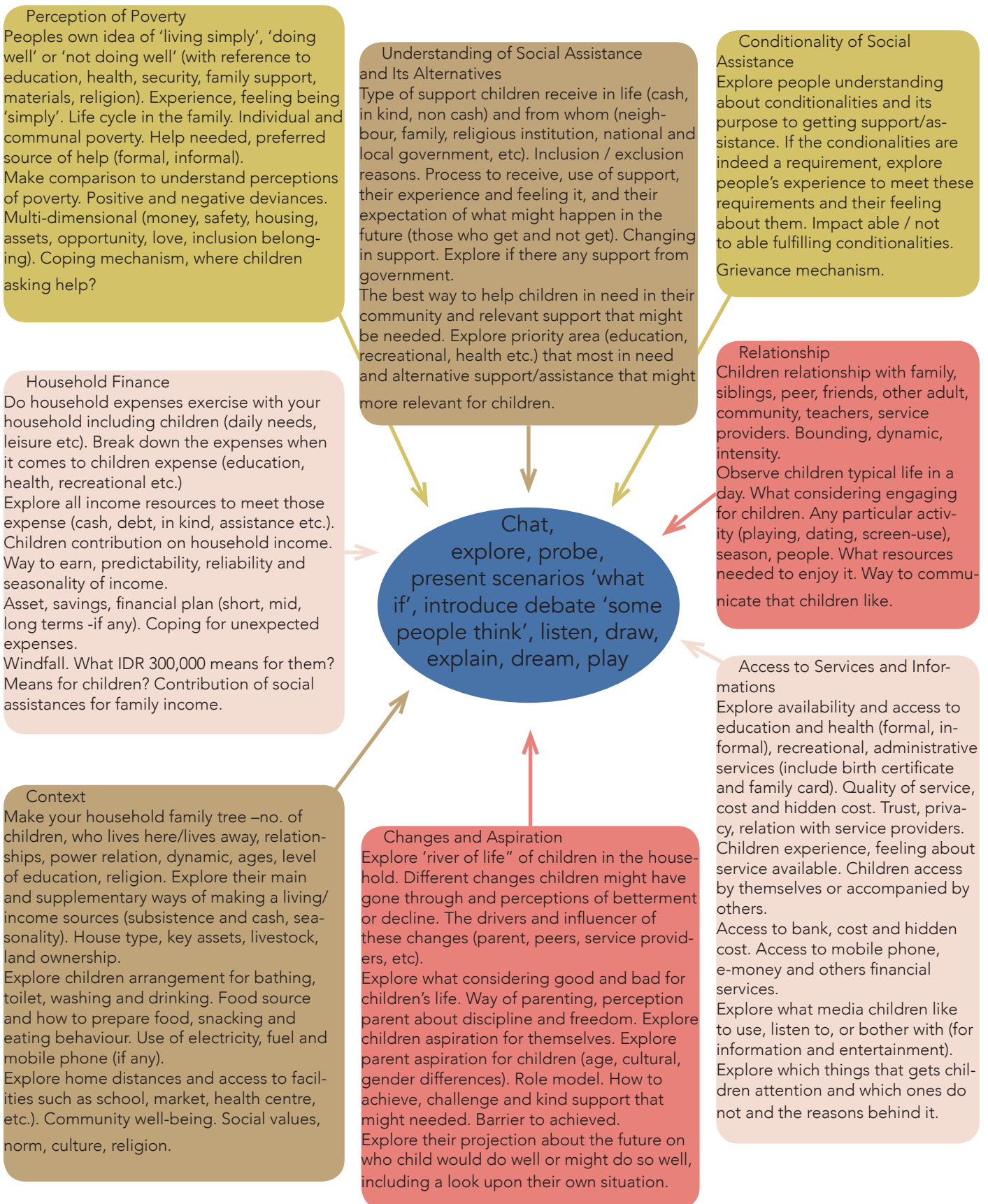
/S Sulawesi and NTT/

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/Papua/

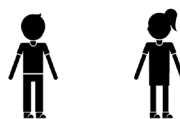
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Annex 2: Areas for Conversation



