The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

A Profile of Young Adults Population in Jakarta, Tangerang, and Bekasi

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Photo Gallery

Photo 1. Slum area where some of the respondents lived, 2011

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Introduction

The 2010 Transition to Adulthood Survey was conducted among a representative sample of 3006 respondents aged 20-34 years old across Jakarta, Bekasi, and Tangerang (JATABEK). Following the Survey, a qualitative data collection was carried out with the primary objective of gaining further insights into the dynamics and life patterns of young adults. The underlying research themes in this data collection revolved around challenges relating to education, employment, social relations, marriage, sexuality, religion, politics, and migration that young adults face in their daily lives. As a tool to enrich and deepen our insights into the life of young adults in JATABEK, in-depth interviews were conducted one year following the Survey.

A sample of 82 respondents was obtained for the in-depth interviews, consisting of 41 female and 40 male respondents. In this booklet, the stories from 10 respondents were chosen to illustrate the diverse life experiences of the respondents included in this study.

Methods

The in-depth interviews were carried out by a trained team of interviewers. Initially, 100 respondents were randomly selected from the original survey’s sample. Before meeting the respondents, the interviewers already had prior knowledge of their respondents’ profiles based on these respondents’ responses in the Survey. The interviews were structured around a number of themes, and were designed to shed light into the process and the actors involved in making a successful transition to adulthood. An interview guideline provided the reference for the interviewers, and the recorded interviews were subsequently transcribed.

Results from this qualitative study were thematically organised and further analysed by descriptive analysis. This booklet presents a number of interesting case studies which exemplify the diverse range of strategies employed by the respondents to overcome the socio-economic challenges associated with transition to adulthood.
Case studies analysis

In analysing these case studies, a descriptive overview of the respondents’ characteristics focuses on their education and economic activities. Based on these characteristics, the respondents are divided into three categories: the family or the respondent being economically well-off; marginal; and poor (underprivileged). A ‘well-off family’ is defined as having a monthly income of Rp 5 million or above, and was successful in their work, or in whatever business/enterprise they were doing. ‘Marginal’ is defined as having adequate income from work or business in order to meet the needs of the family. Lastly, ‘poor’ refers to families who must work hard to survive in the city, earned very modest income from their employment or business to meet basic needs.

Well-off families in these case studies were represented by the families of Farid, Irvan, Rizal, and Yeti. Farid and Irvan represented respondents with high educational attainments, who were successful in securing a formal sector employment, and had wider opportunities to fast track their career and gain higher income. Farid and Irvan both came from families whose parents had migrated to Jakarta before they were born. They were both raised in a well-off and educated family.

In contrast to Farid and Irvan, Rizal and Yeti originally came from marginally poor families. Rizal migrated from his hometown in West Sumatra since he did not wish to work as a farmer like his parents. His decision to migrate to Jakarta was further reinforced by the struggle his parents faced in meeting the family’s economic needs. Yeti was not able to complete her education since her parents did not have the means to fund her schooling. Both Yeti and Rizal migrated to Jakarta and worked in the informal sector. Both were able to locate and apply their skills successfully when they secured an economic opportunity to open up a business selling their typical hometown cuisine. Their food business grew within 10 years. Equipped with a strong sense of motivation, they were eventually successful in expanding their business into car rentals, videography, and a grocery shop.

Respondents in the marginal economic categories were also represented by Pratiwi, Dedi, and Yuniarti. Dedi and Pratiwi had been living in Jakarta since they were born. They were university graduates, and they both had jobs they felt were adequate to meet their needs when they were single. Both these respondents had aspirations to own a business. Pratiwi routinely saved up her
money in the hope of opening up an art gallery to channel her talents as a sculptor. Dedi was hoping that his business, a mobile phones outlet, can grow in the future. Yuniarti came from Kediri, and is a housewife with two children and graduated from Aliyah. She indicated that her economic life was fair. Yuniarti and her husband were both trying to reverse their economic situation, back to the satisfactory living threshold as they once had, prior to the 1998 riots.

