

The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Policy Background No. 1 Education and Employment Outcomes of Young Migrants To Greater Jakarta

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Jakarta and the contiguous cities of Bekasi and Tangerang have long been destinations for young people from across Indonesia seeking better life course outcomes. The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey, a statistical sample of 3006 young people aged 20-34 years in these three cities, found that 59 per cent of the survey respondents had been born in the survey sites and 41 per cent had migrated from other parts of Indonesia. The objective of this policy background paper is to examine human capital outcomes for young people who migrated to Greater Jakarta compared to those who were born there.

The survey collected an education and occupation history for all respondents from age 12 until their current age. Much more detail was obtained about their current employment. The place of residence of respondents was obtained at the time of birth, at ages 10 and 17, and one year and five years before the survey date.

Those who had lived in Jakarta all their lives made up 38.6 per cent of the sample while a further 6.5 per cent and 4.3 per cent respectively had lived in Tangerang and Bekasi all of their lives. Beyond this, 9.7 per cent had moved only between Jakarta, Bekasi and Tangerang. The remainder of the sample (40.9%) had migrated to Greater Jakarta from some other place. It is this latter group that are classified here as 'migrants'. Among the migrants were those that had moved directly from Central Java to Greater Jakarta (12.6%), those that had moved from West Java to Greater Jakarta (9.5%) and those that had moved from another Province (not Central or West Java) to Greater Jakarta (10.5%). The remaining 8.3 per cent had made multiple provincial moves before ending up in Greater Jakarta by the time of the survey.

The study found that the outcomes for migrants depended crucially upon their age at migration.

Two groups of migrants

Two groups of migrants can be distinguished: those that moved at an early age (10 or younger) mainly with their parents and their parents were relatively highly educated and those that moved mainly on their own from age 10 onwards and their parents were lowly educated (Table 1). In general, human capital outcomes in Greater Jakarta were more related to being a member of either of these two groups than to migration status as such.

Table 1. Education level of father, by age at migration

Father's education	Non-migrants	Between ages 0-10	Between ages 10-17	After age 17
	%	%	%	%
Primary or none	38	32	73	61
Junior High School	17	14	13	15
Senior High School or above	45	54	14	24
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Those that moved at an early age had educational outcomes that were very similar on average to those that had been born in Greater Jakarta (Figures 1 and 2). They generally moved with their parents at a young age and were able to attend schools in Greater Jakarta while being supported by their parents. Evidently, where a family with young children moves into Greater Jakarta, the parents tend to have relatively high levels of human capital and this enables them to set up as a family in the city.

Education outcomes of migrants to Greater Jakarta

Those migrating after age 10, almost always without parents, had left school early. Within this group, educational outcomes were much worse for those that moved between the ages of 10 and 17 years

compared to those who moved at ages 17 and over, and worse for women than for men (Figures 1 and 2).

With very few economic opportunities available in the village of origin, these early school leavers set out for Greater Jakarta on their own. Most then established themselves in jobs in Greater Jakarta, males often as street sellers and females often as domestic servants. Over time, a minority of this group were able to move into the formal sector, men into factories and women as shop assistants. However, in general, they remain self employed or as casual workers working very long hours at low wage rates. They had little or no opportunity to continue their education after they moved to the city. Without education, they are unable to compete for office or government jobs.

Early marriage and early childbearing

Early marriage and early childbearing was a frequent outcome for poor women moving to the survey sites after the age of 10 (Figure 3). For many, early marriage may have been preferable to continuing in a low level job. Employment rates were low for migrant mothers with low earning potential because they had no one to care for their children if they worked (McDonald 2011).

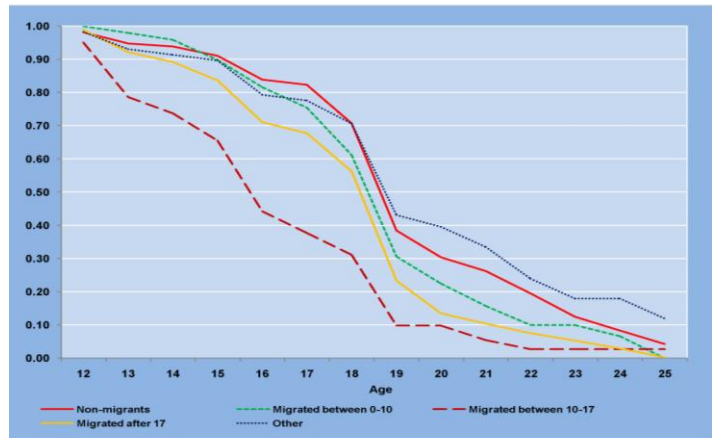
Employment outcomes of migrants to Greater Jakarta