Annex 3: People we met

1810 people



Host of household

Children	28	36
Adolescents	18	16
Adults	59	60

Focal households

Children	137	104
Adolescents	107	79
Adults	156	200

Others

Children	72	60
Adolescents	98	69
Adults	298	222

Total	964	846
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Annex 4: Social Assistance Programmes

	programme	Start date	2016 coverage	Background	Amount	Type of programme		
						Conditional cash transfer	Grant/cash transfer	In kind
POVERTY FOCUSED	Kartu Keluarga Sejahtera (Prosperous Family Card, KKS)	2014	16.3 million households National	This replaced the Kartu Perlindungan Sosial (Social Protection Card, KPS) for families living in poverty. Each beneficiary household gets a KKS card and a SIM card for their mobile phone which functions as the account number for Simpanan Keluarga Sejahtera (Prosperous Family Saving) programme.	IDR 200,000/month (paid bi-monthly)		✓	
	Program Keluarga Harapan	2007	18.1 million Households National	According to Minister of Social Affairs Decision No. 23/HUK/2016, the assistance is given to a maximum of three members of a family (which are also registered as KKS holders). Fourth pregnancy and beyond are not covered. Since 2016 a new social welfare component was introduced, for people with disability and elderly (over 70 years).	IDR 1,200,000 (pregnant/breastfeeding mother assistance) IDR 1,200,000 (children below 6 years old assistance) IDR 450,000 (Primary School student assistance) IDR 750,000 (Junior High School student assistance) IDR 1,000,000 (Senior High School student assistance) IDR 3,100,000 (people with disability assistance) IDR 1,900,000 (elderly people assistance)	Conditions: Ante natal check up Completion of childhood immunization Minimum 85% attendance at school		
	Beras untuk Kesejahteraan Masyarakat (Rice for People's Prosperity, Rastra)	2016	65.6 million households National	Replaces the RASKIN programme which first started in 1997/8. Targeted for the poor and the near poor so that they can use the savings made on rice purchase for other expenses	15 kg rice/month at subsidized rate of IDR 1,600/kg (equivalent cash saving of around IDR 8,000-10,000/kg)			✓
	Economic Productivity Grant in Lanny Jaya District, Papua	2012	18,625 Households	Only operates in Lanny Jaya District, Papua. Lanny Jaya District Government wants to encourage economic productivity of the people by giving grant.	IDR 5 million / activity		✓	
	Housing Assistance in Lanny Jaya District, Papua	2014		Only operates in Lanny Jaya District, Papua. Family that already started the house building will get the assistance. Local government officer will do the spot check.	IDR 50 – 100 million		✓	
	Assistance for Cooperative and Micro Enterprise in Lanny Jaya District, Papua			Only operates in Lanny Jaya District, Papua. Grant is given to people who already have micro enterprise.	Vary based on the development and the needs of micro enterprise		✓	

	programme	Start date	2016 coverage	Background	Amount	Type of programme		
						Conditional cash transfer	Grant/cash transfer	In kind
HEALTH	Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan (BPJS Kesehatan) PBI (Penerima Bantuan Iuran) programme for poor	2014	86.4 million National	Replaces the Jamkesmas (Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat) programme. Poor and special needs groups (persons with disabilities, orphans, elderly) are registered as Penerima Bantuan Iuran (Premium Assistance Recipient) under the national health insurance scheme (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional; JKN) and are provided with KIS (Kartu Indonesia Sehat) cards which entitles them to free preventative and curative health care services. (all other users of JKN pay for their cards and may only use them in the district they are registered and only for curative care. Eventually these users too will be issued with KIS cards but theirs will not be subsidized)	Free health services			✓
	Incentive for Pregnant Mother in Lanny Jaya District, Papua	2012	Approx. more than 6,700 pregnant mothers	Only operates in Lanny Jaya District, Papua. Every pregnant mother is provided by incentive to ensure the nutrition of the mother and the delivery of the child.	IDR 5 million + milk, mosquito net, bag		✓	✓

