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

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SMERU RESEARCH REPORT

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ABSTRACT

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

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This research aims to gain a deep understanding of children's perspective on poverty as well as their everyday experience living in a poor household in an urban area. The analysis in this study is mainly based on the qualitative study conducted in six *kelurahan* (urban villages) in three cities: North Jakarta, Makassar and Surakarta. This study emphasizes grounded participatory research principle with children as the primary participants. During a series of individual and group interviews, focused group discussions, and storytelling and drawing activities with children aged 6–17 years old, children expressed how they perceive poverty, well-being, and everyday life struggle, and what expectations they have for the problems they encounter as well as how they adapt to and cope with them.

The findings show that most of the children associate the lack of access to basic amenities with the life experience of poor children. Children in urban areas experience poor public facilities, including clean water, public toilet, and playground. They also face constraints, such as cost barrier, to access education and health services. The existence of urban poor children living in illegal settlements is often not identified by the existing urban development policies, which in consequence has made these children to be excluded from attaining sufficient basic services. Furthermore, economic limitations also force children to work and this exposes them to risky environments. While parents struggle to make ends meet, children are often lacking in supervision and quality care which in turn leads to many problems.

Family, particularly parents, is one of the important factors which significantly affects children's well-being. Parents' poverty is considered to be the root of various problems faced by children. Parents' poverty prevents children from enjoying a better living condition and accessing public services, such as education and health. Nevertheless, children highlight the crucial role of parents in their life; acting as the first and last resorts of support when children face problems. At a broader zone of interaction, peers and people in children's neighbourhood can also give both negative and positive influences on the well-being of children. Among all layers of interaction, family is reported to be the most crucial aspect that influences children's well-being. Therefore, any intervention and policies aiming to address the vulnerability and improving the resilience of urban poor children will need to consider family as a unit of intervention. On the other hand, children are found to have the ability to understand the complexity of problems they are facing every day and how they are interrelated; therefore, this can be seen as an opportunity to actively engage children in the intervention.

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

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPMKS	*Bantuan Pendidikan Masyarakat Kota Surakarta*	Surakarta Education Subsidy
BLSM	*Bantuan Langsung Sementara Masyarakat*	Temporary Direct Cash Transfer
BOS	*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah*	School Operational Assistance
BPS	*Badan Pusat Statistik*	Statistics Indonesia
BSM	*Bantuan Siswa Miskin*	Cash Transfers for Poor Students
CMP	*Program Bantuan Pemerintah Mongolia untuk Anak dan Orang Miskin*	Mongolian Child Money Program
FA	*forum anak*	child's forum
GI	*wawancara kelompok*	group interview
GoI	*Pemerintah Indonesia*	Government of Indonesia
JKN	*Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional*	Universal Health Care Scheme
KJP	*Kartu Jakarta Pintar*	Jakarta Smart Card
KJS	*Kartu Jakarta Sehat*	Jakarta Health Card
KLA	*Kota Layak Anak*	Child-Friendly City
PBI	*penerima bantuan iuran*	recipient of premium assistance
PIK	*Pusat Informasi Keluarga*	Centre for Family Information
PKH	*Program Keluarga Harapan*	Household Conditional Cash Transfer
PKK	*Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*	Family Welfare and Empowerment
PKMS	*Pemeliharaan Kesehatan Masyarakat Surakarta*	Surakarta Health Subsidy
polindes	*pondok bersalin desa*	village maternity centre
posyandu	*pos pelayanan terpadu*	integrated health service post
PPPA	*Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*	Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
puskesmas	*pusat kesehatan masyarakat*	community health centre
Raskin	*Beras Bersubsidi bagi Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah*	Subsidized Rice for Low-Income Communities
RT	*rukun tetangga*	neighbourhood unit
SES	*Status Sosial dan Ekonomi*	Social and Economic Status
SLB	*sekolah luar biasa*	special school
Susenas	*Survei Sosial-Ekonomi Nasional*	National Socioeconomic Survey

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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

The analysis in this study is mainly based on qualitative research conducted in six *kelurahan* (urban villages) in three cities, namely North Jakarta, Makassar and Surakarta. This study emphasizes the grounded participatory research principle with children as the primary participants, so the complexity of child poverty and its impact on well-being can be explored through the perspective of children. The analysis used for this study utilizes Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework, which emphasizes the level of interaction, including the duration and type of interaction, as the most crucial factor affecting child development. This study also employs subjective well-being approach to understand how children perceive well-being in relation to their lived experience in poverty.

Moreover, concepts of vulnerability and resilience are applied to identify both risk and supporting factors influencing the complexity of child poverty in urban areas. Acknowledging that children are progressing in the development of their distinctive and more advanced cognitive ability throughout their life cycle, this study focuses on the group of children aged 6 to 17 years old. Finally, the analysis is also complemented with descriptive statistics data on urban child poverty using the 2013 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas).

Urban Child Poverty in Indonesia

A growing urban phenomenon in Indonesia triggered by the lack of economic opportunities in rural areas has raised the population of poor children living in urban areas. Despite the better infrastructure and wider range of services available in urban areas, there are still many children, particularly those who live in illegal settlements or who do not have a legal identity, enjoying the least benefit offered by cities.

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

The government has carried out various interventions to improve the welfare of children. At the policy level, the central government has been mainstreaming the agenda of Child-Friendly City/District Development (KLA), which promotes the principle of nondiscrimination that corresponds to the needs and best interests of children. At the program level, various social protection programs have been implemented to assists poor families. The programs were initiated not only by the central government but also by local governments, particularly to improve access to education and health services.

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

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

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

Children in the study also used physical appearance to distinguish poor and wealthy children. According to them, the physical appearance of wealthy children is better than the poor's. The way children dress up indicates their level of welfare; poor children are pictured to wear indecent and worn out clothes. Furthermore, poor children are also described to have darker skin color, skinny figure, and shabby outlook. Boys are more likely to talk more about body features (skin color, hair style) in describing poor children, while older girls tend to highlight additional attributes of appearance such as accessories/jewelry worn and fashion.

The possession of money is also perceived to be another factor to determine levels of welfare. Many children in the study, particularly older children, relate the desire to have more money to the idea of getting work. Children at an older age are more affected by financial constraints, in

particular in the aspect of social relationship, since financial constraints may limit their ability to play with friends.

Regarding the nonmaterial aspect measurements used by children to identify the poor and wealthy groups, children associated the occupation of the wealthy group with white-collar jobs such as employee and entrepreneur, while poor people are either jobless or doing informal jobs such as collecting garbage and secondhand items, and becoming a parking attendant or a beggar.

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

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

Insight/Learning from Children's Perspective on Poverty

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

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

Social relationship and environment are perceived by most children in the study to be important aspects that influence well-being. Relationship between parents in poor families and their children are negatively affected not only by financial issues but also the lack of knowledge on dealing with

children. Parents in poor families are not able to allocate sufficient time to have a proper interaction with their children since they are forced to work longer hours outside home to earn money. Living in a poor neighbourhood also means that children are prone to negative social and environment influences such as unsafe neighbourhood.

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

Problems Faced by Poor Children

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

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

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

Cases of children deciding to work were also reported in this study. Most of the reasons mentioned by the children on this issue are related to family economic limitation. Children work for money because they want to have more pocket money or to help their parents to meet daily needs. The types of jobs done by children are usually low-skill jobs and vary depending on the characteristics of the living environment; for example, working in a fish market, or peeling shrimps and clams for children living in coastal areas. Working children are prone to risky working environments. Children who work in the frozen food industry are exposed to danger chemicals, such as chlorine. On the other hand, girls who work as waitresses at cafés are highly prone to sexual exploitation.

Although the infrastructure in urban areas is relatively good, access to education was reported as one of the problems faced by children from poor families. Children must deal with financial barriers

such as transportation costs that hinder their going to school. In some cases, these financial barriers cause children to give up their school for work. School environment and peer influence are other factors that affect children's motivation to go to school. Despite the fact that the government has already provided various forms of support to improve education services, particularly public schools, children from poor families are less likely to enjoy the benefits. Children from poor families are more likely to attain low graduation score that prevents them from enrolling in public schools. Unfortunately, there are only a limited number of private schools receiving limited government assistance. Furthermore, children reported that the absence of support and role model from parents or other family members also demotivates them.

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

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

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

Risk Factors

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

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

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

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

In a broader zone of interaction, risk factors can also come from unfriendly policies and society. Children, particularly those from poor families, experience various risk factors associated with the lack of basic services and exclusion. Existing urban development policies which do not consider the existence of children in city space very well have forced urban poor children to live in illegal settlements, excluding them from attaining sufficient basic services. Furthermore, the lack of playgrounds makes children to play in unsafe and inappropriate places which are harmful to them. For example, children who live in the riverbank and coastal areas are prone to the risk of drowning in the river or the sea while playing with friends. The lack of playgrounds also makes children spend their time at internet cafés and gaming centres. This has been worrying the parents because their children have become addicted to gaming and playing the internet.

Coping with the Hardship in Everyday Life

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

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

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

What Can We Learn from the vulnerability and Resilience Mapping?

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

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

I. BACKGROUND

1.1 Context

1.1.1 Urban Child Poverty in Indonesia

Like in many other countries in the world, children in Indonesia are one of the most vulnerable groups in the population to live in poverty (A Coalition of Partners Working to End Child Poverty, 2015). Despite the effort of the Government of Indonesia (GoI) to reduce poverty through the delivery of many assistance programs targeted to children in poor families, the child poverty data shows that there is only an insignificant decline in child poverty rate in the country. In 2012, based on monetary indicators alone, there were 12.2 million children reported to live in poor households; this represents 14.46% of all the children in the country, or 11.96% of the total population (World Bank, 2012). Since children constitute 35% of the total population (BPS[1], 2010), child poverty becomes one of the most pressing issues in the country that needs to be tackled.

If the image of children living in poverty decades ago was associated with their lives in rural areas, the emerging facts show that it is increasingly an urban phenomenon. In Indonesia, urban child poverty is increasingly recognized to be a growing problem that has been largely attributed to the rapid urbanization in the country (Burger, Glick, and Perez-Arce, 2012). Triggered by limited economic opportunities in rural villages, there have been great waves of migration to big cities in Indonesia in recent decades. In 2010, 49.8% of the population in the country lived in big cities and the figure is predicted to reach 60% by 2025 (BPS, 2014). Along with this rapid urbanization, there is an increasing number of poor households with children living in urban areas. As illustrated in Figure 1, while the number of children in urban areas during 2010–2013 increased from 36.6 million to 42.5 million, the urban child poverty rates were decreasing in a slower rate than the rural ones.
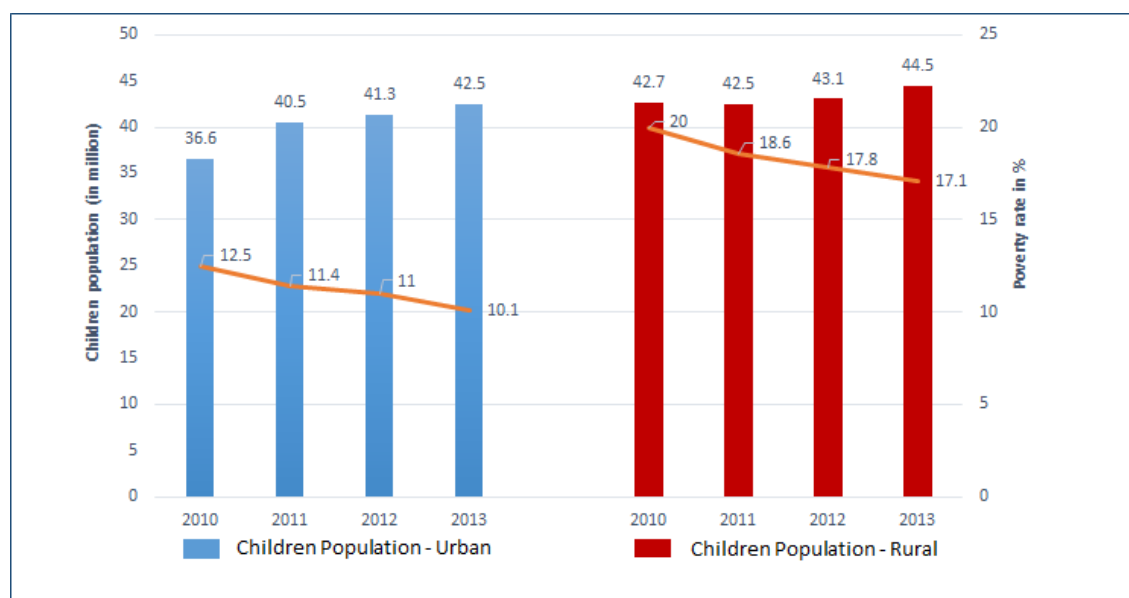
Figure 1. Children population and poverty rate by location, 2010–2013

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[1]Statistics Indonesia.