Poor families were represented in these case studies by Iis, Joko, and Nuraini. For these families, life in the city was imbued by competition and limited employment. Employment opportunities were heavily influenced by skills quality, educational qualification, and motivation to work, money, and job vacancies. These families were not yet able to grasp such opportunities. To meet their daily needs, they worked very hard, as labourers with minimum pay. They lived in simple homes in the slums. Joko was somewhat “fortunate” as he was still allowed to live in one of the houses owned by his employer. Because of their conditions, they hoped that one day, they could change the course of their fate for a better life.
Farid was a graduate from the Trisakti School of Transportation Management (STMT) Jakarta with a D4 degree majoring in Air Transport Management. He graduated in 2001. Studying in STMT was his choice. Farid opted to study in Air Transport Management as he saw that this study major was different to the more common fields of study such as commerce, engineering, law and others.

After he graduated from STMT, Farid worked as marketing personnel in a private firm. While the job had nothing to do with his educational background, he still took the job in order to gain work experience while waiting for other jobs more suitable to his qualifications. Another reason he chose to work at that time, was that he felt reluctant to say no to a friend, who had earlier secured a job in the company, and invited him to apply for the job. Farid worked for 4 months as a marketing staff before he was accepted to work for Garuda’s subsidiary called Garuda Angkasa Pura in Tangerang in 2001. He worked in Load Control, a division responsible for controlling the weight of airplanes.

After working for 6 years in 2007 Farid tried to apply working for another airline company, Emirates. He saw the job vacancy in a website. He realized that he was competing with potentially thousands of people from different countries. However, he was confident and he prayed for the success of his application. He waited for a long time for news related to the acceptance of his application from Emirates. Farid’s wife was reluctant to let him work overseas. Her husband’s monthly income of Rp.5 million was essentially enough to cover their costs of living and to pay for their mortgage.
Before she became a housewife, Farid’s wife was once employed in an airline company, one of the competitors of Garuda. At that time, she worked in the check-in counter in Soekarno-Hatta Airport, Tangerang. After the birth of their second child in 2008, seeing that it was very hard for a mother to both work and care for her family, Farid asked his wife to stop working so she could focus on looking after their children. Farid wished for his children to grow up in the full care of his wife while the earning responsibilities rested solely on Farid himself. In the case of household division of labour, Farid helped his wife by cleaning his house and looking after their children since he knew how difficult it was for his wife to care for their children.

On a number of occasions, Farid discussed his wish to work for Emirates with his wife. His wife was apprehensive about Farid working overseas; moreover, he was facing fierce competition. However, Farid continued to convince his wife that this was a rare opportunity. Farid did not forget to ask for the prayers and blessings from his mother for the success of his application.

After waiting for almost three months, Emirates informed that Farid had been successful in the first round of the selection process. The next test was a written test in April 2010. In this written test stage, Farid’s wife began to be supportive of Farid working for Emirates. At the end of 2010, Farid was informed that he passed, and was selected to proceed to the interviews round. Unexpectedly, in February 2011, he received the news that he was accepted to work for Emirates. Farid was elated and felt grateful. With his acceptance in Emirates, he resigned from his job of 10 years in Garuda.

The main reason for Farid to quit working for Garuda was to earn a higher income, and on top of that, working for an international and well-known airline was also something to be proud of. His salary in Emirates was Rp. 30 million, six times his monthly Salary in Garuda. In addition, in Dubai, he lived in an apartment, and his family was free to visit him any time. “The first one was the income, the second factor, not everyone has the opportunity to work overseas. I got an apartment. I also got free tickets for my family, anytime they want to come to Dubai, it’s free”, said Farid when asked about his motivations for working in Emirates.

For the time being, Farid had yet to devise a plan to bring his family to live together with him in Dubai. One day, when he could work for an extended
period in Dubai, it would be a possibility for his family to come live with him. Farid did not have further plans to pursue higher schooling. Currently, he envisioned himself working his best. “Right now, I don’t have any plans to go back to university, just focusing on my work”, said Farid who was a frequent user of Black Berry Messenger when asked about his plans to pursue higher education.
“Padang is short for Pandai dagang (excel in trading)”, said Rizal explaining his ethnic origin. This saying was truly ingrained in his outlook. Failing to complete primary school, Rizal currently owned three businesses with revenues exceeding the needs of his family. Rizal owned a Padangnese Restaurant, car rentals, and general/wedding video-making and photography business. Out of all his businesses, he only mentioned the revenue from his restaurant, which amounted to a minimum of Rp.1 million per day, and the amount he charged for his car rental service, Rp.300,000 /12 hours. In any one week, there was always somebody hiring his cars. He used the income from his rental service to pay for the car loans.