	programme	Start date	2016 coverage	Background	Amount	Type of programme		
						Conditional cash transfer	Grant/cash transfer	In kind
EDUCATION	Smart Indonesia Programme, PIP (often referred to as KIP)	2014	20 million school age children National	Replaces Bantuan Siswa Miskin (Poor Student Scholarship, BSM) and has been extended to include children attending Madrasah (Islamic School), Pondok Pesantren (Islamic Boarding School), Kelompok Belajar (Study Group, Kejar Paket A/B/C) Intended to ensure that all school age children (6-21) in Indonesia can access education. PIP beneficiaries are from families which have KKS. Families issued with Kartu Indonesia Pintar (KIP) Cash transfers intended for purchase of books, stationery, uniforms, bags, shoes, transportation costs, student contributions, extra course costs and other school needs.	Primary school (SD, Paket A) IDR225,000/ semester Junior High school (SMP, Paket B) IDR 375,000/ semester Senior High school (SMA/SMK/Paket C/Course) IDR 500,000/ semester		✓	
	Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Smart Jakarta Card, KJP)	2012	600,000 students Jakarta	Only operates in Jakarta and is fully funded by the Jakarta Provincial Budget. For schooling up to senior high school KJP cards are issued & can only be used at designated stores, Bank DKI or Prima network's EDC (Electronic Data Capture) machine. Beneficiaries have to use it to buy school needs and are expected to present receipts to the school.	IDR 500,000 lumpsum at start of each academic year IDR 100,000 (primary), IDR 150,000 (secondary), IDR 200,000 (senior high and vocational school) / month Additional tuition fee for private school IDR 130,000 (primary), IDR 170,000 (secondary), IDR 290,000 (senior high school) and IDR 240,000 (vocational school) / month Free bus travel	Proof that students do not take drugs or smoke or break any school regulations, truancy or being late for school more than 6 times in a month		
	IDR 2 Million Grant for Students Sabang Government	2013	All students (7,329) Sabang, Aceh	Only operates in Sabang City. Election campaign pledge of Sabang Mayor All students in Sabang from Primary School until Senior High School level receive a grant every year. The money is paid into bank accounts in the child's name. Money is intended to cover school needs	IDR 2 million/year		✓	
	Bidik misi	2010	Approx. 60,000 students	Provides tertiary tuition assistance to former BSM/KIP card holders 'with good academic potential' and who are under 21 year old. Parents are supposed to have income less than IDR 3 million/month	IDR 600,000/month living allowance (paid to student) IDR 2.4 million / semester tuition (paid to college)		✓	

Annex 5: Expenditure Analysis - Child Related Expenses as a Proportion of Regular Household Expenditure

JK1-AN, urban

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Regular/Irregular	Additional note
1	Rice	200,000	Family	Every month	
2	Food	300,000	Family	Every month	
3	Cigarette	150,000	Father	Every month	
4	Phone credit	200,000	Family	Every month	
5	Transport (fuel for 2 motorbike)	150,000	Family	Every month	Parents used the motorbike for drop off and pick up the kids going to the school.
6	Water	150,000	Family	Every month	They buy water for drinking and cooking.
7	Gas	90,000	Family	Every month	
8	Electricity	150,000	Family	Every month	
9	Children pocket money	250,000	4 children	Every month	
	TOTAL	1,640,000			
	Child related Expenses	250,000 (16%)			

JK2-KR, urban

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Per Month	Additional note
1	Electricity	IDR 75.000/month		75,000	
2	Gas stove	IDR 50.000/Month	Mother	50,000	
3	Gasoline for Motorcycle	IDR 150.000/month	Father	150,000	
4	Rice/sugar/cooking oil	IDR 300.000	Mother	300,000	
5	Food : vegetables, dishes, eggs	IDR 20.000/day	Mother	600,000	
6	Pocket money for children	IDR 5.000/day/child	Mother	300,000	
6	Cigarette	IDR 10.000/day	Father	300,000	
7	groceries (soap, cleaner, etc)	IDR 50.000/month	Mother	50,000	
8	Personal care (bath soap, shampoo, perfume, etc)	IDR 200.000/month	Mother	200,000	
	TOTAL			2,025,000	
	Child Related Expenses			300,000 (15%)	

A1-IZ, urban

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Per Month	Additional note
1	Side Dishes.	Rp. 20.000 per day.	Mom.	600,000	-
2	Rice.	Rp. 12.000 per day.	Mom.	360,000	-
3	First Daughter Pocket Money.	Rp. 7.000 – Rp. 10.000 per day.	Children.	250,000	-
4	First Son Pocket Money.	Rp. 5.000 – Rp. 10.000 per day.	Children.	225,000	My HHH mother divides her son pocket money into IDR 5.000 in the school, IDR 2.000 in afternoon, IDR 1.000 in evening, and IDR 2.000 in night.
5	Second Son Pocket Money.	Rp. 3.000 – Rp. 5.000 per day.	Children.	120,000	-
6	Third Son Snacking.	Approx. Rp. 2.000.	Children.	60,000	The three year old boy is snacking a lot. When I was there, he snacked almost the whole day. The boy would cry if the mother did not buy him snack, and sometime my HHH mother had to debt in nearest kiosk for this boy's snacks.
7	Kitchen needs (chili, tomatoes, etc).		Mother	1,500,000	My HHH mother told me from Rp. 50.000 a day, she will divide it into Rp. 20.000 for side dishes, Rp. 12.000 for rice, and the rest of it for kitchen needs like chili, and children's pocket money.
TOTAL				3,115,000	
Child Related Expenses				665,000 (21%)	

