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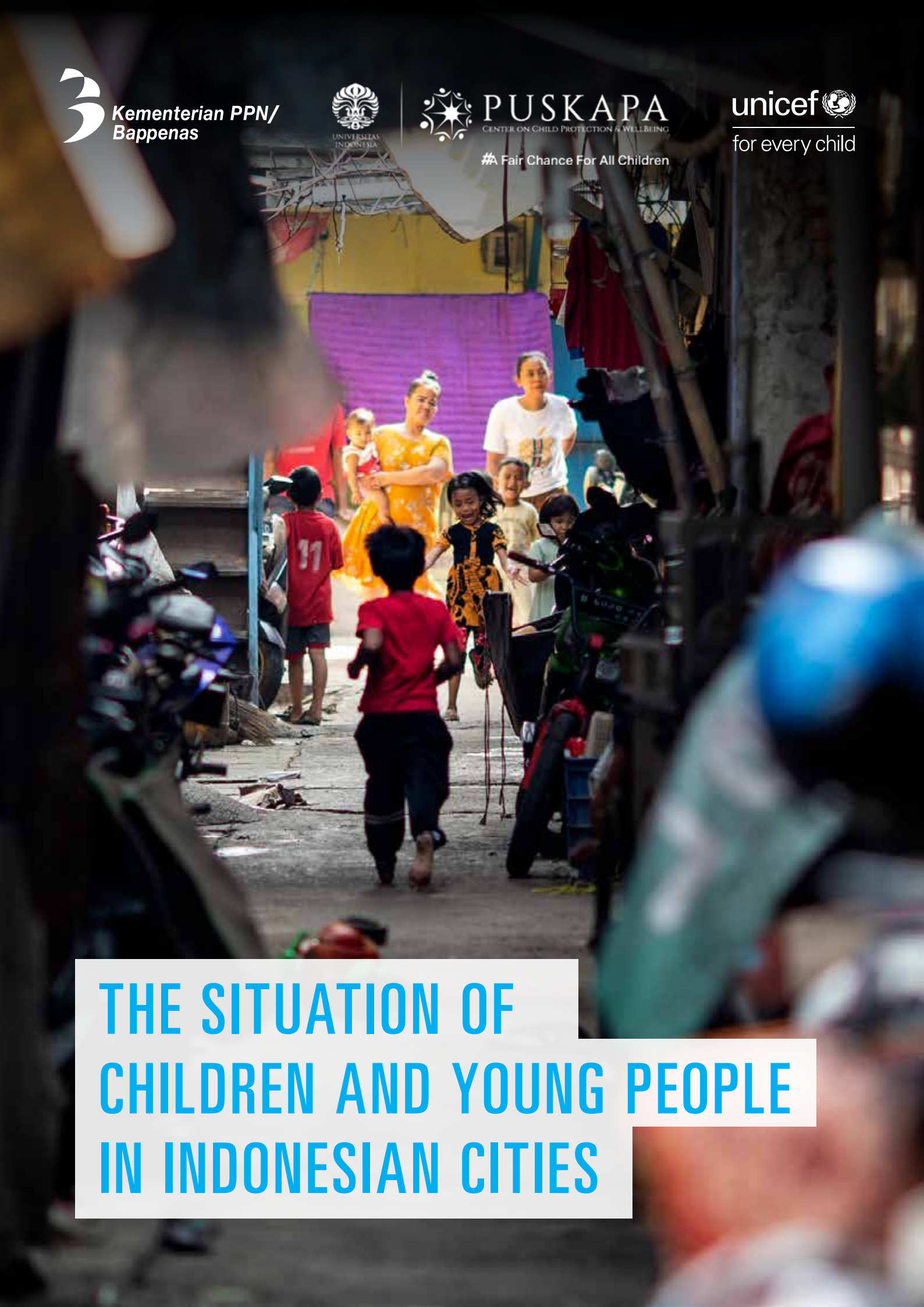

THE SITUATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN INDONESIAN CITIES

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FOREWORD FROM UNICEF

A growing number of children in Indonesia are living in cities. According to the National Socio-Economic Survey, nearly 46 million children lived in urban areas in 2019, compared to 41 million in 2015.

Urbanization has the potential to bring new opportunities for children and their families, but it also presents new challenges. As many as 5.6 million children in Indonesia's cities live in slums and around 37 per cent live in poverty.

The COVID-19 pandemic has hit the urban poor especially hard. Economic hardship and mobility restrictions have exacerbated the vulnerabilities experienced by children living in cities. New findings on the social and economic impact of COVID-19 in Indonesia show that one in four families, especially those in urban areas, have experienced a reduction in income due to the pandemic.

This report finds that even in large cities with good health coverage and basic services, there remain pockets of children and families living in poverty who have limited access to basic services, such as health, education, social protection, and water and sanitation.

It also highlights a number of child protection issues, such as the higher prevalence of child marriage among children living in slum households, and the challenges that the most vulnerable families in urban slums face in accessing civil registration and other child protection services.

These are issues that require our attention and action. Children deserve nothing less.

I hope that this report will prove useful for policymakers and those working to better the situation for children in urban environments. With clear articulation of the opportunities and challenges faced by vulnerable families in urban areas, the evidence presented here will be invaluable for decision-making while developing child-friendly urban policies.

Robert Gass
Representative a.i
UNICEF

FOREWORD FROM BAPPENAS

Children and Youth are the future of cities. The quality of life of children and young people in urban areas determines the success of urban development. Based on data from SUSENAS 2019, it is estimated that at least 46 million children live in urban areas. Various adversities strongly influence their survival and ability to thrive, , ranging from individual biological factors, how they interact with other people and their surrounding environment, to even structural factors. Although, in general, the lives of children and young people in urban areas are better than those in rural areas. The most vulnerable populations in urban areas still experience structural barriers to an optimum livelihoods.

The efforts of the Indonesian government to promote evidence-based policy for inclusive cities for children and youth began with the Study of Situation Analysis of Children and Young People in Indonesian Cities initiative, in collaboration with their strategic partner, UNICEF Indonesia, and the Center on Child Protection and Wellbeing at Universitas Indonesia (PUSKAPA).

The study has tried to explore the demographic, social, and economic characteristics, as well as the difficulties of life that children and youth face while living in urban areas. It also serves as an analysis on the challenges and opportunities faced by them.

Here, the results and findings of this study are expected to provide valuable inputs for planning and policymaking in urban areas to improve the living situation of children and young people in Indonesia.

Our appreciation and acknowledgement of all the hard work put into this project goes to UNICEF Indonesia, PUSKAPA, and the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik/ BPS) for their cooperation as well as hard work in supporting the publication of this study regarding the situation of children and youth living in urban areas. Hopefully, this comprehensive report and the research findings found can make a positive contribution to the fulfilment of the rights of children and young people in Indonesia, especially those who live in urban areas.

Woro Srihastuti Sulistyaningrum
Director of Family, Women, Children, Youth, and Sports
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FOREWORD FROM PUSKAPA

Urbanisation has continued to increase in Indonesia. Despite progress in broader children's well-being in urban areas, the cities' marginalised ones still faced multiple challenges to thrive. Children in the urban poor households disproportionately had less access to services and life opportunities than their peers from better-off families. Literature suggested that vulnerable young people in urban areas also experienced unique hardships.

This study aimed to explore children's and young people's characteristics, well-being, and lived experiences in the cities in Indonesia. In collaboration with PUSKAPA, UNICEF undertook the study to further policy dialogues on this issue and inform inclusive and responsive policy and programming for children and young people in urban areas.

This study is not without limitations. In the middle of the preparation phase, the COVID-19 pandemic hit. We immediately adjusted our face-to-face data collection plan to ensure that this study did not inflict harm to anyone and used digitally-mediated methods to achieve the study's objectives through asynchronous interviews. As a result, we managed to document select young people's lived experiences in urban areas, albeit on a much smaller scale than initially planned.

We would like to give my highest appreciation to the young people who participated in this study, sharing their stories willingly and passionately. This report recognised their accounts and, therefore, presented them to enrich our conversation about the findings from the secondary analyses we did. We also would like to thank the researchers, facilitators, administrative officers, and everyone who implemented, supported, read, and in any way used this study.

Last but not least, we would like to acknowledge the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas and Badan Pusat Statistik for their valuable inputs and support in the completion of this report. We hope that this study can inspire more studies, policies, and practices that enable equal opportunities for all children and young people in Indonesia.

Santi Kusumaningrum
Director, PUSKAPA

TABLE OF FIGURES, BOXES, APPENDIXES

FIGURE

BOX

TABLE

APPENDIX

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	BAHASA INDONESIA	ENGLISH
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik	Statistics Indonesia
IDHS	Survei Demografi dan Kesehatan Indonesia (SDKI)	Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey
ISCED	Klasifikasi Pendidikan Standar Internasional	International Standard Classification of Education
IYCF	Pemberian Makan Bayi dan Anak	Infant and Young Child Feeding
JKN	Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional	National Health Insurance
Musrenbang	Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan	Development Planning Consultation Meeting
NEET	Tidak dalam Pendidikan, Pekerjaan, atau Pelatihan	Not in Education, Employment, or Training
NIK	Nomor Induk Kependudukan	National ID Number
OSIS	Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah	Intra-School Students' Organization
PDAM	Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum	Local Government Owned Water Utilities
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan	Family Hope Programme
PKL	Praktik Kerja Lapangan	On-Job Training
Posyandu	Pos Pelayanan Terpadu	Integrated Service Centre
Puskesmas	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat	Community Health Centre
RPJMN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional	National Medium-Term Development Plan
RPJP	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang	Long-Term National Development Plan
Rusunawa	Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa	(Rental) Public Walk-up Flats
SDG	Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan	Sustainable Development Goals
SUSENAS	Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional	The National Socioeconomic Survey

GLOSSARY

TERM	DEFINITION
angkot	Public transportation in urban areas with a predetermined route and does not have specific stops so that it can pick up and drop passengers along the route.
Constant Comparative Method	A method of analysing qualitative data by comparing (examining similarities and differences) across multiple findings.
Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN)	Part of the National Social Security System (SJSN) which is organized with a mandatory Social Health Insurance mechanism that is provided in the form of comprehensive individual health services, including health promotion services (promotive), disease prevention (preventive), treatment (curative) and recovery (rehabilitative) including drugs and medical materials using quality and cost-controlled service techniques (managed care).
kampung or *kampung kota*	Settlements that are developed incrementally by people in urban areas with social characteristics that are still strong as in "kampung" or village in rural areas. It can be a neighborhood unit/unit of settlement or unit of sub-district or "kelurahan".
Musrenbang	*"Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan."* An annual process during which residents in the community meet together to discuss the issues facing their communities and decide upon priorities for short-term improvements.
NEET	"Not in Education, Employment, or Training." An indicator that presents the share of young people who are not in employment, education, or training.
ojek	Taxibike; unofficial public transportation in Indonesia in the form of motorbikes that are rented by transporting passengers to the requested destination.
penertiban	Actions in order to reduce all forms of threats and disturbances in society based on statutory regulations.
PKH	*"Program Keluarga Harapan."* A program of Ministry of Social Affairs Republic of Indonesia, providing conditional social assistance to Underprivileged Families (KM) which is designated as a family of PKH beneficiaries.
PKL	*"Praktik Kerja Lapangan"* or on-the-job training. A training model for students (of senior high school or university) that aims to develop the skills of the students while having hands-on experience on the jobs.
Posyandu	*"Pos Pelayanan Terpadu."* Basic family social service activities where the community can obtain Family Planning (KB) and health services, including nutrition, immunization, Maternal and Child Health (KIA), and diarrhea control. It is usually posted at the village level.
Puskesmas	*"Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat."* A health service facility that organizes public health efforts and first-level individual health efforts, by prioritizing promotive and preventive efforts in their working areas.
Rusunawa	*"Rumah Susun Sederhana Sewa".* Rental walk-up flats, mainly owned and managed by the government, prioritizing low-income residents with low-cost rent fees due to subsidy. Rusunawa is commonly developed in cities with a large concentration of residents with precarious and inadequate housing.. In many cities, rusunawa also houses residents who were relocated due to development projects.


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TABLE OF CONTENTS


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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

STUDY OVERVIEW

The number of children in urban areas in Indonesia has continued to increase. Despite the fact that children in urban areas fare better on several measures of well-being compared to those in rural areas, marginalized groups still fail to survive and thrive. Access to services and opportunities for a better quality of life in cities are limited for the urban poor and vulnerable, of which children and young people account for almost a third. This study explores children's and young people's characteristics, well-being, and lived experiences, providing a critical foundation for policy and programming to turn the myth of urban opportunity into a reality for all children and young people, particularly those who are marginalized.

This study combines a quantitative overview of the leading indicators of well-being among children and young people in cities, with a qualitative, in-depth understanding of how daily life is perceived and experienced by the urban young. The quantitative analysis has predominantly employed existing national data sets, such as The National Socioeconomic Survey (SUSENAS) and the Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS), to understand the situation of children in urban settings. The secondary analysis assessed approximately 20 indicators that are based on the SDG/Sustainable Development Goal themes, and that align with the Indonesian National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020–2024. The combination of secondary analysis, a systematic literature review, and consultations with children and young people generated insights on the constraints and opportunities faced by them and their broader urban communities.

KEY FINDINGS

Although some vulnerabilities are shared by urban and rural children and young people, they may manifest differently. Findings from this study demonstrate that challenges for them often present opportunities; the two are not mutually exclusive. The gap between urban and rural outcomes might be partially explained by differing official definitions and classifications of urban and rural areas.

The main findings around the challenges and opportunities faced by children living in urban areas are presented by age group, gender, urban/rural comparison, and socioeconomic background, when possible.

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

- SUSENAS 2019 data shows that there is little variation across the different urban/rural, urban slum, rural slum categories for smoking among adolescents. In contrast, in terms of birth weight and immunization, children in rural slums are consistently worse off.
- The analysis of IDHS data indicates that the mortality rate is generally higher for children under 5 years old compared to other age groups, and also for this age group in rural areas, though this rate has decreased from 2012 to 2017.
- Based on the consultations with young people in urban areas, some indifferences towards understanding and adherence to health protocols seem to relate to misunderstandings about the COVID-19 pandemic. A few participants shared that they doubted the magnitude and impact of the virus and the pandemic, and this belief appears to be also widespread in their communities.
- Although some shared their doubts, the pandemic has created an environment of uncertainty and anxiety for children and young people in cities who participated in this study.

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

- Overall, children in urban areas performed better on all education indicators compared to those children in rural areas, and children living in slum households in rural areas appeared to be most lacking in access to schooling and the Internet.
- Children and young people who participated in the study also struggle to adapt to online learning modes in which they often cannot interact directly and smoothly with their teachers and peers.
- Although urban areas generally perform better than rural areas on many indicators related to education and learning, some children and young people in cities are still struggling to attain a proper education.

PROTECTION FROM VIOLENCE

- Birth certificate ownership among children has increased over the years, in both rural and urban areas.
- Although child marriage appears to have fallen slightly between 2015 and 2019 in rural areas, the practice has remained stable in urban areas.
- In urban areas, the prevalence of child marriage is higher among children living in slum households, compared to children living in non-slum households.

ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION

- Between 2015 and 2019, the share of children living in households with improved water declined. However, this could be explained by an increase in the use of branded packaged water and the practice of taking domestic containers to be refilled, which are two sources not included in the definition of improved water provided by Statistics Indonesia (BPS).
- In contrast, access to improved sanitation appears to have increased between 2015 and 2019 in both urban and rural areas.
- Access to improved sanitation remains a significantly greater issue in rural areas.

POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION

- Child poverty rates – defined as either the percentage of children living below the poverty line, or as belonging to the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution of households – are lower in Indonesian urban areas, compared to rural areas.
- Although cities exhibit a lower proportion of impoverished children compared to rural areas, urban poverty remains a problem in cities across Indonesia.
- The majority of consultation informants reported receiving support from at least one type of social assistance programme during the pandemic.

SAFE AND SUSTAINABLE SPACE

- Some young people who participated in the consultations have mentioned that natural and human-made hazards, such as floods, drought and fire are commonly experienced.
- The existence of slums is a symptom of the lack of affordable and adequate housing in cities. The young people in the consultation are very much aware of this issue and voice their concerns about their current and future housing situation.
- While land reclamation brings new economic opportunities, it also increases the risk of eviction for people who live nearby. Eviction is not only prompted by massive physical or infrastructural development, but also by projects to mitigate flooding.

PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

- Young people participating in the consultations regard community activities as a part of urban social interaction and a common platform for youth engagement.
- The participants also explore the various formal avenues for public engagement that are dedicated to them, such as the Child Forum or the intraschool students' organization (OSIS). They also express a desire for a more inclusive and innovative platform that can reach more young people from different backgrounds including the most vulnerable and hard to reach.

DISCUSSIONS

By looking at vulnerabilities across three categories (inequality of access and opportunities, unresponsive systems, and marginalization), this study helps to show how these challenges and opportunities intersect and influence children's lives, as presented below.

- Secondary data analysis suggests that, on average, children in urban areas fare better than those in rural areas, though the situation in rural areas has been slowly improving.

- Nevertheless, the well-being of certain groups of children in the cities has been shown, by several indicators, to be compromised.
- Children in urban areas may not face many barriers when accessing basic services, due to the relatively well-established nature of the infrastructure. However, children here could face challenges in meaningfully utilizing, or benefiting from, such services.
- Regardless of their urban or rural residential status, children and young people experience external threats to their well-being. This may occur in the form of natural hazards and environmental risks, or in the form of violence and discrimination.
- Opportunities, experience, and ability to participate in daily decision-making at home or in the public sphere, may contribute to children and young people's agency in urban areas. This study finds a multitude of ways for children and young people to form and express their views in order to influence plans and decisions affecting their lives. This includes their engagement in school and community activities.
- This study observes how the COVID-19 pandemic intensified existing vulnerabilities experienced by urban children and young people and, consequently, how this puts such populations at greater risk of not surviving the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Measuring the impact of vulnerabilities, including gender-related ones, on urban children and young people is beyond the scope of this study. However, the secondary literature and the consultations with children and young people offer insights into how a lack of access to services, poverty, isolation, exclusion, marginalization and unresponsive systems and services may have an impact on their well-being.


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RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings, the analysed literature and the researchers' own knowledge, this report offers recommendations and reflections for programme priorities. In general, city governments and their partners should work collaboratively to ensure access to high quality health care, education, nutrition, civil registration, social support and basic infrastructure services for those who are most vulnerable, regardless of their socioeconomic status, gender, religion, ethnicity or other social identities. The question is always how to prioritize.

Given the significant role of legal identity documents in facilitating access to public services in modernized cities, this study suggests urban areas should continue improving the civil registration and vital statistics system that registers everyone from birth and uses the data to improve services. There is also a need to explore research collaborations with capital cities or among cities within mega-urban areas to better understand the situation of vulnerable populations, which include children living in out-of-household settings. Furthermore, city governments and their partners should implement a comprehensive child protection and welfare model for urban areas, which provides the most vulnerable population access to social protection, family support and specialized child protection services. Lastly, city governments and their partners should support inclusive participation and civic engagement.

For policymakers and other stakeholders, this study also suggests overarching recommendations that may be prioritized, such as improving the quality of services, providing urban infrastructure and enabling meaningful youth participation and civic engagement. Further dialogues about the study's findings with policymakers and relevant stakeholders is suggested to explore possible solutions.

1 BACKGROUND

- This study provides a snapshot of adversities and inequalities affecting children and young people in Indonesian urban areas, as well as rural ones, when possible.
- The study's objectives are (1) to assess the socioeconomic characteristics of children in urban areas, with comparisons to rural areas, when possible, (2) to explore the opportunities and challenges faced by children who live in urban areas, and (3) to provide recommendations for UNICEF and the Government of Indonesia.
- This study employs three primary methods: a systematic literature review, a secondary data analysis and online consultations with children and young people.
- This study also explores how cities can respond to and recover from a pandemic such as COVID-19.

Urbanization has increased rapidly in Indonesia, as is shown by the increase from 8.6 million people living in urban areas in 1945 to 151 million people (around 56 per cent of the Indonesian population) living in urban areas today. However, it is important to note that such a spike may be more a reflection of how Indonesian national surveys define urban and rural based on an area's population density and existing infrastructures. As one of the consequences of development, the developed areas attract more people as they offer a wider range of life opportunities; in turn, infrastructure development follows demands. Furthermore, the role of mega-urban regions will become increasingly important as they house more and more residents and boost economic growth. It has been projected that two-thirds of the Indonesian population will live in urban areas by 2035 (Roberts et al., 2019).

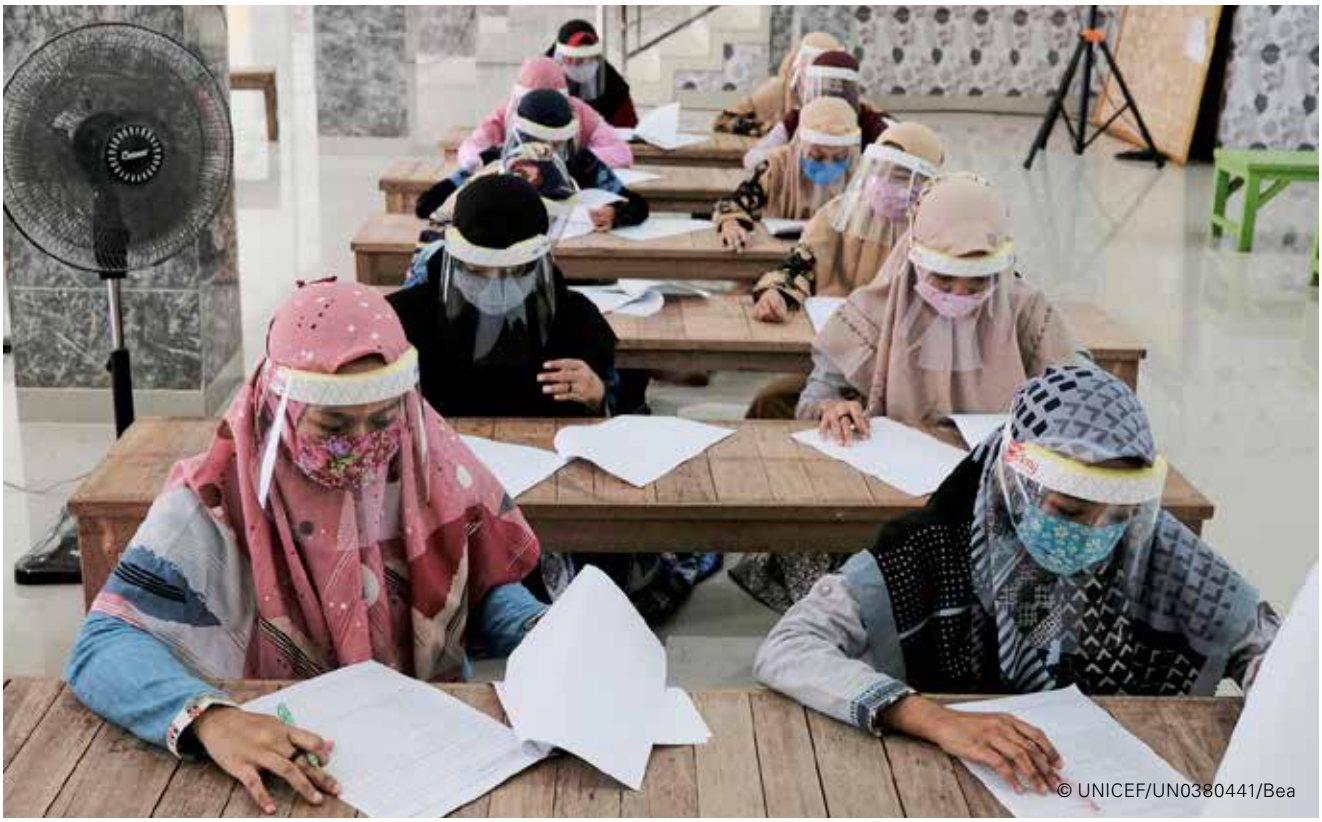
Indonesia has achieved remarkable progress in improving children's well-being and their rights in the past decades. However, despite this, these achievements are unequally distributed across regional areas and socioeconomic classes. The stall in progress, especially in critical areas such as social welfare, child protection and health and education, can be attributed to three underlying issues: inequality of access, unresponsive systems and processes of exclusion. As a result, there are pockets of vulnerable groups [1], such as children without legal identity, for example, who have become newly vulnerable due to COVID-19, who are outside the purview of Government services, and for whom existing services are incapable of responding to their needs.

A key underlying factor that contributes to this patchy progress is the lack of a general overview and in-depth analysis of the current situation that children and young people in specific demographic categories face, including those live in the cities. There is also a lack of data across all indicators on vulnerable populations such as religious, sexual, and ethnic minorities and children with special needs. Lack of disaggregated and publicly accessible data on vulnerable groups makes it difficult to target programmes and policies towards children who are at the highest risk, and threatens to obscure inequities. Moreover, the absence of longitudinal studies makes it difficult to understand how childhood deprivation impacts well-being during adolescence.

This study fills the gap in knowledge by combining a quantitative assessment of the leading indicators of well-being among children and young people in cities with a qualitative analysis of how these indicators are perceived and experienced by urban young people. The main objectives of this study are to:

- assess the socioeconomic characteristics of children in urban areas and to compare these characteristics with those of rural children when applicable
- explore the opportunities and challenges faced by children who live in urban areas
- provide recommendations for policies and intervention programmes to UNICEF and the Government of Indonesia, and to further ensure the well-being of children living in urban areas

1 More details can be found in this policy paper on the prevention and handling of COVID-19: Center on Child Protection and Wellbeing, 'Impacts on Children and Vulnerable Individuals', Puskapa, Jawa Barat, 2020, <https://puskapa.org/en/publication/1004>.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The research questions of the study are:

- What are the demographic, social and economic characteristics of children in urban areas (including small, medium, and large cities and metropolitan areas), specifically in terms of age, gender, socioeconomic background and how do these compare to their rural counterparts?
- What are the challenges and opportunities faced by children living in urban areas?
- How are these challenges and opportunities differentiated in terms of age group, gender and socioeconomic background?

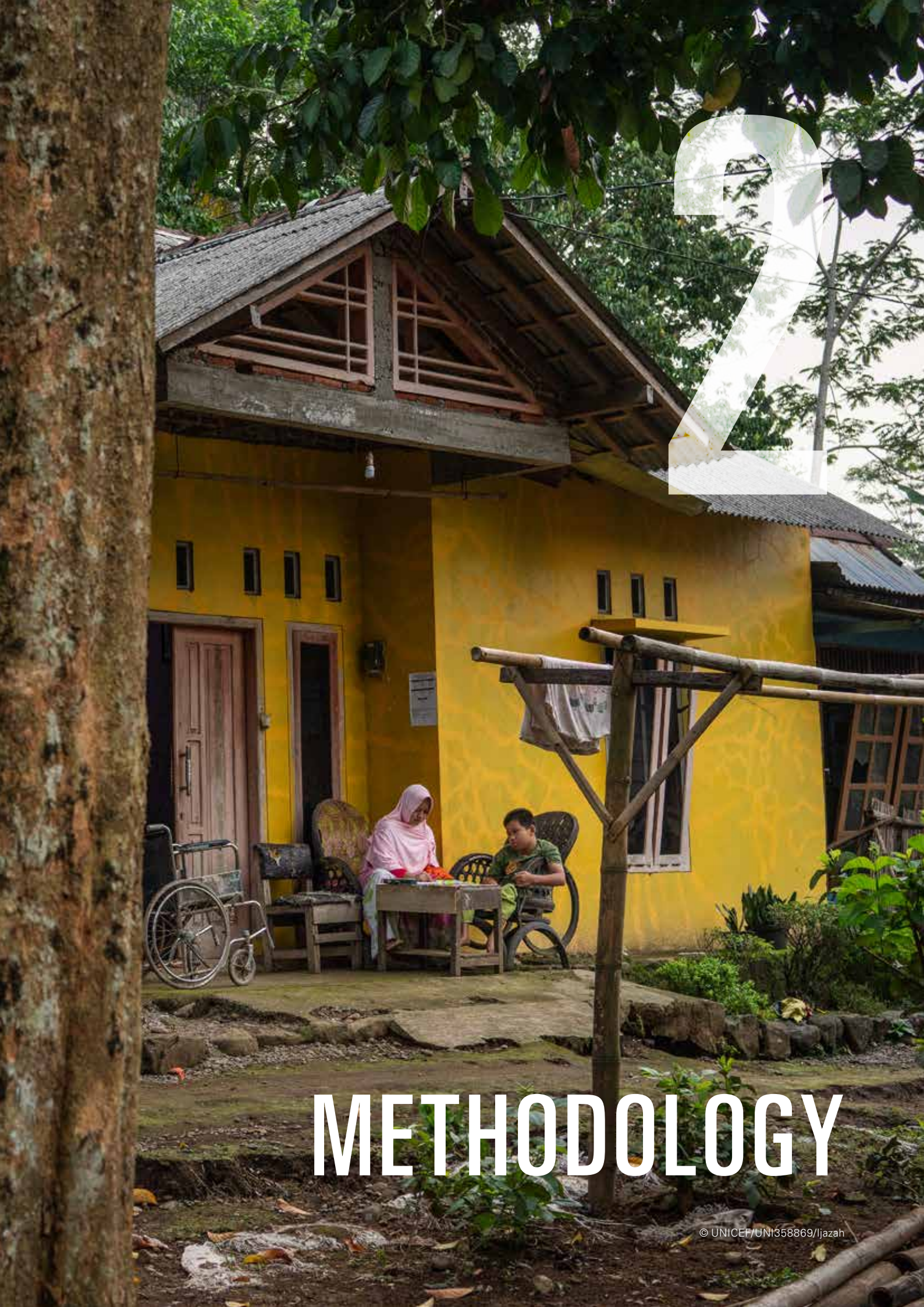
This study analyses existing national data to gain insight into the situation of children in urban settings. The secondary data analysis enables us to grasp how children, young people, and their families'/household members gain access to services and make use of opportunities in urban contexts. The study employs approximately 20 indicators that are based on the Sustainable Development Goals, and that align with the Indonesia National Medium-Term Development Plan 2020–2024. This study also conducts a systematic literature review to explore the current state of knowledge on children's well-being in urban settings in Indonesia and other similar countries. Last, this study presents findings from a series of consultations with children and young people aged 10 to 24 years old.

This combination of secondary analysis, systematic literature review, and consultations with children and young people highlights the constraints and opportunities faced by children and their communities living in urban areas. Insights from this report contribute not only to the development of viable solutions for increased access, but also to the improvement of the quality of relevant services and their inclusivity, thus further ensuring that no one is left behind. Throughout the document, the terms "city" and "urban areas" are used interchangeably when discussing the findings of our consultations. However, in the secondary analysis, this study mainly adheres to the formal definitions used in existing surveys and literature.

The COVID-19 pandemic hit Indonesia in the middle of this study. Urban areas became the epicentres of the pandemic, which has increased the risks faced by urban children. This study explores how cities can respond to, and recover from, a pandemic such as COVID-19. The study improves our understanding of how access to public services (including health care facilities), and the lack of it, have been experienced by young people before and during the pandemic. To collect information in accordance with safety and health protocols, this study applied digitally mediated methods when conducting consultations with children and young people.