Assumed to enjoy better infrastructure and a wider range of services and opportunities, children living in cities are often considered to be better off than rural children in terms of access to basic services, such as housing, education, and health services. In fact, this is not a guarantee, as there are many children living in urban areas experience the lack of access to basic necessities (UNICEF, 2012). Children from poor families who live in illegal settlements or those who do not have a legal identity enjoy the least benefit offered by cities, as stated by UNICEF (2007):

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

Furthermore, various studies across the world have shown that poor children in urban areas face a high risk of health problems, malnutrition, and even death due to poor sanitation and lack of clean water (Montgomery, 2009). In Indonesia, the 2013 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas 2013) data has shown that poor children in urban areas are more likely to be deprived of the access to basic amenities compared to the nonpoor children. They are reported to live in overcrowded homes with poor sanitation and have no access to electricity and safe drinking water (calculated by SMERU based on the 2013 Susenas). Along with the growth of slum[2] areas in Indonesian cities—23% of the areas of cities in the country are slums and are predicted to be growing due to rapid urbanization, there will be a growing number of poor children living in these slum areas.

1.1.2 Living Condition of Urban Poor Children in Indonesia3

In 2013, the population in Indonesia was about 247 million people, about 35% of which were children (see Table 1). The total number of children in Indonesia was 87.04 million and there were about 42.51 million children living in urban areas. Based on monetary measurement, about 14% of children in Indonesia lived below the national poverty threshold. However, once the poverty rate is doubled, the child poverty rate rises almost fourfold to 62%. Furthermore, the poverty rate of children in urban areas was slightly lower than its national level. The poverty rate of urban children was around 10%; it means that about 4.2 million urban children lived in poor households.

Table 1. Statistics of Indonesian children

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

By disaggregating poverty rates by age, we can also see them across age groups. As illustrated in Figure 2, the poverty rates are higher among the younger children; about 14% of children aged

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

[3]This sub-section is based on SMERU estimations using 2013 Susenas data

below eleven years old are categorized as poor. The comparison between age groups shows that the percentage of children living in poverty declines as the children get older. Overall, the child poverty rate is higher than the national poverty rate.
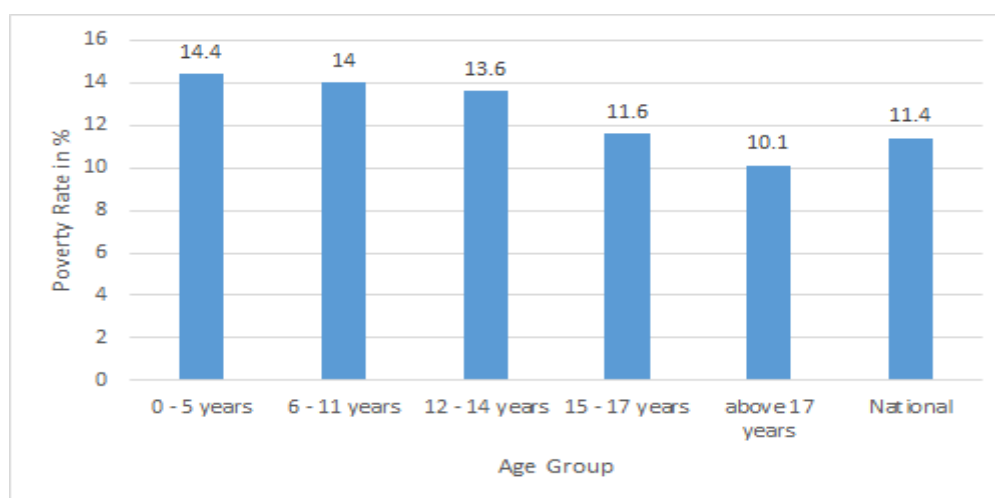
Figure 2. Poverty rate by age group and the national poverty rate, 2013

As shown in Figure 3, in urban areas, around a third of children are aged below six years old. Children aged 6 to 11 years old also have a similar share to that of the youngest age group. The rest of the population is shared almost equally by the adolescent group (children aged 12–14 years old and 15–17 years old).
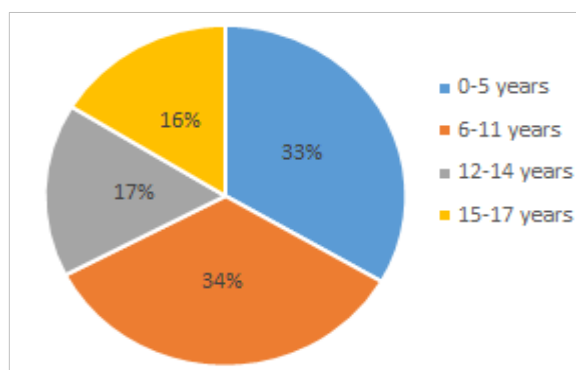
Figure 3. Composition of children in urban areas by age group, 2013

One of the main problems experienced by urban poor children is the poor condition of places where they live. The quality of housing in general can be measured by several indicators such as the ratio of house size to household members, type of house floor, and electricity connection. Figure 4 illustrates the housing deprivation rate faced by the whole urban children population. Children are categorized by their poverty status in order to see the situation faced by poor children compared to that of nonpoor children. As we can see, there are 20% of the nonpoor children who live in an overcrowded house; they live in a house that has the average size of smaller than 8 m^2 per person. The proportion, however, is found to be higher among poor children; the deprivation rate is about 43% or, in other words, there are one out of two poor children in urban areas who live in an overcrowded house.

Still in Figure 4, we can also see that there are about 9% of the poor children who live in house with an earth floor. Although this deprivation rate is relatively small, it is more than three times as large as the rate of the nonpoor children. Furthermore, about 1% of the poor children who live in cities still do not have access to electricity connection.
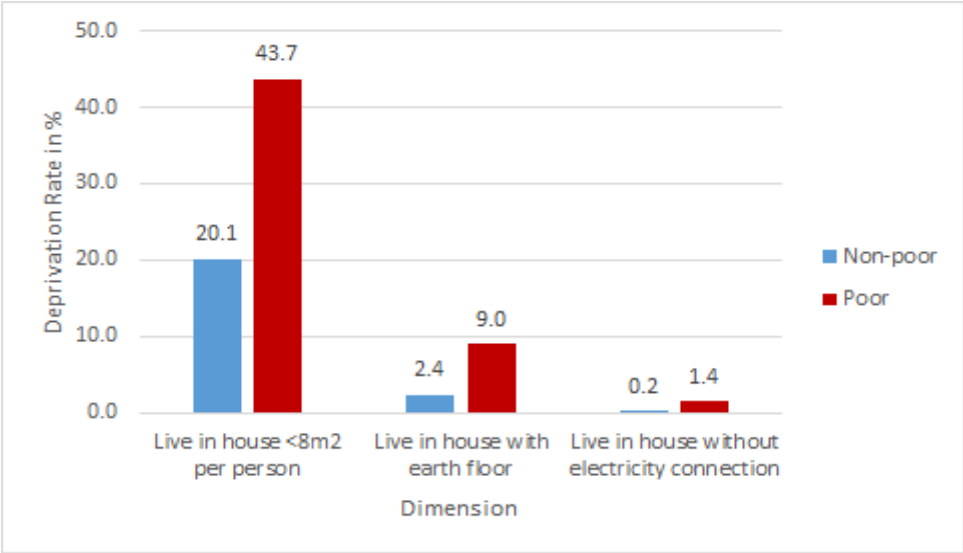
Figure 4. Children in urban areas deprived of housing by poverty status, 2013

The deprivation measures for children that relate to household-level standards and amenities also take into account the quality of sanitation and access to clean drinking water, as they are among the main problems experienced by urban poor children. Figure 5 shows that more than a half of the poor children in urban areas do not have access to proper toilet. Meanwhile, only one out of five urban nonpoor children suffers from the same condition. It is found that most nonpoor children in urban areas already enjoy safe drinking water. On the contrary, about 10% of the poor children have a poor access to safe drinking water due to the limitations they experience.
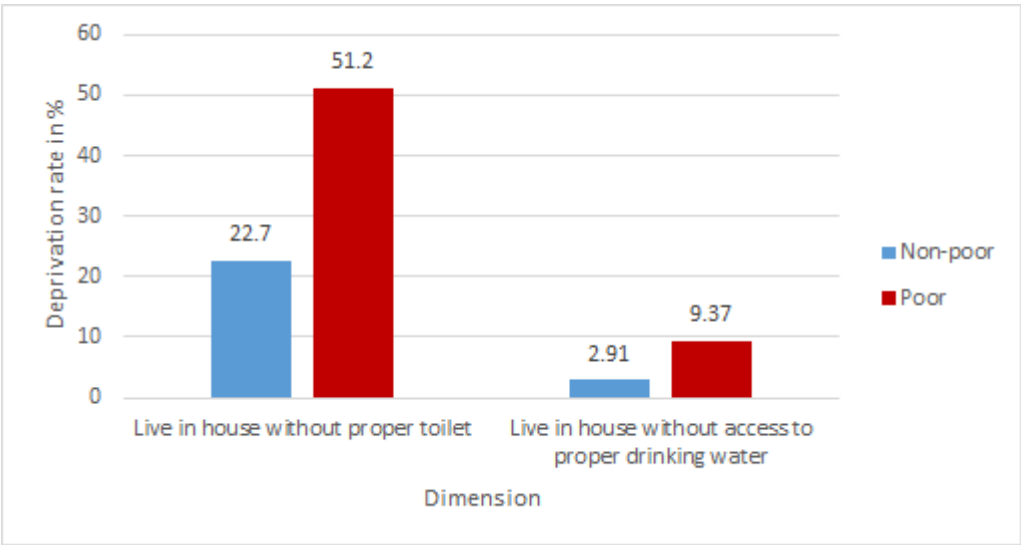
Figure 5. Urban children deprived of proper sanitation and drinking water by poverty status, 2013

Education is another aspect of which both poor and nonpoor children in urban areas are found to be deprived, as shown by the school enrollment rates of these groups of children. Poor children, however, are found to be more likely to face barriers to accessing it compared to nonpoor children. From Figure 6, we can see that the education deprivation rate of poor children is higher than that of the nonpoor children. There is about 14% of urban poor children who are not enrolled in school compared to the only 6% of nonpoor children who are not registered at school. If we divide the urban children population by age group, we can see that the highest education deprivation rate belongs to the population of children aged between 15 and 17 years old. Contrarily, only about 1% of children aged between 6 and 11 years old do not attend school.
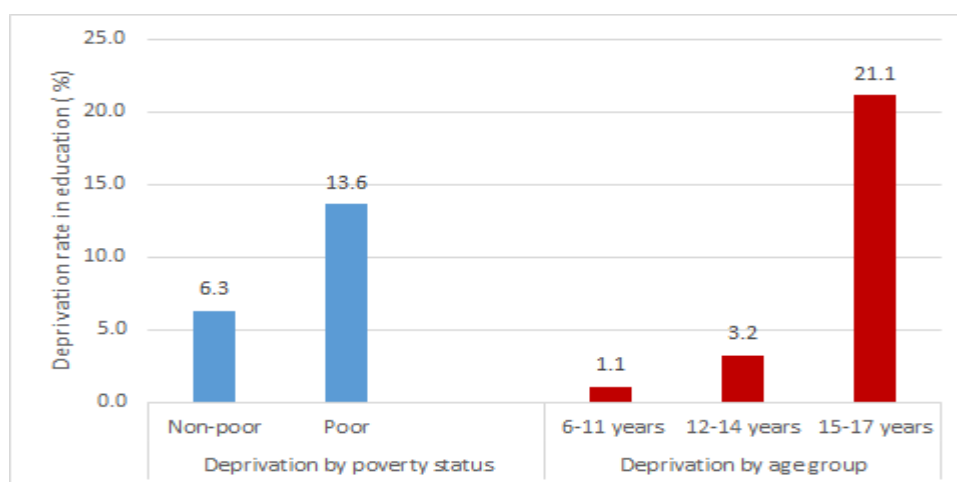
Figure 6. Urban children deprived of education by poverty status and age group, 2013