Women who migrated to Greater Jakarta from age 10 onwards were 31 per cent less likely to be employed as other women of the same age. However, this lower level of employment was explained entirely by the fact that they had lower levels of education and that they had married and had their children at a younger age than other women. On the other hand, men now aged 20-34 years, who had migrated from age 10 onwards were much more likely to be employed than other men and this difference largely remained after taking into account the effects of lower education, current schooling, marital and parental status. For men who had migrated from age 10 onwards, generally without parental support, being in employment is essential to their survival in the city. However, the fact that they were employed indicates that Greater Jakarta is still able to provide employment for young migrant workers or that those who could not find work had left Jakarta.

Occupations of migrants to Greater Jakarta

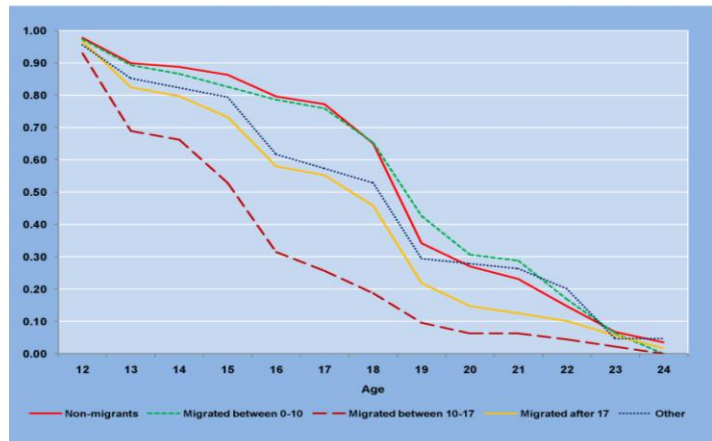
An analysis was undertaken of the likelihood that employed respondents were working in a low level occupation. A low level occupation was defined as a

Figure 1. Proportion still in school by age, males, by age at migration to Greater Jakarta



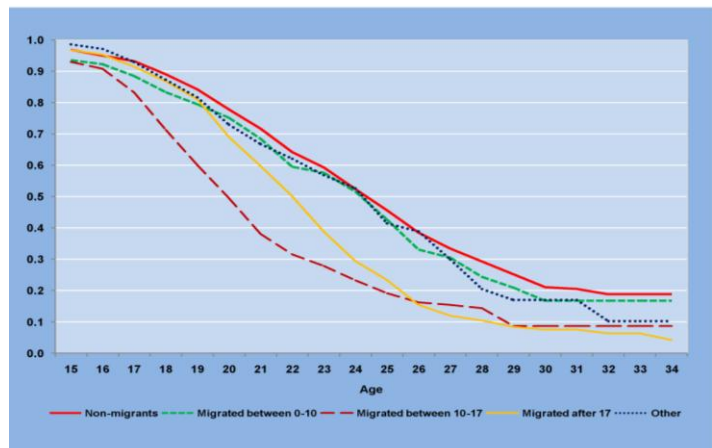
Source: The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Figure 2. Proportion still in school by age, females, by age at migration to Greater Jakarta



Source: The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Figure 3. Proportion never married, females, by age at migration to Greater Jakarta



Source: The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

process worker, an operator or machinery assembly worker, or those in other elementary occupations. Table 2 shows that level of education had a very strong effect upon the likelihood that a man was

working in a low level occupation. Men with a tertiary qualification were 25 times less likely than men with junior high school or lower education to be employed in a low level job. However, once education level was taken into account, there was no significant difference in the likelihood of working in a low level job between men who migrated from age 10 onwards and other men.

The effect of education on the likelihood of working in a low level job was even greater for women. Almost no women with tertiary qualifications were working in a low level job. However, in contrast to men, after considering the effect of education, women who migrated from age 10 onwards were 54 per cent more likely to be working in a low level job.