2

METHODOLOGY



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This section provides a brief description of how the data of this study was collected and analysed, the different methods employed and the limitations of the study.

- Relevant literature from Indonesia, Brazil, India, Bangladesh and Vietnam was considered eligible for the systematic literature review.
- The secondary analyses use nationally representative data sets, such as SUSENAS and IDHS, to provide a general picture of how relevant SDG indicators might differ between urban and rural areas.
- Due to the pandemic, this study employed digitally mediated, asynchronous one-on-one interviews with 16 children and young people living in urban areas.
- To obtain the perspective of young people below 25 years old, UNICEF launched a U-Report poll in November 2020. Responses were gathered from 370 respondents with 47 per cent of the responses coming from young people aged 15–19.

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

This study employs a systematic literature review to ascertain the current state of knowledge on children's well-being in urban settings, especially in Indonesia. In the literature review, this study includes countries with similar characteristics to those of Indonesia to provide a more comprehensive overview and to deepen our understanding of children living in urban environments. The selection of these countries is based on their population, youth dependency ratio (approximately 39 per cent), and World Bank income classification (Low and Middle-Income Countries). After comparing these main criteria to other categories, such as region and population, this study decided to include four additional countries in the review: Brazil, India, Bangladesh and Vietnam.

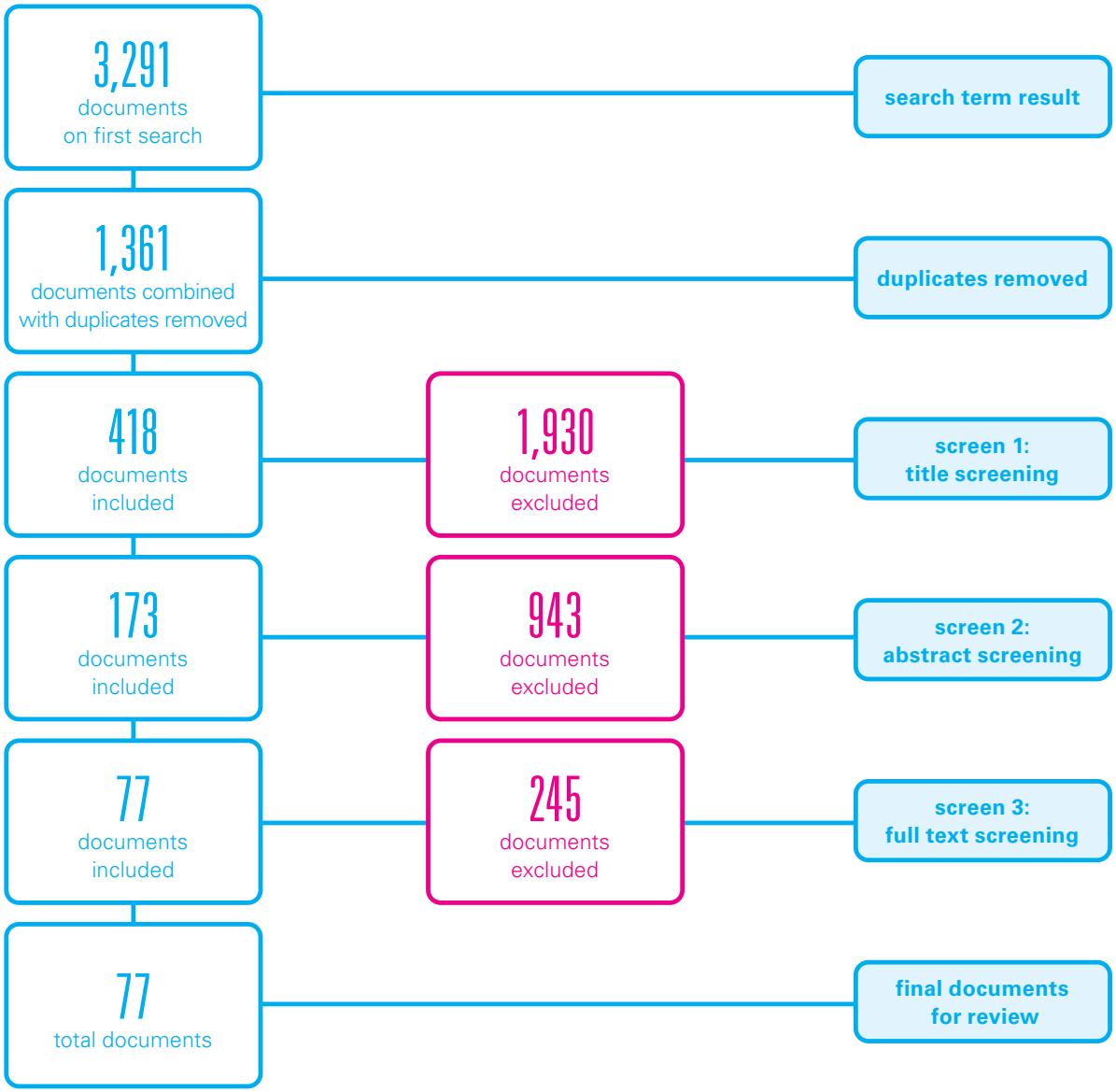
The study uses broad keywords to capture the populations of interest, such as "children", "adolescent", "youth", and "young people", and to select relevant studies that discuss urban settings using words such as "urban", "city", "slum" or "metropolitan". These keywords are applied in the title search using the certain inclusion criteria (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

COMPONENT	OBJECTIVE OF LITERATURE REVIEW
Population or participants	Children or young people aged 0–24; or caregivers/parents/household members who discuss the lives of children or young people.
Study design	Quantitative or qualitative studies
Setting	Urban; this study includes studies on urban settings that also involve rural settings.
Scope	Indonesia, India, Brazil, Bangladesh and Vietnam (including nationally representative as well as city-district level studies)
Time frame	2010–2020; this study employs a specific timeframe to include literature published five years before and after Indonesia commited to implementing the SDGs. The limit is expected to capture any shift, if any, in definitions of well-being during the period.
Language	English
Type	Peer review and grey literature
Database	Google Scholar Columbia University CLIO Australia National University Supersearch Universitas Indonesia Library

The search and selection process of each country was conducted in three main screening phases as follows:

FIGURE 1. THREE-STAGE SCREENING PROCESS



While conducting title and abstract screening, this study excluded research that explores very specific clinical/medical indicators, such as iron deficiency or gene mutations, and research that takes place in peri-urban areas. While conducting full text screening, this study also excluded research that does not provide clear and coherent information on the distinction between methodology and findings.

Information from the final list of literature was extracted and put into a matrix to provide an overview of studies on urban children in each country. This overview included information on a study's:

- objective
- methodology
- well-being indicators
- participants (such as number, age, gender and ethnicity)
- sampling method
- findings

The analysis also considered how the studies define urban or city. Based on this matrix, this study developed a summary of the current scholarship on children in cities in Indonesia and other selected countries. The summary of the matrix provides a short assessment of the state of knowledge, including general consensus, currently available evidence and information that is still lacking. A total of 77 documents was selected for final review (see Figure 1).

2.2. SECONDARY ANALYSIS

Secondary analyses of nationally representative data sets, most of which have been collected by Statistics Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS), were conducted to provide a general picture of how relevant SDG indicators might differ between urban and rural areas. These analyses examined 20 indicators, derived mainly from SUSENAS 2019, which collected data from approximately 300,000 households annually (see Table 2). Additional trend analyses from 2015–2019 were also performed on selected indicators, depending on data availability. In addition, this study examined IDHS 2012 and 2017 data.

The analysis investigated how each indicator varies in each urban case definition. In general, the descriptive analysis involved:

- comparisons between urban versus rural using the definition assigned by BPS
- comparisons between small-, medium- and large-sized cities
- characteristics within key metropolitan areas

Additionally, inter-urban and provincial analyses were performed when possible.

TABLE 2. LIST OF INDICATORS ANALYSED FROM SUSENAS 2019

SDG GOAL	INDICATOR	DEFINITION USED
Goal 1: No Poverty	Children aged 0–17 years living below the poverty line	Children living in a household with expenditure per capita less than national poverty line 2019
	Children aged 0–17 years in the bottom of 40 per cent household income distribution	Children living in a household in the first and second quintiles distribution of expenditure per capita (This study uses household expenditure as a proxy for household income.)
Goal 2: Zero Hunger	Low birth weight	The most recently born child weighed less than 2.5 kgs (This question was posed only to women aged 10–54 who have been married and pregnant. It excludes pregnant women who are not married.)
Goal 3: Good Health and Well-being	Fully immunized children under 5 years	Children under 5 years who received HepB vaccination at birth, BCG, three doses of DPT, three doses of HepB (non-birth doses), four doses of oral polio vaccine, and one dose of measles vaccine
	Adolescents aged 15–19 years who smoke	Adolescents aged 15–19 years who had smoked tobacco or electronic cigarette in the last month

SDG GOAL	INDICATOR	DEFINITION USED
Goal 4: Quality Education	Children aged 6 years who are currently in primary without preschool	Children aged 6 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) currently in primary school but who have never attended preschool
	Children aged 7–12 years currently out of school	Children aged 7–12 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) currently not in school
	Children aged 13–15 years currently out of school	Children aged 13–15 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) currently not in school
	Children aged 16–18 years currently out of school	Children aged 16–18 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) currently not in school
	Primary completion rate of a group of 13–15 years	Individuals aged 13–15 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) who have primary school certification (1–3 years above ISCED completion rate)
	Lower secondary completion rate of a group of 16–18 years	Individuals aged 16–18 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) who have primary school certification (1–3 years above ISCED completion rate)
	Upper secondary completion rate of a group of 19–21 years	Individuals aged 19–21 years (based on 2018/2019 school year) who have primary school certification (1–3 years above ISCED completion rate)
	Children aged 5–17 years without access to the Internet	Children aged 5–17 years who had not used the Internet in the previous three months (including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, & WhatsApp)
Goal 5: Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment	Child marriage: women aged 20–24 years who were married before 18	Women aged 20–24 years whose first marriage took place before the age of 18
Goal 6: Clean Water and Sanitation	Children aged 0–17 years living in households with improved water	Children aged 0–17 years living in household with main source of drinking water: tap water, bore well/pump, improved water, improved spring, rainwater, and branded packaged and refilled water (if the household used tap water, bore well/pump, improved water, improved spring, rainwater for other household activities such as washing and showering)
	Children aged 0–17 years living in households with improved sanitation	Children aged 0–17 years living in households that have a private or shared toilet, and that use a siphon-type latrine and septic tank
Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions	Children aged 0–17 years with a birth certificate	Children aged 0–17 years who reported owning a birth certificate (including those who did not show it at the time of the survey)

To obtain a clearer picture of the progress of health and nutrition indicators, the study also utilizes the IDHS. The changes in selected health and nutrition indicators in rural and urban areas are examined to complement SUSENAS data (see Table 3). As IDHS is administered in five-year cycles, the most recent available IDHS data are IDHS 2017 and 2012.

TABLE 3. LIST OF INDICATORS ANALYSED FROM IDHS

SDG GOAL	INDICATOR	DEFINITION USED
Mortality rate	Infant mortality rate	The probability of dying in the first month of life (this study used the definition specified by DHS and adopted their estimation protocol)
	Under-5 mortality rate	The probability of dying before the fifth birthday (this study used the definition specified by DHS and adopted their estimation protocol)
	Child mortality rate	The probability of dying between the first and fifth birthday (this study used the definition specified by DHS and adopted their estimation protocol)
Low Birth Weight	Newborns weighed less than 2.5 kgs	Percentage of births with a reported birth weight of less than 2.5 kilograms regardless of gestational age
Immunization	Children aged under 5 years with basic immunization	Children under 5 years who received basic vaccinations: BCG, three doses of DPT, three doses of oral polio vaccine, and one dose of measles (the full-immunization questions were not asked in 2012 questionnaire)
Vitamin A intake	Children aged 6–59 months who had vitamin A	Children aged 6–59 months who were given vitamin A supplements
Deworming	A group of children under 5 years were given intestinal worm drugs	Children aged 6–59 months who were given intestinal worm drugs
Diarrhoea	A group of children under 5 years who had diarrhoea	Children aged under 5 years who had diarrhoea in the 2 weeks before the survey
Acute Respiratory Infection (ARI)	A group of children under 5 years who had respiratory infection symptoms	Children aged under 5 years who had ARI symptoms in the 2 weeks before the survey
Exclusively breastfeeding	Youngest children under six months who are exclusively breastfed	Percentage of youngest children under 6 months who are living with their mother who are exclusively breastfed under 6 months of age (this study used the definition specified by DHS and adopted their estimation programme)
Contraception	Women aged 15–24 years who used any modern contraceptive methods	Percentage of married women adolescents (aged 15–24 year) who currently used any modern contraceptive method
Infant and Young Child Feeding (IYCF) Practices	Children aged 6–23 months who are breastfed or had other milk products	Breastfeeding, or not breastfeeding and receiving two or more feedings of commercial infant formula; fresh, tinned, and powdered animal milk; and yogurt
	Children aged 6–23 months who had minimum meal frequency	For breastfed children, minimum meal frequency is receiving solid or semi-solid food at least twice a day for infants age 6–8 months and at least three times a day for children age 9–23 months. For non-breastfed children age 6–23 months, minimum meal frequency is receiving solid or semi-solid food or milk feeds at least four times a day

	Children aged 6–23 months who had a minimum acceptable diet	Breastfed children age 6–23 months are considered to be fed a minimum acceptable diet if they are fed the minimum dietary diversity for breastfed children and the minimum meal frequency for breastfed children. Non-breastfed children age 6–23 months are considered to be fed a minimum acceptable diet if they receive other milk or milk products at least twice a day, receive the minimum meal frequency for non-breastfed children, and receive solid or semi-solid foods from at least four food groups, not including the milk or milk products food group.

As seen above, and considering the availability of data, this study focuses on children and young people, and presents data for those under 18 or 15–24 years of age, depending on the indicator. It is important to note that some variables might be available at household level. Consequently, this study does not represent the individual characteristics of children or young people.

Last, all analyses use sampling weights to ensure that they are representative of the larger population. Sampling errors are adjusted for the intricate sampling design employed by SUSENAS and IDHS.

2.3. ONLINE CONSULTATIONS

This research had to drastically change its fieldwork plan due to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a consequence, this study employed digitally mediated methods to achieve the study's objectives through asynchronous one-to-one interviews. An asynchronous interview is a qualitative research method in which information is exchanged repeatedly between researchers and participants within a specific period, usually through text message, e-mail or traditional mail. This study uses WhatsApp as the interview platform for the data-collection process. Using the asynchronous method means that interviewers and respondents do not hold conversations in real time, which offers participants time and flexibility to respond to interview questions.

The purpose of these consultations is to gain more information and to support the findings from the literature review and secondary data analysis, and, in particular, to answer two questions:

1. What are the challenges and opportunities faced by children and young people living in urban areas both before and during the COVID-19 pandemic?
2. What role do age, gender and socioeconomic background play in participants' lived experiences in cities?

This study selects participants through nominations by NGOs/CSOs that partner with PUSKAPA or UNICEF Indonesia. The selection of respondents was based on five main criteria:

- age (between 13 and 24 years old)
- gender balance (eight girls and eight boys)
- place of residence (representative of the greater area of Jakarta and the eastern part of Indonesia)
- no participation in any similar research between April–June 2020
- low socioeconomic background

The age group of this study's consultations participants are 13-24 years old. In terms of socioeconomic background, the selection was conducted through local partners' knowledge of the nominees based on (but not limited to) the following considerations:

- family income
- neighbourhood characteristics
- profession of parents/caretakers
- level of education/schooling

See Appendix 1 for a list of the participants' pseudonyms and their various characteristics.

Four PUSKAPA researchers were paired individually with each of the 16 participants aged 13–24 years old from four cities, namely:

- the greater area of Jakarta
- Makassar (South Sulawesi)
- Surakarta (Central Java)
- Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara)

The consultation took place over 5–7 days per participant. Each day, the respondent was asked three main questions according to the selected themes of the study, which they could answer in their own time and through different means of communication, such as text, audio or video file. The various interview topics were selected based on the findings from the secondary analysis and literature review, particularly emerging key themes such as well-being, education, health, public infrastructure and civic participation. For each theme, the questions focused on children's and young people's perceptions and aspirations regarding their access to, and quality of, services. Questions were also tailored to capture the role of gender and processes of exclusion and how these related to children's and young people's access to services before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The questions were delivered either in written form (text) or recorded (audio file). At the end of the consultation, a series of in-depth interviews were conducted with 8 out of 16 informants. To gain further information that was difficult to collect, or that remained incomplete after the consultation, interviews were conducted with five local facilitators in all four cities.

To obtain the perspective of young people under the age of 25, UNICEF launched a U-Report poll in November 2020. Responses were gathered from 370 respondents with 47 per cent of responses coming from adolescents aged 15–19 years old. This online survey specifically asked 11 closed questions regarding their everyday experiences during the COVID-19 pandemic. The questions covered:

- young people's perceptions regarding caregiving practices at home
- support from friends
- the risk and experiences of eviction and displacement
- protection from the risk of coronavirus transmission
- participation in decision-making processes
- online learning
- protection from violence

The findings from the U-Report poll echoed those from this study's consultations with young people. Other thematic U-Report results from previous surveys were also used to help fill the gaps around topics not covered through this study's consultations.

A child protection protocol was applied throughout the research process based on the Ethical Research Involving Children guidelines (Graham et al., 2013). The protocol stipulates:

- collecting informed assent/consent from participants, caretakers (for participants below 18 years old), and local facilitators
- providing participants with sufficient compensation based on local context (Internet service, money transfer, and phone credits to show appreciation)
- contextualizing questions based on local context and providing translation support for local languages
- setting up a child-protection referral mechanism
- storing and analysing data to ensure the safety and anonymity of the participants

This study received approval from Atma Jaya University's Ethical Commission Board.[2]

This study adopted the Constant Comparative Method in analysing the qualitative data. The research team applied axial coding on the field notes and transcripts and grouped the codes that emerged from the data. Codes were grouped under the pre-determined categories following SDGs variables. Three reviewers carried out a spot-check of the codes and category assignments for quality assurance.

Consultations with young people were included in this study in order to highlight their experiences of daily life in urban areas. Further, as many "invisible" children may not have been captured in the nationally representative data sets, purposive sampling allows for the intentional inclusion of these potentially marginalized individuals. The qualitative findings may provide nuances that confirm, complement or even contradict the quantitative findings. In presenting the consultations results, this report uses pseudonyms, although it states the city the participants come from to provide their specific context.

2 As approved by the Head of Commission of Ethical Research, the Indonesian Catholic University of Atma Jaya, with approval letter number 1223A/III/LPPM.PM.10.05/10/2020 on 1 October 2020.

3

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON INDONESIAN URBAN CONTEXT

This section gives a brief overview of Indonesia's urban context. It focuses on various urban issues that are commonly discussed in the relevant literature, such as rural-urban migration, housing, eviction and the plight of children and vulnerable populations. A brief overview of the literature on the COVID-19 pandemic in urban contexts will also be presented in this section. The information in this section draws mainly from the literature review.

- Although a share of the urban population growth in Indonesia is due to rural-urban migration, a greater proportion of this growth is a result of changes in how urban status is defined.
- The literature review suggests that better economic opportunities in urban areas contribute to higher productivity and per capita income.
- Urban poverty is commonly associated with slum areas and their residents. The high cost of living in urban centres also forces the urban poor to live in slums and informal settlements.
- Recent evidence shows that the COVID-19 pandemic posed the biggest burden in urban areas.

BOX 1. DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF URBAN AREAS IN INDONESIA

The definition of "urban" varies by country, which make a cross-city comparison of children's outcomes more challenging. In Indonesia, there are two main definitions of "urban" depending on a place's status and function. The first definition involves administrative status, which means that local government units (either kota or kabupaten) are given official status as municipalities (kota or kotamadya). The second definition involves function, which means that the smallest administrative units are assigned an urban or rural classification depending on certain characteristics (Jones and Mulyana, 2015). Other institutions also employ various categorizations of "urban" and "rural". The World Bank, for example, in its latest report (Roberts et al., 2019) consistently made reference to four broad types of urban and rural places:

- multidistrict metro areas (consisting of metro core and metro periphery)
- single-district metro areas
- non-metro urban areas
- non-metro rural areas

World Vision's report (World Vision International, 2016), in contrast, uses multidimensional characteristics to define what counts as urban or rural:

- physical
- economic
- human/demographic
- political
- environmental

This study adopts BPS's definition of the distinction between urban or rural, which is defined at the village level. BPS uses a composite scoring system that considers population density, the percentage of households employed in agriculture, and the presence of urban facilities such as schools, markets, shops, cinemas, and hotels, as well as access to phones and electricity (see Appendix 2).

This study also examines the situation of children living in slum households to better understand how their well-being may differ from that of other children living in urban and

rural areas. BPS defines a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same building without access to an improved water source and sanitation facility, and with inadequate living space defined by floor area size and materials (see Table A).

TABLE A. SCORING SYSTEM FOR SLUM HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION

INDICATOR	CRITERIA	SCORE	WEIGHT
Unimproved water	1. Main source of water for drinking is branded packaged water, refilled water, unprotected well, unprotected spring, or open water such as river/ lake/pond 2. The distance to the nearest waste disposal is less than 10 metres	1	15%
Unimproved sanitation	1. Does not have a private or shared toilet 2. Type of closet is pit latrine without slab or plunged hole 3. Not using septic tank for final waste disposal	1	15%
Floor area per person less than 7.2 m2		1	35%
Inadequate housing = 1 if at least two criteria are met	1. Material of the roof is straw/fibre/leaves or other 2. Material of the wall is bamboo or other 3. Material of the floor is earth or other	1	35%

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Indonesia), Indikator Perumahan dan Kesehatan Lingkungan, 2015.

By using SUSENAS and IDHS data, this study also investigates a subset of indicators across small, medium, large, and metropolitan (SMLM) cities in Indonesia to obtain greater insights into the situation of children in various urban settings. The classification of SMLM cities used in this study is based on population size at the district level. Small cities are districts with a population up to 100,000 and medium cities are districts with a population of between 100,000 – 500,000. Meanwhile, large cities are districts with a population of between 500,000 – 1,000,000, and metropolitan cities are districts with a population of more than 1 million (see Table B).

TABLE B. CLASSIFICATION OF SMALL, MEDIUM, LARGE AND METROPOLITAN CITIES

NO.	CLASSIFICATION	POPULATION	NUMBER OF DISTRICTS
1	Metropolitan cities	More than 1 million	77
2	Large cities	Between 500,000 and 1,000,000	70
3	Medium cities	Between 100,000 and 500,000	295
4	Small cities	Up to 100,000	72

Source: Adapted from the Law No. 26/2007 on Spatial Planning and SUSENAS 2019 to estimate number of districts.

Finally, this study investigates a set of indicators relevant to Indonesia's top 12 Mega-urban regions that were selected based on the National Strategic Areas in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2019–2024. It is important to note that the definition of mega-urban regions given by the RPJMN only includes some subdistricts in the regions. Meanwhile, the main data sets used in this study could only be disaggregated at the district level. Consequently, any interpretation and conclusion of the results relating to mega-urban regions should consider the differences in these definitions.

3.1. INDONESIAN URBAN CHARACTERISTICS

Urbanization has increased rapidly in Indonesia, as shown by the increase from 8.6 million people living in urban areas in 1945 to 151 million people, or around 56 per cent of the Indonesian population, living in urban areas today. The current pace of urbanization, however, can be described as typical compared to the pace or urbanization elsewhere, namely at a rate of more than three per cent a year (Roberts et al., 2019). It has been projected that two thirds of the Indonesian population will live in urban areas by 2035. For example, 90 per cent of the population of Java are expected to be urban dwellers who will be concentrated in the mega-urban regions of Jakarta and Bandung. In other areas, however, such as NTT, Sulawesi Barat, and Maluku Utara, less than 40 per cent of the population will be living in urban areas (Jones, 2014).

Although some urban population growth is a result of rural-to-urban migration, changes in how urban status is defined have contributed to a larger portion of this growth (Roberts et al. 2019). Specifically, between 2000 and 2010, "less than 20 per cent of urban population growth was attributable to internal migration, whereas more than 80 per cent came from reclassification of rural settlements as urban and natural population growth in urban areas" (Roberts et al., 2019, p.51). The role of mega-urban regions will become increasingly important as they house an increasing number of residents and boost economic growth; conversely, the rural population is projected to steadily decline. While governments may thus be tempted to prioritize urban populations, they must also be careful not to disadvantage rural populations even further (Jones, 2014).

The literature suggests that better economic opportunities in urban areas contribute to higher productivity and per capita income. However, urban workers are mostly found in the informal sector, as it does not require specific or technical skills. This gives rise to both potential risks and opportunities and, with the increase of new job seekers in cities, it has been noted that "risks of potential social conflicts and increased criminality among dissatisfied social groups" might emerge (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia, 2016).

3.2. INDONESIAN URBAN ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE LITERATURE

3.2.1 RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Although contributing less to urbanization than before, as suggested in the literature, the migration of rural residents to cities is one of the persistent factors that drive the rise in urban population (Roberts et al., 2019). Young people are a significant part of this migratory movement as they are driven to find economic and employment opportunities in urban areas (Reality Check Approach+, Pulse Lab Jakarta and World Bank Indonesia, 2018). In their study of young adults in Greater Jakarta, Ariane Utomo et al. note that many of the young migrants described in their research moved to the city after dropping out of school and several years of idleness. This suggests that migration is more a response to dropping out of school rather than a cause of it (Utomo et al., 2014).

Children and young people also often migrate to cities to seek better and higher education, such as college, either with their families or on their own (Clendenning, 2018; Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018). In India, Agarwal et al. also found that some families move to the city to break away from rigid gender norms in rural areas, which prevent their daughters from pursuing higher education and thus delaying marriage (Agarwal and Urban Health Resource Centre, 2016). Other factors include a lack of entertainment and the seasonal economic slump in rural areas. Some of these migrations are seasonal and circular, but many migrants eventually decide to move permanently, thus slowly bringing more family members to the city (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018).

Many people who move from rural areas to cities rely on their network of friends, neighbours, and families, including young people who have already migrated (Clendenning, 2018; Utomo et al., 2014). People tend to follow the same pattern and route of relatives and neighbours, which means they reside in the same areas and find jobs or enter education through their network. Such networks are often the basis of initial support by providing temporary lodging and helping migrants navigate the city. This network, and the social capital it provides, is also important to "recreate a sense of *kampung*" in their migratory place (Reality Check Approach+ et al. 2018). It should be noted here that the term kampung, or kampung kota, is used in this report to refer to urban kampungs, which have completely different characteristics to those in rural areas. However, in the case of India, Agarwal et al. find that, when girls move to a city with their family, as opposed to moving on their own and living with an extended family, they are more likely to obtain a better education and be less restricted in their mobility (Agarwal and Urban Health Resource Centre, 2016).

Accommodation is one of the primary considerations for migrant workers as housing is precarious and expensive in cities. People tend to prefer jobs that offer some sort of housing security, such as a dorm close to their workplace (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018). People also tend to forgo sanitation, water and other basic infrastructure over access to cheap accommodation, which is generally located in slum areas but closer to their employment. This strategic choice, however, frequently involves a constant threat of eviction, especially in Jakarta and Medan, even after these migrant communities have settled, registered, and lived in a city for generations (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018).

Many migrants strive to maintain close relationships with their hometown, particularly by sending money home and regularly visiting their places of origin. This applies especially to migrants who have temporarily moved to cities in search of economic opportunities. A study on in-migration to coastal urban regions in Java finds that rural residents are often forced to move to cities to look for off-farm employment whenever there is a seasonal slump in rural economic production (Handayani and Kumalasari, 2015; Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018). Increasingly, rural residents also migrate to cities to supplement their family's income as rural communities can no longer rely on agricultural production to support themselves in the transition to a cash economy (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018).

Migrants often present a social-cultural challenge for urban governance. A study by World Vision in six cities across six countries, including the Indonesian city of Surabaya, finds that many migrants still consider their residency in Surabaya as temporary, even after living in a city for 10 years or more (World Vision International, 2016). For these migrants, the connection to their rural hometown remains an essential feature of their identity and sense of self. Consequently, they are more likely to send money to their hometown and less likely to invest in their urban neighbourhoods or to participate in local communal activities. Furthermore, migrants whose movements are predominantly driven by economic motives are always on the lookout for new opportunities in other areas (World Vision International, 2016).

In their 2016 report for UN-Habitat, the Indonesian Government acknowledges the importance of managing rural-urban migration, rather than preventing population mobility. The report emphasizes that it is important to prepare destination cities for receiving and hosting new migrants, especially in terms of providing housing, transportation and basic services and utilities as well as creating economic opportunities that will increase collective prosperity. Furthermore, the Government does anticipate some of the challenges that cities will face due to projected demographic changes towards more productive age groups (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia, 2016).

3.2.2 HOUSING

The Government has long acknowledged the issue of housing shortages and inadequate construction in cities. The objective to provide adequate and affordable housing for all is part of Indonesia's Long-Term National Development Plan (RPJP) 2005–2025. This objective has also been part of the subsequent Medium-Term Plan or RPJMN. Adequate housing is officially defined as containing four aspects:

- physical integrity
- flooring size per capita
- access to water
- access to sanitation.

In the current RPJMN (2020–2024), the Government identifies three broad issues on housing:

- lack of financial capacity among the population
- lack of adequate housing
- absence of either a regulatory framework, or an economic incentive, to ensure not only the availability of settlements but also their adequate construction

The Government also acknowledges that housing policies in many local areas are still predominantly focused on upgrading the condition of houses *(bedah rumah)* while fewer efforts are made to structurally improve housing supply and demand.

According to the current RPJMN (2020–2024), the Government aims to provide adequate housing for 70 per cent of households (the baseline is 54.1 per cent). To achieve that target, the Government plans to intervene in three areas: demand side, supply side, and supporting policies and governance (Kementerian PPN/BAPPENAS, 2020). In terms of demand, financial assistance will be provided to help low-income households to access housing or to build their own. In terms of the shortage of supply, the Government plans to consolidate and utilize existing land to build new settlements funded either by the Government budget (both central/APBN and local/APBD) or by incentivizing the private sector to build affordable housing. Finally, to create an enabling environment, the Government pledges to improve the implementation of housing standards, to deregulate the land administration process, and to pursue collaboration with local government, communities and the private sector in order to build more houses.

Historically, the Government's efforts to provide public housing have fallen short of closing the gap between the demand and supply of affordable housing for low-income individuals. Some have criticized the Government's public housing programmes for enabling private developers to gain ownership of highly valued land in city centres. Such ownership is often acquired by evicting low-income inhabitants (sometimes living on fallow Government land) who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of these housing programmes (Kusno, 2015; Silver, 2008). Furthermore, the requirement to get a mortgage is impossible to meet for residents working in informal sectors due to the lack of a stable monthly income. As a result, residents often resort to self-built houses with varying degrees of quality on neglected lands, which leads to the emergence of informal settlements of *kampung* (Kusno, 2015).