The high education deprivation rate of the older adolescent group, especially among the poor children, might be related to the issue of working children since it is quite common to find older children (aged 15–17) from the poor group who do some work to earn money and help their parents. As seen in Figure 7, about one out of ten urban children aged between 15 and 17 years old is reported to be working. This number is relatively much higher than the number of working children from the younger group, where only about 2% of them are reported to be working. Compared to the nonpoor children, the proportion of poor children engaged in child labour is slightly higher, although the deprivation rates for both groups are relatively small.
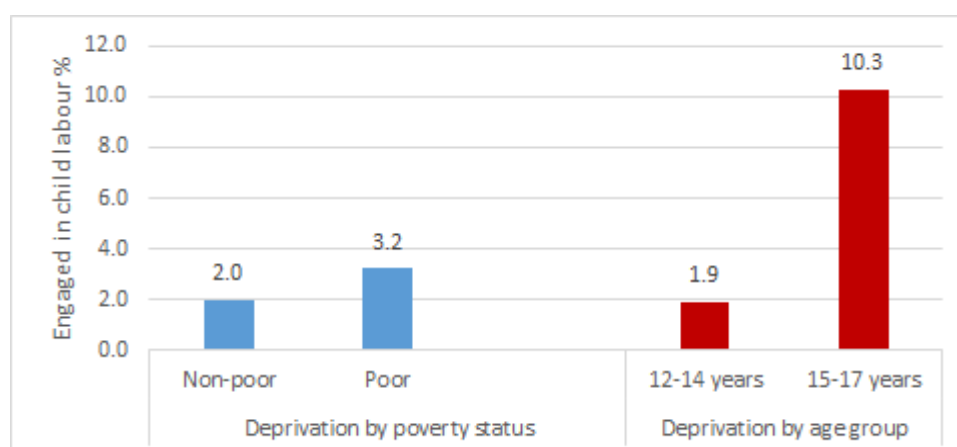
Figure 7. Urban children engaged in child labour by poverty status and age group, 2013

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

One of the main factors that could also explain why health and education are inaccessible for children living in urban areas, especially poor children, is the fact that there are relatively a high number of poor children who do not have a birth certificate. Figure 8 indicates that 37% of the urban poor children do not have a birth certificate. Since government assistance programs and subsidized public services targeting poor children are implemented based on the administrative database collected by the government, birth certificate becomes the main requirement for families to access these government assistance. Therefore, many poor children remain ineligible for government program benefits, even though they need them.
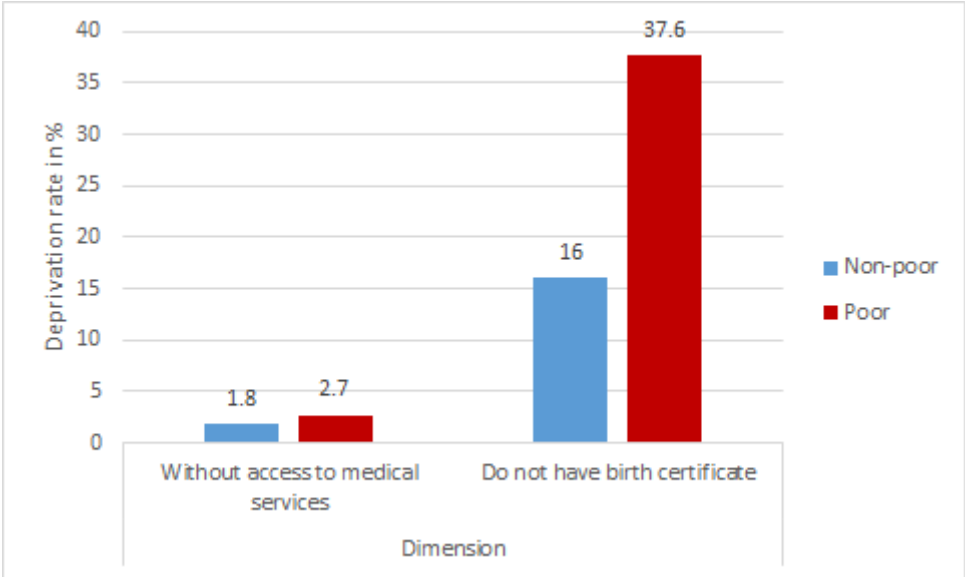
Figure 8. Urban children deprived of medical services and birth certificate by poverty status, 2013

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

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

Urban Development Agenda

Since 2011, the central government has been mainstreaming the agenda of Child-Friendly City/District Development (KLA) to all regions in Indonesia. KLA is known as a commitment to develop a city based on children's rights so that all policies, programs, and activities must ensure the well-being of children. In general, this concept promotes the principles of nondiscrimination which

correspond to the best interests of children, covering the rights to live, grow, develop, be protected, and participate. As a manifestation of the commitment, the government has developed the KLA indicators, which are shown in Table 2.

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

No	Variable	Indicators
1	Institutional Strengthening	a. The existence of legislation and policy for the fulfillment of children's rights;
		b. The percentage of the budget for the fulfillment of children's rights, including the budget for institutional strengthening;
		c. The number of legislation, policies, programs, and activities that receive input from child's forums and other children's groups;
		d. The availability of trained human resources (HR) who are capable of implementing children's rights into policies, programs, and activities;
		e. The availability of children's data/profiles according to gender, age, and district;
		f. The involvement of public institutions in the fulfillment of children's rights;
		g. The involvement of the business community in the fulfillment of children's rights.
2	The Clusters of Children's Right	
2a.	The rights to civil services and freedom	a. The percentage of children registered and having a birth certificate
		b. The availability of child-friendly information facilities
		c. The number of children's groups, including child's forums, in cities, districts/*kecamatan* (subdistricts), and *kelurahan* (urban villages)
2b.	Family and alternative care	a. The percentage of first marriages under the age of 18 years old
		b. The availability of consultancy organizations on parenting and child care for parents/families
		c. The availability of social welfare organizations for children
2c.	Basic health and welfare	a. Infant mortality rate
		b. The prevalence of malnutrition in children under five
		c. The percentage of exclusive mother's milk (ASI)
		d. The number of ASI corners
		e. The percentage of fully immunized children
		f. The number of institutions providing reproductive health and mental services
		g. The number of children from poor families who gain access to welfare improvement services
		h. The percentage of households with access to clean water
		i. The availability of nonsmoking areas
2d.	Education, leisure time, and cultural activities	a. Early childhood education enrolment
		b. The percentage of children participating in 12-year compulsory education
		c. The percentage of child-friendly schools
		d. The number of schools that have programs, facilities, and infrastructure for children's mobilization to and from school
		e. The availability of facilities for creative activities and child-friendly recreation outside the school which is accessible to all children
2e.	Special protection	a. The percentage of children who require special protection and receive services
		b. The percentage of cases of children in conflict with the law (ABH) that have been solved by the approach of restorative justice
		c. The availability of a disaster management mechanism that takes into account the interests of children
		d. The percentage of children who are exempted from the worst forms of child labour

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

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

Social Protection Program

The Indonesian government has recently initiated a number of targeted poverty reduction programs to assist poor families and some of them are particularly aimed at children in these families. Along with the emergence of initiatives at the national level, decentralization allows local governments in the country to provide additional assistance for the poor, in particular children, in order to make public services more available to the marginalized group. These schemes are well known as part of the social protection programs initiated and implemented by the government and predominantly aiming to improve access to education and health services, as summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Social Protection Programs in Indonesia

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

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

The government also created the Household Conditional Cash Transfer called PKH in 2007. The program targets very poor households and is conditional on a range of program recipients' behaviours including school attendance and immunization. The program recipients receive a cash transfer between Rp950,000 and Rp3,700,000 per household per year. Moreover, the recipients can also access health services at community health centres (*puskesmas*), village maternity centres (*polindes*), integrated health service posts (*posyandu*), and other public health service providers. Narrow targeting, low value, conditionalities, and complex administration, however, lead to the exclusion of large numbers of poor children from the program.

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

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

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

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

The Government of Kota (City of) Surakarta also implements similar assistance programs by providing BPMKS and PMKS, targeting the poor in Surakarta. All students in Kota Surakarta are eligible for the BPMKS education subsidy if they have a local family card and are registered at any school in Surakarta. In 2015, the program provided subsidy for about 60,000 students. Similarly, the local government provides a health insurance program covering all citizens in Surakarta. Both

schemes were designed to be accessible for all people who are registered as citizens of Surakarta. Moreover, they aim to provide more benefits for those categorized as the poor; families that registered under gold and platinum membership are entitled to higher proportion of subsidy when they access the education and health services.

Nevertheless, various studies documented several factors that hinder children's access to these programs. As discussed previously, administrative barrier is one of the main factors that prevents poor children from accessing the programs. Many poor children do not have a birth certificate or their family is not officially registered in the local government's database. Since this database is used to determine the list of program recipients, the unregistered children are administratively not eligible for the assistance programs even though they are poor.

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

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

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

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

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

paucity in data related to urban child poverty in the country, as there is little knowledge on the trends, patterns, characteristics, and dynamics of poverty among the urban poor in general in Indonesia (Burger, Glick, and Perez-Arce, 2012). Therefore, SMERU and UNICEF conducted a study aiming to gain more understanding about the perspective of children on their experience living in poverty and disparity.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

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

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

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

The objectives of the study include:

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

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

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

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Approach & Design

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

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

2.1.1 Study Locations

This study was conducted in three cities from three different provinces in Indonesia. There are six *kelurahan* chosen to be the study locations, including Kelurahan Sangkrah and Kelurahan Kemlayan in Surakarta (Central Java Province), Kelurahan Pademangan Barat and Kelurahan Penjaringan in North Jakarta (Jakarta Province), and Kelurahan Baraya-Baraya Utara and Kelurahan Tallo in Makassar (South Sulawesi Province). The research team conducted observations through transect walks and interviewed key informants to determine the poorest neighbourhood units (RT[4]) in the selected *kelurahan* and the groups of children that need to be included in this study.

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

2.1.2 Sampling

a) Sampling Frame

Sample is defined as individuals representing the population of interest, who have the ability and willingness to provide the desired information (Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook, 2007). According to this definition, the sample in this study are children living in poor urban areas within six study *kelurahan* and coming from a poor family background. The term children is defined as individuals aged 0 to 17 years old.

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

(1) The youngest group, comprising children aged 6 to 11 years old

Considering the capability of children to follow the research process, age 6 is determined to be the minimum age for child participants in this study.

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

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

(3) The oldest group, comprising children aged 15 to 17 years old

The maximum age is determined to be 17 years old since in Indonesian context, an individual entering 18 years old is legally and culturally treated as an adult.

b) Sampling Method

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

2.1.3 Data Collection and Analysis

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

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

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

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

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

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

Group Interviews (GIs)

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

In-depth Interviews

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

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

Interviews with Key Informants

The research team interviewed relevant stakeholders and local government officials at the city, *kecamatan*, *kelurahan*, RT, RW[5], and community levels.