Table 2. Logistic regression of being in a 'low' occupation category, by sex (odds ratios), employed persons

	Males	Females
Migration to Jakarta/Tangerang/Bekasi		
Born in or migrated before the age of 10 (ref)	--	--
Migrated after age 10	0.79	1.54**
Age group		
20-24 (ref)	--	--
25-29	1.13	0.81
30-34	1.11	0.81
Highest education		
Junior high school or less (ref)	--	--
Senior high school	0.27***	0.18***
Certificate	0.04***	0.03***
Bachelors+	0.04***	0.00***

Source: The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Hours of work and wages of migrants to Greater Jakarta

Men who migrated to Greater Jakarta from age 10 onwards were not only more likely to be employed than other men; they also worked longer hours than other men. Once again, this is consistent with their need for income in order to survive and remain in the city. However, after taking their level of education into account and the type of work that they did, the hourly wage rate of men who migrated from age 10 onwards was actually higher than that of other men.

Disadvantage of later age migrants therefore was due to their low human capital levels and not to discrimination or any aspect of the migration process itself. It is speculated that migrants may be prepared to work harder and that this may be recognized by employers. Migrants may work harder because they are selective of persons wanting to get ahead or they may be forced to work harder because of their lack of family support in Jakarta or because they have demands upon them to provide remittances to family members still in the village.

Women who migrated to Greater Jakarta from age 10 onwards, after controlling for human capital characteristics, work similar hours to other women and have the same wage rates. They may differ from their male counterparts because those with partners may consider themselves to be secondary earners.

The vulnerability of women migrating to Greater Jakarta from age 10 onwards

The above analysis shows that women who migrated to Jakarta from age 10 onwards are disadvantaged in multiple ways. Among all 20-34 year-olds in Greater Jakarta, both men and women, those who migrated after age 10 had by far the lowest levels of education and the lowest levels of employment. They were much more likely than other women to have married and had their children at early ages. Finally they were much more likely to be working in low level occupations than other women even after taking their low education level into account. More than 50 per cent of employed women in this category were employed as domestic workers or as self-employed petty traders. Another 20 per cent worked in factories.

Concluding remarks

Migration has been and will remain an important feature of population growth in Greater Jakarta. Many migrants to Jakarta occupy low level jobs such as domestic workers and petty traders. They are drawn from those that drop out of school at a young age because their parents are poor and have low levels of education. This study indicates that low-skilled male migrants are able to eke out a living but at the cost of long working hours. They are probably better off in the city than they would have been if they had remained in their village or small town. Nevertheless, they live in very disadvantaged circumstances in Jakarta. Low-skilled female migrants marry and have their children early and, as a consequence, they withdraw from the labour force as they have no one to look after their children. They also live in very disadvantaged circumstances.

As education levels increase across Indonesia and young people do not drop out of school at an early age, this pool of low-skilled migrants may diminish. This will have implications for the future of the low level occupations that low-skilled migrants have filled in the past.

Reference

McDonald, P., 2011. Early Childhood Education and Care for Disadvantaged Families. *The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey, Policy Brief No. 3*, Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute, The Australian National University, Canberra.

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The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Study Description:

This study on transition to adulthood is being conducted in Jakarta, Bekasi and Tangerang. This study is the first comprehensive survey on transition to adulthood conducted in Indonesia. The study is funded by the Australian Research Council, WHO, ADSRI-ANU and the ARI-NUS. The sampling involved a two-stage cluster sample using the probability proportional to size (PPS) method. In the first stage, 60 *Kelurahan* (District) were selected using PPS. In the second stage, five counties (*Rukun Tetangga*) were chosen within each selected *Kelurahan* by systematic random

sampling. The 300 selected RT were then censused and mapped. The census collected information on the age, sex, marital status and relationship to head of household of all household members. From the census, a listing of all eligible respondents (aged 20-34) living in the *Rukun Tetangga* was compiled. Eleven eligible persons were then selected by simple random sampling from the eligible county population. This resulted in a sample of 3,006 young adults.

Two survey instruments were employed. The first questionnaire administered by a trained interviewer covered all demographic aspects of the respondents, including their parents and spouse (if the respondent is married): education, work and migration histories; income and economic status; working conditions; living arrangements, relationships and marriage; number of children, family planning practices and abortion; physical-mental health related issues and happiness; smoking and drinking; religiosity and affiliation to religious and or political organizations; gender norms, values of children and world views. The second self-administered questionnaire covered issues relating to sexual practices and behaviour, safe sex practices, STDs/HIV/AIDS knowledge, access to reproductive health services, and drug use. After completion, the respondent sealed this questionnaire in an envelope before returning it to the interviewer. The study also includes 100 in-depth interviews with randomly selected respondents from the survey.

This study will produce a series of policy briefs and if funding is made possible will be continued as a longitudinal panel study following the livelihood, demographic and career aspects of the respondents over 10 years. The same respondents will be interviewed once every three years.

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