At the same time, however, Indonesia has set an ambitious target of improving city slums by 2020 in alignment with the national MDGs target through a slum-upgrading programme and through the provision of housing for poor urban residents. In the Government's report to UN-Habitat, there seems to be a shift in how the Government perceives *kampung* as informal settlements. Rather than arguing for the removal of *kampung*, the Government report recognizes them as an essential part of the city that enable economic productivity and that provide space for many self-built houses that are inhabited by the urban poor (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia, 2016). The Government's focus has also shifted towards providing informal settlements with basic services and utilities (such as electricity, water, waste management and transportation) and improving the conditions of the houses in kampungs (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia, 2016).

3.2.3 EVICTION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

Eviction is not a new phenomenon in cities across Indonesia, and takes places predominantly through slum or urban *kampung* removal. In his study on urban planning in Jakarta, Christopher Silver noted that kampung clearance had occurred at least since 1911 under the Dutch colonial government (Silver, 2008). These evictions are often followed by a lengthy legal battle (LBH Jakarta, 2017). Regardless of the involvement of the judicial system, state-sponsored violence is prevalent. LBH Jakarta records that, in 2015, 57 per cent of evictions of residents in informal settlements in Jakarta involved the military and 59 per cent involved the police force (LBH Jakarta 2017, p.20). This trend has continued.

Evictions are often justified for various reasons, such as the clearing of land for infrastructure developments including toll booths, highways and business districts. Eviction is also frequently justified as a measure to control illegal housing and informal settlements (LBH Jakarta, 2016a). Also, the fact that these settlements are built in non-residential areas according to the Government's zoning system (Koesoemawiria 2017; Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia 2016, pp. 33–40; Winayanti and Lang, 2004) often justifies an enforcing order or penertiban. In 2016, LBH Jakarta records that more than 70 per cent of evictions (both housing and informal stalls) are classified as *penertiban* (LBH Jakarta, 2017, p. 32). Since many illegal dwellings are built on riverbeds or close to the sea, they are also prone to flooding. In 2015, in Jakarta, for instance,

at least 35 cases of eviction were justified on the grounds of river normalization and flooding mitigation measures (LBH Jakarta 2016a, p. 19). Between 2015–2018, Jakarta Legal Aid documents a total of 495 eviction cases in informal settlements or *kampung*, which have displaced 15,319 households (LBH Jakarta 2016a, 2017).

The consequences of forced eviction and displacement are well documented. Since most recent slum removals in Jakarta are uncompensated, eviction has impoverished many families through loss of housing and assets (Ichwatus Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018).[3] Families that once lived rent-free are now forced to become tenants either in Government housing (for those who were relocated) or in other rental housing units (Savirani and Wilson, 2017) thus further increasing their financial burden. It has to be noted that only a fraction of evicted families is relocated to (rented) public housing *(rusunawa)*. In 2015, according to LBH Jakarta documentation, 72 out of 113 eviction cases were not provided with any compensation or relocation and, only in 32 cases was relocation to public housing offered (LBH Jakarta 2016a). Even then, in nine out of these 32 cases, the relocation was offered only to some of the families affected (LBH Jakarta, 2016a). Sholihah and Shaojun's survey of 550 evicted and relocated households in 17 *rusunawa* in Jakarta shows that only 29 per cent of evicted households say they are able to pay rent regularly (Ichwatus Sholihah and Shaojun 2018). In 2015, Jakarta Legal Aid conducted a survey with relocated evicted residents in several *rusunawa* that documented a few early impacts of eviction and resettlement on children. Although the resettlement housing was considered suitable for children, with thought given to child-friendly public spaces, respondents pointed out that their children now had to commute long hours to their schools as the eviction took place during the school year. Furthermore, not all *rusunawa* were served with school buses and the bus schedule often did not match school opening and closing hours (LBH Jakarta, 2016b). It should be noted, however, that the study did not involve children as participants but sought information on children from adult respondents representing the household.

In informal settlements, houses also serve as production space, especially for cottage industries and small kiosks, and their loss is therefore often followed by a decrease in income (Ichwatus Sholihah and Shaojun 2018; Tilley et al., 2019). The loss of income is also explained by the loss of patrons/customers when these cottage industries have to move away from their original location. Women, as observed by Tilley et al. (2019), are disproportionately affected by such a loss, or change in livelihood, as they can no longer combine earning income and care and domestic work. Elsewhere it has been documented that some children drop out of school and take up paid work after they are evicted to compensate for their families' loss of income (Hackenbroch et al., 2008; Patel et al., 2015).

3.3. CHILDREN AND VULNERABLE POPULATIONS IN INDONESIA'S URBAN CENTRES

A recent publication by UNICEF on children in urban areas (2018) discusses the notion of "urban paradox," which refers to the tendency to overlook intra-urban inequality because of preconceptions about the advantages of living in urban areas. This report, however, underscores that, although inequality exists in urban areas, there is little evidence that disparities are consistently larger in urban areas compared to those in rural areas. Much of the urban advantage disappears if the calculation controls for wealth and, in some cases, the most impoverished urban children fare worse than their peers in rural counterparts. One of the reasons this appears to be the case is because official definitions of poverty often do not take into account the cost of non-food needs. In urban settings, for example, the cost of living may also include transportation, rent, water and sanitation (UNICEF, 2012). Some urban contexts also increase one's vulnerability such as the risk of displacement, economic shock, violence and crime and disaster. The UNICEF study found that, in some countries, poor children in urban areas are left behind on several indicators compared to the poorest children in rural areas. These indicators include immunization (DPT3), birth registration, and the completion of primary education (UNICEF, 2018a).

Urban poverty is tied to a household's ability to weather short-term shocks such as sudden unemployment and long-term adversities such as the rising cost of living (World Vision International 2016). Children and families who experience monetary poverty are more likely to suffer from inadequate income or the lack of a "safety net," which directly impacts the fulfilment of basic needs, increases their reliance on the informal economy despite poor working conditions, and forces them to live in inadequate housing and settlements. In addition to monetary poverty, poor urban communities also experience social vulnerability, such as a lack of representation in the city's power dynamic.

3 for cases in India see Patel et al., 2015 and Dupont and Vacquire, 2013

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The high cost of living in urban centres also forces the urban poor to live in slums and informal settlements such as those found in riverbanks, swamp land or along train tracks. Estimates of the size of slum populations vary according to different definitions. In 2019, a total of 29 million Indonesians, or 22 per cent of the urban population, lived in slums (Roberts et al., 2019). The kampungs evolve mainly without real urban planning and with varying degrees of land and property entitlement (Kusno, 2015; Simone, 2010). As mentioned earlier, most kampung residents work in informal sectors, which are usually located relatively close to main economic hubs in the cities, reducing the cost and time of commuting (Simone, 2014, p.201). Kampungs also host the majority of low-income and seasonal rural-urban migrants. However, it has to be noted that, in many cities in Indonesia such informal settlements do not only host residents of low income. Due to the exorbitant cost of certifying land deeds, many middle-income households also choose to forgo getting land certification for their houses and land (Monkkonen, 2013; Reerink & van Gelder, 2010).

The informal nature of slums or kampungs means that inhabitants are often disconnected from Government services and amenities. They may also lack individual legal documentation, especially since the Government does not administratively recognize their residency. Without legal recognition, poor slum dwellers experience legal invisibility and have to endure "social vulnerability," which means that their voice and participation are less valued and less sought after (World Vision International 2016). The World Bank estimates that about 40 per cent of slum dwellers lack "easy" or "very easy" access to a doctor, which is double the share of non-slum dwellers who face the same issue. Similarly, 6 per cent of slum dwellers lack access to preschools, compared to approximately 2 per cent of non-slum dwellers (Roberts et al., 2019).

3.4. URBAN CHILDREN AND VULNERABLE POPULATION IN THE GLOBAL LITERATURE

Findings from the systematic literature review suggest that most studies on children in urban contexts discuss health (and nutrition) related topics. The aspects of health that are investigated vary, and tend to be linked with the age cohort. Studies among children aged 0–5 tend to explore topics such as nutritional status (underweight, overweight, and stunting), feeding practices and maternal and child health indicators such as childbirth

and immunization. Studies of children and adolescents mostly deal with nutritional status and dietary habits, mental health, reproductive health (including menstrual hygiene and HIV), and health risk behaviour such as alcohol and substance abuse. Other topics which belong to the health category include morbidity, oral health and sedentary behaviour. Studies that focus on health tend to employ quantitative approaches and investigate the prevalence of various health indicators and their determinants. A number of studies in India, Bangladesh and Vietnam also discuss health-seeking behaviour. Some studies across countries address the relationship between various health indicators and distinct urban characteristics such as hygiene, sanitation, air pollution, traffic, fast food consumption and digital exposure.

Several studies in Brazil, and one study in India, discuss children's exposure to violence and, in the case of Brazil, the role of violent victimization is also included. Child labour is discussed in studies of cities in Brazil and Bangladesh, while the role of migrations is mentioned in studies of cities in India and Vietnam. India also has a few studies that examine gender inequality. A small part of the literature discusses street children (Brazil), digital exposure and globalization (India), childcare practice (Indonesia), and youth empowerment (Vietnam).

Literature on Indonesia and Bangladesh mostly discusses children aged 0–5 years old. In India, Brazil and Vietnam, however, adolescents emerge as the most studied group. Several studies across countries also investigate primary school children and young people. Qualitative studies that collect data directly from older children mostly treat children and young people as passive participants. Although their voices and experiences are documented, these studies are conducted with minimal effort to provide platforms for meaningful participation[4] that include opportunities for them to co-lead and influence the research.

Although some studies from the literature review take place in urban contexts, and estimate various outcomes of living standards and well-being in these settings, they do not focus on how or why these outcomes might differ for urban settings specifically (compared to rural settings). Some studies compare rural and urban results, but there is little discussion about what might account for the differences that characterize urban environments. However, two studies in India are particularly interested in investigating the role of "urban advantage" by distinguishing between urban populations and urban poor populations. Only one of these studies also compares the urban and urban poor groups with rural children.

Studies that take place in slums mostly select these areas as a proxy for poverty or, in some cases, poor health indicators. These studies thus equate "slum" and "poverty" without investigating their nuances or how these nuances shape the living conditions of residents. One study in Bangladesh, however, provides a more in-depth analysis of slum areas by categorizing slums based on the status of the housing settlement and ownership, and by discussing the role of different regulations and the power dynamics between categories. The categories of status and ownership are:

- private (set up by corporations for low-paid employees)
- acknowledged by Government
- Informally established on Government land

One study in India discusses the problems with the Indian Government's definition of slums, and another analysis attempted to distinguish between various slums and informal settlements by looking at factors that might influence the sanitary facilities in each settlement.

3.5. URBAN AREAS AND THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

There is a lot of evidence to show that the COVID-19 pandemic hit urban areas the hardest. In Indonesia, the cities of Jakarta, Surabaya, and Makassar have consistently been mentioned as being among the five worst affected cities in Indonesia for a certain period in 2020. (Satgas Penanganan COVID-19, 2020). The World Bank estimates that 22 per cent of urban residents in Indonesia live in slums, accounting for around 29 million people (Roberts et al., 2019). In Jakarta, approximately one third of households live in overcrowded spaces with poor access to clean water and sanitation, in inadequate housing, or in open public spaces (Roberts et al., 2019). Around 28 per cent of the population has a floor size per capita of less than 7.2 square metres. Despite the Government's initial attempts to impose large scale social restrictions, families that live in overcrowded settlements are unable to practice social distancing, good hygiene, and conducting self-isolation during COVID-19.

4 This research uses UNICEF's definition of adolescent participation (UNICEF, 2020) particularly focusing on influencing decisions and matters that affect adolescents. According to this definition, meaningful participation relies on strategic and practical efforts that ensure space (the provision of safe and inclusive opportunities), voice (the provision of appropriate information to inform their views and the use of media of their choice to communicate their views), audience (their views must be respectfully and seriously heard by those with the power and authority), and influence (their views should receive proper consideration and feed-back).

A recent global report from the World Bank (2020) introduced the term "new poor" in reference to poor populations that have arisen as a result of the pandemic, which may differ from those populations that were already poor (World Bank, 2020). The new poor are estimated to be more likely to be living in urban areas, to live in a dwelling with better access to infrastructure, and to own slightly more basic assets than those who were poor in 2019 and 2020 (World Bank, 2020). The new poor, aged 15 and older, also tend to work in non-agriculture sectors, are paid employees, and have a better education compared to the chronically poor (World Bank, 2020). Evidence from Indonesia shows the most significant increase in poverty is expected to be in urban centres where the pre-pandemic poverty rates are lowest (World Bank, 2020). According to the same report, higher proportions of the new poor are those in traditional services (wholesale and retail, transport and warehousing, hospitality and restaurants). The Government's food assistance covers fewer than half of those employed in traditional services (and slightly fewer than 60 per cent of the self-employed), and these populations also miss out on the cash transfer schemes intended to mitigate the effects of the pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has forced the education system to adapt quickly and to shift to an online learning format, which is highly dependent on access to the Internet and the availability of digital devices. A survey conducted by the World Bank in 2019 indicates that many students face difficulties in studying at home because some areas lack Internet connectivity (outside cellular phone network coverage) and not everyone can afford (mobile) Internet subscriptions (Yarrow et al., 2020). Although the majority of households in both urban and rural areas have mobile phones/smartphones, only a small proportion have access to computers and Internet connectivity. This study shows that urban households have slightly better access to computers (15 per cent) compared to rural households (9 per cent), but both types of households are just as likely to have Internet access (5 per cent). Analysis in terms of socioeconomic status shows a more significant gap, namely that households in the lowest quintile (both in urban and rural areas) are less likely to have computers (2 per cent) and Internet connectivity (1 per cent) compared to households in the highest quintile (29 per cent and 16 per cent respectively). School closures also increase the dropout risk among secondary and tertiary students, particularly for those who come from a lower socioeconomic background. These students are more likely to enter the labour market rather than return to school once the situation improves, mainly because of a need to contribute to household income (World Bank, 2020).

BOX 2. COVID-19: POTENTIAL IMPLICATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN EIGHT MAIN PROVINCES

In month six of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia, President Joko Widodo instructed his task force to focus on curbing the spread of the virus in eight main provinces.[5]

Using this most recent data, from SUSENAS 2019, we highlight the potential implications of the pandemic on children and young people in these eight COVID-priority provinces. The group categories are referred to the identified children and vulnerable populations amid COVID-19 (Indonesia, The Ministry of National Development Planning et al., 2020).

Children, the elderly and people with disabilities in poor and extremely poor households are disproportionately affected by pandemic control measures.

The interrupted ability to earn income – a result of COVID-related restrictions on movement – has influenced young people's housing quality and security. Economically disadvantaged people may be more likely to live in poor housing conditions and be evicted, due to the risk of Covid-19 infections and consequences from financial instability. Various vulnerabilities in different populations may exacerbate their struggle in handling the COVID-19 pandemic.

Evidence has demonstrated that children, the elderly, and people with a disability were three of the most vulnerable groups implicated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Kelly and Lloyd-Sherlock, 2020; Pineda and Corburn, 2020; United Nations, 2020). Currently, most Government assistance, as part of the COVID-19 response, is conditional on the household's socioeconomic status, mainly defined by overall consumption or wealth. Some programmes also consider the head of household's employment

5 More detailed implications of COVID-19 on the wellbeing of children can be found in https://puskapa.org/en/publication/1004/

status or a household member's health condition. Considering that households' vulnerability is subject to their burden of care, we encourage the Government to consider providing social care assistance for poor and extremely low-income families who care for children, the elderly and people with disabilities.

In the response, programmes should prioritize under-five children in households headed by single parents, female breadwinners, the elderly and minors. SUSENAS 2019 estimates that there are 19,663,302 poor and extremely poor households with children nationwide, of which 64 per cent live in the eight COVID-19-priority provinces. Also, SUSENAS 2019 estimates that there are 8,479,634 poor and extremely poor households with elderly and 2,551,829 poor and extremely poor households with people with disabilities nationwide, of which 72 per cent and 65 per cent live in the eight COVID-19 provinces, respectively.

Children without basic health care, legal identity or health insurance may fail to survive and thrive.

The absence of NIK and birth certificates can be an indicator of vulnerability in children, the elderly and persons with disabilities, especially as it relates to their ability to be reached by Government assistance programmes (Duff et al., 2016; Jackson et al., 2014; Kusumaningrum et al., 2016; Sumner and Kusumanigrum, 2014).

For vulnerable groups, spending money on health can be burdensome, and it can keep them from seeking treatment. As such, children, the elderly and people with disabilities who do not have health insurance may face greater vulnerability to illness, especially during the pandemic. Despite Government guarantees to cover all costs of treatment related to COVID-19, Indonesia is still dealing with several other infectious diseases, such as dengue fever, tuberculosis, diarrhoea, malaria and diphtheria. SUSENAS 2019 estimates that, in the eight key provinces, there are 2,082,187 households with children under 12 months who do not have a birth certificate, which amounts to 53 per cent of Indonesian households.

The limited capacity of the health care system prior to the pandemic has been reduced even more now that providers cannot see patients face-to-face. Community-based services and visits, such as those provided by local integrated health centres *(Posyandu)*, have also become unavailable. As a result, early identification of health needs among mothers and children is difficult and often impossible. Further, basic vaccinations to prevent various other diseases may be delayed. The latest estimated basic immunization coverage nationwide among children aged 36–59 months was already low, at 21 per cent, before the pandemic (2019 National Socioeconomic Survey). The estimated coverage by area in 2017 was:

- DKI Jakarta – 32 per cent
- West Java – 18 per cent
- East Java – 31 per cent
- Central Java – 35 per cent
- South Sulawesi – 19 per cent
- South Kalimantan 24 per cent
- Papua – 4 per cent
- North Sumatera – 9 per cent

This deficiency is also reflected in other programmes aimed at promoting adequate nutrition, such as breastfeeding and a balanced diet, as well as comprehensive reproductive health services.

Children risk losing out on schooling and education.

Low Internet coverage in Indonesia poses additional challenges for online schooling during the pandemic. Therefore, the COVID-19 response should also consider school-age children who are potentially learning from home but who live in households without access to the Internet. There are 43,593,658 households nationally with school-age children that do not have Internet access (either due to poor reception or because they cannot afford it) and 60 per cent of these households are in the eight provinces. Children in these households may face unreliable, expensive Internet access, and inadequate facilities or devices for online learning. The Indonesian Government has already taken measures to support learning from home through, but not limited to, subsidized Internet quotas, which some children in a recent poll found helpful (U-Report, Indonesia 2020a). An expansion

of such subsidies could help to ensure fewer children experience gaps in their education as a result of COVID.

Children, the elderly and people with disabilities living in households without clean water, electricity and proper sanitation are deprived of a safe environment.

Many Indonesians do not have access to clean water and proper sanitation. These individuals, especially children, the elderly and persons with disabilities, may be less able to adhere to the health protocol that requires frequent handwashing. Additionally, they are at risk of contracting other diseases during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The lack of access to electricity as the necessary infrastructure can indicate the lack of access to a functioning and adequate local health facility (Chen et al., 2019). SUSENAS 2019 finds that access to improved sanitation remains substantially greater in urban areas compared to rural areas. Lack of access to improved water prevents the adoption of protective measures among households, such as handwashing. Together, the lack of access to adequate electricity, water and sanitation may compromise people's ability to adhere to the health advice during this pandemic.

Nationally, there are 14,010,688 households nationwide with children below 18 years old that do not have proper sanitation, and 58 per cent of them are within the eight provinces. Within the same category of households, the data shows that 544,041 households have no electricity, with 41 per cent of these in eight provinces. Some 30,041,216 households do not have clean water, with 62 per cent if these in eight provinces.

Children, regardless of gender, are at risk of violence, exploitation and harmful practices.

In Indonesia, there are several particularly at-risk groups that are challenging to find and track. They include, but are not limited to:

- children in institutional care facilities (panti) and those receiving assistance from social workers
- children in detention and correctional facilities
- children in boarding schools and Islamic boarding schools
- street children
- homeless children and adults
- children and adults living in households with perpetrators or survivors of domestic violence.

Children outside household care are known to face limited options when it comes to accessing information and resources for limiting the risk of viral transmission and other physical and mental health risks associated with the pandemic (Goldman et al., 2020). Data from the Ministry of Social Affairs in April 2020 shows that a total of 102,482 children (51 per cent girls) live in 3,575 institutional care facilities across Indonesia. Moreover, 53 per cent of them live in eight provinces (with a total of 1,970 of facilities or around 55 per cent of nationwide).

The Government needs to identify and track all groups above, to ensure that all marginalized population identifies to have the same access to services.

1

CHILDREN IN URBAN AREAS IN INDONESIA: WHO ARE THEY?

This section presents findings on the main demographic, social, and economic characteristics of children in urban areas (including small-, medium- and large-sized cities and metropolitan areas). The findings provide insights specifically on the indicators of child poverty as well as children living in slum households. This report uses the term "urban areas" in findings resulted from applying BPS's definition of urban versus rural in the data. The term "city" is used when this report applies the population size parameter to determine an area's type. The term "slum" is assigned in analyses at the household level, following the BPS definition of urban slum and rural slum criteria. The terms "urban slum" and "rural slum" refer to slum households that are found in urban and rural areas, respectively. "Urban non-slum" refers to urban populations that are not categorized as slum households.

- Over the last five years, the number of children living in urban areas of Indonesia has been growing. Based on the SUSENAS 2019 data it is estimated that, in 2019, almost 46 million children (54 per cent) were living in urban areas, compared to 41 million (49 per cent) in 2015.
- In 2019, approximately 10 million or one-eighth of all Indonesian children and adolescents were living in slum households.
- This study's estimates, based on SUSENAS 2019, reveal that there are no substantial differences in age group, gender or disability between children living in urban and rural areas. However, when examining inequality within rural areas, there were marked differences across the income distribution.
- In terms of the population size of cities, in 2019, almost half (48 per cent) of Indonesia's children, or about 40 million children, were living in a metropolitan city. Additionally, around 11 million children were living in Jabodetabek, the largest mega-urban region in Indonesia in 2019.

Over the last five years, the number of children living in urban areas of Indonesia has been growing. Based on SUSENAS it is estimated that in 2019 almost 46 million children (54 per cent) were living in urban areas, compared to 41 million (49 per cent) in 2015. The percentage of children in relation to the total population appears to have slightly declined between 2015–2019. In 2019, approximately 32 per cent of Indonesia's total 2019 population (i.e., 84 million) were estimated to be children.

In 2019, approximately 10 million or one-eighth of all Indonesian children were living in slum households. Among them, the proportion of those residing in urban areas (56 per cent) was slightly higher than those living in rural areas (44 per cent) (see Table 4). However, the gap between urban and rural children living in slum households declined between 2015–2019.

TABLE 4. TREND OF SHARE OF CHILDREN, BY TYPE OF RESIDENCY, 2015–2019 (%)

INFORMATION ON CHILDREN	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Children to total population	33.1	32.8	32.5	32.0	31.6
Female	32.5	32.2	31.8	31.4	31.0
Male	33.7	33.5	33.1	32.6	32.2

INFORMATION ON CHILDREN	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Children living in urban to total children	48.8	49.8	51.4	53.2	54.4
Female	48.9	50.0	51.7	53.3	53.6
Male	48.7	49.8	51.3	53.1	55.1
Children living in rural to total children	51.2	50.2	48.6	46.8	45.6
Female	51.1	50.1	48.4	46.7	46.4
Male	51.3	50.3	48.8	46.9	44.9
Children living in slum households to total children	17.5	16.5	12.7	12.9	12.7
Female	17.5	16.6	12.7	12.9	12.7
Male	17.5	16.4	12.7	12.9	12.8
Adults living in slum households to total adults	11.8	10.8	8.3	8.6	8.4
Female	11.4	10.4	8.0	8.3	8.1
Male	12.1	11.1	8.6	8.9	8.7
Children in urban slum HH to children in slum HH	47.3	49.8	49.9	52.9	55.8
Female	47.5	50.2	49.7	53.0	55.2
Male	47.1	49.5	50.1	52.9	56.3
Children in rural slum HH to all children in slum HH	52.7	50.2	50.1	47.1	44.2
Female	52.5	49.8	50.3	47.0	44.8
Male	52.9	50.5	49.9	47.1	43.7
Children in urban slum HH to all children in urban areas	17.0	16.5	12.3	12.9	13.0
Female	17.0	16.6	12.2	12.9	13.1
Male	17.0	16.3	12.4	12.9	13.0
Children in rural slum HH to all children in rural areas	18.0	16.5	13.1	13.0	12.3
Female	17.9	16.5	13.2	13.0	12.3
Male	18.0	16.5	13.0	13.0	12.4

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2015–2019.

This study's estimates, based on SUSENAS 2019, reveal that there are no substantial differences in age group, gender or disability between children living in urban and rural areas. However, when examining inequality in rural areas, there are marked differences across the income distribution (see Table 5). The percentage of children living in female-headed households is also marginally higher in rural areas.

TABLE 5. CHARACTERISTICS OF CHILDREN LIVING IN RURAL AND URBAN OF INDONESIA, 2019

SUSENAS 2019	URBAN	RURAL
Characteristics of children (0–17 y.o) (%)		
Age group		
Under 1	5.4	5.8
1–4 y.o.	22.0	22.3
5–9 y.o.	28.7	28.5
10–14 y.o.	28.0	27.1
15–17 y.o.	15.9	16.3
Gender		
Male	51.9	50.4
Female	48.1	49.6
Disability		
Non-disability	99.4	99.3
Disability	0.6	0.7
Income quintile		
Bottom	17.3	31.2
2nd	20.0	24.4
3rd	20.3	20.8
4th	19.8	17.0
Top	22.6	6.7
Characteristics of household where children are living (%)		
Gender		
Female-headed households	91.1	90.2
Male-headed households	8.9	9.8
Age		
Households headed by children (age 0–17 years)	0.1	0.1
Households headed by adults (above 18 years)	99.9	99.9

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

At the province level, the ratios of children living in urban and rural areas are comparable. The East Nusa Tenggara province appears to have the largest share of children among all provinces (see Table 6). Moreover, the greatest percentage of children living in urban slum households is found in Sulawesi Barat. In contrast, the largest portion of children living in rural slum households is found in North Sumatera.


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TABLE 6. CHILDREN AS A SHARE OF TOTAL POPULATION IN URBAN, RURAL, URBAN SLUM, RURAL SLUM AREAS IN 2019, BY PROVINCE

PROVINCE	URBAN POPULATION (%)	CHILDREN IN URBAN AREAS (%)	CHILDREN IN RURAL AREAS (%)	CHILDREN IN URBAN-SLUM HOUSEHOLDS (%)	CHILDREN IN URBAN-NON-SLUM HOUSEHOLDS (%)	CHILDREN IN RURAL-SLUM HOUSEHOLDS (%)	CHILDREN IN RURAL-NON-SLUM HOUSEHOLDS (%)
Aceh	32.5	36.8	38.3	45.4	35.7	46.3	36.9
Bali	68.8	29.7	29.4	33.4	29.3	42.8	29.1
Bangka Belitung	55.2	32.9	34.1	42.9	32.3	48.7	33.4
Banten	71.4	33.1	36.9	39.5	32.5	43.4	36.4
Bengkulu	33.1	34.4	34.7	44.9	33.3	42.4	33.8
DI Yogyakarta	73.0	26.8	25.9	31.5	26.6	48.5	25.7
DKI Jakarta	100.0	30.1	-	38.2	27.0	-	-
Gorontalo	42.2	33.2	35.4	41.6	31.8	44.7	33.4
Jambi	32.5	33.0	34.2	43.5	32.2	46.2	33.5
Jawa Barat	76.5	33.0	32.6	42.2	31.9	44.2	31.6
Jawa Tengah	51.3	30.1	30.1	37.7	29.8	39.5	30.0
Jawa Timur	53.5	28.5	28.2	35.1	28.0	35.4	28.0
Kalimantan Barat	35.1	35.0	36.2	46.2	34.5	44.7	35.2
Kalimantan Selatan	47.2	33.7	35.0	46.2	32.8	45.1	34.4
Kalimantan Tengah	40.2	33.7	34.5	40.4	32.7	41.1	33.7
Kalimantan Timur	67.4	33.7	34.7	42.3	32.8	43.7	33.7
Kalimantan Utara	61.0	36.2	37.2	46.9	34.4	49.4	36.1
Kepulauan Riau	89.9	35.8	36.7	41.1	35.4	50.6	36.0
Lampung	30.8	33.5	34.2	43.3	32.8	44.1	33.8
Maluku	43.5	37.8	42.3	46.2	36.2	50.1	40.7
Maluku Utara	28.7	37.1	41.6	40.5	36.9	49.8	40.6
Nusa Tenggara Barat	48.3	35.8	37.1	44.6	34.8	44.8	36.0
Nusa Tenggara Timur	23.8	39.7	43.2	44.9	38.9	47.8	41.6
Papua	28.6	34.5	38.8	41.2	32.6	43.2	33.1
Papua Barat	42.1	36.6	38.7	43.8	34.6	46.2	36.9
Riau	40.4	36.2	38.0	49.5	34.7	46.8	37.1
Sulawesi Barat	23.6	38.9	38.9	51.5	37.2	48.2	37.7
Sulawesi Selatan	43.4	34.7	35.8	44.5	33.6	46.9	35.0
Sulawesi Tengah	29.9	34.3	35.8	43.3	33.1	47.7	33.6
Sulawesi Tenggara	39.2	39.4	41.4	46.0	38.6	52.8	40.1
Sulawesi Utara	52.2	31.0	32.4	41.7	29.2	41.4	31.2
Sumatera Barat	47.0	35.9	37.9	46.1	35.1	49.2	36.5
Sumatera Selatan	37.3	34.2	35.5	42.7	32.8	43.4	34.4
Sumatera Utara	54.3	36.9	41.2	49.0	35.7	54.1	38.6

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

In terms of the population size of cities, in 2019, almost half (48 per cent) of Indonesia's children, or about 40 million children, live in a metropolitan city. Meanwhile, only 2 per cent of the total number of children in Indonesia, or less than two million children, live in a small city (see Table 7). Also, about 31 per cent, or 26 million, children live in medium cities, and 19 per cent or about 16 million children, live in large cities.