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

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[5]RW is a unit of local administration consisting of several RT within a *kelurahan*.
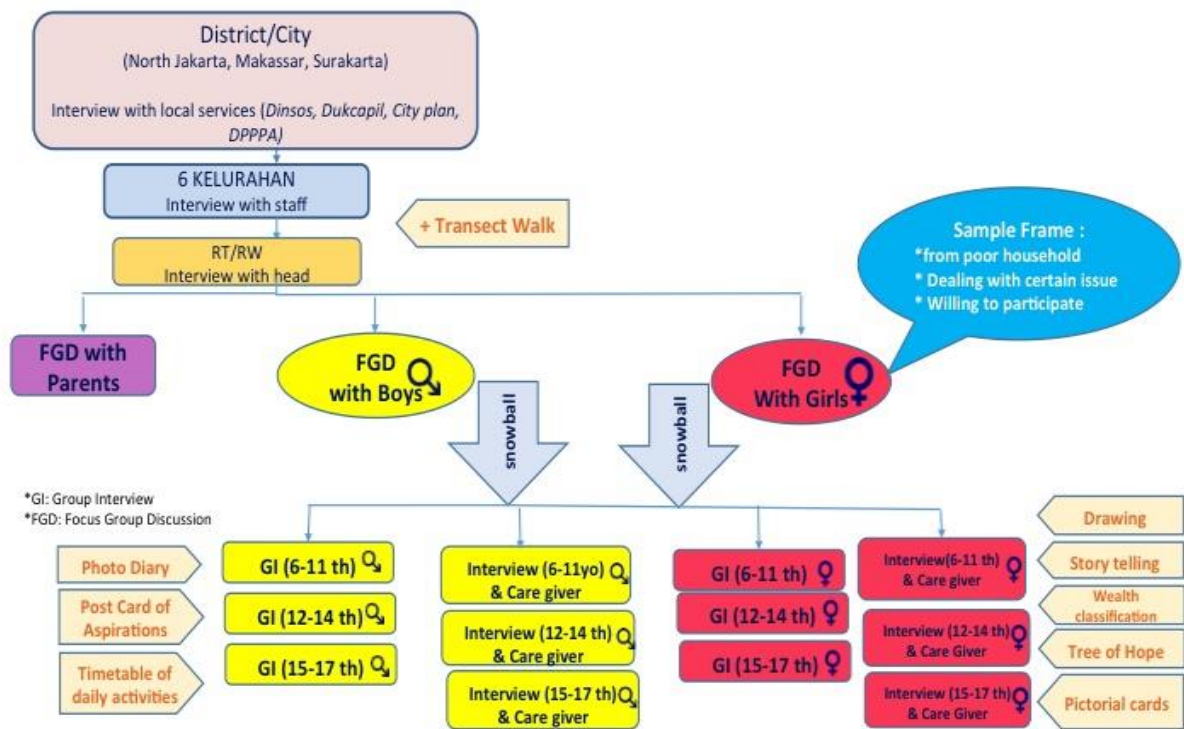
Figure 9. Flowchart of the sampling frame and data collection activities

2.1.4 Research Ethics

a) Ethics approval

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

b) Informed Consent and Confidentiality

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

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

2.2 Analytical Framework

2.2.1 The Ecological Framework of a Child's Development

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

Based on this understanding of the factors influencing a child's development, the framework emphasizes the level of interactions, in which the duration and type of the interactions are found to be the most crucial factors in influencing a child's development. It suggests that long-term face-to-face interactions, which are called proximal interactions, have the most enduring impact on a child's development (Dawes & Donald 2005).
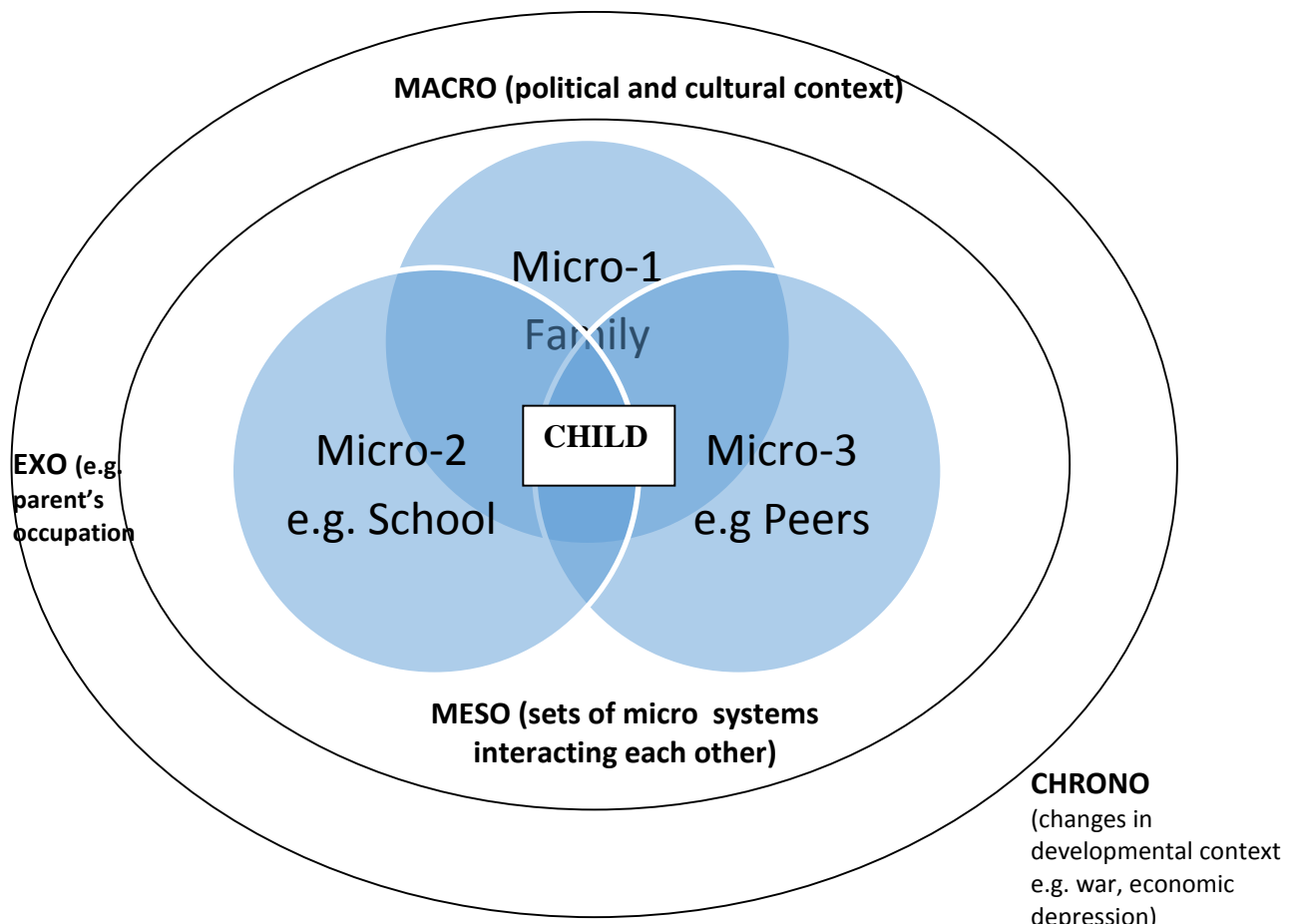
Figure 10. Bronfenbrenner's nested systems

2.2.2 A Subjective Approach of Poverty and Well-Being

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

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

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

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

2.2.3 Understanding the Vulnerabilities and Resilience of Children Living in Poverty

To provide a more complete picture of the experience of children living in poverty, this study also tries to identify risk factors influencing child vulnerability to poverty as well as supporting factors that contribute to child resilience. Understanding these factors is expectedly bringing us to a deeper

understanding of the complexity of poverty as well as the available potential that enables us to address problems facing poor children.

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

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

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

Vulnerability and resilience are interrelated and mutually complementary. Resilience is present in vulnerability analysis, while the analysis of resilience acknowledges vulnerability as one of its components. Resilience has also been used to replace the term invulnerability (Schonert-Reichl, 2008). If we associate it with the presence of risk factors and supportive factors, it can be said that resilience is promoted by supportive factors and inhibited by risk factors, and vice versa for vulnerability (Zolkoski and Bullock, 2012; Fox, 2015). Finally, these concepts form a framework where both of them simultaneously identify risks and potential threats around poverty and the ways children deal with them. Even though there has been no single definition for explaining resilience—neither has there been for vulnerability—almost all definitions on resilience include four components, namely (i) characteristics of the individual, (ii) nature of the context, (iii) risk factors, and (iv) counteractive, protective, and compensatory factors (Schonert-Reichl, 2008).

III. POVERTY FROM CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVE

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

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

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

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

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

During the FGDs as well as the group and individual interviews, most indicators used by the children to describe their experiences of living in poverty in general can be grouped into material and nonmaterial indicators. Most of the material indicators described by the children refer to the ownership of assets and the fulfillment of basic needs, including housing, vehicles (means of transport), physical appearance (clothing and the body), food, and money. On the other hand, the nonmaterial indicators mentioned by the children to describe how children living in poverty look

like include occupations, attitude and behaviors, recreational activities, education, and health. Further details on each indicator will be discussed in the next section.

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

Table 4. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions

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

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

3.1.1 Material Goods

The ability to buy material goods, such as housing, means of transport (vehicles), clothing, and food, is the primary characteristic mentioned by children from all age and gender groups to determine children's welfare level. In addition, children also relate the possession of electronic appliances, money, and jewelry with welfare level. It is found that younger children tend to focus more on material things and opportunities to play with friends, while older children start to see the nonmaterial aspects, in particular aspects related to education and jobs in the future, in distinguishing wealthy and poor children. Moreover, even though in this study money was mentioned not as frequent as housing, most of the children were able to explain that the amount of money owned by the family is one of the major determinants for children to be able to fulfill their needs and get what they desire. A wealthy child is perceived to be able to fulfill their needs and get what they want easily most of the time. On the other hand, a poor child is usually hampered in fulfilling their needs due to family financial constraints. Furthermore, even though his/her needs are fulfilled, a poor child is always faced with lower quality and more limited access, compared to a wealthy child.

a) Housing

Table 5. Characteristics Included in Children's Descriptions on the Housing Aspect

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

Included in the material characteristic group, housing is the most frequently used indicator by children to describe how living in poverty looks like. Descriptions related to housing in general discuss ownership, physical features (including the availability of rooms, furniture, and appliances), living environment, and access to clean water and private toilet. Children from all age and gender groups in the three study locations describe wealthy children to live in a house with better physical features (big, terraced house with luxurious exterior, and more furniture and appliances), while poor children are usually described to live in a small house with poor house exterior, built with nondurable materials; they are overcrowded, have less room, furniture, and appliances, and are situated in a poor environment (unclean, littered, flooding).

> His house is a *gubuk* [shack], made from woods, and the roof is made from iron sheeting. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

> They [poor children] live in a slum neighbourhood, lot of rubbish, close to the sea. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

> The house is small, lots of mosquitos and flies. (Group interview with girls aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

Besides the physical features of housing, children also discuss intangible aspects of housing such as ownership and the process of building the house. Some children discussed the aspect of housing related to its legal status or ownership. Poor children are described to live in a rented house, which is not owned by their family and located in an illegal settlement. Some children even described living in poverty to be homeless, living on the street and sleeping under the bridges. However, child

participants from North Jakarta explained that even though they know there are poor children who are homeless, there are no children in their neighbourhood who are homeless.

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

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

> ... the wealthy build their house by paying many people, but the poor usually ask their neighbour to help them build the house. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 yeas old in Surakarta)

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

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

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

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

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

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

> Their [poor children's] house is at the river bank. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

> It is not possible for poor people to have a private bathroom. Usually the child takes a bath outside, while the adults use public toilet. (From photo elicitation activity with boys aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

> If all the things I need are available at home, I will be motivated to study. (Group interview with boys aged 12–14 years old in Jakarta)

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

b) Means of Transport (Vehicles)

**Table 6. Characteristics Included in the Children's Descriptions
on the Means of Transport Aspect**

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

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

> The rich have cars, while the poor usually only have a bicycle. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

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

Besides the use of private transport, the use of public transport was only mentioned by few children in Jakarta and Makassar. Public transport, such as buses, *becak, pete-pete*, and *bentor*, was reported to be used by poor children as means of daily transport. However, almost none of the children in Surakarta mentioned the use of public transport. This fact might tell us that children in this city have lower exposure to the public transport facilities compared to the children in the other two cities. In one of the group discussions with the female group from Surakarta, the girls explained

that there is an issue with inaccessible public transport in their neighbourhood. Furthermore, this factor was claimed to be one of the reasons which demotivated children to go to school.

> When graduated from junior high school and continuing to senior high school, the schools are often located farther [from home]. It is hard to get the transport; then it demotivates [me] to go to school. The place where I can catch a bus here is far. (Group interview with girls aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

c) **Physical Appearance**

Table 7. Characteristics Included in the Childrem's Descriptions on the Physical Appearance Aspect

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

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

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

> The poor only have gimmick or sponsorships shirts from political parties. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

> Their [the poor's] clothes are ugly … torn … shabby. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

> The wealthy wear fashionable clothes. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

Closely related to the aspect of clothing, jewelry and accessories were used by several children in this study to distinguish the appearance of poor and wealthy children. Several children in this study mentioned things like gold (jewelry) and other fine items, such as shoes and sandals, to be in the possession of wealthy children. On the other hand, poor children are perceived to be less likely or will not be able to buy such things.

Another aspect that was included by several children under the physical appearance theme was body or physical features. Poor children are often described to have darker skin color, skinny figure, and shabby outlook. On the other hand, wealthy children are described to have lighter skin color (white), nice hairstyle, and tidy outlook and be fattish. Under this theme, the study finds little differences among children in the three study locations. Children in Jakarta included more varieties of characteristics related to physical appearance compared to children from other study locations, including clothing, hairstyle, jewelry, and facial expression. In Makassar, a girl described poor children to be skinnier than children from the wealthy group. Furthermore, a boy in Surakarta described poor children to have darker skin color compared to the wealthy children, which explains that the aspect of living condition, in particular in its relation to housing, is actually the real cause of physical differences between the poor and wealthy children. Poor children are more often to play outside and are being exposed to the sunlight since their house is uncomfortable, while wealthy children have less exposure to the sunburn since they are more often to spend their time at their cozy house.