P1-IN, urban

No	Type of expenses	Amount / month	Irregular Expenses
1	Pocket money (2 girls	1,000,000	
2	Uniforms (4x200,000)		200,000 per uniform
3	photocopying	100,000	
4	Registration fee (1.75juta)		1,750,000
5	Snacks and eating out	2,100,000	
6	Food and bumbu	600,000	
7	Transport to market to sell fish	1,400,000	
8	Electricity	150,000	
TOTAL		5,350,000	
Children Costs		1,100,000 (21%)	

A2-IZ, rural

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Per Month	Additional note
1	Mobile Phone Credit	Rp. 100.000 – Rp. 200.000	First son	150,000	-
2	Mobile Phone Credit	Rp. 5.000 per day or two days	Second daughter	100,000	-
3	Daily Foods	Rp. 50.000 per day	Mom	1,500,000	My HHH mother told me everything is expensive now
4	Electricity	60,000-70,000 per month	Family	70,000	-
5	Bus to school ('cigarette money for driver)	500/day	children	15,000	
6	Pocket Money				
	TOTAL			1,835,000	
	Child Related Expenses			265,000 (14%)	

NT2-ZIK, rural

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Per Month	Additional note
1	Pocket money	6,000	Children	180,000	
2	Side dish	20,000	Family	600,000	
3	Rice	20,000	Family	600,000	
4	Children books	10,000/month	Children	10,000	The amount is for a subject only
5	Uniform	250,000/kid	children	Irregular	
	TOTAL			1,390,000	
	Child Costs			190,000 (14%)	

SS1-YO, rural

No	Type of expenses	Amount	Who spend it? (children, family, mom, etc.)	Per Month	Additional note
1	LPG	20,000	Mother	40,000	
2	School uniform	35,000-75,000	Children		Irregular. Start of the school year
3	Fish	5,000	Mother	150,000	
4	Cigarette	10,000	Father`	300,000	
5	Snacks	15,000	Children	450,000	
6	Seasoning	10,000	Mother	300,000	
7	Electricity	30,000	Family	30,000	
	TOTAL			1,270,000	
	Child related			450,000 (35%)	

Annex 6: Social Assistance as Proportion of Household Incomes

JK1-AN, urban

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Monthly Income	Additional note
1	Rubbish collector	Approximately IDR 50,000 – 100,000 rupiah a day	Father	1,500,000	
2	KJP	IDR 1.25 every 6months x 3 children		625,000	
3	KIP	IDR 500,000 per semester for all 3 children		100,000	
	TOTAL Income			2,225,000	
	SA as % of Total Income			33%	

JK2-KR, urban

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Monthly Income	Additional note
1	Rubbish Collector	IDR 75.000- 100.000/ day	Father	1,500,000	
2	Assistance to catering owner	IDR 100.000/week	Mother	400,000	
3	KJP	Monthly Disbursement of IDR 100,000 + IDR 1million / semester		266,667	
4	KIP	IDR 500,000 / semester		100,000	
	TOTAL Income			2,266,667	
	SA as % of Income			17%	

A1-IZ, urban

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Per Month	Additional note
1	Casual Worker. Usually mobile phone repairer. Sometime also as a painter and construction worker.	Rp. 50.000 – Rp. 150.000 per day.	Father.	1,500,000	-
2	Baitul Mall Education Assistance	IDR 400,000 – 100,000 ('service fee)	3 rd daughter	25,000	
3	Bank of Aceh Assistance	800,000 per year	1 st son received this once	66,667	
4	BSM	500,000 per year	2 nd daughter received	41,667	
	TOTAL Income			1,633,334	
	SA as % of Income			9%	

P1-SA, urban

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Per Month	Additional note
1	Warehouse worker	2,000,000	Father.	2,000,000	-
2	Small Business (selling birds, mobile etc)	1,000,000		1,000,000	
3	Irregular washing	600,000		600,000	
4	PKH	300,000 – 500,000 per quarter		150,000	
	TOTAL Income			3,750,000	
	SA as % of Income			4%	