TABLE 7. CHILDREN TO POPULATION RATIO, BY CITY SIZES AND MEGA-URBAN REGIONS IN 2019

TYPE OF PLACE	CHILDREN TO TOTAL POPULATION RATIO (%)	CHILDREN TO TOTAL CHILDREN POPULATION RATIO (%)	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN	ESTIMATED SIZE OF POPULATION
INDONESIA	**n/a**	**n/a**	**84,365,360**	**267,306,564**
City size				
Small	38.3	2.2	1,831,883	4,781,676
Medium	34.8	30.9	26,155,625	75,254,275
Large	30.3	19.1	16,026,391	52,886,974
Metropolitan	30.0	47.9	40,351,461	134,383,640
Mega-urban regions				
Jabodetabek	30.6	12.5	10,541,801	34,408,229
Bandung Raya	30.4	3.9	3,326,372	10,931,581
Gerbangkertosusilo	27.6	3.3	2,723,214	9,862,280
Kedungsepur	27.9	2.2	1,829,083	6,556,649
Mebidangro	33.1	1.9	1,566,064	4,737,508
Patungraya Agung	32.2	1.1	939,216	2,914,082
Banjarbakula	31.9	0.7	621,735	1,948,125
Sarbagita	27.1	0.8	695,041	2,566,168
Maminasata	32.2	1	833,246	2,589,668
Bimindo	29.8	0.3	254,181	854,173
Palapa	33.0	0.6	478,875	1,451,235
Mataram Raya	33.4	0.8	707,918	2,122,376

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Additionally, around 11 million children live in Jabodetabek, the largest mega-urban region in Indonesia in 2019. Among the 10 mega-urban regions discussed in the study, Jabodetabek is the most populated area, with 34 million people residing in this area–approximately 13 per cent of Indonesia's total population. The second largest mega-urban region is Bandung Raya with a population of around 11 million people, and third is Gerbangkertosusilo.

5

THE SITUATION OF CHILDREN IN URBAN AREAS

This section presents the main findings on the challenges and opportunities faced by children living in urban areas differentiated by age group, gender, urban/rural comparison, and socioeconomic background, when possible. The findings are presented using the selected SDG framework, consisting of Goal 1 (End of Poverty), Goal 2 (Zero Hunger), Goal 3 (Health), Goal 4 (Education), Goal 5 (Gender equality and women's empowerment), Goal 6 (WASH), and Goal 16 (Peace, justice and strong institutions).

Some selected indicators in this study are arranged into five dimensions of children's rights, which are shown in the subsections 5.1–5.5. Subsections 5.6 and 5.7 focus on safe and sustainable spaces and the public participation of children and young people in decision-making. Disaggregation by sex and gender on several indicators may not be feasible due to limited sample size. This study presents the quantitative findings at the national level only, and disaggregates by age or gender whenever possible.

The findings in this section are also based on the study's secondary analysis and the consultations conducted with young people (see methodology in Section 2). The consultation in this study is aimed at providing a more detailed understanding of children and young people's experiences in navigating their lives in select cities in Indonesia, especially those whose lack of formal documents may exclude them from census returns or surveys, and make them "invisible" to the authorities. Pseudonyms are used, but a participant's city is given to ensure that the readers understand their specific context. The available data did not allow the study to undertake a thorough gender analysis and therefore, there are no conclusive findings regarding gender differences across different themes. Any reported observation or experience by women/girls or men/boys participants cannot be conclusively and exclusively attributed to gender differences as other factors/variables may be at play.

5.1. HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

This study strives to analyse a number of complex issues related to health and mental well-being by employing multiple methods. Using data from SUSENAS, this study explores several indicators related to child nutrition and health that correspond with SDG Goal 2 (Zero Hunger) and Goal 3 (Good Health and well-being), namely breastfeeding, birthweight, immunization and smoking behaviour. Using data from the consultations with children and young people, this study discusses access to health care, knowledge of and compliance with COVID-related protection mechanisms such as physical distancing and good hygiene practices, and the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on mental health.This study strives to analyse a number of complex issues related to health and mental well-being by employing multiple methods. Using data from SUSENAS, this study explores several indicators related to child nutrition and health that correspond with SDG Goal 2 (Zero Hunger) and Goal 3 (Good Health and well-being), namely breastfeeding, birthweight, immunization and smoking behaviour. Using data from the consultations with children and young people, this study discusses access to health care, knowledge of and compliance with COVID-related protection mechanisms such as physical distancing and good hygiene practices, and the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on mental health.

- The estimate on health indicators using SUSENAS 2019 data shows that there is little variation across the different urban rural, urban slum, rural slum categories for smoking adolescents. In contrast, in terms of birth weight and immunization, children in rural slums are consistently worse off.
- The analysis of IDHS data indicates that the mortality rate is generally higher for children under 5 years old (compared to other age groups) and for children under 5 years old in rural areas, but this rate has decreased from 2012 to 2017.
- Based on the consultations, some indifferences towards understanding and adherence to health protocols seem to relate to misunderstandings about the COVID-19 pandemic. A few participants shared that they doubted the magnitude and impact of the virus and the pandemic, and this belief appears to be also widespread in their communities.
- Although some shared their doubts, the pandemic has created uncertainty and anxiety for children and young people in cities who participated in this study.

5.1.1. SELECTED HEALTH INDICATORS BASED ON SUSENAS

As SUSENAS was mainly designed to provide information on people's overall social and economic status, it does not contain detailed questions about health and well-being (including nutrition). Thus, this study only provides an analysis of three indicators:

1. Share of infants born under 2.5 kgs
2. Share of children under five who are fully immunized
3. Share of young people aged 15–19 who smoke

The study also utilizes the IDHS data to provide a more comprehensive analysis of children's health in urban and rural Indonesia. The detailed indicators analysed using SUSENAS and IDHS can be found in Table 2 and Table 3. However, although some other indicators could be examined from IDHS (Table 12), this data did not provide important health and well-being indicators such as stunting, wasting or ones related to nutrition. Due to this limitation, any interpretation of the results in this section should be used with caution.

The estimate on health indicators using SUSENAS 2019 data shows that there is little variation across the different urban/rural, urban slum, rural slum categories for adolescents who smoke. In contrast, in terms of birth weight and immunization, children in rural slums are consistently worse off; the percentage of low-birth-weight newborns and children lacking immunization for under 5-year-olds in rural slums is 15 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively.

In terms of city size, no meaningful variation was found in smoking adolescents. Children in small cities seem to be worse off in respect to infant weight and immunization, which suggests that infant and early child health systems could be bolstered in these areas (see Table 8). Across the mega-urban regions, Mamminasata, Patungraya Agung and Bandung Raya appear to perform worst in terms of low-birth-weight newborns and smoking adolescents, respectively.

TABLE 8. SHARE OF SELECTED INDICATORS ON CHILDREN'S HEALTH AND NUTRITION FROM SUSENAS 2019, BY URBAN/RURAL, CITY AND MEGA-URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS (%)

TYPE OF PLACE	SHARE OF INFANTS BORN UNDER 2.5 KGS	SHARE OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 WHO WERE FULLY IMMUNIZED	SHARE OF SMOKING ADOLESCENTS (15–19 Y.O)
Urban	10.5	47.4	19.0
Rural	13.3	45.2	20.7
Urban slum households	10.4	46.3	20.6
Urban non-slum households	10.6	47.5	18.8
Rural slum households	15.4	30.4	18.6
City size			
Small	14.2	29.0	17.8
Medium	11.5	41.5	17.8
Large	11.1	50.3	17.7
Metropolitan	10.0	48.8	19.8
Mega-urban regions			
Jabodetabek	10.3	44.1	19.3
Bandung Raya	6.0	51.9	24.0
Gerbangkertosusilo	11.1	47.1	17.4
Kedungsepur	10.3	68.3	18.6
Mebidangro	5.1	29.7	16.4
Patungraya Agung	11.5	33.6	17.7
Banjarbakula	10.3	53.3	16.1
Sarbagita	9.4	59.3	14.8
Maminasata	20.3	35.3	16.5
Bimindo	12.1	40.9	15.6
Palapa	4.1*	29.4	18.3
Mataram Raya	9.1	61.7	19.9

*Estimates are considered unreliable. Data preceded by an asterisk have a relative standard error (RSE) greater than 30 per cent and should be used with caution.
Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

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The two provinces with the highest percentage of infants born under 2.5 kgs in urban areas are Papua (18 per cent) and Papua Barat (17 per cent) (see Table 9). Although the share of low-birth-weight newborns here is the largest, the share of low-birth-weight newborns in rural Papua and Papua Barat is also high, indicating that this issue is not necessarily just an urban one. The gap between urban and rural areas for low-birth-weight newborns is the largest in Kalimantan Barat, followed by Kalimantan Selatan and Lampung, though the size of these gaps is minimal.

TABLE 9. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH INFANTS BORN BELOW 2.5 KGS IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF INFANTS BORN UNDER 2.5 KGS IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Papua	17.6
Papua Barat	17.1
Sulawesi Selatan	16.5
Kalimantan Barat	16.4
Sulawesi Tengah	16.3
Kalimantan Tengah	15.0
Sulawesi Barat	14.7
Gorontalo	14.7
Sulawesi Utara	14.4
Kalimantan Timur	14.0

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF INFANTS BORN UNDER 2.5 KGS IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN – % RURAL)
Kalimantan Barat	2.2
Kalimantan Selatan	1.4
Lampung	1.4
Nusa Tenggara Barat	0.6
Bali	0.5
Kalimantan Utara	0.2
Sulawesi Utara	-0.1
Jawa Tengah	-0.5
Riau	-1.0
Sulawesi Tengah	-1.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

The lowest share of children under five who are fully immunized in urban areas is identified in Maluku Utara, followed by Aceh (see Table 10). The share is also lower when compared to the national average in urban settings. However, the province with the highest gap and with a lower share in urban areas than rural areas is Bengkulu.

TABLE 10. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 5 WHO WERE FULLY IMMUNIZED IN URBAN AREAS AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF UNDER-5S WHO WERE FULLY IMMUNIZED IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Maluku Utara	18.2
Aceh	19.0
Sulawesi Tenggara	26.3
Sumatera Utara	26.9
Riau	27.4
Papua Barat	28.9
Papua	32.0
Maluku	33.4
Sumatera Selatan	34.3
Sulawesi Tengah	35.7

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF UNDER-5S WHO WERE FULLY IMMUNIZED IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN – % RURAL)
Bengkulu	-11.7
Kalimantan Utara	-11.3
Lampung	-8.9
Sulawesi Tengah	-7.6
Sulawesi Selatan	-7.2
Sulawesi Utara	-6.9
Bali	-6.3
Sulawesi Tenggara	-5.4
Sulawesi Barat	-5.2
Di Yogyakarta	-4.8

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Jawa Barat appears to have the highest share of adolescents in urban areas aged 15–19 years who report smoking in the past month. This is consistent with the previous finding, which reveals that Bandung Raya, a mega-urban region located in the province of Jawa Barat, also has the largest percentage of adolescent smokers (see Table 11). However, this does not appear to be an urban-specific problem in Jawa Barat, as this province is not in the 10 lowest provinces in terms of the gap in smoking between urban and rural areas. Bali, however, has the highest difference in indicators of adolescents who smoke in urban areas compared to rural areas.

TABLE 11. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH ADOLESCENT SMOKERS IN URBAN AREAS AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF SMOKING ADOLESCENTS (15–19 Y.O) IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Jawa Barat	22.3
Lampung	21.5
Bangka Belitung	20.4
Sulawesi Tengah	20.0
Banten	20.0
Bengkulu	19.9
Sumatera Barat	19.3
Nusa Tenggara Barat	19.1
Jawa Timur	18.8
Gorontalo	18.1

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF SMOKING ADOLESCENTS (15–19 Y.O) IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN – % RURAL)
Bali	1.6
Papua	1.2
Bangka Belitung	0.1
Nusa Tenggara Timur	-0.7
Sulawesi Barat	-0.7
Sumatera Utara	-0.9
Sulawesi Tengah	-1.0
Kalimantan Selatan	-1.1
Maluku Utara	-1.1
Papua Barat	-1.4

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

5.1.2. SELECTED HEALTH INDICATORS FROM IDHS

The analysis of IDHS data indicates that the mortality rate is generally higher for children under 5 years old (compared to other age groups) and for children under five in rural areas, but this rate has decreased from 2012 to 2017. However, further analysis shows that the infant and under 5-year-old mortality rate appears to increase for children of adolescent mothers (15–19 years old) in urban areas (Appendix 5).

Situations are still better for children in urban areas on a number of basic health parameters such as immunization, vitamin A coverage and diarrhoea prevalence. The proportion of immunization coverage among those aged under five and vitamin A supplement coverage among those aged between 6–59 months have risen in 2017 compared to 2012 overall. However, the average share is still higher in rural than urban areas, and the rate of increase is marginally higher in rural areas than in urban areas. Further analysis suggests that the prevalence of diarrhoea is lower for wealthier children in urban areas; the same association was not found for wealthier children in rural areas (Appendix 6).

Interestingly, some health practices, such as contraceptive use among young people aged 15–24, were found to be more common in rural areas than urban ones. However, the overall use of contraceptives has declined between 2012 and 2017.

The indicators for Infant and Young Feeding Practices (IYCF) also show a similar pattern in which a higher proportion is identified in rural than urban areas (see Table 12). The percentage of those aged under 6 months who live with their mother and who are breastfed exclusively is overall higher in rural areas

than urban ones despite an overall increase in both areas between 2012 and 2017. Furthermore, the proportion of children aged 6–23 months who have minimum meal frequency and minimum acceptable diet has risen between 2012 and 2017.

TABLE 12. THE 2012 AND 2017 INDONESIA DEMOGRAPHIC AND HEALTH SURVEY'S ESTIMATE OF SELECTED INDICATORS ON HEALTH AND NUTRITION (%)

OUTCOME OF INTEREST	INDICATOR	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL	
		2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017
Mortality rate	Infant (under-1) mortality rate	25.8	24.1	37.1	23.4	31.5	23.7
	Under-5 mortality rate	31.8	30.5	47.7	33.0	39.9	31.6
	Child mortality rate (1–4 years)	6.2	6.6	11.0	9.4	8.6	8.1
Low birth weight	Percentage of births with a reported birth weight less than 2.5 kilograms	6.2	7.2	8.6	7.1	7.3	7.1
Immunization*	Percentage of children age 0–4 years with full immunizations	60.3	70.1	51.1	69.0	55.7	69.6
Vitamin A intake	Percentage of children age 6–59 months who had vitamin A	63.9	80.2	58.4	80.6	61.1	80.4
Deworming	Percentage of children under age 5 who were given intestinal worm drugs	25.8	38.6	26.0	41.5	25.9	40.1
Diarrhoea	Percentage of children age under 5 years who had diarrhoea in the 2 weeks before the survey	13.0	12.8	15.5	15.3	14.3	14.1
ARI	Percentage of children age under 5 years who had ARI symptoms in the 2 weeks before the survey	4.4	3.8	5.8	4.5	5.1	4.2
Exclusive breastfeeding	Percentage of youngest children under age 6 months who are living with their mother and are breastfed exclusively	40.3	46.0	43.9	56.2	41.0	51.5
Contraception	Percentage of women age 15–24 years who currently used any modern contraceptive method	15.0	11.0	26.0	20.1	20.1	15.2

IYCF practices**	Percentage children age 6–23 months who had minimum dietary diversity	65.0	65.7	51.5	54.5	58.2	60.0
	Percentage children age 6–23 months who had minimum meal frequency	70.5	76.0	61.6	67.6	66.0	71.7
	Percentage children age 6–23 months who had minimum acceptable diet	42.6	46.1	30.7	34.7	36.6	40.3

*Immunizations indicator includes BCG, three doses of DPT, three doses of oral polio vaccine, and one dose of measles.
**IYCF indicators: 1) Milk or milk products includes two or more feedings of commercial infant formula (fresh, tinned, and powdered animal milk), and yogurt; 2) Minimum dietary diversity includes foods from four or more of the following food groups: a. infant formula, milk other than breast milk, cheese or yogurt or other milk products; b. foods made from grains, roots, and tubers, including porridge and fortified baby food from grains; c. vitamin A-rich fruits and vegetables; d. other fruits and vegetables; e. eggs; f. meat, poultry, fish, shellfish and organ meats; g. legumes and nuts; Minimum meal frequency is receiving solid or semi-solid food at least twice a day for infants age 6–8 months and at least three times a day for children age 9–23 months for breastfed children and receiving solid or semi-solid food or milk feeds at least four times a day for non-breastfed children age 6–23 months; Minimum acceptable diet is receiving minimum dietary diversity and minimum meal frequency for breastfed children, and receiving other milk or milk products at least twice a day, the minimum meal frequency, and solid or semi-solid foods from at least four food groups not including the milk or milk products food group for non-breastfed children.

5.1.3. ACCESS TO HEALTH SERVICES

Most of the young people who participated in the consultations do not have any issue with accessing primary health care as they are all registered for the universal health coverage (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional/JKN). Furthermore, the primary care facilities, were within a reasonable distance from their home. Nevertheless, one participant, Siti from Kupang, is troubled by JKN's referral mechanism which means that although she lives near a hospital, her family needs to get a referral first from a primary health care provider, which is an hour from her home.

5.1.4. COMPLIANCE WITH COVID-19 HEALTH PROTOCOLS

As the consultations took place in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, the research team used the opportunity to study children and young people's experiences with, and perspectives on public health and hygiene protocols. Five months after physical distancing measures had been put in place, several informants admitted that they had started to adhere less strictly to health protocol measures. They had begun to engage in some physical interactions and social activities such as attending public rallies or charity events. As different places have a degree of discretion in determining whether or not to reopen school, a participant in Kupang, Ryan, mentioned that he had started going to school again under a stringent health protocol, which he liked because face-to-face meetings would enable him to complete the practical part of his course at his vocational school.

Participants had diverging views on using face masks during the pandemic. Some participants were quite disciplined in wearing them outside their houses, and were bewildered at others' reluctance to wear them. However, several participants were indifferent about the wearing of face masks. They take a more pragmatic approach and only wear face masks to avoid sanctions or punishment for non- compliance, especially if they are in public spaces. Dimas in Surakarta, for instance, questioned the effectiveness of masks in preventing COVID-19 infections.

Some indifferences towards understanding and adherence to health protocols seem to relate to misunderstandings about the COVID-19 pandemic. A few participants shared that they doubted the magnitude and impact of the virus and the pandemic, and this belief appears to be also widespread in their communities. Ilham from Makassar, for instance, expressed his scepticism of the COVID-19 pandemic. As a janitor he justified this scepticism based on his observation that none of his colleagues, who handle all sort of garbage, had been infected. According to him COVID-19 is just a typical influenza virus. He had seen news about false or fabricated swab tests, and this increased his skepticism. Other participants also expressed a degree of doubt regarding the potency of COVID-19, and pointed to the absence of a surge in infections after public protests in their region. One participant, Putri, became more lax after her PCR test result was negative.


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5.1.5. COVID-19 AND ITS IMPACT ON WELL-BEING

Although some shared their doubts, the pandemic has created uncertainty and anxiety for children and young people in cities who participated in this study. Due to their socioeconomic circumstances, many participants have expressed fear and anxiety about the consequences of the pandemic for their income and employment. The Government's attempt to control the spread of the virus through various restrictions on mobility has depressed economic activity, which has impacted vendors or gig workers whose livelihood depends on people's mobility. The result of this economic slow-down has also affected several informants working in the informal sector. They find that their income is declining while the prospect of securing formal employment is also diminishing.

Those who remain in formal employment, such as one of our participants, Annisa, may live constant fear of being laid off because of the contractual nature of their job. Another participant, Doni, in Makassar, observes that many of his friends who lost their jobs were working in the low-skilled formal sector as security guards or shopkeepers in malls. They are now turning to gig work such as being an online-application based motor-taxi driver/*ojek* or taking on casual jobs such as construction work or busking. Other participants who are not employed are keenly aware of the economic risks that their families face during the pandemic. Ratih, for instance, is worried about not having enough rice to sustain the whole family while her father and older siblings struggle to make enough income to support their household.

The worries of children and young people are also rooted in their family's risk of being infected by COVID-19. However, some children and families have limited means to address the source of such anxieties because they cannot consistently maintain physical distancing or remain in quarantine due to social and economic obligations. The participants, working in both formal and informal sectors, are forced to venture outside their homes to earn an income and maintain whatever employment they have, even if it means exposing themselves and their families to the risk of COVID-19 infections.

Despite the many anxieties that participants experience, they also highlight the ways friends, parents and families have been the source of mental support during the pandemic. Some participants find that there are positive aspects to the pandemic, such as being able to spend more time with their family, especially during quarantine.

5.2. EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Education is a big part of children and young people's lives. In this section, the study considers several indicators and various dimensions of the learning experience of children and young people in urban areas. Through secondary analysis of SUSENAS data, the research team assesses urban and rural performance on the basis of a number of indicators, such as the attendance rate at all levels of schooling, the proportion of children out of school, completion rate and access to the Internet. Using the data from consultations, this study explores how children and young people experience schooling (particularly as this has shifted to online learning during the pandemic), and what their educational aspirations and main challenges in attaining education are.

- Overall, children in urban areas performed better on all education indicators compared to those children in rural areas, and children living in slum households in rural areas appeared to be most lacking in access to schooling and the Internet.
- Children and young people who participated in the study also struggle to adapt to online learning modes in which they often cannot interact directly and smoothly with their teachers and peers.
- Although urban areas generally perform better than rural areas on many indicators related to education and learning, some children and young people in cities are still struggling to attain a proper education.

5.2.1. INDICATORS OF EDUCATION AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION

Analysis of education indicators from secondary data shows that the proportion of children out of school is consistently higher in rural areas, that the school completion rate is consistently higher in urban areas compared to rural areas, and that the prevalence of these indicators has remained relatively stable over time in both areas. The exception to this is six-year-olds in rural areas, where it seems that a growing number of children in this group are attending preschool (see Table 13).

TABLE 13. SHARE OF CHILDREN NOT PARTICIPATING IN PRESCHOOL, NOT IN SCHOOL, AND WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET, 2015–2019

EDUCATION INDICATORS	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
1. Children aged 6 years who never attended preschool and primary (%)					
Urban	2.9	3.8	4.7	3.6	2.6
Rural	5.4	6.5	5.6	4.7	4.9
2. Children aged 6 years who were currently in primary without preschool (%)					
Urban	16.3	14.9	15.7	15.2	16.0
Rural	30.9	25.8	24.8	24.8	23.6
3. Children and adolescents aged 7-12 years who were currently out of school (%)					
Urban	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5
Rural	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3
4. Adolescents aged 13–15 years who were currently out of school (%)					
Urban	6.1	6.1	5.8	5.5	5.5
Rural	10.8	10.0	10.1	8.6	9.3
5. Adolescents aged 16–18 years who were currently out of school (%)					
Urban	23.1	17.7	17.6	16.7	19.5
Rural	38.9	32.5	31.1	30.3	29.4
6. Primary completion rate (13–15 years) (%)					
Urban	94.6	95.6	97.2	96.3	97.0
Rural	88.5	92.2	93.2	92.8	93.7
7. Lower secondary completion rate (16–18 years) (%)					
Urban	85.3	89.3	89.2	89.2	88.6
Rural	72.3	77.6	79.7	79.8	80.8
8. Upper secondary completion rate (19–21 years) (%)					
Urban	64.3	69.1	66.7	71.6	65.9
Rural	36.9	43.9	45.8	47.8	47.3
9. Children aged 5–17 years without access to Internet (%)					
Urban	64.7	64.4	61.6	57.7	49.5
Rural	80.6	80.3	78.7	74.1	67.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2015-2019.

There is a considerable difference between children aged six in urban areas who are currently in primary school without having attended preschool compared to children who are living in rural areas. The proportion of children aged six years who are in primary school without having attended preschool also negatively increases with city size. Overall, there was a lower percentage of the negative education indicators in urban areas, and children living in slum households in rural areas appear to be most lacking in access to schooling and the Internet.

Among the mega-urban cities, Mamminasata and Banjarbakula appear to perform worst; Mamminasata has the lowest completion rate for lower secondary school and out-of-school adolescents aged 16–18 years (see Table 14). Moreover, Banjarbakula performs worst for primary school completion rate and out-of-school children aged 13–15, and Palapa has the highest proportion for children without Internet access.

TABLE 14. SHARE OF CHILDREN NOT ATTENDING PRESCHOOL, OUT OF SCHOOL, COMPLETION RATE AND CHILDREN WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET, BY URBAN/RURAL, CITY AND MEGA-URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS

TYPE OF PLACE	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO NEVER ATTENDED PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY IN PRIMARY WITHOUT PRESCHOOL (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 7–12 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 13–15 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 16–18 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)	PRIMARY COMPLETION RATE (13–15 YEARS) (%)	LOWER SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (16–18 YEARS) (%)	UPPER SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (19–21 YEARS) (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 5–17 YEARS WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET (%)
Urban	2.6	16.0	0.5	5.5	19.5	97.0	88.6	65.9	49.5
Rural	4.9	23.6	1.3	9.3	29.4	93.7	80.8	47.3	67.1
Urban slum households	4.4	20.1	0.7	8.8	26.7	94.7	84.8	56.2	60.7
Urban non-slum households	2.3	15.4	0.5	5.1	18.6	97.3	89.1	67.0	47.9
Rural slum households	13.1	37.6	4.8	15.8	39.5	85.3	68.2	32.7	84.7
City size									
Small	11.5	28.5	4.7	10.2	22.9	88.2	77.7	53.9	79.6
Medium	4.5	24.6	1.3	7.5	21.8	93.3	83.0	56.6	66.0
Large	3.1	18.3	0.6	6.8	24.2	95.7	84.9	58.3	55.4
Metropolitan	2.8	16.1	0.5	7.1	24.7	97.2	86.9	59.4	51.9
Mega-urban regions									
Jabodetabek	2.8	19.2	0.4	7.3	22.9	97.4	90.1	66.5	48.7
Bandung Raya	2.2*	14.0	0.8*	8.2	21.8	98.8	86.2	70.0	52.3
Gerbangkertosusilo	2.4*	6.2	0.4*	5.2	23.5	97.0	88.7	58.6	44.0
Kedungsepur	0.7*	6.5	0.4*	6.0	25.5	98.1	88.0	50.5	43.5
Mebidangro	3.5*	20.8	0.4*	3.9	11.1	97.1	90.6	79.3	56.3
Patungraya Agung	1.4*	34.5	0.4*	7.1	23.9	94.7	83.2	59.6	58.1
Banjarbakula	0.2*	8.9	1.6*	11.2	28.2	92.5	83.8	61.4	44.0
Sarbagita	2.4*	7.3*	0.3*	2.8*	16.1	97.7	95.3	67.2	42.2
Mamminasata	9.6*	29.2	0.6*	7.1	31.2	95.9	82.7	61.2	52.9
Bimindo	1.0*	19.8	1.1*	5.4	15.9	96.7	85.4	73.6	51.7
Palapa	4.3*	27.3	0.2*	4.3	7.7	94.6	90.7	76.6	58.3
Mataram Raya	2.6*	21.2	0.2*	5.2	19.5	96.8	89.4	58.6	57.0

*Estimates are considered unreliable. Data preceded by an asterisk have a RSE greater than 30 per cent and should be used with caution.
Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.


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The province of Papua has the largest percentage of children aged 5–6 years in urban areas who never attend preschool and primary school (see Table 15). However, the province with the highest gap between urban and rural areas is Maluku; the prevalence of out-of-school 6-year-olds in urban areas here is 3.5 percentage points higher than the prevalence in this province's rural areas.

TABLE 15. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN AGED 6 WHO HAVE NEVER ATTENDED PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY SCHOOL IN URBAN AREAS AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO NEVER ATTENDED PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY (%)
Papua	9.2
Maluku Utara	8.1
Kalimantan Barat	7.8
Maluku	7.5
Papua Barat	6.5
Kepulauan Riau	6.4
Riau	5.8
Kalimantan Utara	5.6
Nusa Tenggara Timur	5.1
Sulawesi Selatan	4.8

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO NEVER ATTENDED PRESCHOOL AND PRIMARY IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN - % RURAL)
Maluku	3.5
Maluku Utara	3.1
Kalimantan Barat	2.4
Kalimantan Timur	1.8
Kepulauan Riau	1.3
Kalimantan Utara	1.3
Lampung	0.7
Sulawesi Tengah	0.6
Sulawesi Selatan	0.5
Bali	0.4

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Sulawesi Barat appears to be the province with the largest proportion of children in urban areas aged 5–17 years without access to the Internet. The share of urban children without Internet access in Sulawesi Barat is 11.7 percentage points lower than that of rural children. Importantly, this figure represents the worst-performing urban province on this indicator, which again underscores the significantly greater access that urban children have to the Internet.

Sulawesi Barat performs worst in three out of nine education indicators (out-of-school rate of 13–15 year-olds, secondary completion rate of 16–18 year-olds, access to Internet) (see Table 16). This indicates an urgent need to support Sulawesi Barat in improving its education attainment rate.

TABLE 16. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN AGED 5–17 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 5-17 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET (%)
Sulawesi Barat	52.4
Nusa Tenggara Barat	46.7
Aceh	45.4
Sumatera Utara	44.4
Gorontalo	44.1
Nusa Tenggara Timur	43.3
Maluku	43.2
Sumatera Selatan	42.9
Sumatera Barat	42.8
Bangka Belitung	42.2

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 5-17 YEARS WITHOUT ACCESS TO INTERNET IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN - % RURAL)
Sulawesi Barat	-11.7
Jawa Tengah	-13.0
Kalimantan Timur	-14.9
Gorontalo	-15.2
Nusa Tenggara Barat	-15.8
Bangka Belitung	-15.9
Sulawesi Utara	-16.9
Jawa Timur	-17.9
Sumatera Utara	-18.0
Aceh	-18.2

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

5.2.2. THE CHALLENGES OF ONLINE SCHOOLING

The pandemic and the subsequent restrictions on physical mobility offer a valuable insight into children's lived experience of navigating the virtual. In addition to a lack of Internet access in some urban areas in Indonesia, children in cities are confronted by many issues when it comes to online education. From conversations with informants it is abundantly clear that children not only need access to the Internet for an optimal learning experience, but that they also need sophisticated technology and reliable connectivity. Furthermore, some informants also find it difficult to pay for the Internet time necessary for participating in all everyday online learning activities. Dina from Makassar, for example, mentions that she skips the live-streaming sessions when she does not have sufficient Internet access or when the Internet connection is unstable.

Informants are also worried about, and aware of, the long-term impact of online learning on their education. Desti from Jakarta says she is worried that online schooling will slow her learning progress. Similarly, Dina, a vocational school student from Makassar, mentions that she fears that online learning will not only affect her school performance and grades, but also her on-the-job training (PKL), which is an important but, for now, very uncertain and difficult to fulfil requirement. As the pressure and challenges of online learning increase, some informants have expressed a preference to engage in offline learning, especially for vocational schools that require practical sessions. Some informants have indicated that their school curriculum has practical components, which are challenging to complete through online learning. As previously mentioned, one participant, Ryan from Kupang, says his vocational school, where he is in his final year, has not used online learning but employs COVID-19 prevention protocols to continue with offline learning.

Children and young people who participated in the study also struggle to adapt to online learning modes in which they often cannot interact directly and smoothly with their teachers and peers. For instance, when watching recorded videos from their teacher, they cannot interact directly and ask the teacher questions. Two informants in Kupang and Jakarta point out their erratic school timetables, compared to their experience of offline learning, that is caused by the varying availability of lecturers as well as the lack of supervision or feedback from teachers.

Online learning does not only lead to technical challenges, but also to concerns about mental well-being, which is related to the pandemic in general. As online learning deprives children and young people from interacting with their school peers, many informants report anxiety, boredom and sadness. Although one informant, Galih from Surakarta, appreciates the feeling of "relaxedness" that he associates with online learning because he does not have to rush in the mornings, others express feelings of boredom and sadness. To deal with this,

Annisa from Jakarta spends her time watching movies together with friends, hanging out in one of her friends' houses, cooking with them or going to the nearest mall. However, this also puts her and those surrounding her at risk of being infected by COVID-19.