> ... The wealthy children feel comfortable at their home; they spend most of their time inside their house, take a bath, sleep, and study. … The wealthy have white skin color. (In-depth interview with boys aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

d) Food

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

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

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

The aspect of food availability described by the children is related to the ability to buy and provide daily food consumption. Children described living in poverty as having no food at home because the poor family cannot afford to buy food. Therefore, poor children usually have to ask for food from their friends and neighbours. On the other hand, wealthy children are described to not only have food all the time but also be able to afford to go to the restaurant. This practice of eating out, which is often associated with the consumption of food from other countries (western, Japanese), was mentioned particularly by few children in Jakarta.

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

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

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

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

Sometimes [poor children] eat rice with salt. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

[Poor children] only eat tofu ... fried tofu with *indomie* [instant noodle] ... rarely eat rice. (In-depth interview with girls aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

[Wealthy children] eat pizza, spaghetti. ... Poor [*sederhana*] children are okay to eat common meal. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

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

[Poor children] eat two times a day. (Group interview with boys aged 6–11 years old in Makassar)

e) Possession of Money

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

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

As discussed in the previous section, the possession of money was mentioned by many children in this study as one of the factors that determines children's welfare level. Many children were able

to explain that the amount of money possessed by the family determines access to many facilities and conveniences for children.

> Have a wealthy life means never going to be deprived, so wealthy people are ... they always have enough money for their daily life. (In-depth interview with girls aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

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

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

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

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

> After graduating i want to work. ... [Don't you want to continue your study?] I can continue my study later; I don't know why, but I am not motivated to go to the university. I want to earn money first. When I am able to earn money, I will continue my study. (In-depth interview with girls aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

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

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

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

3.1.2 Nonmaterial Aspects

Nonmaterial aspects include things which cannot be bought or do not have monetary value. It is interesting to see that many nonmaterial characteristics, which are not included in many existing measurements of child poverty, are described and associated with experiences of living in poverty by many children in this study. Moreover, these aspects frequently appeared and were considered

by the children as crucial factors influencing their well-being, as reflected in their aspirations. These characteristics are predominantly psychosocial issues, which will be discussed the next section.

a) Occupations

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

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

Most of the children in this study are able to identify certain occupations to be related to welfare level. The aspect of occupation refers to the type of occupation that has been done both by children and parents. Most of the time, the children did not differentiate clearly between occupations done by parents and children. Only few children in Jakarta and Makassar, however, specifically mentioned that the poor and wealthy children do different types of occupations in different working environments. Children in all age and gender groups agree that usually poor children themselves, or their parents, are either jobless or doing blue-collar jobs for their living, such as collecting garbage, used bottles, and second-hand items; doing manual labour; and becoming a beggar or parking attendant. The works associated with the poor are nonhygienic and uncertain (hired on a daily basis), are done in an uncomfortable environment, and very much rely on physical strength. On the other hand, the wealthy group is associated with white-collar jobs, such as office staff and entrepreneur. There are no specific differences on this aspect found in the descriptions used by children in all study locations to distinguish the poor and the wealthy.

> Every day they [the poor] pick used bottles, cans, and other stuff. ... the rubbish. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

> They [the poor] pick rubbish; they search for used Aqua [bottles; Aqua is a brand of mineral water] and they transport water or become a porter. (In-depth interview with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

Related to working children, many children also explained that poor children are often pressured to work because they have to earn money to help their parents and sometimes they drop out from school to work. Therefore, practices of both doing work and going to school among poor children have been reported as well by some children in this study.

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

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

b) Social Relations

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

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

Many children in this study associated social relations with children's level of well-being. The social relations can be categorized under two themes. The first one is more related to the way children deal with their living condition, in which they describe things related to individual attitudes and behaviours in dealing with their daily problems arising from their living condition. The latter is related to the relationship between children and their friends and family, which includes how children interact and maintain their relationship with their family, predominantly parents, friends, and neighbours. There are no specific differences found between children in coastal and inner-city areas in all study locations in describing these aspects. There are mixed responses, however, in the descriptions of attitudes and behaviours of poor children in both contexts. In Jakarta and Makassar, there are more negative attitudes and behaviours used to describe poor children; poor children are perceived to be lazy, demotivated in study, and delinquent/irresponsible, and having the habit to smoke and hang out until late at night. Compared to children from those two study locations, children in Surakarta perceived poor children to be more positive, both in individual and social relationship contexts. Many children described poor children to be more diligent and eager to study, and prudent with their money (saving money) since they want to improve their life in the future; however, there were few children who associated several negative attitudes and behaviours with poor children, such as being envious and impressionable, and engaging in many social problems and delinquency. Furthermore, the girls in Surakarta, particularly those aged 12–14 and 15–17 years old, talked more about how poor girls in their neighbourhood face the risk of becoming involved in prostitution, as they see it as an easy way to make money.

> [Poor children] are unmotivated to study and mischievous, and often fight with their friends. They are lazy to say prayers. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Jakarta)

Related to the aspect of social relations, poor children are often described to have poor relationship with their parents due to the low quantity and quality time between children and parents at home.

Most children agreed that their parents need to pay more time and attention to their children, as reflected in their aspirations. Children also explained that conflicts between children and parents are more likely to occur in the poor family since parents often fail to fulfill children's request for the fulfillment of their needs.

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

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

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

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

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

> [Poor children are] willing to help their parents. ... They help their parents to clean the house or by working. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

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

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

> They [wealthy children] do not like [to play] together with children from the average group. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

Even though poor children are described to have more positive attitudes towards their friends, being poor children, they were reported to experience unfair treatment such as being bullied,

shunned, and verbally harassed, so poor children only have few or have no friends to play with. This issue was reported especially by the male respondents. On the contrary, friends and neighbours were mentioned several times by the children to be the sources of help when poor families need food and money.

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

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

c) Recreational Activities

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

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

Another nonmaterial aspect that was included by many children to describe living in poverty was recreational activities. In general, many children explained that poor children have limited or almost no alternatives in choosing types of activities, equipment, and places to visit to spend leisure time, compared to the wealthy children. If wealthy children can afford to travel to many places of interest, for example, poor children are described only to travel and play around their neighbourhood or at the mosque and evicted fields. Furthermore, poor children are perceived to be more familiar with traditional activities, such as playing soccer, kites, and marbles. On the other hand, the use of gadgets and electronic equipment, such as play station, is highly associated with leisure activities among the wealthy children and was more likely to be reported by children in Jakarta. To add on this, few boys and girls in Makassar also associated the possession of certain types of pets with welfare level. It is interesting to find that wealthy children were usually described to have dogs, while poor children usually have no pets or keep animals like chicken, duck, and cats as their pets.

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

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

d) Access to Education

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

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

Many children in this study discussed the education aspect in relation to children's level of welfare. Being poor children in general was associated with the lack of opportunity to go to school or attain higher education, besides the lack of motivation to go to school. There were several factors mentioned by the children that could be related to this, such as their ability to afford school fee, equipment, and supporting facilities. In terms of dealing with academic difficulties, poor children were reported to have no access to the additional courses required. Furthermore, the idea of working was mentioned many times by the children as a way out for many poor children to earn money so that they can help their parents to support the family, including to finance their education. Therefore, for those reasons, living in poverty is often associated by many children with lower performance in school and dropping out.

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

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

e) Access to Health Services

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

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

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

Related to health status, few children also described poor children to be less healthy than children in the wealthy group. However, there is no further explanation on the details of this aspect; the children merely mentioned the overall health status of children both in the poor and wealthy groups. There is an indication of self-medication practices among poor families when their children get sick by taking over-the-counter drugs that can be bought in the store, but only few children discussed this. Furthermore, one of our female respondents even reported practices of ignoring her illness and not seeking treatment every time she gets sick. She explained that every time she feels unwell, she prefers to do nothing and wait for her illness to go away since going to the doctor is assumed to put more burden on her parents.

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

3.2 Viewing from the Perspective of Children

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

important for their well-being, particularly relationships with parents and friends, and recreational activities (leisure, playing).

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

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

Differences in the way children describe their experience in this study are found to be affected by several factors, including the individual, family, and external factors (community, or higher level system). The individual factors include influences originated from the inner self of children. The age factor is found to be one of the most influential individual factors on this since age defines at what development stage the child is. It determines the characteristics of a child's description about living in poverty; younger children (age 6 to 11) are found to be more focused on material aspects compared to the older group because cognitive ability within this age range (6 to 11) limits children to recognize more tangible and concrete things than the abstract one (Sigelman and Rider, 2009). On the other hand, children entering adolescent stage (age 12 to 14) will have more exposure to social environment since they become more attached to their peers; they start to recognize social status and compare themselves to their peers (Diener, Helliwell, and Kahneman, 2010). It explains why children at this age are found to be more aware of being 'poor' (even though they do not use the word 'poor' to identify themselves; this will be explained in the next section) and why older children have the tendency to be more demanding towards their parents to fulfill what they desire, compared to the younger ones. Therefore, at this development stage, the quality of relationship and communication between children and their parents determine how children understand their condition, as well as their family's condition, in relation to their well-being. Failure to communicate and build understanding on this often intensifies conflicts in poor families, which will further alienate adolescents from their family and home.

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

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

When it comes to education, however, there were mixed views among children about who needs to be prioritized in the family. Several boys argued that it is necessary to prioritize boys since boys are more reliable in terms of being the breadwinner for their family, while the girls usually leave their family to follow their husband after they finish school. Nevertheless, the importance of education is found to be recognized widely, even among the girls; some girls believe they are more reliable in terms of being more diligent in the school; therefore, the family needs to prioritize girls. Even though there are still many poor children who do not go to school due to many factors, it seems that the importance of education has become more and more internalized among the poor, in particular the children, regardless of their gender. Unfortunately, it is not the case with the health aspect; the awareness of how poverty impacts on health is found to be very low among children in this study. Most children in this study live in a poor neighbourhood and as underlined in vast literature, it will put children into higher developmental vulnerability, including their health (Villanueva et al., 2016). This finding may highlight the importance of health education among poor families.

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

Box 1
Growing Up in Severe Poverty

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1   Children Do Not Perceive Themselves as Poor

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

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

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

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

This might tell us a few things about how children feel about living in poverty. It could be an expression of denial since being the poorest community member can be a shameful experience. In several group discussions, we also found that children identify significant proportions of this *sederhana* group in their neighbourhood, sometimes higher than the poor. It may strengthen the assumption about how children do not see themselves in the poorest group and at the same time tells us that poverty is commonly found in these neighbourhoods being studied. These findings may

bring us to further conclusion; the fact that children do not identify themselves in the poorest group and prefer to use other terms than 'poor' highlights an undesirable image attached to the 'poor' label. Therefore, programs aiming to reach poor children in this country may consider how the use of 'poor' label may bring undesirable influences on children.

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2 Social Relationships and Environment Matters

The impact of poverty on material aspect is emphasized by all children in this study. Even though the nonmaterial aspect was not included as many as the material one, the profound impact of poverty on the former aspect in children's life is evident. This is very much reflected in the expectations of children written in aspiration cards. Table 16 contains the list of aspirations gathered from all children participating in this study.

Table 16. Children's Aspirations

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

Looking at children's aspirations, it is very clear that improved social relationships and environment become the most desired things for most children to improve their well-being. Many children in this study described poor relationships between children and parents in poor family for several reasons such as busyness, low quantity and quality time for family to gather, stressful environment, etc. Among these factors, we found that level of knowledge and skill of parenting are several of the major factors affecting relationships between parents and children in poor family. The study finds that parents from poor households are stressed out not only because of the financial struggle but also because of their lack of knowledge on how to deal with their children. The other factor is the pressure from financial situation that often creates stress and forces parents to spend most of their time outside home to earn money. It limits their time to spend with children and family and as a consequence, they have limited interaction with their children and family.