In 1998, when he was 13 years old, he followed his friends to migrate to Jakarta without the knowledge of his parents and family. He wished to migrate since he did not want to end up being a farmer like his father, and he was jealous of people who became successful migrants in Jakarta and subsequently returned to his village. With Rp.13,000 cash in his pocket, he left for Jakarta, and at that time, the bus fare from Padang to Jakarta was Rp.3,500. His destination was a crackling (crackers made from dried animal skins) factory in Ragunan, South Jakarta.

Working in a crackling factory was just a stepping stone for Rizal. At that time, he did not know what type of business he would take up. For him, the most important thing at the time was to be able to survive living in Jakarta. After working for six months, Rizal stopped working in the crackling factory due to the heavy work load which involved working from 7 in the morning until 10 at night. When he worked overtime, he could work until 1 a.m. without
additional pay. His wage at that time was Rp.15,000/month. While working, he received food and lived in an accommodation in the factory complex.

Once he stopped working in the crackling factory, Rizal went to see his uncle, who had a Padangnese restaurant in an area not far from where he first worked in Jatipadang, South Jakarta. The wage he received from working as a waiter in that restaurant was Rp.30,000/month. After six months working in the restaurant, Rizal resigned and went along with his fellow waiter who wanted to open up his own Padangnese restaurant.

During the month of Ramadan in the fourth year of him working, the restaurant where he worked was temporarily closed for Ramadan. It was unusual for restaurants to be closed for the entire duration of Ramadan. For Rizal, who migrated all by himself, not working for a whole month would have seriously impacted his earnings. In anticipation of being unemployed, Rizal moved to another restaurant in Bukit Duri area.

In his time working from one restaurant to another, Rizal, who started working as a waiter, began to learn how to cook. He learnt the ropes from how to mix and prepare the seasonings, and to finally process and cook the food.

Equipped with this experience, and a wife who happened to be the chef in the last restaurant he worked at, Rizal and his wife decided to open up their own restaurant. Seeing that there were not as many Padangnese restaurants as there are today, he was confident that he had what it takes to run a restaurant.

The initial capital that they had to start up a restaurant was Rp.800,000. That fund was spent on the rent for a stall, and to buy furniture and cooking equipment. As an entrepreneur, Rizal’s journey in running his business had its ups and downs. Eight months following the opening of his business, the owner of the stall wanted to convert it to a bicycles’ workshop. Rizal searched for and successfully located another stall, and he signed a 2 year lease. However, in just another eight months after the business opened, it turned out that the land, on which his stall was located, was already purchased by a large political organization planning to build an office. His stall was displaced without him receiving the appropriate compensation. With just enough capital, Rizal was forced to open up a street stall on a pedestrian foot path. He did not want to take the risk to lease another stall immediately, since he was worried that
none of the stalls were in a secure location. While running the street stall, he actively searched for a safe and more permanent location for his restaurant.

For 15 days, Rizal searched everywhere, until he located a place he thought was suitable and safe from the risk of future eviction. He rented a 4x5m property, paying rent of Rp.350,000 per year. Using a room divider, he transformed the property to house both his restaurant and his sleeping quarters. In his opinion, this restaurant had a much better location relative to his last one in Rawamangun. The location was right off the street, and not far from it, there was a tire factory. It was easy to imagine that the area was pretty lively, with many homes being rented. Nowadays, the area appeared densely populated and very lively. Not far from the restaurant, there were public transports bases for motorcycle taxis and public minivans (*angkutan kota*).

In this new location, Rizal’s restaurant continued to thrive. The restaurant was successfully renovated into a two-level property, where the top level was allocated for his family. Rizal and his wife helped each other in running their restaurant. Every day, they shopped together to purchase the ingredients for cooking. Sometimes, Rizal prepared the spices, and his wife would cook, or they took turns. Even now, they often went together to the market to shop. Most of the cooking responsibilities were done by his wife, since at times, Rizal had to attend to his customers from his car rental business, or to compile and document a wedding video or video clips.