5.2.3. OUT OF SCHOOL, NEET AND EDUCATION ASPIRATION

Although urban areas generally perform better than rural areas on many indicators related to education and learning, some children and young people in cities are still struggling to attain a proper education. During consultations, several informants described the ways in which economic hardship has impeded their educational aspirations. Doni, who lives in a low-income neighbourhood in Makassar, observes that many young people in his area find it difficult to get decent jobs due to their low educational attainments. Ilham, for example, who lives in the same area, dropped out of school twice, first when he was in junior high school after which a community organization helped him to return to school, and second when he was in senior vocational high school. Ilham cites the inability to pay for school expenses, especially during his vocational high-school period, as the main reason for dropping out.

Disruption may also be caused by non-economic factors. Fadhil, another informant who discontinued schooling, says he moved to different schools twice during his time at junior high and senior high-school after being expelled due to fights with peers and long absences. Brawls and fights with peers are common phenomena among urban secondary students, which not only disrupt their learning, but may also, as exemplified by Fadhil's experience, cause physical harm. Ratih in Surakarta decided to stop going to school when she was in fifth grade because she was afraid of her teacher, who often scolded her in class.

While some early school-leavers may later engage in work or other training, as exemplified by the stories of Ilham and Fadhil, others are not so fortunate. Ratih and Dimas in Surakarta, aged 15 and 19 respectively, are not engaged in any form of education, employment, or training (NEET). Ratih occasionally helps her friends to sell handbags via WhatsApp to earn some commissions and her parents are eager for her to start working full-time, although she admits she does not know where and how to start looking for jobs.

Despite facing many challenges in completing and performing well at school, many informants nevertheless aspire to higher education. However, some of them acknowledge that getting into a university or college is challenging, especially considering their modest finances. Galih in Surakarta says that the fear of not getting into university caused him and his peers anxiety. However, Fadhil in Jakarta was wary of the prospect of starting a university education because of his low academic achievements and financial difficulties.

5.3. PROTECTION FROM VIOLENCE

This section discusses several indicators and other aspects pertaining to protection from violence especially in relation to Goal 5 (Gender Equality and Women Empowerment) and Goal 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institution). Protection from violence, it must be noted, is a broad concept that encompasses diverse indicators and multiple dimensions. However, due to the limitations of existing data, this study focuses only on two quantitative indicators: birth certificates and child marriage. As with other, previously discussed, indicators, urban areas perform better than rural areas on both indicators, although the urban/rural gap is narrowing. The research team did not explore their personal experiences of domestic violence as the research method did not afford adequate mitigation and safety protocols for issues with safety or psychological well-being that might arise during such conversations.

- Birth certificate ownership among children has improved over the years in both rural and urban areas.
- Although child marriage appears to have fallen slightly between 2015 and 2019 in rural areas, the practice has remained stable in urban areas.
- In urban areas, the prevalence of child marriage is higher among children living in slum households, compared to children living in non-slum households.

5.3.1. BIRTH CERTIFICATE OWNERSHIP AND CHILD MARRIAGE

Due to the limited availability of data on the circumstances of children and their relation to Goal 5 and Goal 16, this report discusses only two relevant indicators available from SUSENAS 2019. First, children's birth certificate ownership is used to examine the indicator related to Goal 16, and particularly Target 16.9, which strives "to provide legal identity for all, including birth registration" by 2030. Second, the prevalence of child marriage is used to examine Goal 5, and specifically Target 5.3, which aims to "eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation" by 2030.

This study defines birth certificate ownership as the proportion of children aged 0–17 years who reported having a birth certificate at the time of the survey. Child marriage is defined as the proportion of women aged 20–24 years who were married before age 18.

Birth certificate ownership among children exhibits some progress over the years, both in rural and urban areas. Although birth certificate ownership among children is higher in urban areas, the gap between urban and rural areas has been narrowing between 2015–2019 (see Table 17).

TABLE 17. PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND COVERAGE OF BIRTH CERTIFICATE OWNERSHIP AMONG CHILDREN, 2015–2019

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Child marriage: women aged 20–24 years old who were married before 18 (%)					
Percentage child marriage in urban	7.1	6.5	7.0	7.2	7.2
Percentage child marriage in rural	18.3	17.1	17.6	16.9	16.0
Children with birth certificates (%)					
Percentage children with birth certificate in urban	86.7	87.7	88.8	88.6	89.8
Percentage children with birth certificate in rural	73.9	76.2	78.1	78.4	82.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2015-2019.

Analysis using SUSENAS data shows a remarkable discrepancy between urban and rural areas in terms of the prevalence of child marriage. Although child marriage appears to have fallen slightly between 2015 and 2019 in rural areas, the practice has remained stable in urban areas. However, it is important to note that child marriage in 2019 is significantly lower in urban areas (7.2 per cent) compared to rural areas (16.0 per cent).

In urban areas, the prevalence of child marriage is higher among girls living in slum households (15 per cent), compared to girls living in non-slum households (6 per cent) (see Table 18). The prevalence of child marriage also decreases as the size of the city increases. Moreover, Banjarbakula appears to be the mega-urban region with the highest prevalence of child marriage (20 per cent), followed by Mataram Raya (15 per cent).

TABLE 18. PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE OWNERSHIP, BY URBAN/RURAL, CITY AND MEGA-URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS, 2019

TYPE OF PLACE	CHILD MARRIAGE: WOMEN AGED 20–24 YEARS OLD WHO WERE MARRIED BEFORE 18 (%)	CHILDREN WITH BIRTH CERTIFICATES (%)
Urban	7.2	89.8
Rural	16.0	82.1
Urban slum households	15.1	83.2
Urban non-slum households	6.2	90.7
Rural slum households	20.1	63.3
City size		
Small	15.4	75.5
Medium	12.4	84.1
Large	11.4	88.9
Metropolitan	9.6	87.1
Mega-urban regions		
Jabodetabek	3.0	87.7
Bandung Raya	13.0	84.6
Gerbangkertosusilo	5.8	92.9
Kedungsepur	7.2	95.7
Mebidangro	4.3	78.8
Patungraya Agung	10.6	84.7
Banjarbakula	20.0	87.3
Sarbagita	6.6	92.9
Maminasata	8.6	89.0
Bimindo	5.9	89.5
Palapa	3.4	87.4
Mataram Raya	15.3	80.8

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Within the city and mega-urban classifications, while child marriage prevalence seems to be consistently lower in urban areas, birth certificate ownership is found to be consistently higher. Among the mega-urban regions, Bandung Raya and Kedungsepur appear to have the smallest gap between rural and urban areas in terms of children's birth certificate ownership (Appendix 14).

Among all provinces, children in the urban areas of Nusa Tenggara Timur are the least likely to have a birth certificate (76 per cent) (see Table 19). However, when investigating the gap in birth certificate ownership between urban and rural areas, Kepulauan Riau's urban areas appear to have lagged the most. Here, the negative value of the gap between urban and rural areas indicates lower coverage in urban areas than rural areas within the province.

TABLE 19. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES FOR CHILDREN'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE OWNERSHIP AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN WITH BIRTH CERTIFICATES IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Nusa Tenggara Timur	76.2
Sumatera Utara	81.0
Papua	83.6
Riau	83.9
Jawa Barat	85.1
Papua Barat	85.9
Maluku	86.0
Nusa Tenggara Barat	87.6
Banten	87.8
Sulawesi Tengah	88.0

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN WITH BIRTH CERTIFICATES IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN - % RURAL)
Kepulauan Riau	-1.4
DI Yogyakarta	-0.9
Lampung	0.2
Jawa Tengah	1.6
Bengkulu	1.6
Bangka Belitung	2.1
Bali	2.4
Kalimantan Selatan	2.7
Sulawesi Selatan	3.2
Sulawesi Barat	3.2

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Across all provinces, the highest prevalence of child marriage in urban areas is found in Sulawesi Barat (18 per cent) (see Table 20). It is important to note, however, that comparative analyses of child marriage in urban and rural areas show that the 10 worst-performing provinces nevertheless exhibit lower child marriage in urban areas compared to rural areas. These figures re-emphasize that child marriage is consistently higher in rural areas.

TABLE 20. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES FOR PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Sulawesi Barat	18.3
Kalimantan Selatan	14.1
Nusa Tenggara Barat	12.8
Bangka Belitung	12.4
Kalimantan Barat	10.9
Sulawesi Tenggara	10.8
Papua Barat	10.0
Kalimantan Tengah	10.0
Jawa Barat	9.7
Kalimantan Timur	9.0

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN - % RURAL)
Kepulauan Riau	-1.1
DI Yogyakarta	-3.9
Lampung	-4.5
Jawa Tengah	-4.7
Bengkulu	-4.9
Bangka Belitung	-5.1
Bali	-5.6
Kalimantan Selatan	-5.6
Sulawesi Selatan	-6.0
Sulawesi Barat	-6.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

5.3.2. PERCEPTIONS OF MARRIAGE

During consultations with young people, some conversations touched upon the notion of marriage and participants' perceptions of this although, admittedly, these issues are only marginally explored. Desti from Jakarta, for instance, has a sister who was married at the age of 17. Reflecting on this event, Desti would prefer not to marry at a young age because she aspires to have more freedom to participate in public activities without having the burden of taking care of children. Furthermore, Desti is concerned with the impact of early marriage on her education, especially because women who are married and fall pregnant at a young age tend to get expelled from school.

However, other participants, especially the young adults, generally have a positive attitude towards marriage. Annisa, 22, a factory worker in Jakarta, wishes to get married as soon as possible as she prefers to stay at home and take care of household chores. She indicates that her ideas about marriage and the domestic role of women in the household are also shared by her female peers. Ilham, from Makassar, is also looking forward being married through *taaruf* (a marriage arranged by an intermediary, often *ulama*) in the near future. He wants to get married soon because he is the youngest member of his family and he wants his mother to be there for the wedding.

5.3.3. SAFETY AND EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE

The consultations indicate that participants highly value the ability to feel safe in their home and neighbourhood, and that safety is an important aspect of well-being for them. Younger informants mentioned the presence of adults whenever they take part in activities around the neighbourhood as one factor that makes them feel safe. Other informants also comment on the absence of violence, such as brawls and robberies, as a factor that contributes to the perception of safety in their neighbourhood. Participants from Kupang, Makassar and Jakarta point out that brawling frequently occurs in their neighbourhood. Informants in Kupang and Makassar state that conflicts are mostly provoked by small disagreements. In Makassar, Ilham observes that the frequency of brawling has decreased, although he does not know what might be the cause of this change. He also mentions that, in the past, he rarely ventured outside his neighbourhood out of fear of retaliation. His family even moved back to their village at some point because his parents were also afraid of retaliation. The frequency of brawls in the past made his neighbourhood notorious in Makassar. Additionally, Marta from Kupang, who lives with her extended family, reflects on the importance of safe spaces within her home as she experienced domestic violence from her aunt. She feels safe only in her bedroom, because this is the only place where she can be alone.

The consultations also reveal that children and young people are often exposed to public violence in their neighbourhood. In addition to neighbourhood fights and brawls, children and young people also witness different kinds of public violence happening around them. Firly, 16, from Surakarta, says that she has been harassed by an adult neighbour since she was a child and now feels afraid to walk near the neighbour's house. She does not report these incidents to her family or to other adults because she fears being dismissed by them. She is also concerned about the experience of other young women like herself who also experience harassment, and especially sexual violence. She mentions a story about a child with a mental disability in her neighbourhood who experienced sexual harassment. She recounts that people in her neighbourhood were hesitant to report this case, out of fear that this would create disharmony among neighbours.

Violence also affects children and young people's educational outcomes because they are concerned about their safety in school. Some of the participants mention direct experience with, and observation of, school violence. Firly, for example, observes that children living with disabilities are more likely to experience bullying at her school. Ratih, from Surakarta, shares an experience with being mistreated by her teacher when she was in elementary school. Her family did not report this incident to the school because they were too afraid to do so. At the time of the interview, Ratih had left that elementary school and did not want to continue her education.

5.4. ACCESS TO WATER AND SANITATION

This section discusses findings related to SDG Goal 6 (Clean Water and Sanitation). From SUSENAS data, this study presents a general picture of children's access to water and sanitation. This study uses BPS's formal definition of "improved water" that excludes bottled and refilled water, which may explain the discrepancy between urban and rural areas. While access to improved water is higher in rural areas, children in urban areas are more likely to have access to improved sanitation than children in rural areas. This is a pattern that is similar to other indicators in previous sections. Using the data from consultations, this study examines informants' source of, and access to, water as well as their assessment of the quality of water that they consume. Their experiences show that many city residents are still struggling to get access to a reliable supply of clean water.

- Between 2015 and 2019, the share of children living in households with improved water declined from 37.4 per cent to 30.5 per cent. However, this decline could be explained by an increase in the usage of branded packaged water and refilled water among this population, two sources that are not included in the definition, by BPS, of improved water.
- In contrast, access to improved sanitation appears to have increased between 2015 and 2019 in both urban and rural areas.
- Access to improved sanitation is a significantly greater issue in rural areas.

5.4.1. IMPROVED WATER AND SANITATION

This study investigates two indicators that provide information on children's living environments, namely the proportion of children living in households with improved water and improved sanitation. "Improved water" is defined as households in which the main source of drinking water is:

- tap
- bore/well pump
- rainwater that is obtained from a source within 10 metres of home

This definition does not include branded packaged and refilled water, or unprotected well, spring or open water. Additionally, "improved sanitation" is defined as households that have a private or shared toilet, and that use a siphon-type latrine and septic tank.

Between 2015 and 2019, the share of children living in households with improved water declined from 37.4 per cent to 30.5 per cent. However, this decline may be explained by an increase in the usage of branded packaged water and refilled water. This may help explain the greater access to improved water among rural children compared to urban children.

In contrast, access to improved sanitation appears to have increased between 2015 and 2019 in both urban and rural areas. Nonetheless, access to improved sanitation remains substantially greater in urban areas compared to rural areas (81.8 per cent versus 56.4 per cent, respectively) (see Table 21).

TABLE 21. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER AND IMPROVED SANITATION, 2015–2019

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Children (0–17 y.o) living in households with improved water (%)					
Percentage of children in urban	94.9	94.1	94.1	93.8	95.0
Percentage of children in rural	77.4	76.0	78.4	78.7	80.2
Children (0–17 y.o) living in households with improved sanitation (%)					
Percentage of children in urban	75.1	80.3	79.8	80.3	81.8
Percentage of children in rural	46.5	53.4	52.5	55.1	56.4

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Access to improved sanitation is a significantly greater issue in rural areas. Even children in urban slum households seem to have better access to improved sanitation (68 per cent) than those living in rural slum households (23 per cent) (see Table 22). The proportion of children living in households with improved sanitation also increases with the size of a city. Moreover, Sarbagita (96 per cent) has the highest percentage of children with improved sanitation among the mega-urban regions discussed in this study.

TABLE 22. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER AND IMPROVED SANITATION, BY URBAN/RURAL, CITY AND MEGA-URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS, 2019.

TYPE OF PLACE	CHILDREN (0–17 Y.O) LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER (%)	CHILDREN (0–17 Y.O) LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED SANITATION (%)
Urban	95.0	81.8
Rural	80.2	56.4
Urban slum households	78.9	67.9
Urban non-slum households	95.8	83.9
Rural slum households	54.6	23.4
City size		
Small	65.9	51.3
Medium	81.0	64.5
Large	86.1	71.8
Metropolitan	94.8	74.1
Mega-urban regions		
Jabodetabek	97.8	83.6
Bandung Raya	96.9	64.0
Gerbangkertosusilo	96.1	85.4
Kedungsepur	93.3	86.4
Mebidangro	98.1	93.2
Patungraya Agung	83.7	75.3
Banjarbakula	76.3	59.8
Sarbagita	99.0	96.3
Maminasata	98.3	93.0
Bimindo	92.0	86.1
Palapa	93.3	67.7
Mataram Raya	95.8	76.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

When examining the coverage of children living in households with improved water in urban and rural areas within the city classification, all figures are shown to be higher in rural areas. However, the gap between urban and rural within the same type of city increases as the size of a city increases.

The opposite pattern is found for children living in households with improved sanitation; the percentage is higher in urban than rural areas regardless of city size. Children in all mega-urban regions also seem to have better access to improved sanitation if they live in a region's the urban areas than in rural areas (Appendix 15).

Across all provinces, Kalimantan Utara has the lowest percentage of children living in households with improved water (see Table 23). The SUSENAS data also reveals that the share of children with improved water is lower in urban areas of most provinces. However, the highest gap between urban and rural children with improved water is found in Bali. Moreover, Kalimantan Utara is ranked in tenth place as the province with the largest gap between its urban and rural figures.

TABLE 23. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES OF CHILDREN LIVING IN URBAN AREAS WITH IMPROVED WATER AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Kalimantan Barat	46.0
Kalimantan Utara	75.9
Bangka Belitung	82.3
Bengkulu	83.4
Jambi	84.1
Papua	85.4
Kalimantan Tengah	85.5
Kalimantan Selatan	85.9
Riau	86.2
Lampung	86.9

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN - % RURAL)
Gorontalo	2.1
Lampung	2.8
Nusa Tenggara Barat	3.2
Jawa Timur	4.2
Sulawesi Utara	4.7
Jawa Tengah	5.5
Sulawesi Tenggara	8.3
Bengkulu	8.5
Bangka Belitung	8.6
Maluku	8.7

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

For the indicator of improved sanitation, Jawa Barat appears to have the smallest share of children in urban areas who are living in households with improved sanitation. For all provinces, however, the share of children with improved sanitation is higher in urban than rural areas.

5.4.2. WATER SOURCES AND QUALITY OF WATER

Most participants mentioned gallon water bottles, which are packed and distributed by private entities, as a source of drinking water. Alternatively, some participants boiled piped water for drinking. For washing and cleaning purposes, participants in all study sites used piped water from the local water utility company (PDAM/ Perusahaan Daerah Air Minum). Exceptions are found in Jakarta, Surakarta, and Makassar where water for washing and cleaning is retrieved from a river or groundwater, or procured from local water sellers. Procurement from water sellers is also found among participants from Kupang. Because of occasional water shut-offs, participants from Kupang often have to buy water from vendors or pay their neighbours for some. Water vendors are commonplace in Jakarta, Kupang and Makassar, selling water from tanks on their cars. Ilham in Makassar gets water from his neighbour who has a piped supply, and he keeps a cart with jerry cans outside his house for daily use. Participants who buy water for daily use have to pay between 10,000 – 20,000 IDR (using small water containers) in Jakarta and Makassar and around 70,000 IDR (for one water tank) in Kupang.

There is a relationship between the type of water source and neighbourhood location, which is therefore also related to a participant's socioeconomic background. Most participants have access to piped water in their household, except for one participant each in Jakarta, Makassar and Surakarta. One informant in Jakarta, Fadhil, lives on a riverbank where access to water is limited. His neighbourhood has only three wells, which locals use for cleaning and washing. Fadhil's family is one of a few that live close to the river and that pump the river's water for daily use. The river water is less clean than piped water, which is why Fadhil and his family filter the water and add chlorine before using it for washing or cleaning. Informants from Jakarta and Surakarta say that piped water is considered expensive, especially as people have to pay to install it. Participants from Makassar also say they can't afford to install piped water. Ratih's family in Surakarta had their supply cut off when they couldn't pay their water bills they now use electric pumps to obtain groundwater. All informants in Kupang rely on piped water from the Government (PDAM). Participants in Kupang mention different frequencies of water supply, ranging from once a week to six days a week, which appears to be the result of the different water sources (three) that supply piped water in Kupang.

5.5. POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION

This section discusses poverty among children and young people, and focuses on income deprivation and its relation to SDG Goal 1 (No Poverty). The research team uses data from SUSENAS to present an overview of children's economic indicators and to compare both the performance of rural and urban areas as well as slum and non-slum households. Looking at the data from the past five years, there has been substantial progress in reducing poverty, which has consequently also reduced the number of children living in poverty. However, in general, children are still disproportionately represented among the poorest groups. Furthermore, children in urban areas are still less likely to live in a poor or near-poor household than children in rural areas. Within cities, a considerable gap exists between the number of children living in poverty in slum and non-slum areas.

The consultations conducted during this study offer valuable insights into the lived experiences of poor children in cities, particularly because respondent recruitment was intentionally aimed at children and young people from low socioeconomic backgrounds and poor neighbourhoods. Their stories present concrete examples of the effect of poverty and financial precariousness on the lives of children and young people. This section also considers how children and young people navigate and manage income deprivation and discussed the role of existing Government interventions.

- This study finds that child poverty rates – defined as either the percentage of children living below the poverty line, or as belonging to the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution of households – are lower in Indonesian urban areas, compared to rural areas.
- Although cities in general may have a lower proportion of children living in poverty than rural areas, urban poverty itself is a problem in cities across Indonesia.
- The majority of consultation's informants receive support from least one type of social assistance programmes during the pandemic

5.5.1. CHILD POVERTY RATE IN INDONESIA

Based on the national poverty line, the Indonesian poverty rate has fallen in the last decade, reaching approximately 9 per cent in 2019. Despite this achievement, children remain susceptible to poverty. In 2019, for example, BPS identified that approximately 12 per cent of children and adolescents lived below the national poverty line, compared to 8 per cent of adults aged 18 years and above (BPS, 2019).

This study finds that child poverty rates – defined as either the percentage of children living below the poverty line or as belonging to the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution of households – are lower in Indonesia's urban areas compared to rural areas (see Table 24). The study uses the indicator of children living below the poverty line to represent children living in extreme poverty. The indicator of children living in the bottom 40 per cent of income distribution includes children who live in households that are at risk of being poor or near-poor. The share of children living below the poverty line has declined between 2015–2019, with the rate declining more quickly in urban than rural areas. However, the percentage of children living in the bottom 40 per cent of income distribution rose between 2015–2019. The rate of increase of this indicator appears to be higher in urban areas. As the bottom 40 per cent of the income distribution is determined using household-level income data, as opposed to data from individual children, the percentage of children in the bottom 40 per cent may not always fall at 40 per cent.

TABLE 24. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING BELOW THE NATIONAL POVERTY LINE AND IN THE BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION, 2015–2019

	2015 (%)	2016 (%)	2017 (%)	2018 (%)	2019 (%)
Children living below poverty line in urban	10.3	9.8	9.9	8.9	8.7
Children living below poverty line in rural	16.9	16.8	16.7	15.7	15.5
Children living in the bottom 40 of income distribution in urban	35.3	35.8	36.9	36.8	37.3
Children living in the bottom 40 of income distribution in rural	54.7	54.8	54.8	55.2	55.6

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2015-2019.

Although the overall share of children living below the poverty line is lower in urban than in rural areas, the percentage of children living below the poverty line in urban areas is much higher (18 per cent) in slum households than those who live non-slum households (7 per cent). Moreover, the share of children living in rural slum households living below the poverty line is double that of children living in urban slum households (36 per cent). These figures indicate a considerable gap in poverty between children living in slum households and those who are not living in urban areas, but this is to be expected, given that the definition of slums is informed by the low socioeconomic capacity of households. Nonetheless, there is also a gap in children living below the poverty line between urban slum and rural slum areas. Looking at the city classification, the share of children living below the poverty line increases as city size decreases. In addition, among the mega-urban regions examined in this study, the percentage of children below the poverty line is highest in Patungraya Agung (13 per cent), and Mataram Raya (12 per cent).

The share of children living in the bottom 40 per cent of income distribution also shows a similar pattern. Although the percentage of children who live in the bottom 40 per cent in urban slum areas (52 per cent) is higher than urban – non-slum areas (35 per cent), the proportion is higher still for those who living in rural – slum areas (78 per cent). The rate of children in the bottom 40 per cent also increases as the size of a city decreases. However, the difference in rates is not as large as the share of children living below the poverty line. Patungraya Agung appears to have the highest rate among mega-urban areas, but the second-highest percentage of children living in the bottom 40 per cent is found in Bandung Raya. Among all city and mega-urban classifications, both indicators of child poverty and vulnerability are higher in rural areas (see Table 25).

TABLE 25. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING BELOW THE NATIONAL POVERTY LINE AND IN THE BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION, BY URBAN/RURAL, CITY AND MEGA-URBAN CLASSIFICATIONS, 2019.

TYPE OF PLACE	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE (%)	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION (%)
Urban	8.7	37.3
Rural	15.5	55.6
Urban slum households	17.6	51.9
Urban non-slum households	7.3	35.1
Rural slum households	35.8	78.1
City size		
Small	25.7	52.6
Medium	13.9	48.2
Large	12.8	48.5
Metropolitan	9.3	42.6
Mega-urban regions		
Jabodetabek	4.7	22.2
Bandung Raya	7.1	46.5
Gerbangkertosusilo	5.0	30
Kedungsepur	8.6	45.9
Mebidangro	7.3	33.4
Patungraya Agung	13.3	46.6
Banjarbakula	5.2	32.1
Sarbagita	0.4	18.7
Maminasata	6.7	45.7
Bimindo	7.8	39.6
Palapa	5.5	25.9
Mataram Raya	12.3	44.8

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

Children in Nusa Tenggara Barat are more disadvantaged in terms of child poverty than other provinces. The share of children living below the poverty line in urban areas of Nusa Tenggara Barat appears to be the highest (see Table 26). The gap between urban and rural areas here shows a positive number, which indicates that a higher proportion of children live below the poverty line in urban areas than in rural areas. This ratio is also observed in Jambi.

TABLE 26. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE IN URBAN AREAS AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Nusa Tenggara Barat	19.6
Bengkulu	16.8
Sumatera Selatan	15.8
DI Yogyakarta	13.0
Aceh	13.0
Jambi	12.6
Sulawesi Tengah	12.6
Nusa Tenggara Timur	12.4
Sulawesi Barat	12.4
Sumatera Utara	12.1

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN – % RURAL)
Jambi	4.2
Nusa Tenggara Barat	3.9
Riau	-0.1
Kalimantan Tengah	-0.4
Sumatera Selatan	-0.5
Sumatera Utara	-0.6
DI Yogyakarta	-1.2
Bali	-1.6
Bengkulu	-1.7
Sulawesi Barat	-2.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

For children living in urban areas, Sulawesi Barat appears to perform the worst in terms of the share of children living in the bottom 40 per cent. However, the gap between urban and rural areas is negative, which reflects the higher rate in rural than urban areas (see Table 27). Therefore, the high percentage of children living in the bottom 40 per cent in Sulawesi Barat does not necessarily reflect a problem specific to the province's urban areas but, rather, the problem of income vulnerability across the whole province.

TABLE 27. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN LIVING IN THE BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN URBAN AREAS AND THE GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Sulawesi Barat	58.3
Nusa Tenggara Barat	52.8
Jawa Tengah	51.4
Gorontalo	47.3
Sulawesi Tenggara	46.5
Nusa Tenggara Timur	45.1
Sumatera Selatan	45.0
Sulawesi Selatan	43.6
Jawa Barat	42.4
Sulawesi Utara	42.3

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN BOTTOM 40 PER CENT OF INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN – % RURAL)
Kalimantan Tengah	0.1
Nusa Tenggara Barat	-0.9
Bangka Belitung	-5.3
Jawa Tengah	-6.7
Kalimantan Timur	-7.9
Riau	-8.5
Sumatera Utara	-10.7
Sulawesi Utara	-10.8
Sulawesi Barat	-11.0
Jawa Barat	-11.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

5.5.2. JOB (IN)SECURITY AND INCOME (IN)STABILITY

Although cities in general may have a lower proportion of children living in poverty than rural areas, urban poverty itself is a problem in cities across Indonesia. There are pockets of communities and neighbourhoods in cities that struggle with chronic poverty, which is reflected by the data provided by this study's participants. Income poverty is a recurring and persistent theme from them, which is largely due to this study's selection objective and criteria (see methodology). The insights from informants' experiences with, and perspectives on, navigating economic precariousness present a clear picture of urban poverty and its characteristics. These experiences show how financial hardship informs the lives of these informants and how it contributes to other forms of deprivation in their lives. In many cases, poverty impeded their chances of improving their lives and prevented them from achieving their aspirations.

The majority of informants' parents work in informal sectors as casual labourers or are self-employed in cottage industries. Furthermore, most informants come from families in which more than one family member is engaged in income-generating activities to support the family. These activities include employment as a parking attendant (Surakarta), construction worker (Makassar), online *ojek* (Jakarta), food and fruit vendor (Makassar, Jakarta), tailor (Jakarta), farmer (Makassar), woodworker (Kupang), fisherman (Jakarta), and mechanic (Kupang). Some informants also have siblings who perform various jobs to support their family. Dina in Makassar recounts that the main livelihood of her parents is to work as farmers, but both her father and mother are also engaged in other income-generating activities, namely construction and selling food . Dina works part-time with her neighbour to supplement the monthly allowance she receives from her parents.

This study's consultation found that four young people work full-time while five informants (aged 16–20 years old) combine school/college with income-generating activities. Informants say they work mainly to gain income, but a few of them note that they also want to acquire some skills from working. Ryan in Kupang, for instance, works in his uncle's workshop, which gives him hands-on experience in automotive repair, which aligns with his training in a vocational school. For informants who are still in school, the additional income is mainly used to cover schooling/college expenses and to contribute to the family's expenses.

The employment of informants tends to mirror that of their parents; the majority are engaged in informal and casual work, such as online *ojek* driving, kitchen assistance and selling food vending. This characteristic reflects the selection criteria of the consultation, which were geared towards urban poor populations. Only two informants, Annisa in Jakarta and Ilham in Makassar (both in their 20s), work formally, namely as a factory worker and as a Government-contract janitor, respectively. Some informants say they would like to find a more stable job. Doni in Makassar, for example, was applying for a factory job at the time of the interview, and considers employment in a private company as something that offers income stability. However, working in the formal sector does not necessarily result in more job security. Annisa, for example, explains that her factory does not provide any opportunity for contract workers like herself to become a permanent employee.

The consultation also finds that few informants have a stable work trajectory; most informants transfer from one form of casual employment to another. Ilham in Makassar, for instance, worked a few odd jobs, such as being a busker or parking attendant, before he got his job as a janitor. Prior to this, Ilham was offered a position as a security guard in a shopping centre near his residence. However, he declined the offer because there were too many strict rules about professional appearance, such as being forbidden to grow a beard. He likes his current job as a janitor because it has no restrictions in terms of professional appearance. Similarly, Fadhil in Jakarta worked as a kitchen assistant, a delivery man and as a crew member on a fishing boat. Fadhil's main reasons for changing jobs include a low salary and heavy workload. He expresses a liking for his current job as an online-application based motor-taxi/*ojek* driver, but he has to use his friend's account because he does not have a driving license. Harsh working conditions are also mentioned by Annisa who said she was working from 11am to 10pm six days a week.