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

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

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

a) Transport

The fact that means of transport is considered to be one of the most frequently mentioned aspects by children tells us that transportation has become one of the primary needs for poor children and their family. Furthermore, the fact that many children reported motorbike to be one of the most common means of transport for the poor in their neighbourhood shows the preference in using private transport, in particular motorbike, among poor family in urban areas. There are several factors that can be assumed to contribute to this and one of them is inaccessible public transport for the poor. Since the poor community usually live farther from the main road, they have limited access to the existing public transport. That is why even in the city like Surakarta where public transports are provided, the poor is the group that benefit the least from this facility. One other factor is the ease of getting motorbike that has improved the access for the poor to get affordable private transport.

b) Mobile Phone

Ownership of mobile phones was reported to be common among poor children, especially within the older age group (age 12 to 14 and 15 to 17). This is interesting since mobile phone was included as one of the item indicators of material belonging to many conventional surveys of poverty in the country; the poor family is assumed to not have the ability to afford it. This fact might tell us not only about the trend of shifting priorities among poor families but also an increasing need towards communication tools among the poor. Another influencing factor is that mobile phone has become more affordable, while there is a lack of public phone facilities. This also highlights the opportunity of improved access to communication and information for the poor. Further study on this issue will be needed since identifying the pattern of preferences is necessary to understand how poor families will allocate their resources and how this will impact on the children. Furthermore, understanding what factors drive these preferences and how the pattern of consumption behaviors relates to these items will also be useful for efforts in utilizing these items to improve poor children's life.

Conclusion

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

IV. LIVING IN POVERTY: CHILDREN'S EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE

4.1 Problems Facing Poor Children

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

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

Mapping out information from children interviewed in this study, we illustrated linkages between problems experienced by children in Figure 11. It shows how the family's or parents' poverty becomes the source of many problems, leading to other problems in all of children's life zones. At the same time, the figure highlights the importance of family's role in efforts to address problems in many areas of children's life.
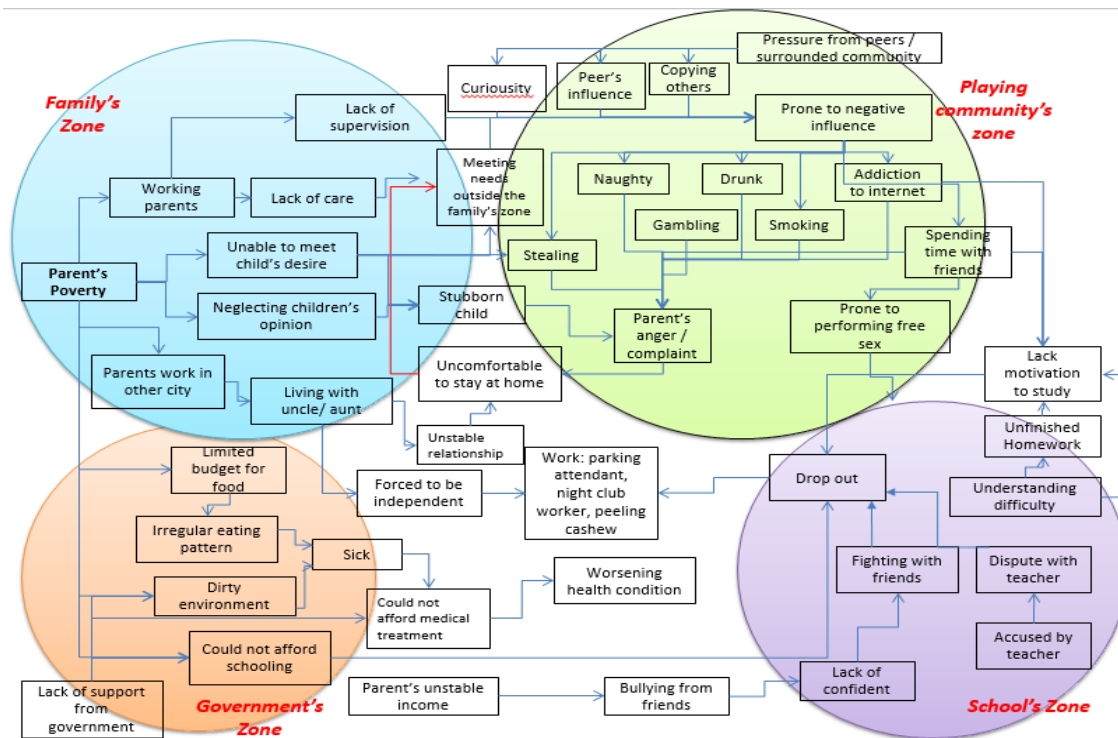
Figure 11. Problems faced by poor children

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

4.1.1 Material Situation

a) Family Poverty is the Root of Child Poverty

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

Children interviewed in this study said that they do not get enough pocket money from their parents and they can only afford clothes of lower quality, compared to the wealthy children. Subsequently, children reported themselves to be sad, which might make them to be more prone to performing criminal acts as an impingement.

> I do not get enough money. I am not allowed to buy what I want because I do not have money. My mother is not working. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

b) Lack of Material Goods

The findings of this study show that there is mixed evidence on the aspects associated by children to their happiness. There are many children in this study who associated only material belongings to their happiness and reported themselves to be unhappy. Among other material belongings, gadget is found to be one of the most wanted things, especially among boys. While knowing that their parents cannot afford to buy the gadget, parents' failure to explain it to their children may lead to the problem of having an instant lifestyle mentality among children, especially for children who are older (13–17 years old). Moreover, the desire to get things that they cannot afford is also found to encourage children to work without considering the opportunity costs they are losing, such as their time to study and the risk related to their safety.

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

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

4.1.2 Family Quality Care

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

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

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

> Children in here are playing around freely and get dirty … without supervision from their parents. (In-depth interview with a girl aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

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

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

Children interviewed in all of the study locations often complained that their parents only give little attention to them because their parents are too busy earning a living. However, boys appear to have more concern about this problem than girls do. The consequence of parents spending little

time with their children is lack of interaction and communication. It oftentimes becomes the root of many conflicts and misunderstandings in their relationship, which will be very much discussed in the rest of this report. Furthermore, children reported that they often feel that their parents cannot control their temper, are easily annoyed, and are over reactive towards small problems. In addition, children also reported that their parents give negative influences by smoking freely and throwing bad words in front of their children when they are angry.

> He smokes [pointing at the respondent's friend] because he is copying his parents' behaviour. … Parents usually smoke in front of their children. (Group interview with girls aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

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

> I could leave home for a week. I am so lazy to stay at home. There is no entertainment [movie, mobile phone]. I just feel uncomfortable at home. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Surakarta)

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

> I feel bored at home; I always get complained at [by the respondent's mother and grandmother]. I prefer going somewhere and entertain myself. (Group interview with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

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

> I got beaten [by the respondent's step father] on my stomach until it got swollen. (In-depth interview with a girl aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

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

> When I was about to eat, my step mother gave me a stare …, then saying "What a nice life you're having, getting food without having to pay nothing! [being sarcastic]. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

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

This condition might put children in an unpleasant situation, as reported by one child in Makassar who often gets bullied by her neighbours for her parents' separation, saying to her that she is evil. She reported herself to feel very sad about it and do not understand why they do that when in fact she never makes trouble for them. What is worse it that this unpleasant act is often followed by physical bullying done by other children in the neighbourhood.

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

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

> My parents ... I want them to be the way they used to be. I do not want to see my mother and father have fights anymore. ... I love them both; I love my family. (FGD with boys aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

4.1.3 Child Protection

a) Violence in the Family

Many children in this study reported indications of violence done by their parents and other family members. However, it is important to note that issues related to violence are one of the most challenging issues to be explored during the study. In a small number of interviews and discussions, children reported their parents to be acting violently when their children behave badly (or are being naughty) or cannot perform the tasks that their parents order them to do. In addition, children also said that sometimes their parents release their anger or frustration by doing these violent acts, considering the limited space and insufficient basic facilities at home, which often raise tension among family members.

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

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

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

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

> I was at the fifth grade of elementary school. I could not take care of my younger brother. … I only cried at that time [when his father beat him]. … My mother defended me by saying to my father, "Do

not beat him [me], *Pak* [Husband]! He is still young. Have a pity on him". (In-depth interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Surakarta)

Similar experience was shared by one of the teenage boys in Jakarta; the boy was beaten by his mother since he disobeyed his mother and had fight with his brother. Furthermore, he got physical punishment by being beaten with tools like wooden stick, mop, or water gallon on several parts of his body, including his arm, thigh, and head. The boy sometimes also got beaten by his father for refusing to massage his father. His father even asked him to leave the house later on.

> My mother beat me because I was fighting with Khrisna [the respondent's little brother]. If my mother feels discontent, she will beat my legs, both of my legs, by using a wooden stick. It's so painful. I can just do nothing but stay at home and wait until she feels better; and then I go outside. Sometimes I cry. The wooden stick is usually used to erect the clothesline. She usually uses a mop to beat my hand or a water gallon to beat my head, especially when I do not follow her order to buy her water. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

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

The boy also reported that his elder brother does violent acts to him for similar reasons; the boy refused to follow his brother's request to buy cigarette and instant noodle.

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

b) Violence among Peers

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

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

> Maxi [yelling at a friend' name]! He always beats me! (In-depth interview with a boy aged 6–11 years old in Makassar)

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

On the other hand, in North Jakarta, another child respondent who had an experience doing violent acts told the interviewer that he did it for revenge since his friend was beaten up by other children.

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

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

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

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

People from the other neighbourhood like to start a brawl. Maybe they want something from our place. I was once involved in the brawl and got sprayed with tear gas. (Group interview with boys aged 12–14 years old in Jakarta)

c) Negative Influence from Peers

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

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

It was in the evening and we were still playing outside. They asked me to buy some drinks and we were going to drink them together. … Well, what can I say? … There are a lot of reasons [why I

decided to drink]; I get a headache because of a lot of things to think. Sometimes I just drink whenever I want to and I don't drink when I do not want to. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

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

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

Some of the people here use it [drug] to get the satisfaction feeling. (Group interview with boys aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

He [referring to the respondent's friend] almost died because of inhaling glue. (Group interview with boys aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

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

They [respondent's friends] like to have parties … and they like to wear shorts. Then they were touched by the boys. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

d) Working children

Children in this study reported there are practices of Working children, either to assist their parents, working together with their friends or family members, or hired individually. A junior high school aged girl in Makassar who work together with her younger sister as a scavenger told their everyday struggle.

> My sister and I scavenge every day at the Central market. My sister sits on the pedicab that I pedal.
> (In-depth interview with a girl aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

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

> His parents [point at the respondent's friend] usually do not provide him money. That's why he needs to earn money by himself. (Group interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Makassar)

> *Mbah* [Grandma] Umi usually asks me to carry water. I can carry up to four carts of water and get paid Rp10,000. … Besides, I usually get Rp10,000 for pocket money. However, I rarely ask for pocket money from my mother. That is why I prefer to work so that I can get money by myself. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

> … I collect bottles from rubbish bins, from the streets, whenever I found them. I will sell the collected bottles to get money, the amount of which depends on the total weight of the bottles. I usually get around Rp2,000 to Rp5,000. I will use it to buy food, [such as] rice, crackers, anything for eating. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 12–14 years old in Jakarta)

> I do not go to school. I become a parking attendant. … In a day, I can get Rp15,000 to Rp20,000 at Alfamidi [a minimart]. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 6–11 years old in Makassar)

Discussions around the topic of working children were more likely to be found among children at the senior high school level, except in Makassar where the issue of working children is also discussed among younger children at the junior high school level. However, this study finds no significant difference between boys and girls in regards to this issue.

According to the children, there are certain types of work mentioned to be quite popular among children. These types of work are usually unskilled jobs and vary based on the characteristics of their living area. Children live in the inner-city area, for example, reported waitress in cafés or restaurants (Surakarta), scavenger (Jakarta), and cashew peeler and parking attendant (Makassar) as typical jobs done by children in the study locations. Meanwhile, children from the coastal area reported working in the fish market or peeling shrimps and clams as the type of work typically done by children in their neighbourhood.

> Girls usually become cashew peelers. We can get Rp45,000 per 6 kg of cashew peeled per week. ... The money earned is given to mother afterwards. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

> My back hurts due to long hours of working [peeling cashew] (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

> I usually take a part-time job at Season City [a function hall and hotel]. At that place, people hold parties or ceremonies, such as wedding ceremonies. My jobdesk includes collecting plates and

attending to stalls. I get Rp60,000 for half a day's work, or Rp120,000 full-time from morning to evening. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

One of the most important topics raised by children on the issue of working children is working environment. Children interviewed in this study told the interviewer that they are dealing with several problems at their workplace, ranging from issues around safety and health to social problems. The study finds that working children are exposed to different risks, depending on the types of work conducted by the children. In the coastal area of Jakarta, girls at the senior high school level who work as shrimp peelers in the frozen food industry reported symptoms such as back pain and respiratory problems (difficult to breath). They also reported that every day they can only have their free time to rest during the lunch break and they are constantly exposed to chemicals like chlorine that are used to clean the shrimp. On the other hand, girls who live in the inner-city area reported that many of their peers who work as waitresses at cafés are highly prone to sexual exploitation.