With his undying efforts and tenacity, Rizal was able to buy a sizeable house, owned 3 motorbikes, and a car with the profits he generated from his restaurant business. The saying of “Pandai Dagang” was no longer a mere old saying, as in the last two years, he started expanding his business into car rentals and videography. To date, he indicated that his new businesses were going well. Let us hope that Rizal’s endeavour would give him fruitful results.
Irvan was born and raised in South Jakarta, and had lived their all his life. After he got married, he rented his own home, which was located at the back of his parents’ home. Irvan’s highest educational attainment was a Bachelor in Computerised Accounting. Since he really loved sports, he admitted that his true aspiration was to become an athlete. However, due to unknown reasons, he continued his study in computerised accounting following his high school graduation.

According to Irvan, both his parents were really ‘democratic’, giving their children the freedom to choose their own education. Irvan admitted that he still had hopes of continuing with his education, if such an opportunity presented itself. However, Irvan thought that obtaining higher education would require many considerations and preparations, as he was now married and working, hence, going back to university would imply a need for time management and impose considerable costs. Moreover, another equally important consideration was that he would need to be intellectually prepared for it.

Upon completing university, Irvan worked in a contractor (building) business owned by his friend. According to Irvan, since he was only helping his friend, he was not really ‘working’ the. He also did not have the regular monthly wage as an employee would have. In 2005, he took another job to work as a Collection Head in a Financial Multi Finance company who dealt in leasing. Irvan felt that he only started to experience ‘working’ once he began working in this leasing company. He was responsible for supervising the company’s subsidiaries across Jabotabek.
After working for 5 years in the leasing company, in mid 2010, Irvan moved to another building company owned by his other friend. He left his job in the leasing company as he was asked by his friend, who was the director in the new company, to work for him. Until now, Irvan had been working in the finance division of the company owned by his friend for approximately 6 months. In terms of his monthly earnings, Irvan thought that his current wage was higher by Rp.3,500,000 relative to his pay in the old job. His current monthly earnings ranged from Rp.5-Rp.7 millions.

Irvan’s parents’ house and his rented house were situated in a rather dense neighbourhood, in a relatively wide alley of 3 metres wide where cars could not pass through. Despite the dense population, the neighbourhood did not appear poor nor dirty as often the case in other densely populated areas in Jakarta. The house that Irvan rented was moderately sized, but appeared tidy, clean, well-cared for. The house was adequately furnished with seemingly nice furniture, such as a sofa and a coffee table, a wooden and glass cabinet to place ornaments, and a medium sized television.

Irvan got married in early 2010 after 13 years of courting. He met his wife when they were both studying in the same university. After one year of marriage, Irvan had not been blessed with a child. However, Irvan said that although they did not have any children yet, both him and his wife did not put much thoughts into it since they viewed the presence of children in marriage was a gift from God. Therefore, if God has not given or delay the presence of children in their marriage, such matters should not interfere with their marital relationship.

Irvan felt that he had an excellent and harmonious relationship with his wife as they had known each other for 13 years. Since he thought his wife was more thorough and detailed in managing their household finances, Irvan entrusted all money related matters and shopping for the household needs to his wife. Meanwhile, he envisioned caring and raising children, as well as doing housework to be shared responsibilities between husband and wife. Irvan had no problem with a working wife given that the purpose of her working was to supplement the household income when the husband’s earnings were not enough to meet the needs of the family. It turned out that Irvan’s wife was also working. In principle, Irvan did not mind and did not want to prevent his wife working outside the home, even once they have children. These days,
there were many women with children who continued to work and even had a commanding position.

Irvan was a proficient user of communication devices such as mobile phones and computer. He used his mobile phone to communicate with his friends and family, via both text messages and phone calls. However, Irvan used his Black Berry Messenger (BBM) service from his mobile phone relatively more often than text messaging and making/receiving calls. His BBM was always activated both at his office and at home. He paid a monthly fee of Rp.100 thousand-Rp.150 thousand per month for his mobile phones and BBM credits. In addition, he used the internet from his office on a daily basis for work, such as to search for data, and for emails, or for chatting through Facebook and Yahoo Messenger with his friends.
Because her father had passed away when Yeti was 12, and her mother could not afford sending her to school, Yeti only completed Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, comparable to primary schooling, in Bogor. Yeti stated that she really was not satisfied with her education. She really aspired to become a teacher. Having said that, she said that instead, she would let her children to attain a higher education level relative to the one she had.