Having a job does not automatically confer financial stability. Informants who work with family members are often paid inconsistently or not at all. Ryan in Kupang, for instance, describes that he is sometimes given money for his labour, and Martha who also lives in Kupang, with her aunt's family, spends a great deal of her day time doing domestic chores.

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, many informants discussed the financial challenges confronted by their families. These are mostly due to job insecurity and income instability, because of their casual work and self-employment. A family's income might sometimes not be sufficient to meet the

high cost of living in urban areas, and all informants describe a reduction in family income as a major consequence of the pandemic. Nevertheless, with the exception of Dimas whose mother lost her job, most informants and their family members have managed to retain their jobs.

5.5.3. ACCESS TO SOCIAL PROTECTION

The majority of informants receive support from at least one type of social assistance programmes during the pandemic, and with some already recipients of social protection benefits, such as PKH *(Program Keluarga Harapan),* before the pandemic. Unfortunately, social assistance programmes, although very much appreciated, do not always ease financial hardships. Some informants who receive basic necessity packages (or sembako), say that sometimes the contents do not match their families' needs or that they cannot be used because the family does not have the cooking equipment needed. They much prefer cash than in-kind assistance so that they can spend the money according to their needs.

This problem also applies to the assistance provided for online schooling. Some informants complain that the Internet quota subsidy can only be used for specific platforms, such as Google Classroom, Zoom and WhatsApp. Ideally, an Internet package should enable access to search engines and other communication platforms to support the learning process, and to facilitate school assignments that require discussion with peers. Some informants report that their Internet package is not provided regularly and that they cannot predict when their quota will be renewed. Desti from Jakarta, for example, mentions that she finds it cumbersome to use the Internet quota provided by the Government because she has to change her sim card to make use of it.

5.6. SAFE AND SUSTAINABLE SPACE

Drawing from conversations with participants, this section provides a sketch of the various everyday struggles with urban infrastructures and public facilities that children and young people face. Tackling these issues, such as natural/human hazards, inadequate housing, urban renewal projects and the threat of eviction, migration, and public transportation, is an essential step towards creating safe and sustainable cities that align with SDG Goal 5.

- Some young people who participated in the consultations have mentioned that natural and human-made hazards, such as floods, drought and fire, are commonly experienced
- The existence of slums is a symptom of the lack of affordable and adequate housing in cities and the young people who participated in this study voiced their concerns about their current and future housing situation
- While land reclamation brings new economic opportunities, land reclamation also increases the risk of eviction for people who live nearby. Eviction is not only prompted by massive physical or infrastructural development, but also by projects to mitigate flooding

5.6.1. NATURAL AND HUMAN-MADE HAZARDS

For informants who live near rivers in Jakarta, flooding has become a routine event. However, Fadhil says that flooding does not make him want to leave his neighbourhood as it is where he was born and raised. Desti, who currently lives in *rusunawa*, also used to experience flooding. She has memories of floods as being a fun time when she is able to play around with water. She even expresses a longing for flooding, although she does admit that it disrupts her education. However, informants in Makassar who have experienced floods in several recent years complain about flooding. Ilham and Doni argue that the land reclamation project that surrounds their neighbourhood is the cause of frequent flooding and Doni laments the fact that the field where he and his friends play floods every time it rains.

In addition to connecting floods with urban development, participants also suggest that changes in climate are contributing to the frequency of floods and other environmental hazards that they experience. Ahmad, who lives near Fadhil, mentions that the floods in early 2020 were much worse than previous ones. However, he adds that, the neighbourhood where he and Fadhil live is not often flooded, and on several occasions, his community have had to use their own boats to help evacuate people in other areas of Jakarta.

In Kupang, one informant says that this year's drought is worse than before. He also adds that the Kupang government declared a drought emergency in 2020, and that it allocated 500 water tanks to assist the most affected regions, but he claims that the city's water supplies are continuously decreasing.

In addition to flooding and drought, fire is another common hazard which Desti and Andi say they have experienced. Since both informants live in crowded informal settlements in Jakarta with inadequate housing, fire may be associated with housing insecurity, especially as both say that the cause of the fires was a gas leak or a short circuit. In Desti's case, her family home and belongings were destroyed; they could only manage to rescue their vital documents. Disasters such as this also exhaust a household's financial resources. Desti and her family, for instance, had to live in a tent for a week. Later they had to rent a house while slowly building a new house, only to be evicted several months later. Andi, however, considered his family fortunate because they had some savings to cover the reparation costs.

5.6.2. INADEQUATE HOUSING

The existence of slums is a symptom of the lack of affordable and adequate housing in cities. The young people in the consultation are very much aware of this issue and voice their concerns about their current and future housing situation. The housing conditions of informants vary, and their living conditions influence their aspirations and preferences in terms of housing. Informants also lived in varying housing arrangements. Two informants in Jakarta rented space in a social housing high-rise *(rumah susun sederhana sewa* or *rusunawa*) after having been evicted from their kampung several years ago. One of them, Annisa, aspires to have a house with more sunlight. Ilham in Makassar, who lives in a house made of plywood, aspires to have a brick-built home, which will have a more stable temperature. Two informants in Jakarta, and Doni in Makassar want to live in a house on the city's outskirts as it is more tranquil – Doni frequently visits the countryside to enjoy a more relaxing environment.

Participants take into account the current state of housing affordability and land ownership in cities when imagining their future living arrangement. Most of them express an aspiration to have their own home on land that they own. Some informants, especially young adults, express some anxiety regarding housing security. Many, especially from Jakarta and Makassar, have – at some point in their lives – experienced different degrees of housing insecurity, such as being evicted from slums or being unable to pay the rent. For them, land ownership is crucial protection against eviction. Ilham from Makassar, for instance, lives with his mother in a small self-built house on Government land, and he worries that they could be evicted at any time. He plans to go back to his village and live in his family's house because buying a house in the city is almost impossible, and renting puts him in a vulnerable position due to his precarious job. Ilham, however, acknowledges that he will have to commute to a city as he is more likely to find employment there. Similarly, Putri, an informant in Kupang, hopes to buy a house there for her father and siblings to live together. If owning a house in the city is beyond her capacity, she plans to move back to her village and live in her family home.

5.6.3. LAND RECLAMATION AND EVICTION

In Makassar, one of the sites included in the consultation, changes in the urban landscape, especially in the form of land reclamation, have shaped the lives of children and young people, particularly for those who lived near such projects. Doni, for instance, laments the loss of leisure activities that usually take place on shorelines, such as looking for clams or enjoying the sunset. He contends that the neighbourhood lost access to the beach and sea, which means that children now have fewer options for playing. He also observes that children in his neighbourhood now tend to play in small alleyways and spend more time on their digital devices. Ilham says that even if he or the children of the neighbourhood could play on the newly reclaimed beach, they would no longer feel like they belong there.

Informants in Makassar also associate the land reclamation project with the socioeconomic changes that have affected their community, which was once a thriving fishing community. These informants observe that the ongoing land reclamation project has deprived the local fishermen of direct access to the sea. As a result, according to the informants, many of their neighbours who once worked as fishers have gradually lost their livelihood.


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Furthermore, people in their community can no longer supplement their food supply and income by collecting clams and other seafood. However, the urban development projects that are taking place in the area also present new job and income opportunities. Many fishermen have become manual labourers as a consequence of the land reclamation project and the many construction projects that have emerged in its wake. Moreover, the newly refurbished Losari waterfront area in Makassar has also attracted more visitors, which incentivizes children and young adults to make money by busking and working as informal/unofficial traffic attendants.

While it brings new economic opportunities, land reclamation also increases the risk of eviction for people who live in the surrounding neighbourhoods. The construction boom may increase the demand for, and therefore the value of, land near the reclamation area. Dina, for instance, remembers a forced eviction that took place in a nearby community a few years ago, while Ilham is afraid of eviction because his house is built without a land certificate on neglected land. Having no land certificate means that they could be evicted at any time when construction and development around his neighbourhood expands further.

Eviction is not only prompted by massive physical or infrastructural development. In Jakarta, all four informants experienced eviction in their lifetime because of flooding mitigation projects. Two of them had to move to *rusunawa* while the other two managed to stay put in their neighbourhood. Desti, who moved to a *rusunawa*, mentioned that her family needed to pay monthly rent, which meant an additional cost for her family. At the time of the interview, her family were several months behind with their rent, which is an issue that was also observed in other *rusunawa* (Savirani and Wilson, 2017). However, another participant who comes from a multi-income household, Annisa, said that the rent (Rp250,000/ month) was affordable. Desti also recalls a number of challenges after being evicted and moving to a new place. Although she moved together with some of her previous neighbours, she was not particularly familiar with the new neighbourhood. She also mentions that she had to move to a new school closer to her *rusunawa*, and her father had to spend more time commuting, thus incurring more fuel costs, as his workplace was further from the *rusunawa*. Despite these challenges, Desti argues that her *rusunawa* is much better than her previous house in an urban kampung because her family now lives in a house made of brick, with partitions and separate rooms as well as a private toilet.

5.6.4. RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Two informants in this study's consultation live away from their families, to pursue their education in distant cities. Dina, for instance, decided to stay in Makassar when her family moved back to her father's hometown three years ago and she was still in the second year of junior high school. After 13 years of living in Makassar, Dina's family moved away again because they could not keep up with the rising costs of living in the city (especially rent). They are fortunate enough to still have a house in the village and land that they can cultivate. Dina decided to stay in Makassar because she was concerned about the quality of education in her village and about the distance from her house to school. Her younger sister plans to join her in Makassar next year when she will start attending junior high school. Another informant, Putri, moved to Kupang from the regional part of NTT after she was accepted at a university.

Families may also decide to live separately in order to access schooling, even when they live in a city. Two informants in Kupang live with relatives, in spite of their nuclear families living in the same city. According to a local facilitator in Kupang it is common to send children to live with extended family so that they can get better schooling and easier access to it. Other reasons include extending or maintaining family bonds, and distributing some of the family's financial burden. In Jakarta, Fadhil experienced family separation because of the nature of his parents' employment. His mother went abroad as a migrant when he was still in elementary school.

Some families also try to keep a foot both in rural and urban places, and sometimes move back and forth between cities and villages. Ilham (in Makassar) moved back with his family to their village home when he was 15 years old. For him, life in the village was full of challenges. He found it dull and described farming jobs as challenging and physically demanding. For these reasons, he moved back to the city without his parents' consent and started living on his own. However, Ilham also knows that living in the city is increasingly difficult as the opportunities for stable and well-paid employment are diminishing. Without income stability, he has little chance of getting access to secure and adequate housing. Therefore, like his parents, Ilham keeps the option open of moving back to his village, especially if the city no longer offers decent economic opportunities.

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5.6.5. PUBLIC FACILITIES AND TRANSPORTATION

Some informants also expressed their ideas about how to transform public facilities to the city's management and environment. Desti in Jakarta would like to see a public space dedicated to young people of her age, such as a park, public library or music school. Galih in Surakarta emphasizes that cities need to build more accessible public spaces for people with disabilities. In Makassar, Doni suggests building a soccer field for the children in his neighbourhood so that they can be tempted away from their digital devices.

Informants also provide commentary on public transportation in their cities since all of them value mobility. The lack of a reliable public transportation system restricts this in cities, and forces them to spend money to buy or rent private vehicles, particularly motorcycles. Even though mass transportation options like buses or *angkot* exist, informants bemoan their service quality and complain about the traffic. Informants in Surakarta and Kupang claim that they do not feel safe when using public transport due to the inadequacy of drivers and the poor state of roads. Firly commented that the erratic schedule of mass transportation services does not cater to children's time-bound activities, such as attending school. Commercial forms of transportation, such as *ojek*, provide more certainty and punctuality in her daily commute to school. For some informants, such as Ilham and Fadhil, ownership of a motorcycle is particularly appealing as it also enables them to work as online *ojek* drivers.

5.7. PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

Drawing from conversations with participants during the consultation, this section provides a sketch of the various issues related to the civic participation and engagement among children and young people. The topics also includes participation in community activities and various formal platforms.

- Participants from the consultations regard community activities as a part of urban social interaction and a common platform for youth engagement.
- The participants also explore the various formal avenues for public engagement that are dedicated to them, such as the Child Forum or the intra-school students' organization OSIS. They also express a desire for a more inclusive and innovative platform that can reach more young people from different backgrounds including the most vulnerable and hard to reach

Participants in the consultation also offer valuable insights into the ways children and young people participate in public decision-making, and some of the associated issues. In general, the participants represent a broad spectrum of public/civic participation, ranging from minimal engagement to formal involvement through specific organizations dedicated to children and adolescent participation. Several participation platforms are identified by informants, such as Child Forum (Forum Anak), school and campus-based organizations (OSIS/Student Body and extracurricular activities), sports clubs, religious-based communities (youth-focused or general), and participation in community or neighbourhood activities. Nevertheless, all 16 informants had some experience with diverse types of civic engagement, albeit in different degrees of involvement, which seem to be influenced by their own motivations, capacity (time, resources), and the availability of platforms for participation. The informants note several problems that they associate with youth participation in general, and some specific issues that pertain to the different platforms that are available.

5.7.1. PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Participants regard community activities as a part of urban social interaction and a common platform for youth engagement. Some informants are involved in various community activities, for example:

- cleaning up their neighbourhood
- community education (both religious and non-religious)
- fundraising for local facilities
- sports

In Makassar, Ilham describes how frequent flooding and blocked sanitation systems pushed the community to take charge of the regular cleanup as the Government seemed to offer only irrelevant solutions. Fadhil from Jakarta recalls attending community gatherings involving children and young people, and perceives these gathering as a way to educate them about current issues in their neighbourhood and about their role as citizens.

5.7.2. PARTICIPATION THROUGH FORMAL PLATFORMS FOR YOUTH ENGAGEMENT

Children and young people also explore the various formal avenues for public engagement that are dedicated to them. For many informants, organizations such as the Child Forum or OSIS provide opportunities for acquiring different competencies, such as leadership and public communication skills, that they did not obtain through formal education or in school. They also want to build and broaden their networks while contributing to society through their engagement in community activities. Galih from Surakarta, for example, is an active member of Forum Anak, which advocates for the needs of marginalized children, especially those living with HIV and AIDS. His motivation is grounded in his experience as a survivor of bullying, and he believes in the idea of empowering marginalized children so that they can tap into their potential.

5.7.3. PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION AS AVENUES FOR PARTICIPATION

Public demonstration offers another channel for children and young people to be heard. During the consultation period, four informants participated


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in public protests or demonstrations that took place after the passing of the Omnibus law on job creation *(UU Cipta Kerja).* Fadhil from Jakarta, said he protested because he felt this law would have negative consequences for low-skilled workers like his sister. Putri from Kupang joined the rallies because she believed the law will facilitate land-grabbing and displacement of native communities – a view backed up by her experience assisting displaced communities in Kupang. At the same time, informants also admitted that participating in demonstrations can be thrilling and exciting. Some noted that there were confrontations with law enforcement officers, who used tear gas, but other informants maintained that they felt safe during the rallies.

5.7.4. ISSUES WITH CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Some informants observe that children and young people are not always involved in the community decision-making process. One informant, Ilham, attributes this to a range of factors including a lack of information on how children and young people might be able to participate, the tendency of adults to dismiss and disregard the opinions of children and young people, and little confidence in their own capacity to participate.

Using public demonstrations as an example, informants emphasized the importance of creating a safe and friendly space for them to express their opinion. Doni, in Makassar, wanted to join the public protests, but decided not to as he feared that no one would protect him, should anything happen. He said that young protesters who are students are afforded some protection because of their affiliation to a school. Doni also noted his desire for a safe space where young people could share constructive feedback with decision-makers on social policies or development plans, including on platforms managed by the Government.

Similarly, children and young people also express a desire for more inclusive and innovative platforms that can reach more young people from different backgrounds. Despite the availability of organizations or communities that young people can join, such platforms are not accessible to all of them, particularly if they have marginalized backgrounds. In Kupang, Siti mentions the lack of avenues for young people to express their opinions to the Government and recommends building digital platforms that will allow more young people to be heard by policymakers.

6

DISCUSSION

Although some vulnerabilities are shared among urban and rural children and young people, they may manifest differently. Findings from this study demonstrate that challenges for children and young people often present opportunities; the two are not mutually exclusive. By looking at vulnerabilities across three categories – inequality of access and opportunities, unresponsive systems, and marginalization – this study helps to show how these challenges and opportunities intersect and influence children's lives.

- Secondary data analysis suggests that, on average, children in urban areas fare better than those in rural areas, although children's well-being in rural areas has been slowly improving. Nevertheless, the well-being of certain groups of children in cities has been shown, by several indicators, to be compromised.
- Although children in urban areas do not face as many barriers to accessing basic services, they still face challenges in meaningfully utilizing or benefiting from such services.
- Regardless of where they live, children and young people can face natural hazards and environmental risks as well as social issues, violence and discrimination.
- Opportunities, experience, and ability to participate in daily decision-making at home or in the public sphere, may contribute to children and young people's agency in urban areas.
- The COVID-19 pandemic intensified existing vulnerabilities experienced by urban children and young people.
- Findings from the literature and consultations with children and young people offer insights on how lack of access to services, poverty, isolation, exclusion, marginalization and unresponsive systems and services may have an impact on well-being.

Unequal access to services and opportunities results from multiple factors, including poverty, geographical barriers and limited mobility. This study found an overall increase in the percentage of children living in the bottom 40 per cent of the wealth distribution between 2015 and 2019. However, in 2019, the proportion of those living in the bottom 40 per cent was higher in urban areas (56 per cent) compared to rural areas (37 per cent). Furthermore, this indicator's rate of increase is higher in urban areas (2 percentage points between 2015 and 2019, compared to 1 percentage point in rural areas).

Urban poverty is related to a household's inability to weather short-term shocks such as sudden unemployment and long-term adversities such as the rising cost of living (World Vision International, 2016). Children and families in poverty are more likely to come from households that rely on jobs with poor working conditions in the informal economy, and tend to live in inadequate housing and poor living conditions. Poverty and financial hardship also drive children and young people to engage (prematurely) in income-generating activities. This study found that 5 out of 16 participants in the consultation were combining school or college with productive work. One informant in Makassar, who dropped out of school twice (in junior and senior high), cites an inability to finance school expenses (especially during his vocational high-school training) as the reason.

Even in cases where individuals can access services, systems are often ill-equipped to meet the needs of children and young people. The primary completion rate in both urban and rural areas was above 90 per cent in 2019, with the rate consistently higher in urban areas (97 per cent) than rural areas (94 per cent). However, poor access to the Internet still prevents children in urban and rural areas from receiving optimal learning support, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic (BAPPENAS et al., 2020). Secondary data analysis estimates that only half of the children aged 5–17 years in urban areas have access to the Internet, and this situation is worse in rural areas where only one third of children aged 5–17 years have access to the Internet. The data from the consultation also highlight various structural challenges regarding online schooling, such as unreliable Internet access, inadequate/non-supportive facilities or technologies, and prohibitive costs. This also

underscores informants' anxieties about compromised learning outcomes that result from suboptimal online learning support. Nevertheless, the Internet and digital culture also offer potential avenues for children to educate, entertain and express themselves.

Vulnerable children have often been excluded, either formally or de facto, from utilizing systems and services. Children and families who live in illegal settlements and inadequate housing frequently experience forced evictions due to a combination of the city's construction and development programmes and the absence of legal documents (Koesoemawiria, 2017; LBH Jakarta, 2016a; Winayanti and Lang, 2004). Jakarta Legal Aid documented 495 evictions of informal settlements or kampung, displacing 15,319 households in Jakarta alone between 2015–2018 (LBH Jakarta 2016a, 2017).

Communities that live in this kind of settlements are also often disconnected from Government services and amenities. They may also lack individual legal documentation, especially because the Government does not administratively recognize their residency. Without legal recognition, poor slum dwellers experience legal invisibility and have to endure "social vulnerability," which means their voice and input is less valued and less sought after (World Vision International, 2016). This finding is also confirmed by a participant who lives in an informal settlement in Jakarta. He notes that his community is mostly invisible to the Government and is often excluded from receiving Government aid/assistance.

The gap between urban and rural outcomes might be partially explained by differing official definitions and classifications of urban and rural areas.

There is no consensus on the definition of what constitutes urban and rural in Indonesia. There are at least three main official definitions of urban in Indonesia:

- one statistical definition used by BPS
- two planning or administrative definitions set by the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency

The BPS definition, adopted by this study for the purposes of secondary data analysis, uses a composite scoring system that includes population density, the percentage of households employed in agriculture, and the presence of urban facilities as well as access to landline phones and electricity (see Appendix 2).

The availability of public amenities that is part of this definition, of which schools and hospitals are of particular interest for the purposes of the present study, may partly explain differences between some of the education and health-related indicators in rural and urban areas. These differences may become more expansive with the reclassification of rural areas into urban areas when following the BPS definition, which gradually increases the proportion of urban areas compared to rural areas. According to a World Bank study, the reclassification of rural-urban areas has been the main factor underpinning the increased number of populations living in urban areas (Roberts et al., 2019). The expansion of manufacturing sectors that build their factories and plants in rural regions (due to land availability) further accelerates the transformation of rural areas into areas with increasingly urban features and removes labour from farming and agricultural sectors (Jones and Mulyana, 2015).

Furthermore, because the BPS definition of "slum" is determined on the household level, this category is found both in rural and urban areas. The systematic literature review found that there are wide variations across countries in how and at which scale slums are defined. However, according to BPS, slums are officially defined as a group of individuals living under the same building without access to an improved water source and sanitation facility, and with the inadequate living space defined by floor area size and construction materials.

Several main well-being indicators still support the claim that the situation in rural areas demands more attention. This situation has been slowly improving, and that might indicate some positive results in terms of investment in and equal access to basic services between rural and urban areas. However, some newer challenges in urban areas are emerging.

This study shows that, while urban children appear to be doing better than those in rural areas on many indicators (such as improved sanitation, school completion rate, and poverty), progress on other indicators such as child marriage and birth certificate ownership in urban areas remains slow. Indicators such as access to improved sanitation and poverty reduction remain substantially greater in urban areas than rural areas. While progress in sanitation is positive for both areas over the years, poverty indicators show that children in rural areas are consistently worse off than those

in urban areas in 2015–2019. The prevalence of child marriage, is still considerably higher in rural than in urban areas, and the practice has not declined in urban areas. Similarly, while birth certificate ownership among children is higher in urban areas, the gap between urban and rural areas has been narrowing from 2015–2019, which suggests a considerably slower development in urban areas compared to rural ones.

Lack of access to basic services, including education, and economic opportunities in rural areas as well as the promise of a better life in cities may drive families, children and young people, to move to urban areas. However, migrants are not guaranteed ease of access and opportunities in cities. Although it has been documented that the reclassification of rural areas as urban areas is the primary driver for urbanization (Roberts et al., 2019), rural-urban migration is still one of the leading sources of urban population growth in cities in Indonesia (Roberts et al., 2019). Currently, 57 per cent of the urban population is concentrated in mega-urban areas such as Jabodetabek. In addition, women of reproductive age and young people constitute the majority of migrants moving to urban centres (Jones and Mulyana, 2015). At the same time, it is projected that, by 2045, 220 million Indonesians (or more than 70 per cent of the total population at that time) will live in areas that are classified as urban (Roberts et al., 2019, pp. 2–3).

It has been documented that children and young people move to cities for a number of reasons, such as better education (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018). Children and young people migrate to cities on their own to enroll in better schools and to pursue a better education (McDonald et al., 2013; Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018), which in turn can lead to family separation. This is also confirmed by the consultations conducted for this study, which indicate that two informants (in Makassar and Kupang) live in cities away from their families to pursue their education.

Employment presents another reason for individuals, including young people, to move to cities. With the decline of agricultural sectors in rural areas, young people are pushed to find new job opportunities in urban areas. Furthermore, both parents and children in rural areas often seek non-agricultural formal employment; this development may lead parents to send their children to cities to enter higher education and to ultimately find better jobs (Clendenning, 2018; Siagian et al., 2019). Off-farm and formal jobs are considered to be more stable and offer better income and more prestige (Siagian et al., 2019), but these opportunities are scarce in rural areas (Ilhami, 2018).

Higher education is a vehicle for socioeconomic mobility and increases the chances of obtaining formal and well-paid jobs. Children and young people in urban areas see education as a mechanism for surviving and thriving in the future. However, their aspiration to pursue higher education is often hindered by their financial situation. One informant in Jakarta also mentions poor academic performance as a perceived barrier to entering university.

The promise of better education in cities and, by extension, employment, however, does not always materialize. Impoverished families in rural areas often lack the necessary information and broader network to make strategic decisions in terms of education (Clendenning, 2018). Consequently, they rarely question the cost and quality of universities in which their children enrol. Young people who migrate to urban areas (often to bigger cities on major islands) tend to enrol in the same private colleges, and usually follow the same degrees and programmes as their fellow rural peers (Clendenning, 2018). Such conventions make it harder for them to expand their connections in cities (Clendenning, 2018).

Furthermore, there is no certainty that private universities in cities will offer a practical pathway to better employment and further professional success. Education in cities (with expensive tuition fees and higher costs of living) has become a drain on families' finances, while offering little guarantee of securing jobs. Lacking in social and economic capital, many of these families soon find themselves relying on their ethnic networks and end up in jobs that are exploitative (Ilhami, 2018). In her research in Makassar on young migrants from Flores, Clendenning finds that many of these migrating individuals fail to reach the city and have to move back to their rural hometown, which increases the number of educated unemployed young people in rural areas (Clendenning, 2018). Some of these individuals return to farming jobs with little experience in agriculture. This study's consultation recorded a similar situation in which one informant's family (based in Makassar) moved back to their village due to the rising cost of living in the city.

Despite the improvement in urban areas overall in terms of main well-being indicators, children from worse off groups struggle to survive and thrive in urban areas. Their vulnerability may manifest differently according to where children and young people live and what adversities they experience in an urban context.

Although child poverty is lower in urban areas, there is still a considerable gap between children in urban areas who live in slum households and those who do not live in slum households. This study shows that some groups living in urban slum households or coming from the low quintile of income are still worse off on several indicators. As shown in the secondary analysis, the higher the income distribution in an urban area is, the lower the prevalence of diarrhea. However, this pattern is not found in rural areas. Furthermore, on average the proportion of adolescents who reported smoking is slightly higher in urban slum areas compared to rural slum areas. Looking more closely at the urban condition, there is also a considerable gap between children from slum households and non-slum households on several indicators, such as the prevalence of child marriage and dropping out of school. The gap in school dropout rates between children in urban areas who live in slum households and those who do not increases as the education level goes up. Although child poverty is lower in urban areas, there is still a considerable gap between children in urban areas who live in slum households and those who do not.

In Indonesia and many other developing countries such as India, Bangladesh and Brazil, some studies have specifically examined several well-being indicators among children and adolescents living in urban slums that further underscore the intra-urban disparity. Living in slums is associated with a high incidence of diarrhea (Strina et al., 2012), malnutrition (Ahsan et al., 2017; Islam, 2018; Raju et al., 2019), incomplete basic immunization (Ghei et al., 2010), and unassisted birth (Choudhury et al., 2012).

The existence of slums is a symptom of the lack of affordable and adequate housing in cities. The government of Indonesia has long acknowledged issues such as the shortage and inadequate construction of housing in cities. According to the current RPJMN (2020–2024), the Government aims to provide adequate housing for 70 per cent of the households in both rural and urban areas (the baseline is 54.1 per cent). However, some have criticized the Government's public housing programmes for enabling private developers to gain ownership of highly valued land in the city centres. Such ownership is often acquired by evicting low-income inhabitants (sometimes living on fallow Government land) who are supposed to be the beneficiaries of these housing programmes (Kusno, 2015; Silver, 2008). Furthermore, the requirement to get a mortgage is impossible to meet for residents working in informal sectors due to the lack of a stable monthly income. As a result of this failure, residents often resort to self-built houses with varying degrees of quality on neglected land, which leads to the emergence of informal settlements of kampungs (Kusno, 2015).

The provision of affordable and adequate housing for urban residents will, given the growing urban population, remain a pressing issue for the Government. Young people in this study's consultation are very much aware of this issue and are concerned about their current and future housing arrangements. Their current living conditions influence their aspirations and preferences. Informants take into account the current state of housing affordability and land ownership in cities when imagining their future living arrangement. Informants from Jakarta and Makassar, at some point in their lives, have experienced different degrees of housing insecurity such as being removed from slums or an inability to pay their rent. For them, land ownership is a crucial protection against eviction. Informants' concern about housing echoes the findings from a study on multidimensional deprivation in two districts in South Sulawesi. In that study, Bexley and Bessell find that housing insecurity significantly contributes to young people's anxieties (Bexley and Bessell, 2020).

Poverty is often closely connected to livelihood, and it has been suggested that the bulk of poor individuals in urban contexts work in the informal sector (Octavia, 2020). The consultation confirms this observation. A majority of informants' parents work in informal sectors as casual labourers or are self-employed in cottage industries. Most informants also have more than one family member who is engaged in income-generating activities.

Poverty often incentivizes children to engage in income-generating activities in order to supplement their family's income. The findings from the consultation exemplify this phenomenon; four informants work full-time while five others combine school/college with income-generating activities. Informants acknowledge that they work mainly to gain income, but a few of them note that they also want to acquire some skills from working. For informants who are

still in school, the additional income is used mainly to cover schooling/college expenses and to contribute to the family's expenses. In a joint report by the International Labour Organization (ILO), UNICEF and the World Bank from 2012, almost 87 per cent of working children also attend school. This finding suggests a similar phenomenon, namely that income from work is mostly used to pay for education (ILO et al., 2012).

It is important to note that some informants who work with family members or in a family business are often paid inconsistently or not at all (ILO et al., 2012; Webbink, Smits and de Jong, 2012). It is also common in many parts of Indonesia that a child who lives with relatives will help their host family with household labour, which mostly, but not always, involves domestic chores. One of the consultation's informants, for example, carried out domestic chores in return for lodging and other living expenses (Nugroho, Hermono and Ronaboyd, 2020).

In a report published by ILO, it is estimated that youth unemployment is more prevalent in urban areas than in rural areas (ILO, 2020). This study's consultation finds that two informants, aged 15 and 19 years respectively, are not engaged in education, employment, or training (NEET) and are early school-leavers. In a study of young adults in Greater Jakarta, Ariane Utomo et al. find that approximately 55 per cent of 799 informants, aged 20–34 and who left school when they were 12 years old or above, did not automatically move on and find work. Thirty per cent of the young adults who left school neither worked nor studied until they reached the age of 18 years (Utomo et al., 2014). It is estimated that two-thirds of unemployed young people, aged 20–24 years, spend 12 months or longer searching for a job (ILO et al., 2012).

Children in urban areas may not face many barriers when accessing basic services due to the relatively established nature of infrastructure available in cities. However, children in urban areas might face challenges in meaningfully utilizing or benefiting from such services.

Based on data from secondary analysis, school completion rate is consistently higher in urban areas compared to rural areas. Furthermore, the higher the education level is, the bigger the gap will be in school completion rates between urban and rural areas. The urban/rural gap is estimated to be 3 percentage points among 13–15 year-olds compared to 22 percentage points among the 19–21 year-olds.