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

4.1.4 Education

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

> Children coming from a poor family must work or else there is no money available; then we need to give up on our education. … Now, to enrol in a school, we need to pay the enrolment fee, clothing fee, and any other fee as well. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

> Everytime we get a reminder letter from the school, it means that we have to pay something. For example, we haven't paid for the book and have to pay it soon. I was so bothered until someone offered me a job that I felt like this was it. This way I can make money. Just focusing myself on working to get money, I didn't even think about going back to school. At the end of the day, we will have to find work though. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

> I am sad. Sometimes I can only see my friends go to school; then I'm all alone. I just wait at the shelter for my friends to finish their class. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Jakarta)

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

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

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

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

> I feel so lazy. At home, I tell my parents that I want to go school, but actually I do not go to school. The reason is because I always have a fight with my friends and with my teacher as well. … Finally, I decided to drop out. (Group interview with boys aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

> Most of my classmates are naughty. If one student does not make the homework, the rest of the class will do the same. To us, the homework is so difficult. There was a time when all of us did not make the homework and got punished by the teacher. We had to do squat jumps 200 times and pushups 50 times. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 6–11 years old in Jakarta)

There is another reason that is found to exclude children from accessing assistance from the government: there are children from the poor family that opt to enrol in private schools due to the traveling distance from home to school and the availability of specific majors desired by the children. In Surakarta, for example, transportation becomes one of the major issues hindering children, in particular those living around the riverbanks, from going to school, which is located quite far from the city centre and main road. Therefore, children prefer to enrol in schools which are within walking distance even though it is a nonrecipient of government support. In North Jakarta, one of the boys opted to go to a private school located quite far from his home since the school has the major that he is interested in. Furthermore, children in North Jakarta reported that to be accepted in a public school and get the benefits from government programs, they must attain a certain level of graduation score. It leaves many children from the poor family unable to access the public school and government programs; children from the poor family are more likely to attain a low score at school since they cannot afford the additional tutoring lessons even though they face difficulties in studying. Since they can only attain a low graduation score, their parents can only enrol their children in private schools, which are found to be more expensive compared to public schools. Moreover, this option oftentimes leaves them ineligible for the assistance since there are a limited number of private schools receiving limited government assistance.

Out of the six locations, the case of children dropping out from school was most prevalent in Makassar and the coastal area of North Jakarta. Among all the study locations, Surakarta demonstrates a better school enrolment for children, which can be attributed to the existence of social protection programs supporting children to stay in school; these programs are provided both

by the central and city governments. However, according to children in all study locations, nowadays they experience no differences in the opportunities to pursue education given by parents to boys and girls.

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

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

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

4.1.5 Health and Living Condition

a) Prone to Diseases but Have Limited Access to Health Services

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

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

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

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

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

b) Not Having Enough Food

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

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

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

> I want to have breakfast but there is no food available. (Group interview with boys aged 6–11 years old in Jakarta)

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

c) Poor Housing and Living Environment

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

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

Poor housing condition is one of the problems discussed by children. Living in a semipermanent, overcrowded house built on illegal land in a congested neighbourhood, children are prone to being homeless as well as exposed to social problems resulting from tense interactions between people living adjacent to each other. As mentioned earlier, children are prone to disasters (flood, fire, robbery) caused by poor living condition as well as unsafe environment.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As mentioned earlier, limited access to public transportation was also reported by children as one of their daily problems. Living quite far from the main road, most children in this study, in particular

children from the riverbanks in Surakarta and the inner-city area of North Jakarta, mentioned the issue of transportation as the reason why they did not go to school or came late to school. Other public facilities that were often reported by children to be inaccessible and even unavailable are public toilet and playground. As discussed earlier in the previous section, the available public toilets are mostly in poor condition, causing people to be reluctant in using them and choose to perform open defecation. Practices of open defecation at the river, however, were only reported by children in Makassar. Children also complained about the lack of playgrounds in their neighbourhood or the surrounding areas, which make them unable to have a safe place for playing with their friends or enjoying their hobbies (e.g. doing sports like football). As reported by children in Jakarta, as well as children in Surakarta and Makassar, playgrounds in their neighbourhood are used for parking lot and marketplace.

> Please give us back our playground! I need a football field to realize my dream. (Group interview with boys aged 6–11 years old in Jakarta)

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

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

d) Participation

It is interesting to find that children raised concern about their participation in activities within their neighbourhood. Although it is not discussed directly as one of their daily problems, several children in this study expressed their dissatisfaction on the availability of events in their neighbourhood where they can participate. Several children reported that there have only been few less-engaging children's activities that they have ever participated in and most of these activities are more focused on providing information on typical issues like drugs abuse or holding regular competitions on national holidays. Moreover, children also raised concern about the exclusivity of certain groups to participate in certain events. A girl living in the inner-city area of North Jakarta told the interviewer that she was never invited to participate in organizing events for the Independence Day commemoration in her neighbourhood even though she is enthusiastic about it. She also explained that only children from certain areas in her neighbourhood are usually invited to participate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When we mapped out various problems raised by the children, it appears that most of the problems they face occur outside the family zone, especially those related to their interactions with their peers. However, when we mapped out the causes of the problems, it is quite apparent that problems in the family zone have been the trigger for children's involvement in many problems outside the family zone. Family—especially the parents—is the last resort for children where they put their hope and expectation for support. However, when family function diminishes, children try

to find its substitution from outside the family zone. Children will be increasingly vulnerable to the exposure from their interaction with people outside the family zone when the family function is lacking.

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

a) Parents' Poverty

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

(1) Poor Living Condition

Economic limitation has forced poor families to stay in slums that are located in illegal settlements. Such living places lack the basic facilities (including water and sanitation), making children prone to disasters (flood, fire, and *rob*—seawater flood) and exposing them to safety risks due to unsafe environment, while leaving them with limited playgrounds. The children we spoke to are those who come from poor families and live in slums in the most disadvantaged part of the city, or in the slum spot of an affluent area in the city, whose living conditions are relatively less decent compared to the surrounding neighbourhoods.

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

Some children in the research locations live in semipermanent houses standing on illegal land whose environment is poor and not up to the health standard. The poor living condition is compounded by the lack of playground for children so that children can only play in small alleys between houses or in the public streets around their houses. This, however, leads to frictions between children and adults, such as the ones experienced by some children in the inner-city locations. They feel discontent with the behaviour of adults in their neighbourhood. Moreover, frictions also occur due to overcrowding inside the house. In many cases, children have to share

with other family members the limited space they have. Table 17 summarizes the description of children's living condition based on observations conducted by the research team as well as the individual and group interviews with children.

Table 17. Characteristics of Respondents' Living Condition

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

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

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

(2) Limited Access to Health Services

As mentioned before, living in poor condition means that poor children receive greater exposure to safety and health risks, whilst they also have limited access to health care facilities. The reason mostly mentioned by the children for their inability to access health care facilities is that parents are ever busy at work so that there is no time to take their children to the facilities. Among the six research locations, a better access to health services has been seen in the inner-city area of North Jakarta. In the area, besides the various health care programs provided by the central and city

governments, the local cadre also actively helps people to better access the services. In addition, the *puskesmas* is also located not too far from the location. However, there are still some people who do not access the health services due to various constraints such as transportation cost, and limited time and money.

(3) Limited Access to Education

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

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

(4) Children Are Forced to Work

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

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

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

As mentioned many times by the children, lack of attention and affection from their parents becomes a major cause for vulnerability that increases the chances of them being involved in various delinquencies, such as consuming glue inhalant, getting drunk, smoking, consuming drugs, and engaging in risky sex behaviours. Using their own words, some of the children we spoke to also complained about how parents in their surroundings are busy chitchatting and following the current trends normally followed by teenagers—the children call it "behaving like teenagers".

On the other hand, parents also have limited knowledge in making sure quality care for their children. Parents often do not think carefully when fulfilling children's wants. The lack of time and energy for caring the children has forced parents to fulfill all the wishes of their children without carefully considering its impacts on the children. In many cases, this is the way they choose in eliminating their guilty feeling from failing to meet their children's other needs. Therefore, when children ask for anything, parents feel compelled to grant it without considering whether it is crucially needed or not.

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

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

Not all the children come from a complete family. Some of them do not have both parents living with them due to divorce, have one or both parents living in other area (working in another place), or have one of both parents already passing on; which are certainly not ideal social norms. Therefore, not all the children live with their parents; they live with their relatives, such as their grandparents, uncle, and aunt. Living with an incomplete family forces children to deal with psychological and social impacts. Moreover, a child whose parents are separated are sometimes stigmatized by the surrounding community.

Not only children from incomplete families, children coming from complete families also feel discontent feelings due to disharmony among family members, especially between parents and children. When parents encounter a problem either from the workplace or other sources outside home, they come back home angry; this further impacts the way they treat the children at home. Financial limitation is also found to be one the stressors faced by parents in poor households, oftentimes making parents more tensed. Stressed parents are found to be one of the potential causes of violence in the family.

Children experiencing family disharmony and separation are likely to experience problems related to emotional well-being, such as stress, boredom, unpleasant feeling to be at home, and unhappiness. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, many children expressed discomfort upon receiving violence from other family members. In the end, these conditions will encourage children to seek happiness outside the home and run into various problems. Just like children who lack of the attention from parents and thus experience vulnerability, children with problems of family disharmony and separation experience a similar tendency towards vulnerability associated with their interaction with various environments outside the family zone.

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

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

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

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

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

Negative peer influence and peer violence are among the risk factors emerging from interactions with children's peers that bring considerable impacts on their vulnerability. Negative influence from children's interactions with their peers has been the root of many problems faced by children, such as drug addiction, inhaling solvent glue, drinking, inter-group brawls, engaging in risky sex behaviours, child pregnancy, joining gangs, skipping school, working, low school performance, stealing, gambling, and addiction to gaming and the social media (at the internet café and playstation rentals). Peer violence, besides making children vulnerable to safety risks, can potentially be a trigger for the children to commit other violence afterwards, be it verbal or physical.

(1) Exposure to Risky Behaviours by Peers

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

(2) Peer Violence

In regard to peer violence, there are several reasons reported by the children. Mostly they are because they just want to tease other friends or play around, and it is not to be taken seriously; they feel discontent about what is said by the other children; and they need to show their solidarity for their friends in the same group who have experienced violence, so they want to exact revenge for their friends.

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

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

Disputes among children are found to be normal in their daily interactions with peers and they often occur over matters of ownership of physical materials and spaces to interact (Cobb-Moore, 2008). Many studies have found that children put their effort to manage and negotiate disputes that they face; some are conducted by switching the language they use to communicate with their counterparts or changing roles in the interaction (Cromdal in Cobb-Moore, 2008; Butler and Weatherall in Cobb-Moore, 2008).

b) Exposure to Risks from Working Activities and Environment

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

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

In the coastal areas of North Jakarta and Makassar, many boys and girls work since the young age. In the coastal area of North Jakarta, the types of work carried out by younger children are carrying water, taking out the trash, and scavenging bottles or plastic materials. Moreover, there are also a number of younger boys who scavenge pieces of metals in the water. Meanwhile, the older boys do jobs as parking attendants or at the fish auction centre. The older girls, on the other hand, mostly work at seafood processing plants. In the coastal area of Makassar, younger children—especially girls—help out their mother to peel shellfish and cashew at home. In the inner-city area of Makassar, either younger or older boys work as parking attendants or do other informal jobs. Safety risks exposed to working children are in line with the types and responsibilities around the jobs. However, to some extent, children are also exposed to danger due to the working location. Moreover, safety risks can also come from other people working at the same workplace, either children or adult.

c) Risks at School

Children are exposed to several risk factors from their interactions with people at school, which makes them vulnerable, such as teachers' attitude towards children that makes the children feel discomfort, the interaction of children with friends at school, poor facilities at school, school policies that cannot be met by children and their parents, and children feeling overwhelmed by the lessons and homework. To a certain extent, the risk factors can make children vulnerable to violence at school and feeling unhappy, and discontinuing study.

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

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

d) Exposure to Behaviours Displayed by Adults in the Surroundings

It is quite apparent in all the research locations that social problems in the neighbourhood become a concern for children. In several discussions and interviews, children expressed their worries about the negative behaviours of adults that influence some children in their neighbourhood. Such behaviours include risky sex behaviours; dirty and rude talks; smoking; drinking, which appears in almost all the research locations; and gambling, which specifically appears in the Makassar research locations. Other factors coming from people in the surroundings that put children in risks can also include violence from other people in the neighbourhood—either verbal or nonverbal violence— and clashes between groups in the community. Living in a slummy and overcrowded environment makes children prone to violence committed by adults in their surroundings.