Once she stopped going to school at age 12, she stayed home and helped her mother with her housework. After being unemployed for about one year, in 1992, when she was 13 years old, she was asked by her older sibling to move to Jakarta to work in a restaurant in Pasar Baru, Central Jakarta. When she started working for the first time, because a 13 year old was deemed too young and was not allowed to work, Yeti admitted that she lied about her age so she could be employed.

After working for a couple of years in the restaurant, she took up a new job in a textile company. After that, she changed jobs multiple times, working in a number of different restaurants in Jakarta. Yeti felt that working in a restaurant suited her well, perhaps, her mother’s cooking talents had been passed on to Yeti. When Yeti was small, her mother sold rice with side dishes in Bogor. Her frequent change of jobs, between one restaurant to another, made her want start up her own culinary business.

In 1999, Yeti married a man who was also Sundanese. Her husband was a Soto Bogor cart vendor in West Jakarta. Soto Bogor is a type of soup
containing, noodle, vegetables and meet. Yeti lived with her husband, renting a house in a densely populated neighbourhood. After a year of marriage, Yeti and her husband had an idea of expanding their enterprise in 2000. With the money they had, they added 2 more carts in their possession, making a total fleet of 3 carts. Then, they looked for people willing to go around selling Soto Bogor.

In running their Soto business, Yeti and her husband provided the carts and all the eating utensils and equipment, and cooked all the ingredients for the soto in their rented home. Their employees were the ones in charge of pushing the carts and selling the soto, and were subsequently paid a percentage of the profits from selling the soto. The profit distribution scheme saw Yeti and her husband earning 75 per cent of the income, and the remaining 25 per cent went to their employees/sellers. On average, she can earned about Rp.100,000 per day per cart. These employees sold their soto by standing by in crowded urban centres, such as shopping centres, markets, and office complexes in the Mangga Besar area, Central Jakarta.

The business ran by Yeti and her husband was successful, and overtime, the number of their carts continued to increase, reaching 11 carts in 2010. Apart from housing their family, their rented home also accommodated their carts and their employees. Every day, all of their soto carts were housed in their modestly sized rented home before and after the day trading. Yeti’s rented home appeared in poor condition because apart from having the carts parked in the limited space of her courtyard, some were also parked inside her house.

Yeti’s wish to expand her business was unstoppable, and since 2010, Yeti opened a grocery shop selling everyday needs such as sembako (9 basic needs), snacks, soft drinks, cigarettes, and others. The grocery shop she rented was a modest size of 2x3 metre, and was located in the same alley as, and 20 metres apart from Yeti’s rented home. From her grocery store, she earned a minimum of Rp.50,000 daily. When she had many customers, she could earn around Rp.100,000.

Yeti felt grateful as her businesses had been doing well. She also had a good relationship with her husband. They shared responsibilities in managing their family and their business. Both Yeti and her husband managed the finances. Her husband was responsible for shopping for the ingredients.
needed for the soto, while Yeti helped her husband to process the ingredients and cook the soto. Yeti mostly looked after their children, but her husband was not reluctant to help clean the house and pay electricity bills.

From the income gained through their businesses, Yeti and her husband have also been able to build a house in Bogor, where she was born, and to buy a motorcycle. In addition, Yeti sends money once a month to her parents. She hopes that she can send her children to school, all the way through the highest education levels as they aspired. Not like herself, who could only afford to study up to Ibtidaiyah.

![Photo 7. Yeti’s house and small shop](image)
Dinda Pratiwi, who was called by the name of Tiwi by family and friends, was the last child from a family of four children. Tiwi was born in Jakarta, and came from a Javanese family. After finishing her high school in Jakarta, she continued to pursue her education in the Indonesian Art Institute (ISI) in Yogyakarta. She took up a major in sculpting. Tiwi said that the path of education that she chose was in line with her personal interests. Tiwi did not feel any coercion from her parents when it was time to decide which educational path she would put her interests into.