A2-PA/PRC, rural

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Monthly Income	Additional note
1	Paud Teacher (3 days week)	1.6million / year	D2	133,333	
2	Washing clothes / ironing	240,000 / month (+ 50,000 each time for additional washing	D2	240,000	
3	Training allowances	100,000 / day	D2		Irregular – 3 times in last yr
4	Farming – banana, nuts and fishing	50,000 for banana wrack. Fishing on irregular basis	Father	800,000	Doesn't own the land, has to give cengkeh to the landowner. 400,000 – 500,000 (per month) stated in scholarship admission
5	Mayor 2 million grant	IDR 2,000,000 / yr		166,667	
6	BSM	IDR 280,000 / month		280,000	
7	Poor Fisherman Child	180,000 / month		180,000	
	TOTAL Income			1,800,000	
	SA as % of Income			35%	

P2-Riz, rural

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Per Month	Additional note
1	Kiosk	1,500,000	Mother	1,500,000	-
2	Village Funds	1,500,000/ month		1,500,000	
	TOTAL Income			3,000,000	
	SA as % of Income			50%	

NTT2-Zik, rural

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Per Month	Additional note
1	Construction worker	100,000/day	Father	175,000	Irregular – only 1 month in a year
2	Selling donuts	Max 30,000 / day at school	Mother	600,000	
3	Packaged rice selling	50,000 / day	Mother	1,000,000	
4	Tobacco Leaf	5,000 / day	Family	30,000	Irregular
5	Rice Crops	1,200 kg/harvest season	Father	65,000	It depends on the rain, lack of rain causes drought which reduces the yield. Approx 800K/yr
6	KIP/BSM	300,000 per semester		50,000	
	TOTAL Income			1,920,000	
	SA as % of Income			3%	

SS1-YO, rural

No	Source of incomes	Amount	Who earn it?	Per Month	Additional note
1	Red sugar	30,000-40,000/10 units. They sell sugar every Tuesday, Friday and Sunday. They can get approximately 120,000-200,000 per 10 days	Family	400,000	The price of the sugar depends on the quality of the sugar. The higher the quality the higher the price. Before the Idul Fitri the price can be up to 50,000/10 units
2	Cocoa	35,000/kg. They can get 5,000,000-6,000,000 from selling cocoa	Family	1,250,000	Regular. Every 4 months. Once they got 7 million from selling cocoa. However the money could only last less than 5 months because they bought a motorcycle and the mother gave it to her family and relatives
3	Rice	6,000/kg. Each harvest they can get up to 8 sacks of rice (each weigh 50 kg). Yet they rarely sell it.	Family	Don't sell	This harvest season they had to pay 2 sacks of rice to the farmer group because they loan fertilizer.
4	Pepper	80,000-100,000/kg. Every 6 months the family sell the pepper and can receive up to 5,000,000 or even more depends on the season and quality of the pepper	Family	833,334	Pepper become one of the highest earning product in the village. My HHH family started to plant pepper few years ago after the price of pepper in the market soaring high. They can get up to 10,000,000 if the harvest is good
5	KIP	450,000 for daughter. Nothing for brother		37,500	
	TOTAL Income			2,500,000	
	SA as % of Income			2%	