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

4.2.3 Risks from Unfriendly Policy and Society

Based on the discussion of the dynamics of children's daily interaction zones, in this section we will put our perspective on a broader level and talk about factors that are at the macro sphere, which may not be directly in contact with children, but indirectly affect the well-being of urban poor children, as learned from children during this research.

The identification of factors in children's interaction layers, as mentioned in the earlier section, is much inspired by the nested ecological model developed by Bronfenbrenner. For the external factors, the model identifies three layers of external system in children's life, namely exo-system, macro-system, and chrono-system. Exo-system describes a context in which children do not interact directly, but the influence is felt through the people who have proximal relations with them. Macro-system explains the broader context that may include government policies and prevailing norms in society where children live. Chrono-system explains a context which has a very broad nature and affects many people in the world, including children (Dawes and Donald, 2005; Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Considering the focus and coverage of this research, the external factors to be discussed in this section may include those revolving around the same level as the exo- and macro-system of Brofenbrenner's model.

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

a) Lack of Playground for Children

> There is no playground, so we play in the streets. (FGD with girls aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

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

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

The lack of a place to play becomes the main reason for children to play in places that are actually harmful to them. Unsafe playgrounds become a source of vulnerability because children could have

an accident that may threaten their life. The potential risks faced by children can be very different depending on the characteristics of the location where the children live. In most of the research locations, children usually play in the alleyways, at roadsides, in small spaces around the embankment or riverside, in the local school yards, at the mosque, or in public parks, which are all usually far away from their neighbourhood. In the riverbank area of Surakarta, children are used to playing in the riverbank where illegal houses have been evicted and demolished, leaving only the foundations. A worrying risk particularly appears in the riverbank and coastal locations of Surakarta, North Jakarta, and Makassar where children may fall down and drown in the river or the sea. Such accidents often occur when children are playing; a group of elementary school girls in the riverbank area of Surakarta told a story about their friend who got drowned in the river one year ago.

> So many cases [people drowning in the water] here. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

> It is usually children [who drown in the water], and so does the adults. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

> [They said that there was a boy who drowned] because of the whirl in the water. (Group interview with girls aged 6–11 years old in Surakarta)

The existing playgrounds that lack safety are further exacerbated by various public policies that are not child-friendly. Occurring in some locations of this research, city development undertaken by the government has narrowed the space for children to play. In the coastal area of North Jakarta, the development of public apartment complex has made children to lose their playground. In some of the research locations, the existence of companies operating in the area also makes children vulnerable to safety problems, for example, due to the existence of old ship workshop around the area.

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

The lack of space allocated for playgrounds in the city has clearly contributed to increasing urban children's vulnerability to security and personal safety risks. The condition is even more exacerbated for urban children living in poor illegal settlements which are certainly excluded from the existing city land use planning. The lack of playgrounds has also led children to being involved more in virtual playing activities (video gaming and surfing on the internet). Even though research on the impact of play deprivation on children's outcome is still limited (Whitebread et al., 2012; Brown, 2013),[6] one thing is for sure in that play deprivation and/or the lack of outdoor playgrounds will impede children from receiving a variety of benefits that could be derived from outdoor playing activities, which could profoundly increase creativity, imagination, social connection, and learned behaviour (Parsons, 2011).

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

b) Less Inclusive System

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

(1) Lack on Basic Facilities

The existing urban development policies which do not identify the existence of the children in city space very well and other related state administrative policies which are very rigid have made urban poor children to live in illegal territories that are excluded from attaining sufficient basic services. As revealed throughout this research, the children have been deprived of various aspects, including the deprivation of shelter, clean water, playground, health care, education, and transportation system.

Regardless of the inferior status and informality experienced by the children along with their parents or caregivers, all children are entitled to descent basic services in order to grow and develop optimally. The deprivation of basic services often becomes the cause for children to face many obstacles in their daily lives.

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

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

(2) Less Inclusive Education

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

Having traced it carefully, the research team found that the lack of inclusiveness in education experienced by the children is not caused by the national education system but more due to the local specific policy at the school level, which is heavily influenced by the social norms prevailing in

the surrounding communities. For example, in many cases beyond this research, students becoming pregnant before marriage were no longer allowed to attend school. They were only told informally about this by the teachers, or they were indirectly rejected through implicit prohibition shown by other people and friends around them; this made them to feel inconvenient to continue school (Utomo and Utomo, 2013; Setyadharma, Engelbrecht, and Balli, 2015).

4.2.4   Coping with the Hardship in Everyday Life

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

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

a) Children's Positive Adaptation

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

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

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

In regards to adaptations made by children, some interesting notes obtained during this research are that for some children, closeness with parents and God becomes an important support which gives them strength to positively adapt with any hardship in life. A girl in the inner-city area of North Jakarta revealed that the support given by his father drove her to bravely face a school senior who challenged her to a fight. As her father advised, as long as she is not guilty, then she should not be afraid.

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

> My father said not be afraid if you are not guilty! (In-depth interview with a girl aged 12–14 years old in Jakarta)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) Parents as the First and the Last Resorts

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

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

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

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

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

Parents' supervision and control to some extent can also be a savior that avoids children from negative influence from others. The love and affection from parents which are shown when children are feeling misery can be the reason for them not to be involved in delinquency anymore and try to be a better person. Parents' hard work can also be the reason for children to behave well.

> My parents are so afraid because so many people around us are involved in risky behaviours [such as free sex and drugs]. (In-depth interview with a girl aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

> Now [the condition in here] is better than before. (In-depth interview with a girl aged 15–17 years old in Surakarta)

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

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

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

> Gambling is common among children here, but I don't do that. (In-depth interview with a boy aged 15–17 years old in Makassar)

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

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

While parents' attention and the quality of relationship between parents and children matter for the children, it seems that parents are not really aware of them. As described by children and parents in separate discussions and interviews when mapping out information on problem causality, it appears that the importance of children-parents relationship still escapes parents' attention (see Table 18).

c) Children's Problems

Table 18. Problems Faced by Children

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

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

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

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

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

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

d) Supports from Peers and People in the Surroundings

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

Friends have been an important part of children's life, as they are the ones that children spend most of their time to play with. Friends even become more important to children when they are deprived

of love and affection from the parents and other family members due to various reasons such as parents being too busy working or parents being unable to treat them well. Most of the children we spoke to during this research felt that friends would provide support in times when they encounter problems in their family. Friends would also be present when they are in conflict with children from other groups. Similarly, when their friends encounter problems, the children we spoke to would certainly be present to protect them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

e) Local Pioneers

One interesting story from is about the support from people in the neighbourhood who pay a great attention to providing a place for children to actualize and develop themselves. *Mbak*[7] K, a woman in the riverbank area of Surakarta, founded a traditional dancing studio. Being concerned about children in the area not having the space to play and actualize themselves, she was motivated to found the studio. The studio provides traditional dancing lessons on certain days. For joining the lessons, children—mostly girls—only need to pay around Rp2,000 (US$0.2), which is very cheap. By joining the lessons, children not only get the skills but also the opportunity to participate in external

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[7]A way of addressing an older female.

events around the city, such as traditional dancing shows. Moreover, children can also play around in her house's yard when they are not attending the lessons.

Another story comes from the inner-city area of North Jakarta; based on information from the children we spoke to, there is *Pak Haji*[8] who lives near the ex-playground and provides Quran recital and martial art lessons. The research team did not have the chance to meet with *Pak Haji*, but based on the information from the children who have attended the lessons, they usually have the Quran recital lesson first in the afternoon and then the martial art lesson in the evening. In the coastal area of Makassar, a senior high school boy shared his experience of getting moral support from his neighbour *Oom* (Uncle) R who owned a bicycle workshop. From *Oom* R, he learned about bicycles and usually gets support when he was looking for a job. He prefers to spend his time at the bicycle workshop rather than hang out with his friends.

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

4.3 What Can We Learn From Vulnerability and Resilience Mapping?

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

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

The same thing applies to children's interaction with other external layers that may not directly be in contact with in their daily lives, but their presence impacts the lives of children, such as the education system, government policies, and the existence of companies that operate around children's neighbourhood, which may be in the form of schools and public infrastructure. Speaking about children's interaction with the school, when the school, including its operational regulations, and teachers apply inclusive practices and are friendly with the children, they can become

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

supporting factors for children to continue their education. Inclusive and affordable school feels very meaningful to children who come from poor families.

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

Although not visible to the human eye, government policies and the existence of companies that operate around children's living neighbourhood in many cases influence the lives of urban poor children, especially policies relating to the management of urban space whose number is limited for urban context. Most of the children who were respondents of this study live in urban slum areas. They have to face the challenges of living in illegal settlements which lack public facilities and infrastructure. They must also live in an environment that is improper with the sanitation and clean water sources in bad condition. Despite the fact that their parents occupy illegal space as a place to stay, the children remain eligible to earn a decent living to support their growth and development. Related to this, it becomes an important issue for the government and other nongovernment parties which hold the privilege to manage city spaces to acknowledge children—including children from poor family—in city planning and urban space management.

Each interaction layer of the children can be positive—as a source of strength—but also negative—as a source of vulnerability. Children living in poverty face more risks in their interactions. They belong to poor families that are lacking in many aspects related to the access to basic life support services, such as shelter, health, and education. Living in poverty also brings pressure to the relationship between family members; that is why a harmonious family often becomes a necessity for the children we spoke to. Living in a slummy neighbourhood also puts children at great risk due to the interactions with the people in it.

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

V. LESSONS LEARNED

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

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

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

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

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

2. **Neglecting the voice of children means ignoring their well-being.** Even though this study has showed that most poor children are able to elaborate the complexity of their situation and problems, one thing that is also important is how to ensure that their voice is heard by other people. Outside themselves, children usually feel inferior when they want to explain some cases they have been experiencing, especially to their parents or the adults around

them. Meanwhile, this situation cannot be separated from people's mindset that children's knowledge is still insufficient and they do not have the capacity yet to engage in serious discussions; this makes them look at children's perspective as something that has no reason to be valued. In more serious problems, neglecting the voices of children may lead to the risk of arbitrary action. In some cases, children's being the victims of violence committed by parents, teachers, or peers indicates that both parties have failed to open up space for discussions. Similarly, at the level of community and even cities, the arbitrary behaviour has occurred such as the eviction playground or the exploitation of children's time and energy to win certain competitions.

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

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

It is apparently such a dilemma. Many parents from poor families consider that working hard can make them and their children sustain their lives. Earning more money means expanding their opportunities to get out from various deprivations, such as solving the problems of education and health costs, food, and house improvement, so as to make children happier. However, this assumption needs to be reconsidered. It is because many children actually account the attention of parents as the most important indicator of well-being which makes them happy despite living in poor condition. In other words, parents who live in poverty require the capacity improvement in terms of quality care, especially on how to manage their time and resources for children. At the community level, the effort can be initiated by improving the role of current community-based organizations, such as centres for family information (PIK) and family welfare and empowerment organizations (PKK), to provide consultation services, information dissemination, and training. In the future, they can be developed to map and reach the country regulations and support systems, as well as help children solve their problems.

4. **The neighbourhood is a place of adaptation and to learn about life.** At least a third of poor children's time is spent for intensively interacting with other people outside the family zone, including when they are not getting enough care from their parents. Social environment, such as the school or playground, is a second place for children to learn about life, whose influence can be greater than the family's. This zone influences child well-being by offering the convenience and comforts through interacting and sharing activities among peers or with adult people. To some extent, this zone can be also a place for coping with problems or getting support. In such a situation, the thing that is important to be

understood is how to build a child-friendly environment because most of the problems that children face as they grow take place in this zone; such problems include smoking, low school performance, addiction to gaming, gambling, stealing, drug abuse, and working. Therefore, the awareness of child well-being should not only be encouraged among parents but also among community members.

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

Besides providing public facilities and infrastructure properly, governments need to address hidden cost issues in social protection programs. Poor children apparently require broader financial and/or in-kind assistance to overcome these situations. In the short term, the approach to solve them can start by expanding the components of the social protection programs or by providing subsidized or free transport. In the long term, the solution that can also be adopted is by providing unconditional cash transfers for poor and marginalized children so that they can meet their priority needs in a more flexible way. The implementation of this program can refer to the Mongolian Child Money Program (CMP). CMP has gradually moved from the targeted and conditional approach to a universal and unconditional approach since 2006; 89.5% of the grant had been used for children's needs such as books and stationery, clothing, kindergarten or school fees, savings, public transport, as well as tuition fees (UNICEF, 2007).

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