Although urban areas perform better on common indicators of education compared to rural areas, some groups of children in cities still struggle to get access to services and remain in the system. The consultations with young people highlight the many barriers to school participation, access to health care, and the limited availability of communication media among urban young people.

From this study's consultations, it is clear that financial hardship is one of the main reasons for dropping out of school. Our informants contend that dropping out of school results in low educational attainment which, in turn, reduces their employment prospects. Findings from other studies indicate a strong association between dropping out of school and the degree of attrition in higher levels of schooling (Suryadarma et al., 2006). Moreover, another study on young adults in Greater Jakarta highlights that dropping out of school most often occurs at the age of 14 or under (Utomo et al., 2014). Given the connection between dropping out of school and further school participation, it is possible that some children living in urban Jakarta will not continue schooling from as early as 14.

Furthermore, findings from the consultation, as well as other studies, suggest that dropouts are also associated with risky behaviour, such as peer violence or teenage pregnancy. Two studies in Indonesia find that incidents, such as school fights and behavioural issues, are among the possible causes for


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early school dropout (Utomo et al., 2014; Zuilkowski et al., 2019). Both these studies further suggest that young people who are socioeconomically marginalized are at a higher risk of dropping out of school and discontinuing their education compared to children from better-off families.

In terms of access to health services, most informants are registered and receive universal health coverage (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional/ JKN). One informant, however, noted having difficulties in complying with JKN's referral mechanism. Indonesia's JKN requires a referral from primary health care services before patients can access secondary and tertiary health care. However, one informant has to travel for an hour to access primary health care services. This finding suggests two possible shortcomings in terms of children's access to health care in urban settings. First, JKN's administration is not flexible for people who move often, as it is based on one capped community health centre per recipient's address. Gatekeeping via primary health care services possibly prevents individuals from accessing the closest services in their area. Secondly, there is a possibility that primary health care is not evenly distributed in urban areas.

In regard to digital practices, it is clear that the Internet is integral to young Indonesians' daily lives, but protection measures remain an issue for some groups of children and young people. Many young Indonesians believe that the Internet can complement their schooling and everyday activities. A U-Report survey conducted by UNICEF found that 47 per cent of respondents like using the Internet because this provides them with an opportunity to learn skills that they cannot learn through formal education (UNICEF, 2017). Consultation informants also recount making use of the Internet for various reasons, such as social networking, learning and online gaming. However, young people also express a need for protection while navigating the virtual world. Another U-Report survey found that 25 per cent of young people are concerned about the risk of bullying as well as data privacy issues (23 per cent) (U-Report Indonesia, 2020a). This survey also found that 44 per cent of young people consider digital literacy very important and, indeed, one of the most urgent priorities regarding the protection of young people in the digital era.

Regardless of their urban or rural residential status, children and young people experience external threats to their well-being. This may occur in the form of natural hazards and environmental risks, or in the form of harmful social issues, such as violence and discrimination.

From data collected during the consultation, it is clear that informants highly value being able to feel safe in their home or neighbourhood, and that they consider this an important aspect of their well-being. Horizontal violence, such as neighbourhood fights that are often incited by small disagreements between groups, is commonplace for informants living in Kupang, Makassar and Jakarta. The presence of community violence in Indonesia's urban areas is similar to the experience of children living in urban areas in Brazil and Bangladesh (Moura et al., 2015; Rashid, 2011). In Brazil, it has been documented that children in impoverished areas are exposed to violence both at home and in their neighbourhood (Mello et al., 2014). The lived experience of this consultation's participants suggests a similar exposure to violence both at home and in the neighbourhood, and this shapes the mobility of informants and their families. Some participants respond to the risk of violence by staying in their rooms, homes or neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood violence also drove one informant's family to return to the rural area they had originated from.

Another threat that this study determined based on the data from the consultation and literature review is that of natural and human-made hazards. Fire, for instance, is a constant threat for children and young people living in inadequate housing and crowded settlements, and this is evident from some of the informants' accounts. Furthermore, rapid and significant changes in climate also contribute to increasing the threat of natural hazards, for example by causing more frequent and intense floods (Roberts et al., 2019) as well as longer droughts; the informant in Jakarta witnessed an unusually severe flood in early 2020. Informants in Makassar also observe that coastal flooding is more frequent, which exacerbates the detrimental impact that land reclamation has had on their lives. Protracted droughts are also suggested to be a consequence of climate change, as indicated by informants in Kupang.

Opportunities, experience, and ability to participate in daily decision-making at home or in the public sphere may contribute to children and young people's agency in urban areas. This study finds a multitude of ways for children and young people to form and express their views in order to influence plans and decisions affecting their lives. This includes their engagement in school and community activities.

While most research to date has focused on the opportunities for children and youth participation facilitated through formal structures and channels, little attention has been given to understanding the more informal interactions between children and young people during day-to-day life (Horgan et al., 2017).

The consultation's findings suggest that there are different ways for young people to participate in society, such as engaging with formal organizational structures, attending popular democratic rallies, interacting with their peers and neighbours, as well as advocating for themselves at home. Young people's motives are grounded in an attempt to improve their communities, enhance solidarity among neighbours, and influence policymaking processes. However, their participation is often constrained by adults who act as gatekeepers and who often consider common markers of adulthood, such as age, competence and marital status, as a prerequisite for public participation. Structural barriers, such as a lack of inclusive and safe spaces or platforms for young people to influence decision-making processes, are also part of the challenge in facilitating more meaningful participation.

Children and young people's participation is key to achieving a sustainable urban future, and especially one that aligns with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Indonesian Government's new agenda for urban demography, social cohesion and equity, acknowledges the importance of creating opportunities for young people to become agents of positive change and as well as being empowered to make informed decisions about their own lives (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Indonesia, 2016). However, this policy document does not elaborate on the concrete policies and programmes that are necessary to achieve these goals.

Despite such policy commitment to enhancing youth participation and citizenship, this study's findings indicate that there are some challenges in this area. Pandemics such as COVID-19 could limit the opportunity of children and young people to express their opinions. The results from a U-Report poll show that 62 per cent of respondents reported having fewer options to express their opinion compared to before the pandemic (U-Report Indonesia, 2020b). Findings from another U-Report poll identified two major gaps with respect to youth participation; respondents identified a need for training on how to communicate publicly as well as a need for more information on participation opportunities (U-Report Indonesia, 2020c). From the consultations, it is clear that some informants lack an interest in participating in community activities. As shared by the informant who facilitates Forum Anak, children and young people often have little motivation to participate because of the heavy workload at school. This informant also notes that children and young people often do not even know the names of their neighbours but would like to know their neighbourhood better. This provides insights for programmes that promote participation to also include approaches to strengthen community cohesion.

The COVID-19 pandemic intensified the existing vulnerabilities experienced by urban children and young people. This study observes how such existing vulnerabilities have been amplified and, consequently, how this puts such populations at greater risk during the COVID-19 pandemic.

As discussed in the previous sections, COVID-19 hit urban areas harder than rural ones, as can be observed from the infection rates in Indonesian cities (see Section 3.5). Furthermore, data from Indonesia shows that a significant portion of the increase in poverty is estimated to take place in urban centres (Roberts et al., 2019). The pandemic's disruption is possibly more severe for children who are living in poverty, because deprivation has made these children more susceptible to short-term shocks and long-term adversities (World Vision International, 2016). The consultations conducted for this study highlight how children and young people living in poverty are affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The fears and anxieties about precarious employment among young people during the pandemic echo the findings from several studies across different countries and age groups. These studies conclude that psychological distress can occur

due to financial uncertainty (Every-Palmer et al., 2020; Fountoulakis et al., 2020; Wathelet et al., 2020).

As suggested by various reports, the pandemic will increase the rate of poverty in Indonesia by varying degrees depending on the Government's mitigation efforts, such as the provision of a safety net and social welfare (Suryahadi et al., 2020; World Bank, 2020). The pandemic also disproportionately impacted non-agricultural industries that are based in urban areas, such as wholesale and retail, hospitality, food service, and the hospitality industry (World Bank, 2020).

The ability to attain income is connected to housing quality and security. Economically disadvantaged people are found to be more likely to live in poor housing, which increases the risk of COVID-19 infections (Patel and Shah, 2020). One of the informants said that limited employment opportunities will inevitably lead to fewer housing options. As a result, young people and their families may decide to return to rural areas when cities no longer offer decent housing opportunities.

Children and young people who participated in the consultation are concerned about their families' risk of infection, but they are unable to consistently maintain health protocols because of economic and social obligations. Research on physical mobility during the pandemic confirms this finding; countries with higher levels of poverty had significantly higher work-related mobility during the March 2020 quarantine period, even when controlling for a country's infection rate (Bargain and Aminjonov, 2020).

The positive role of friends and family who function as a support system is an ameliorating factor for children and young people in dealing with the consequences of the pandemic. Findings from Vietnam reaffirm the correlation between positive family relationships and good mental health among young people (Phuong et al., 2013). Similarly, U-Report polls find that approximately 71 per cent of respondents have received a lot of attention from their friends since February 2020. On the other hand, 53 per cent of respondents report that parents or caregivers have paid less attention to their well-being compared to February 2020 (U-Report Indonesia, 2020b).

The structure provided by maintaining a daily routine is identified as a protective factor for well-being, but restrictions in terms of mobility are inevitable for many. A study found that continuing to carry out daily activities serves as protective factors against anxiety, depression, and suicidal tendencies


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during the COVID-19 pandemic (Fountoulakis et al., 2020). Nevertheless, COVID-19 inevitably alters many aspects of one's life, as is evident from informants' struggles with maintaining connections with friends via video calls or playing group games through digital devices. Digital media, however, are deemed insufficient to fulfil their need to interact with friends. Public health measures that restrict social contact may cause psychological distress among individuals, and even more so for young people (Benke et al., 2020).

The pandemic disrupts children and young people's education, and a World Bank study finds that the closure of schools due to the COVID-19 pandemic could amount to the loss of half a year of learning outcome (Yarrow et al. 2020). Moreover, this research projects that this loss, by 28 million students in Indonesia will amount to 20 per cent of the country's GDP in 2019.

Furthermore, measures to buffer the impact of COVID-19 on the education process barely cover students' needs. Findings from an online survey by U-Report show that 64 per cent of participants find that the data credit subsidy was helpful for their studies (U-Report Indonesia 2020a). However, the assistance package for online learning is not used optimally across the country due to barriers in terms of access to the Internet. The secondary analysis finds that urban areas have fewer children without access to the Internet compared to rural areas. However, within urban areas, slum areas are more lacking compared to non-slum areas.

Lack of access to improved water prevents the adoption of protective measures. Handwashing, one of the public health measures to avert exposure to coronavirus, can hardly be carried out in households where access to water is scarce. Discussion in previous sections underscores the relationship between economic hardship and access to improved water. Water installations, subscriptions and reliability are highly dependent on families' ability to pay. The secondary analysis shows that, between 2015 and 2019, the share of children living in urban households with improved water declined from 37.4 per cent to 30.5 per cent. However, this decline can be explained by an increase in the use of branded packaged water and refilled water among this population, which are two sources not included in the definition of improved water. The consultation also finds that branded packaged water and refilled water are the primary water sources for informants. Only the informants who live in Kupang use boiled piped water as a source of drinking water.

This study also notes diverging opinions on COVID-19, and less-disciplined approaches to implementing protective measures. Some participants say that they wear a mask to avoid punishment, not because they understand its importance. Lax attitudes towards health measures stem from false beliefs about the pandemic among some of the consultation's participants and the communities in which they live. A recent study in the US offers an explanation for the association between potential misinformation among children and their adoption of protective measures, such as face masks (Hornik et al., 2020). Such findings strongly suggest that further studies are needed to determine and understand the various responses to public health measures.

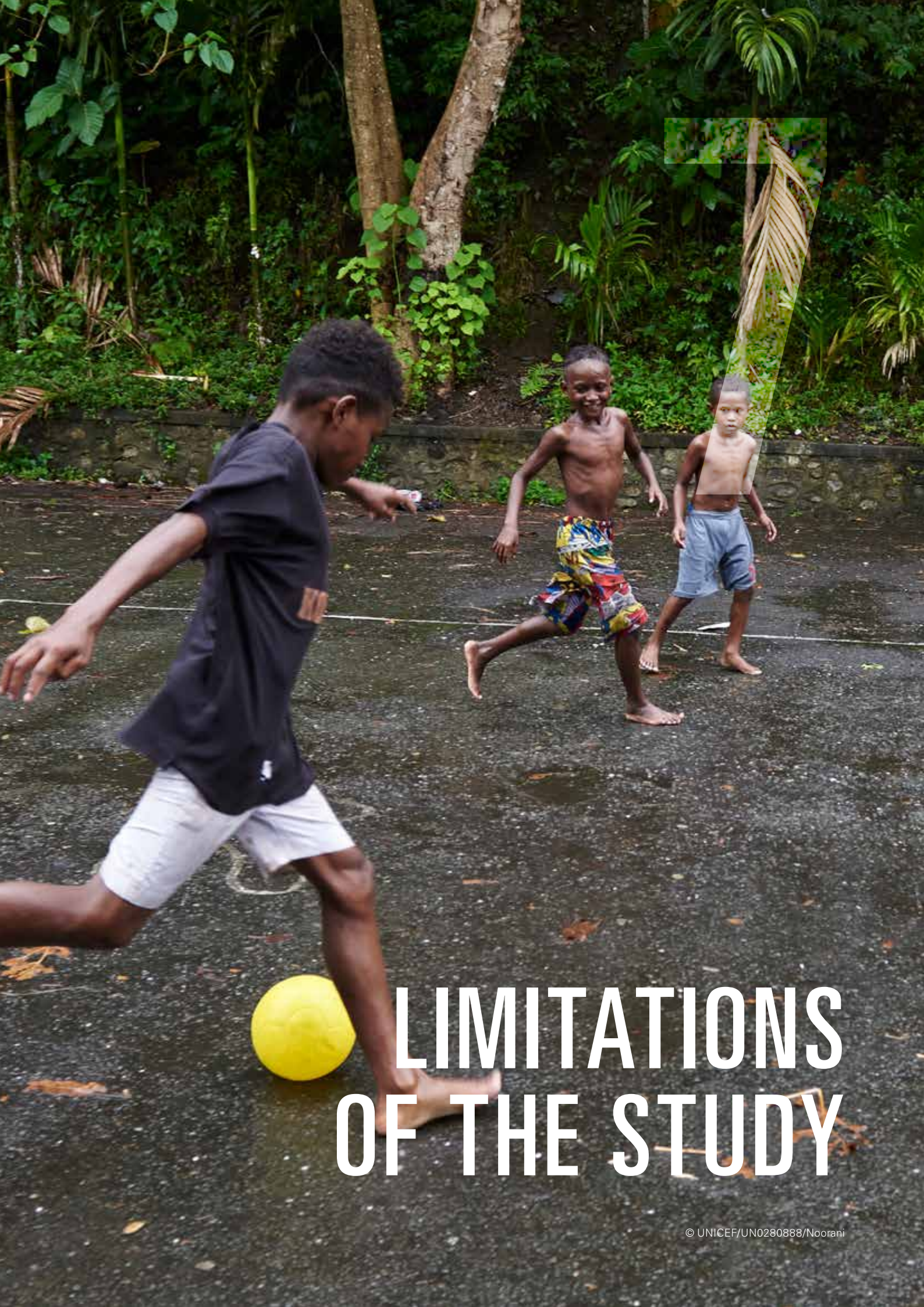
Measuring the impact of vulnerabilities on urban children and young people is beyond the scope of this study. However, the secondary literature and the consultations with children and young people offer insights on how lack of access to services, poverty, isolation, exclusion, marginalization and unresponsive systems and services may have an impact on well-being.

Vulnerable urban populations experience financial hardship, which is partly due to job insecurity and income instability as such populations are mostly engaged in casual work and self-employment. In their efforts to navigate financial precariousness, families often have to take drastic measures that, in some cases, can lead to family separation. This phenomenon is, as mentioned above, experienced by several participants. A study on rural-urban migration in Indonesia confirms that there is a trend of reverse migration, especially among migrants who still have families and property in their rural hometown (Reality Check Approach+ et al., 2018). Clendenning, in her study of young people who migrated back to Flores from major cities such as Makassar, also observes that young people often decide to move back to their village once they are no longer able to survive in a city (Clendenning, 2018).

Massive urban development changes not only the environmental landscape, but also affects the socioeconomic situation of children and young people. Efforts to expand cities primarily through constructions projects, such as shopping centres, housing complexes, roads, office buildings and ports, may inadvertently marginalize some communities. This is evidenced by the experience of informants in Makassar.

Urban development is also closely associated with eviction, especially of those who live in informal settlements. Evictions are often justified for various reasons, such as the clearing of land for the construction and development of toll booths, highways and business districts. Eviction is frequently also justified as a measure to counteract illegal housing and kampungs) (LBH Jakarta, 2016).

Eviction has impoverished many families through the loss of housing and assets (Ichwatus Sholihah and Shaojun 2018). Families who once lived rent-free are forced to become tenants either in Government, or privately owned rental housing units (Savirani and Wilson, 2017; Tilley et al., 2019), which further increases their financial burden.



7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

- As studies chosen for the literature review were required to have terms such as "urban" or "city" in their titles, those that used alternative language to reference an urban setting (such as, "Jakarta," for example), might have been excluded from the review.
- Given the utilization of only two sets of survey data: IDHS or SDKI (from 2012 and 2017) and SUSENAS (annually, from 2015 through 2019), the analysis is limited to the specific indicators and variables included in the data during those years.
- Additionally, given the cross-sectional nature of SUSENAS, this study is unable to draw conclusions about causality.
- As there are several definitions of "urban areas" under Indonesian law, it is challenging to analyse and compare the situation of children across various types of urban areas using the available data.
- Conclusions drawn from the qualitative data were based solely on consultations conducted with those living in urban areas. Without the ability to compare these urban consultations to those conducted in rural areas, it is important to recognize that findings presented here may also reflect circumstances for young people in rural areas.
- Findings from the consultations were qualitative, and, therefore, cannot be generalized to represent the situation of children and their characteristics in a particular city. The consultations are meant to provide insights into the lives of some children in urban areas that help to animate the secondary data analysis. The recruitment of participants were purposive to allow this study to discuss different narratives that may not be captured by the statistics.

This study employs mixed methods, including a combination of secondary data analysis, literature review and consultations with children and young people in four cities. This combination of methods is used to present a more in-depth and comprehensive picture of the challenges and opportunities for children living in urban areas. Nevertheless, the design of this study has a few key limitations and findings should be interpreted with these limitations in mind. First, given that eligible studies for the literature review were required to have terms such as "urban" or "city" in their titles, those that used alternative language to reference an urban setting (such as, "Jakarta," for example), might have been excluded from the review. Further, although the team focused on a wide range of sources for grey literature – including relevant reports from institutions such as UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank, World Vision, WRI, and UN-Habitat as well as publications from Government agencies that focus on children's lives in cities in Indonesia – relevant materials published by other organizations might have been missed.

Second, the secondary data analysis for this study utilized only two sets of survey data: IDHS or SDKI (from 2012 and 2017) and SUSENAS (annually, from 2015 through 2019). The analysis is therefore limited to the specific indicators and variables included in the DHS and SUSENAS data sets during these years. For example, the analysis was note able to examine the proportion of children who are part of NEET as information on NEET is not included in either SUSENAS or IDHS. As SUSENAS focuses predominantly on measuring access to services, few indicators of quality or reliability of services could be assessed. Further, strict comparisons over time were limited by the fact that some questions in the SUSENAS survey were not asked every year.

Additionally, given the cross-sectional nature of SUSENAS, this study is unable to draw conclusions about causality. Moreover, this study is also limited by its inability to offer insight on stunting and wasting indicators, which are important factors for children. While IDHS records children's health, nutrition and immunization data, it does not record the current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height and weight of children, which are necessary inputs for calculating stunting and wasting.

As there are several definitions of "urban areas" under Indonesian law, it is challenging to analyse and compare the situation of children across various types of urban areas using the available data. Streamlining these different definitions would be beneficial for Indonesia to monitor its progress towards the SDGs between urban and non-urban areas as well as within urban areas.

The COVID-19 pandemic presented many challenges with respect to the consultation process. One such challenge related to the team's inability to recruit young people living in rural areas, although a few informants reported living in rural areas at some point in their lives. As such, conclusions drawn from the qualitative data were based solely on consultations conducted with those living in urban areas. Without the ability to compare these urban consultations to those conducted in rural areas, it is important to recognize that findings presented here may also reflect circumstance for young people in rural areas. Furthermore, findings from the consultations cannot be statistically generalized to represent the situation of children in a particular city. Nevertheless, the consultations provide this study with nuanced findings that are based on informants' lived experiences and perspectives, and this complements the findings obtained through other methods.

The available data did not allow the study to undertake a thorough gender analysis and therefore, there are no conclusive findings regarding gender differences across different themes. Any reported observation or experience by women/girls or men/boys participants cannot be conclusively and exclusively attributed to gender differences as other factors/variables may be at play.

06 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- This study suggests urban areas should continue efforts to improve the civil registration and vital statistics system, explore research collaborations with other cities within mega-urban areas to better understand the situation of vulnerable populations in those areas, implement a comprehensive child protection and welfare model for urban areas, and support inclusive participation and civic engagement, starting with young people in capital cities, and including the most vulnerable young people.
- This study also suggests general recommendations that may be prioritized, such as improving the quality of services, providing urban infrastructure and further disseminating the study's findings with policymakers and relevant stakeholders to explore possible solutions.

8.1 SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

CONTINUE EFFORTS ON IMPROVING THE CIVIL REGISTRATION AND VITAL STATISTICS SYSTEM.

Although birth registration and NIK coverage are higher in urban areas compared to rural areas, this study reveals that the most vulnerable children and families in urban slums remain administratively invisible. This lack of documentation may lead to further hurdles in accessing basic services, including health, education and social assistance as well as affect individuals' access to financial services, digital technology, housing and land ownership status. Further, without accurate data from civil registration, the Government is less equipped to plan for service delivery.

DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS TO STRENGTHEN THE WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH CAPITAL CITIES IN THEIR INTERVENTION AREA.

Traditionally, development programmes, including those carried out by UNICEF, focus on regions in Indonesia that struggle with poverty. Given that the standard definitions and parameters of poverty are typically confined to rural areas, programmes may consequently have minimal programmatic and policy engagement in capital cities. This study, and previous research by UNICEF on adversity in urban areas, has demonstrated the need for increased allocation of resources to help poor and vulnerable children and families in capital cities. As these cities already have substantial resources, programmes can play a crucial role in advising, providing technical input, and improving system building in three key areas:

1. research and knowledge management
2. data interoperability
3. programmatic approaches to tackling the entanglement of poverty, violence and discrimination, and disasters (social health, environmental and climate crises)

EXPLORE RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS WITH CAPITAL CITIES AND CITIES WITHIN MEGA-URBAN AREAS TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION OF VULNERABLE POPULATIONS, INCLUDING OUT-OF-HOUSEHOLD POPULATIONS.

New methodologies and focused studies are required to understand the long-term impact of adversity, study the emergence of resilience, and to identify and investigate the situation of children (who are often homeless) living in care institutions as well as prison and detention centres that are spread across capital cities, and vulnerable children who are on the move from one city to another within mega-urban areas. There are two potential avenues for conducting this work:

- the city planning agency that has a direct link to the city's governance structure
- the Mayor's or Governor's special team of staff is tasked to accelerate his or her city's priority agendas

IMPLEMENT A COMPREHENSIVE CHILD PROTECTION AND WELFARE MODEL FOR URBAN AREAS.

This model should respond to the intersectional problem of poverty, inequality, harm and discrimination. This system of child protection and welfare consists of a "three-pronged" mechanism:

Social protection support: Under this mechanism, cities are given the support necessary to double their front-line and community-based workers who are available and capable of helping children to access health, education, protection and legal identity as well as helping their caregivers access financial and livelihood services.

Family support: Under this mechanism, cities are given the necessary support to mobilize social workers who can help caregivers care for their children.

Specialized child protection support: Under this mechanism, cities are given the necessary support to further assist children in accessing specialized services (legal, safe houses, interim care, psychosocial, medical) that minimize their risk of harm and can respond to incidents of harm. DKI Jakarta's Government, for example, is in the process of setting up a Centre of Excellence on Family Happiness. Such centres can serve as entry points in conceptualizing, designing and piloting such a model. Whenever possible, the child protection and welfare model should incorporate rigorous research to allow for measurement of the model's impact.

SUPPORT INCLUSIVE PARTICIPATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT BY CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE MOST VULNERABLE AND HARD TO REACH.

The study team recognizes that transforming systems and services is as political as it is technical. Especially in capital cities, where activism tends to be concentrated, city governments and their partners can play a strategic role in supporting meaningful participation and civic engagement. This endeavour should comprise:

1. supporting youth organizations through accountability strengthening, risk analysis and mitigations plans, especially for the regeneration of youth activism
2. developing and executing training and mentoring programmes to provide young people and adult stakeholders with a structured technical capacity on social issues that affect their lives or their peers, emotional capacity to manage stress and anxieties, and organizational capacity that include management, leadership, and collaboration
3. fostering critical thinking among urban young people through open access platform such as "Latih Logika,"[6] UNICEF's Life Skills Education Programme, and the 21st Century and Digital skills programme. The programme should be expanded to include training modules, moderated sessions and materials to build young people's evidence-based analysis, strategic-thinking, and problem-solving capabilities
3. developing and facilitating accessible, safe spaces where young people can discuss their experiences and how to address social issues (shocks and shifts) around them

6 see https://latihlogika.com/

8.2 GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS AND OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

The qualitative data from this study highlight how life's hardships may manifest differently for vulnerable children and young people in urban and rural areas. Such adversities present unique challenges and opportunities that might intersect with the everyday experiences of these groups. Unfortunately, without comparable consultations from rural areas, this study cannot draw comparisons between these experiences.

Although anecdotal, the participants' stories offered some insights that cities face multidimensional issues of increasing intra-urban disparity. Moreover, the secondary data analyses showed that children from the poorest parts of urban areas, together with children living in slums and children from marginalized groups, are performing worse than their urban counterparts with a higher socioeconomic status. First, these children lack opportunities and struggle to access services. Second, systems and services are not responsive to their specific needs and are therefore unable to improve their situation. Third, these groups are structurally marginalized, which, in the end, limits their opportunities.

Nevertheless, cities will always remain attractive to opportunity-seekers. Restricting migration to cities might limit the potential benefits both for cities and migrants. Instead of restricting migration, the Government needs to ensure that cities are prepared for the arrival of migrants. For example, cities must work to guarantee that basic infrastructures, such as clean and improved water, electricity, and sanitation, are available for vulnerable families and communities. The COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated the high cost of inadequate hygiene practices, showcasing how this can lead to a higher risk of infection. The provision of basic infrastructure is not only fundamental to the implementation of successful health protocols during a pandemic; improving access to electricity, clean water and proper sanitation is also essential for preventing other public health threats to emerge and spread.

Building further on that assumption, this study argues that cities need to confront two interrelated challenges in order to improve the well-being of children and young people. The first challenge is to reduce intra-urban disparity by addressing the vulnerabilities faced by children and young people in cities. Policies therefore need to prioritize making essential services accessible, responsive and inclusive in order to keep children and young people safe, healthy and thriving. The second challenge is to prepare cities for welcoming and hosting a growing – and mostly young – population. Providing urban infrastructure, improving the quality of services, and enabling meaningful youth participation and civic engagement are among the top priorities for city governance now and in the future.

PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES IN CITIES NEED TO ENSURE ACCESS TO HIGH QUALITY HEALTH, EDUCATION, NUTRITION, CIVIL REGISTRATION, SOCIAL SUPPORT AND BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE SERVICES FOR THOSE WHO ARE MOST VULNERABLE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, GENDER, RELIGION, ETHNICITY OR OTHER SOCIAL IDENTITIES.

The findings from this study suggest that even in major cities with good health coverage and access to services, there remain pockets of communities, families and children that lack access to basic services including health, education/schooling, and social assistance. While the distance between people and services is generally not a big issue, physical proximity to facilities does not always correspond with accessibility. Furthermore, some urban communities, such as slum dwellers and residents of informal settlements, are often disconnected from important urban infrastructures, such as piped water networks, waste management systems, improved sanitation, affordable and adequate housing and public transportation. Children are only as safe and protected as the families and communities they live in, which means that improving access to basic services and urban infrastructure for the urban poor and marginalized communities is key to addressing children's well-being in cities. Moreover, as the conditions of housing and neighbourhoods are critical factors for multiple aspects of well-being, it is important that the Government steps up its efforts to improve housing conditions and the security of slum dwellers and the urban poor in general. The particular location of a child's residence in a city should not determine their well-being.

The city government should also work to facilitate administrative entry to community health centres, education and front-line social support services, as well as provide support for civil registration to enable access to other services. As city governance becomes increasingly complex, services may start to require some form of identification before children and young people can access them. At the same time, however, urban subpopulations such as slum dwellers, residents of informal settlements, circular rural migrants, homeless people and street children, still often remain invisible to city administrations.

When people lack documents, services must not turn them away. Instead, cities should improve access to registration services so that proper documentation can be obtained. This mechanism should also address the documentation needs of caregivers, for example when they have their first point of contact with programmes that offer employment, food and shelter services.

In some regards, living in a city does not guarantee that a child will reap the benefits its services. For example, the high-school completion rate in urban areas remains low and data from the consultations suggest this may be partially due to children's inability to cover additional schooling expenses. Other participants noted they needed to obtain employment in order to pay for, and remain in, school. Therefore, helping families overcome financial hardship through various poverty reduction programmes remains important in urban contexts. These poverty reduction programmes might need to be more fine-tuned, especially given the transient and dynamic nature of urban poverty. Programmes and activities also need to be tailored to the specific characteristics of urban poor in particular cities, and the amount of financial support might need to be adjusted to a city's living costs. This study, for instance, finds that migrant populations, children living in informal neighbourhoods or slums, and evicted or displaced populations, are among the most deprived groups in the cities where we conducted the consultations. Thus, identifying these populations and assessing their vulnerability is an important step towards effective poverty reduction programmes in cities.

While access to basic education is improving in both urban and rural areas, higher education is still in need of much improvement. As cities in Indonesia, especially mega cities such as Greater Jakarta, are increasingly integrated into the global economy, higher education and the competencies and skills it provides will become more essential for children to access better employment opportunities. Moreover, children and young people often have aspirations to enter higher education, and see it as their main vehicle for social mobility. However, many children face financial constraints in accessing higher education. Higher education is also one of the main pull factors for young people moving from rural to urban areas. Increasing access to higher education, especially for economically disadvantaged children in both urban and rural areas, will potentially help break intergenerational urban poverty and reduce intra-urban disparity.

Although cities offer the promise of economic opportunities, for many young people, including those who move to cities in search of employment, a gainful livelihood and job security are still unobtainable. Efforts to provide better and more secure employment require macrostructural interventions. The consultations indicate areas where livelihood programmes for young people could be implemented. First, there need to be programmes to assist young people's transition from schooling to employment. Such programmes may help them navigate the job market by providing them with information about job opportunities and recruitment processes, and by assisting them to apply. Second, early school leavers need access and assistance to second-chance education and/or skill development trainings. Skill development and certification are not only necessary for school leavers, but also for young people in general in order to adapt to the ever-changing demands of job markets as industrial and economic structures. Finally, the Government can also provide support for other income-generating activities that do not fall under formal employment.

PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES IN CITIES MUST STRIVE TO MITIGATE AND AVERT THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF POVERTY AND THE MULTIPLE DEPRIVATIONS EXPERIENCED BY CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

While programmes to increase the general income of families are necessary, cities' poverty reduction and welfare programmes must incorporate a comprehensive well-being support structure for vulnerable children, families and communities. Basic services and systems relevant to children, such as health care, education and child protection, should be able to identify children who are at risk of falling behind and to provide tailored interventions. For example, social services and schools should be able to identify children who are struggling either financially or academically, and provide adequate support to help them stay and thrive in school.

Such a system comprises social protection, family support and specialized protection components. Under the social protection element, the Government should make a social workforce available and capable of helping children and young people from vulnerable families to access health and mental health, education, nutrition, shelter and civil registration services. This workforce should also assist caregivers in accessing basic infrastructure, financial and livelihood services. Under the family support element, the Government should deploy trained social workers to help children's caregivers in vulnerable families. These workers can:

- facilitate community sessions on positive caregiving and conflict management
- pay regular home visits
- detect early signs of harm
- offer first-aid interventions
- make further referrals

Under the specialized child protection element, the Government should provide vulnerable families access to specialized services to manage any risk of violence and to respond to instances of harm. Such support can be facilitated by a community-based worker and provide integrated medical, legal, psychosocial assistance, protection, safe houses and alternative care when needed. In addition to helping vulnerable children and families in communities, the Government should set up outreach mechanisms to ensure that basic needs are accessible and protection is available for homeless children and young people on the move. The Government should also try to find the most inclusive, fair and humane solutions to housing and land tenure issues for vulnerable families in cities.

Attempts to strengthen national child welfare and protection systems have mostly taken a top-down approach in which formal, Government-managed services are imposed on people. However, those services have yet to reach everyone in need and are lacking capacity to tap into the informal mechanisms of protection and caretaking of children. As such, this top-down comprehensive system needs to engage with and support community-based initiatives. Bottom-up approaches in the form of community-based activities will not only complement the formal approach, but will also help unlock creative and practical capacities as well as enhance community solidarity and the responsiveness of local communities in addressing children's needs.

CITIES SHOULD START ADDRESSING ISSUES OTHER THAN ACCESS ALONE, INCLUDING THE QUALITY AND RELIABILITY OF SERVICES AND PUBLIC INFRASTRUCTURES. THE AIM IS NOT ONLY TO ENSURE UNIVERSAL ACCESS, BUT ALSO TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF THESE SERVICES AND FACILITIES.

Moving beyond ensuring access to services, more interventions should be taken to improve the quality of services provided to children. As indicated in this study, children and young people wish to enjoy better quality education, better working conditions, as well as better quality and more affordable housing. However, these are but a few challenges that children and young people face in urban areas. In regard to education, for instance, some cities have recognized the disparity of access to good public schools across socioeconomic status. The recent national zoning policy, which obliges state schools to allocate a minimum of 90 per cent of their seats for students whose houses are nearby, is an intervention in the right direction (RISE SMERU, 2019). In Jakarta, for instance, there have recently been several efforts to ensure that children from disadvantaged families can access good, affordable education in public schools (RISE SMERU, 2019).

Housing is another issue that is persistently discussed both during consultations and by researchers and policymakers. The public provision of affordable housing, such as *rusunawa*, is often inadequate according to Government standards because the overall size of these dwellings is much smaller than the required 7.2 square metres. The Government's programme to provide adequate and affordable housing, especially in cities, should focus on the quality of housing and neighbourhood infrastructures, such as adequate space per capita, reliable access to clean water, good sanitation and waste management, schools and accessible green space. Furthermore, many public housing projects are situated on the peripheries of cities far away from city centres and other facilities, such as schools, while at the same time lacking in reliable public transportation. Disadvantaged children and their communities are increasingly being pushed away from the city centre through evictions and high rents.

As physical mobility within cities is valued by children and young people alike, improving the coverage, quality, and reliability of public transportation will facilitate the interconnections between children (particularly from marginalized urban communities) and the amenities and opportunities that the city offers. Urban public transportation also needs to improve in order to enhance the connectivity between, and the integration of, urban areas. Urban areas offer more opportunities to all citizens wherever they live, and physical mobility might therefore be indispensable. Traffic congestion needs to be tackled to increase the speed and ease of urban mobility. This study confirms, particularly through the accounts of participants in the consultation, that the lack of reliable public transportation systems has forced young people to spend more money on buying private vehicles. As mega-urban areas become more populated, it is important to ensure that public transport is accessible, affordable and inclusive for children as well as young and marginalized people. Urban transport policy needs to be guided by the central Government. With improved urban public transport, the cost and time of commuting can be reduced and this will eventually increase the quality of life for urban dwellers.

Urban spaces need to be inclusive and safe, especially for children, young people, the elderly and people with disabilities. The participants in this study's consultation confirm that children and young people aspire towards improved urban facilities, such as parks, public libraries

and sports facilities. Once accessibility to urban spaces and public facilities has been achieved, children and young people of all groups and backgrounds will have equal opportunity to enjoy these safe spaces and to fully participate and thrive.

PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES IN CITIES MUST IMPROVE INCLUSIVITY BY FACILITATING MEANINGFUL CIVIC PARTICIPATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE SO THAT URBAN AREAS BECOME MORE SUSTAINABLE AND CHILD-FRIENDLY.

This study demonstrates that children and young people are among the most marginalized groups in many urban places. They are often excluded from planning and decision-making processes in their communities due to:

- a lack of inclusive and safe civic participation platforms
- social and gender norms that undermine the role of children and young people in their community
- limited capacity to form and express opinions
- limited resources for meaningful and safe involvement of children and young people

Marginalized children and young people, as shown through the interviews conducted during this study, are grappling with structural issues, such as poverty and access to basic quality services, and their vulnerabilities have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Despite such constraints, children and young people have aspirations for their communities, and they are engaged in community initiatives to solve many urban issues. Their motivations to participate are diverse, grounded in personal motives for self-development (capacity-building), and driven by their desire for better urban facilities and improved access to services. As such, investing in strengthening an enabling environment is a strategic way to build sustainable urban places for all.

In the context of the implementation of the Child-Friendly City initiative, this study confirms that persistent inequalities are experienced by children and young people who live in cities. To involve children and young people meaningfully, urban policies and programmes need to cater to the situations and needs of children and young people, particularly the most vulnerable ones as they often remain invisible and are thus excluded from decision-making processes. Further, policymakers must recognize that vulnerable children and young people have important aspirations and that they can contribute to urban initiatives. Children and young people are not only the citizens of the future, but they also have particular, diverse and varying needs in the present. This means that participation platforms which are set up to inform the policymaking process need to involve children and young people of all backgrounds, including those from diverse age groups, genders, socioeconomic and disability status and with other social and cultural characteristics. To do that, a strategic starting point could be to provide skill-building opportunities for diverse groups of children and young people as well as adult stakeholders to understand meaningful participation and train them with relevant skills such as (but not limited to) working together in a supportive and inclusive environment.

Government-supervised child and adolescent participation initiatives, such as Child Forum (Forum Anak) and Development Forums (Musrenbang), need to ensure the inclusion of more under-represented young people, particularly the most vulnerable ones. This includes providing them with the necessary skills, child and youth friendly information and resources to engage in development forums. While child and youth participation in Musrenbang and Forum Anak is a promising development, many young people are not aware of such forums and do not know how to participate in them. A U-Report survey in 2020 involving 1,687 respondents found that 60 per cent of young people do not know about Musrenbang or Forum Anak, and 62 per cent do not know how to participate (U-Report Indonesia, 2020c). Additionally, children and young people in this survey expressed a need for more training on how to express their opinion in public forums (34 per cent) as well as a need for more information on how to participate (22 per cent).

This study suggests that participation can manifest in many different ways, and that it is not restricted only to forms of civic participation that advocate for policy changes or programme delivery. Instead, children and young people are often engaged in initiatives that aim to foster community solidarity and the inclusion of young people in community activities. This indicates that there are many diverse ways to involve children and young people in a meaningful manner through different kinds of approaches (including through the use of digital technology) or at different stages of decision-making processes.


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It is important that participation by children and young people is:

- voluntary
- included in various stages of the process
- presented to young people as welcoming and attractive
- conducted in a safe and non-judgmental manner and space
- supported by sufficient modalities, such as capacity-building for children and young people (including, but not limited to critical thinking, problem-solving, and leadership)
- supported by adults' increased capacity and support for genuine power-sharing

The commitment and role of adults is important to ensure the availability of platforms and resources, and to facilitate knowledge-sharing so that groups of different generations can come together. Building a strong youth-adult partnership in this regard is critical to build urban places that work for different generations and to reduce intergenerational tensions.

When it comes to developing policies and programmes for child and young people's participation, stakeholders need to make sure that the policy or programmatic framework clearly defines the concept of 'participation', who the target groups are, and what the approaches and principles are that all stakeholders need to adhere to. UNICEF's latest guideline "Engaged and Heard! Guidelines for Adolescent Participation and Civic Engagement" (UNICEF, 2020) features a number of basic requirements and lists four components of meaningful participation:

- space (safe and inclusive opportunities to form and express views)
- voice (expression of views must be facilitated freely in a medium of choice)
- influence (the view must be acted on as appropriate)
- audience (the view must be listened to).

Another UNICEF publication also suggests a conceptual framework for meaningful participation and recommends that policymakers and practitioners develop relevant indicators to measure its impacts on well-being (UNICEF, 2018b).

Last, meaningful civic participation requires that a public space is accessible and safe, and that it is a place where children and young people can congregate and interact with people in the neighbourhood. Insecurity in public spaces, such as public violence and harassment, can discourage

young people, especially girls and young women, from participating in their community and in urban civic life in general. As such, tackling public violence through the implementation of community-based child protection mechanisms could contribute to safe and meaningful civic participation spaces. Moreover, meaningful participation by children and young people in interactions that aim to enhance solidarity among neighbours could be a way to prevent public violence.

A GREATER INVESTMENT IN ACROSS-SECTOR DATA MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS IS NEEDED TO MORE EFFECTIVELY INFORM URBAN GOVERNANCE.

The planning and delivery of programmes and services can only be effective and inclusive when these are based on inclusive population data that count and register everyone, follow their life events since birth, and are inter-operable with sectoral data from health, education, welfare, housing and infrastructure programmes. City governments also need better morbidity and mortality data to facilitate the early detection of problems and to understand the implications of social, public health, climate and environmental issues. Interoperability between comprehensive civil registration data sets and basic services will provide more detailed information on the vulnerability of individuals in the population. Through early detection, the Government can respond to problems appropriately and plan more effective mitigation and prevention programmes. Moreover, city governments must invest in collecting data on less visible populations, especially marginalized children and young people. This study finds that several categories of the most vulnerable populations in cities are frequently excluded from population registries. Excluded groups include urban children and families who live in slum areas, informal settlements, communities who experience eviction and communities who migrate from rural areas. It is important to note that different cities may have different and unique categories of vulnerable and marginalized populations.

It is also important to note that such more sophisticated data management systems should be developed with the goal of generating evidence for planning and evaluation. There is an important caveat, namely that modern city governments can misuse or abuse such data sets and use them as surveillance systems that can facilitate profiling and be used for crime control purposes. If not appropriately designed, such systems can discriminate and cause harm to the most vulnerable, rather than helping them.

PROGRAMMES AND POLICIES IN CITIES MUST MITIGATE THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FROM URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND CONSIDER THE DISPROPORTIONATE EXPOSURE, SENSITIVITY AND INCAPACITY FACED BY VULNERABLE CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN URBAN AREAS.

This study finds that efforts to improve certain aspects of well-being, especially economic growth, can have unintended consequences for other aspects of city life. However, cities are also confronted by a host of threats, such as rising sea levels brought on by climate change. The pandemic has shown that the negative consequences of urban development and external risks often fall disproportionately on vulnerable urban communities, thus further depriving and marginalizing their children and young people. Based on the data from consultations, it is clear that construction

projects, such as land reclamation in Makassar, have radically transformed the socioeconomic conditions of urban fishing communities living by the bay by disconnecting them from the sea and making fishing no longer a viable livelihood option without providing access to alternative gainful and secure employment. Additionally, these land reclamation projects have limited the access to green and public spaces for children in surrounding neighbourhoods, thus further restricting their safe space.

Rising energy consumption, higher mobility, and the increased use of private vehicles create problems of traffic congestion and air pollution that negatively affect children's health. The lack of safe and reliable public transportation drives growth in private vehicle ownership, which subsequently leads to increased risk of road injury among children. To protect them from such risks, children are confined to certain spaces and ferried from one place to another, which increases their inactivity. This is associated with a number of physical and mental health issues. Inadequate provision of piped water pushes households to rely on groundwater, which leads to an acceleration of land subsidence and further increases the risk and incidence of flooding in cities. At the same time, to mitigate flooding, people living by rivers and bays are evicted from their settlements and moved to the peripheries of cities, which disconnects them from their main livelihood.

These are all complex issues that cities are facing. Moving forward, cities need to take cautious and informed measures that seek to balance the needs of urban development and sustainability. Measures should therefore be taken to ensure that externalities and risks are properly assessed, mitigated and reduced. An important part of these efforts is understanding the differentiated levels of exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity of diverse urban communities in regard to shocks, threats and externalities. The identification of vulnerable populations' exposure and sensitivity should be an integral part of urban planning and development to reduce social, environmental and public health consequences. Children and young people, as a subpopulation, should be given priority in the protection against such shocks and risks.

Even with the best risk assessment and mitigation plans, shocks, threats and externalities will still occur. Because repercussions are inevitable, the Government should be prepared to assist its most vulnerable members to face such shocks and to equip communities with adaptive capacities. Ongoing assistance, adequate and accessible public services, and hazard response preparedness are a few among many measures that cities could take to ensure that community members are able to navigate their current circumstances. Furthermore, children and young people from vulnerable urban populations, as well as their communities in general, should be meaningfully engaged in decision-making processes regarding the urban developments that potentially affect them.

In addition to the proposals above, this study recommends the following steps for disseminating the findings:

- Discuss the findings with children and young people who represent voices from more diverse backgrounds and non-urban areas
- Discuss the findings with BPS, especially to explore the operationalization of urban definitions, their application in existing surveys, and where and how data can be improved to inform policies
- Discuss the findings with city governments and explore possible relevant policy changes
- Document the results of the previous three steps, and plan and execute further analyses as needed

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10

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1. CONSULTATION PARTICIPANTS (ASYNCHRONOUS AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS)

NAME (PSEUDONYM)	AGE	GENDER	CITIES OF RESIDENCE	OTHER CHARACTERISTICS
13–15 years old (4 informants)				
Andi	15	Male	Jakarta	A student at junior high school who lives in an unregistered neighbourhood.
Ratih	15	Female	Surakarta	A girl who is not in any education, employment, or training (NEET).
Ferdi	14	Male	Makassar	A boy who lives in a slum area.
Marta	14	Female	Kupang	A student at junior high school living with her extended family.
16–18 years old (6 informants)				
Desti	16	Female	Jakarta	A student at junior high school living in *Rusunawa* who has experienced eviction.
Fadhil	18	Male	Jakarta	A high-school student with part-time/informal work.
Dimas	19	Male	Surakarta	A vocational school dropout who is currently looking for a job to support his family.
Firly	16	Female	Surakarta	A high school student.
Dina	16	Female	Makassar	A high school student and a freelance worker living with her relatives.
Ryan	18	Male	Kupang	A vocational school student and a freelance worker who lives with his extended family.
19–24 years old (6 informants)				
Annisa	20	Female	Jakarta	A factory worker who has experienced eviction.
Galih	19	Male	Surakarta	A high school student living with a physical disability.
Ilham	23	Male	Makassar	A young worker with 2 freelance jobs living in a slum area.
Doni	23	Male	Makassar	A young worker who lives in a slum area.
Siti	20	Female	Kupang	A university student who lives with a single-parent (mother).
Putri	22	Female	Kupang	A university student who currently works as a freelance online seller.
Other (local facilitators and community figures)				
Ahmad	n/a	Male	Jakarta	A community organizer living and working in a slum area of Jakarta.
James	n/a	Male	Kupang	NGO workers who work for and with young people and marginalized communities in Kupang area.
Wanda	n/a	Female	Kupang	
Dewi	n/a	Female	Makassar	An NGO worker who works with and for young people, based in Makassar.
Wina	n/a	Female	Surakarta	An NGO worker who works with and for young people, based in Surakarta.

LAMPIRAN 2. SISTEM SKOR UNTUK KLASIFIKASI PERKOTAAN/PERDESAAN

POPULATION DENSITY (PEOPLE/KM²)	SCORE	PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE (%)	SCORE	URBAN FACILITIES	CRITERIA	SCORE
<500	1	> 70	1	Primary school	Within boundary or <= 2.5 km	1
500-1,249	2	50-69.99	2	Junior high school		0
1,250-2,449	3	30-49.99	3	High school	> 2.5 km	
2,500–3,999	4	20-29.99	4	Market	Within boundary or <= 2 km	1
4,000–5,999	5	15-19.99	5	Shops	> 2 km	0
6,000–7,499	6	10-14.99	6	Cinema	Within boundary or <= 5 km	1
7,500–8,499	7	5-9.99	7	Hospital	> 5 km	0
> 8.500	8	<5	8	Hotel/Billiards/ Discotheque/ Massage parlour/ Salon	Within boundary	1
					Not available	0
				Percentage of households with telephone	>= 8	1
					< 8	0
				Percentage of households with electricity	>= 90	1
					< 90	0

Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Indonesia), Peraturan Kepala BPS 37/2010.

APPENDIX 3. LIST OF MEGA-URBAN REGIONS

NO.	MEGA-URBAN REGIONS	DISTRICTS
1	Jabodetabek	all districts in Jakarta, Kabupaten Bogor, Kota Bogor, Kota Depok, Kabupaten Tangerang, Kota Tangerang, Kota Tangerang Selatan, Kabupaten Bekasi, Kota Bekasi
2	Bandung Raya	Kota Bandung, Kab. Bandung, Kab. Bandung Barat, Kota Cimahi, Kab. Majalengka, Kab. Sumedang
3	Gerbangkertosusilo	Kota Surabaya, Kabupaten Sidoarjo, Kabupaten Gresik, Kabupaten Mojokerto, Kabupaten Lamongan, Kabupaten Bangkalan, Kota Mojokerto
4	Kedungsepur	Kota Semarang, Kabupaten Kendal, Kota Salatiga, Ungaran (Kab. Semarang), Kabupaten Demak, Purwodadi (Kabupaten Grobogan)
5	Mebidangro	Kota Medan, Kota Binjai, Kab. Deli Serdang, Kab. Tanah Karo
6	Patungraya Agung	Kab. Banyuasin, Kota Palembang, Kab. Ogan Komering Ilir, Kab. Ogan Ilir
7	Banjarbakula	Kota Banjarmasin, Kota Banjarbaru, Kab. Banjar, Kab. Barito Kuala, Kab. Tanah Laut
8	Sarbagita	Kota Denpasar, Kab. Badung, Kab. Gianyar, Kab. Tabanan
9	Maminasata	Kota Makassar, Kab. Maros, Kab. Gowa, Kab. Takalar
10	Bimindo	Kota Manado, Kota Bitung, Kabupaten Minahasa Utara
11	Palapa	Kota Padang, Kab. Padang Pariaman, Kota Pariaman
12	Mataram Raya	Kota Mataram, Kab. Lombok Tengah, Kab. Lombok Barat

APPENDIX 4. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES OF CHILDREN LIVING IN URBAN AREAS WITH IMPROVED SANITATION AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED SANITATION IN URBAN AREAS (%)
Jawa Barat	70.3
Sumatera Barat	70.4
Kalimantan Utara	73.7
Lampung	76.4
Kalimantan Tengah	76.7
Maluku	77.1
Kalimantan Barat	77.2
Bengkulu	78.1
Gorontalo	79.5
Papua	80.2

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED SANITATION IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Bangka Belitung	12.2
Bali	12.2
Jawa Tengah	12.6
Maluku	12.8
Sulawesi Selatan	15.3
Nusa Tenggara Barat	15.5
Kalimantan Utara	15.8
Jawa Barat	17.1
Papua Barat	17.3
Sulawesi Utara	17.5

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 5. CHILDREN, UNDER-5 AND UNDER-1 MORTALITY RATES BY MOTHER'S CURRENT AGE

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS	URBAN						RURAL					
	INFANT MORTALITY		UNDER-5 MORTALITY		CHILD MORTALITY		INFANT MORTALITY		UNDER 5-MORTALITY		CHILD MORTALITY	
	2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017	2012	2017
Mother's current age (%)												
15–19	9.6	42.5	49.5	75.7	40.3	34.6	60.1	34.4	98.0	75.7	40.4	0.0
20–24	15.8	22.7	20.0	33.3	4.3	10.9	45.4	17.7	54.5	33.3	9.5	5.5
25–29	27.1	24.6	33.8	26.9	6.9	2.3	43.7	30.9	54.7	26.9	11.5	7.6
30–34	25.3	21.9	28.6	28.0	3.4	6.3	37.8	25.4	47.5	28.0	10.0	11.6
35–39	25.4	22.3	36.6	27.1	11.5	4.9	34.0	27.1	44.7	27.1	11.1	8.2
40–44	30.4	28.9	38.3	35.0	8.1	6.3	41.3	36.4	53.8	35.0	13.0	11.5
45–49	41.2	44.9	50.1	54.5	9.3	10.1	43.2	35.5	59.4	54.5	17.0	9.8

Source: Authors' calculation using IDHS 2012 and 2017.

APPENDIX 6. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN UNDER AGE 5 WHO HAD DIARRHOEA TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE SURVEY, BY WEALTH QUINTILE.

WEALTH	PREVALENCE OF DIARRHOEA					
	URBAN		RURAL		TOTAL	
	2012 (%)	2017 (%)	2012 (%)	2017 (%)	2012 (%)	2017 (%)
Poorest	14.9	18.6	17.2	15.5	16.9	16.0
Poorer	15.9	15.9	15.3	15.8	15.5	15.8
Middle	15.6	13.8	14.3	14.2	15.0	14.0
Richer	12.7	13.0	15.0	16.2	13.4	14.2
Richest	10.1	9.3	11.5	13.5	10.4	10.1

Source: Authors' calculation using IDHS 2012 and 2017.

APPENDIX 7. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY IN PRIMARY WITHOUT PRESCHOOL IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY IN PRIMARY WITHOUT PRESCHOOL (%)
Kalimantan Barat	43.3
Maluku Utara	39.4
Maluku	36.0
Sumatera Selatan	29.4
Banten	25.8
Sulawesi Barat	24.9
Papua	24.8
Sumatera Utara	24.5
Papua Barat	23.7
Jambi	23.1

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN CHILDREN AGED 6 YEARS WHO CURRENTLY IN PRIMARY WITHOUT PRESCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Kalimantan Timur	6.7
Maluku Utara	3.3
Sumatera Barat	2.0
Sulawesi Utara	1.2
Riau	0.8
DI Yogyakarta	0.5
Sulawesi Barat	-0.1
Jawa Tengah	-1.0
Sulawesi Tenggara	-1.0
Maluku	-1.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 8. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN AGED 7–12 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 7–12 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)
Papua	3.3
Kalimantan Selatan	1.3
Papua Barat	1.3
Sulawesi Barat	1.3
Gorontalo	1.2
Sulawesi Tengah	1.2
Nusa Tenggara Timur	0.8
Kalimantan Barat	0.8
Maluku Utara	0.8
Sulawesi Tenggara	0.8

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 7–12 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Kalimantan Selatan	0.5
DKI Jakarta	0.4
DI Yogyakarta	0.1
Kalimantan Timur	0.1
Kalimantan Tengah	0.0
Lampung	0.0
Bengkulu	0.0
Jawa Barat	0.0
Sumatera Utara	-0.1
Jambi	-0.1

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 9. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN AGED 13-15 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 13-15 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)
Sulawesi Barat	15.6
Jawa Barat	8.6
Kalimantan Tengah	8.4
Bangka Belitung	7.7
Kalimantan Selatan	7.5
Sulawesi Utara	6.6
Kalimantan Barat	6.3
Banten	6.1
Sulawesi Selatan	5.9
Kalimantan Utara	5.0

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 13-15 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Sulawesi Barat	1.9
Sulawesi Utara	-0.8
DI Yogyakarta	-1.2
Sumatera Utara	-1.4
Kalimantan Tengah	-1.5
Bali	-1.6
Aceh	-1.6
Papua Barat	-2.4
Maluku Utara	-2.7
Nusa Tenggara Barat	-2.7

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 10. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH OUT-OF-SCHOOL CHILDREN AGED 16-18 YEARS IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 16–18 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL (%)
Sulawesi Selatan	26.4
Bangka Belitung	24.5
Jawa Barat	24.4
Gorontalo	23.9
Sulawesi Barat	23.1
Banten	22.3
Jawa Tengah	22.1
Lampung	22.0
Kalimantan Selatan	21.8
Jambi	19.2

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SHARE OF CHILDREN AGED 16–18 YEARS WHO WERE CURRENTLY OUT OF SCHOOL IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Sulawesi Selatan	-0.3
Bali	-2.7
Sulawesi Utara	-4.8
Maluku	-5.0
Gorontalo	-6.7
Papua Barat	-7.1
Jambi	-7.1
Kepulauan Riau	-7.3
Riau	-7.6
Sulawesi Tengah	-7.8

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 11. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH PRIMARY COMPLETION RATES IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	PRIMARY COMPLETION RATE (13–15 YEARS) (%)
Gorontalo	91.1
Sulawesi Barat	92.6
Kalimantan Selatan	92.6
Bangka Belitung	93.0
Sumatera Barat	93.3
Kalimantan Barat	93.4
DI Yogyakarta	93.4
Nusa Tenggara Timur	94.2
Papua Barat	94.2
Riau	94.8

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN PRIMARY COMPLETION RATE (13–15 YEARS) IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
DI Yogyakarta	-5.1
Bali	-1.3
Riau	-0.5
Jawa Tengah	0.0
Bangka Belitung	0.4
Sumatera Selatan	0.7
Jawa Barat	0.8
Sulawesi Utara	1.2
Sumatera Utara	1.3
Kalimantan Selatan	1.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 12. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH SECONDARY COMPLETION RATES IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (16–18 YEARS (%)
Sulawesi Barat	79.6
Kalimantan Barat	81.6
Papua	82.2
Bangka Belitung	83.2
Gorontalo	83.6
Sulawesi Selatan	85.5
Sulawesi Utara	85.9
Kalimantan Tengah	85.9
Kalimantan Selatan	86.7
Sulawesi Tengah	86.7

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (16–18 YEARS) IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Sulawesi Utara	0.4
Kepulauan Riau	2.4
Sulawesi Barat	2.6
Sulawesi Selatan	3.3
Bali	3.4
Jawa Tengah	3.8
DI Yogyakarta	4.3
Nusa Tenggara Barat	4.4
Sumatera Utara	4.9
Jambi	5.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 13. LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES WITH UPPER SECONDARY COMPLETION RATES IN URBAN AREAS AND ITS GAP BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL SHARES, 2019.

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	UPPER SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (19-21 YEARS) (%)
Papua	41.1
Sulawesi Barat	52.5
Papua Barat	52.6
Jawa Tengah	57.2
Gorontalo	58.1
Jambi	59.4
Nusa Tenggara Timur	59.4
Bangka Belitung	60.9
Jawa Timur	61.6
Kalimantan Tengah	61.8

10 LOWEST-PERFORMING PROVINCES	GAP BETWEEN UPPER SECONDARY COMPLETION RATE (19-21 YEARS) IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (% URBAN–% RURAL)
Papua Barat	3.1
Jambi	3.8
Sulawesi Barat	5.5
Maluku Utara	8.3
Maluku	8.6
Jawa Timur	8.8
Sulawesi Selatan	9.3
Sulawesi Tenggara	10.4
Nusa Tenggara Barat	10.4
Sumatera Selatan	11.2

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 14. PREVALENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE AND COVERAGE OF CHILDREN'S BIRTH CERTIFICATE OWNERSHIP, BY URBAN – RURAL CLASSIFICATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL IN CITIES AND MEGA URBANS, 2019

TYPE OF PLACE	CHILD MARRIAGE: WOMEN AGED 20-24 YEARS OLD WHO WERE MARRIED BEFORE 18		CHILDREN WITH BIRTH CERTIFICATES	
	URBAN (%)	RURAL (%)	URBAN (%)	RURAL (%)
City size				
Small	7.9	17.9	91.4	70.2
Medium	7.8	15.7	91.1	80.0
Large	7.1	15.8	92.6	85.6
Metropolitan	7.0	16.2	88.5	83.8
Mega-urban regions				
Jabodetabek	5.7	10.5	88.9	62.8
Bandung Raya	11.4	22.9	84.6	84.9
Gerbangkertosusilo	5.0	8.4	94.9	87.3
Kedungsepur	4.4	11.4	95.8	95.4
Mebidangro	3.4	14.2	78.8	73.3
Patungraya Agung	4.3	21.9	88.1	79.4
Banjarbakula	14.3	29.0	90.3	83.5
Sarbagita	6.4	7.3	93.0	92.2
Maminasata	6.9	15.2	90.4	85.2
Bimindo	6.2	3.1	91.2	78.8
Palapa	2.7	7.3	88.8	82.3
Mataram Raya	10.1	22.7	89.1	70.4

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

APPENDIX 15. SHARE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER AND IMPROVED SANITATION, BY URBAN – RURAL CLASSIFICATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL IN CITIES AND MEGA URBANS, 2019

TYPE OF PLACE	CHILDREN (0-17 Y.O) LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED WATER		CHILDREN (0-17 Y.O) LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH IMPROVED SANITATION	
	URBAN (%)	RURAL (%)	URBAN (%)	RURAL (%)
City size				
Small	40.0	44.1	70.1	45.0
Medium	34.1	42.9	82.9	53.8
Large	40.0	54.4	83.1	61.6
Metropolitan	26.5	41.0	81.2	57.5
Mega-urban regions				
Jabodetabek	16.7	29.6	85.8	35.8
Bandung Raya	26.2	41.0	64.0	64.6
Gerbangkertosusilo	14.8	32.4	93.7	62.9
Kedungsepur	34.6	38.3	91.7	79.6
Mebidangro	20.6	39.5	93.7	87.7
Patungraya Agung	60.8	40.6	85.7	58.4
Banjarbakula	52.3	31.8	79.2	36.0
Sarbagita	25.7	63.6	99.3	79.6
Maminasata	38.1	53.0	94.3	89.4
Bimindo	14.5	23.2	88.2	73.7
Palapa	14.9	36.6	73.6	45.6
Mataram Raya	50.5	53.3	87.6	62.3

Source: Authors' calculation using SUSENAS 2019.

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