Annex 7: Schools' availability in study locations

Place	SD	SMP	SMA/SMK	UNIVERSITY
P1-CK	1 or 2 public transport rides away, IDR 3,000-4,000 each	1 or 2 public transport rides away, IDR 3,000-4,000 each	1 or 2 public transport rides away, IDR 3,000-4,000 each	1 or 2 public transport ride away, IDR 3,000-4,000 each
P1-RIZ	5-10 minutes by walking	1 public transport ride away	15-30 minutes by 2 public transport and additional <i>ojek</i> ride	
P1-IN	3 minutes by walking	3 minutes by walking	20 minutes by motorbike	
P1-DN	10 minutes by walking			
P2-RIZ	5 minutes by walking	5 minutes by walking	1 hour by walking	
P2-IN	45 minutes by walking or IDR 100,000 by <i>ojek</i>	Nearby	2 hours by walking	
P2-DN	45 minutes by walking or IDR 100,000 by <i>ojek</i>	5 minutes by walking	5 minutes by walking	
A2-PA&PRC	In the village	Half an hour by car	Half an hour by car	
A2-AL	15 minutes by walking	15 minutes by walking	Half an hour by car	Half an hour by car
A2-IZ	15 minutes by walking	15 minutes by walking	Half an hour by car	Half an hour by car
SS2-SE	In the village	Around 20 minutes by motorbike	10 minutes by motorbike	
SS2-BR	Nearby	Nearby	15 minutes by motorbike	Hours from village
SS2-ZAK	In the village		10 minutes by motorbike	
SS1-YO	10 minutes by walking			
SS1-LIZ	5 minutes by walking	15 minutes by motorbike	15 minutes by motorbike	
SS1-LB	10 minutes by walking		7-10 minutes by motorbike	
J1-KR	10 minutes by walking	10 minutes by walking	10 minutes by walking	
J1-AN	Private school about 5 km away			
J1-IM	4 minute by car, 15 minute by walking	3-5 minutes by walking	6-8 minutes by walking	
J1-RD	5 minutes by motorbike	10 minutes by motorbike		
NTT1-SE	2 public SD's in the village	1 in the village, another one 20 minutes by car		
NTT1-BR	In the village	30 minutes by car	45 minutes by car	
NTT1-ZAK	In the village	45 minutes by car or motorbike	45 minutes by car or motorbike	
A1-PA	5 minutes by motorbike	5 minutes by motorbike	5 minutes by motorbike	
A1-AL	10-20 minutes by walking		5 minutes by walking	
A1-IZ	7 minutes of walking.	7 minutes of walking	7 minutes of walking	
NTT2-ZIK	30-45 minutes by walking	30-45 minutes by walking	6 hours by car	
NTT2-LIZ	30-45 minutes by walking	30-45 minutes by walking	6 hours by car	
NTT2-LB	30-45 minutes by walking	30-45 minutes by walking	6 hours by car	
J2-KR			5-10 minutes by walking	
J2-RD	2 minutes by walking	Public: 5 minutes by walking Private: 10 minutes by walking	Half an hour by public transportation	5 minutes by walking
J2-YS	10 minutes by walking	10 minutes by walking	10 minutes by walking	10 minutes by walking

Annex 8: Health services' availability in study locations

Place	Posyandu	Pustu/Polindes	Puskesmas	Hospital
P1-CK	5-10 minutes by walking downhill		5-10 minutes by walking downhill	20-30 minutes by public transport
P1-RIZ	5-10 minutes by walking			
P1-IN			3 minutes by walking	1 hour by public transportation (angkot)
P1-DN			10 minutes by walking	
P2-RIZ				2 hours by walking or IDR 100,000 one way by ojek
P2-IN			20 minutes by walking	
P2-DN		Quite close to HHH	20 minutes by walking	
A2-PA&PRC			Half an hour by walking in the next door village (2 km)	
A2-AL	10 minutes by motorbike		5 minutes by motorbike	
A2-IZ	10 minutes by motorbike		5 minutes by motorbike	
SS2-SE			5 minutes by motorbike	
SS2-BR	HHH is Posyandu		15 minutes by motorbike	
SS2-ZAK		5 minutes by motorbike	10-15 minutes by motorbike	
SS1-YO		Quite close to HHH		
SS1-LIZ		5-7 minutes by motorbike	10-20 minutes by motorbike	
SS1-LB		Less than 10 minutes by motorbike		
J1-KR	10 minutes by walking			
J1-AN	In the village		20-30 minutes by walking	
J1-IM			5 minutes by car, 28 minutes by walking	9 minutes by car, 29 minutes by walking
J1-RD	5 minutes by motorbike			10 minutes by motorbike
NTT1-SE		In the village, 10 minutes by walking		
NTT1-BR	5-10 minutes by walking	20 minutes by walking located next to village church		
NTT1-ZAK		5 minutes by walking		
A1-PA			5-10 minutes by motorbike	20 minutes by motorbike
A1-AL			5-10 minutes by motorbike	20 minutes by motorbike
A1-IZ			5-10 minutes by motorbike	20 minutes by motorbike
NTT2-ZIK			45 minutes by motorbike	
NTT2-LIZ			1 hour by motorbike	
NTT2-LB			1 hour by motorbike	
J2-KR	5 minutes by walking		10 minutes by walking	
J2-RD	7 minutes by walking		10 minutes by walking	2 times public transportation costing IDR 5,000 each time
J2-YS	5-10 minutes by walking		5-10 minutes by walking	



This report presents the main findings of the Reality Check Approach (RCA) study conducted in October 2016 to gather insights into the perspectives and experiences of children and their families about child poverty and social protection. The study was commissioned by UNICEF and aims to assist UNICEF and the Government of Indonesia (GOI) in exploring options for strengthening the social protection system. The study specifically explores and provides a deeper understanding of children's experience of poverty and their experience of the current nationwide and district-run cash transfer programmes.

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