Tiwi admitted that her interests in Arts came from her family. Although nobody in her family pursued their interests in the art of sculpting and visual arts, almost all of her family liked music. Tiwi said that almost all of her family member could play a musical instrument. Tiwi also had the opinion that embarking into the world of arts required one’s own personal motivation, as such, she abandoned her wish to take up music in university, and decided to take up a major in sculpture.

Her love for the world of art motivated her to go back to university. However, she said she did have the any interests in pursuing higher qualification, instead, she wished to take up another major in art.

Although she was not directly involved with the art world, Tiwi worked as an art teacher in a private school in Jakarta. Living her daily life as a teacher had given her immense satisfaction and pride. She applied her life principals in the lessons she gave to her students. Quoting a saying by a prominent figure, she said, “... if you work hard, you can do it with a talent of one per cent”. Tiwi chose to teach in a way that was pleasant for the children. She did not want her students to feel pressured in learning.
When she decided to work as a teacher, everyone in her family was surprised. She said, when her mother was still alive, her mother had gone to a Teaching Vocational High School (SPG), but had to quit since she decided to marry Tiwi’s father. Tiwi’s decision to become a teacher was interpreted as reviving her mother’s lost aspiration.

Initially, starting a life as a teacher was not an easy task. Tiwi said that in the beginning, she taught in a variety of places to meet her financial needs. “I was once frustrated because after teaching in 4 schools in one month, I only received Rp.900,000. So I was frustrated and unsure whether I could become what I aspired to be”, said Tiwi. In the end, she was accepted as a permanent teaching staff in a private school, with a wage that she felt was enough to meet her needs. Even though she currently felt that her life was pretty stable, when she recalled her experiences as a fresh graduate, she said that she was once unemployed for a year.

Tiwi did not view her job working a teacher in a negative light. As a graduate from an art institute, she wished to open up an art gallery to showcase her pieces of work. However, she also realised that with her financial situation and her being not so young anymore—it made sense to consider looking for another career path. Tiwi said that although she was a teacher now, she saw her current vocation as a stepping stone to launch her career. Tiwi diligently saved up to realize her goal to open an art gallery.

In Tiwi’s opinion, her experience of studying in a city that was different to the place where she currently resided made her rather dependent on communication technologies. Tiwi used text messages and Facebook to maintain communication with her friends in Yogya. However, since she did not have any close friends at the moment, she did not frequently use such technologies to communicate with her friends from university.
Dedi was an economics/development studies graduate from Jenderal Sudirman University, in Purwokerto, Jawa Tengah. He was accepted to study in the field that he chose himself through the Public University entrance pathway. He admitted that he did not have any role models when deciding what courses to take at university, and he did not remember what he had once aspired to become when he was a child. However, Dedi was really interested in economics, so he chose to study economics/development studies. Upon his graduation in 2001, Dedi already had a wish to start up his own business. He had worked in a company for two months, but he did not continue his employment because he felt tired, and his true interests revolved around opening up his own business.

Although he was satisfied with the bachelor’s degree he had earned, Dedi would still like to pursue a Master’s degree. However, as he had yet to find the right timing for it, he was not able to continue his schooling yet. Currently, Dedi managed his mobile phones outlet, which he started in 2003. Dedi already showed interests in opening up a business since university, albeit it being a small business. This business was the result of purely his decision, without any parental interference.

The activities he carried out in his business include: buying and selling of mobile phones, selling phone credits, mobile phones’ service and repairs, software installations and mobile phones’ application. The monthly profit he gathered from this business ranged between Rp.3,000,000-Rp.5,000,000. Dedi felt his income was enough to meet his needs.
The strategic location of his outlet had enabled his business to survive. In addition, Dedi also felt that the internet had contributed to the growth of his business. He conducted promotions through internet forums to make his business more popular. He downloaded software and mobile phones applications from the internet. Dedi said that the use of internet was really profitable for his business. Apart from being able to carry out promotions for free, he could also attain a really broad customer base. Up to today, Dedi still wished to go on with his business, as this was the occupation that matched his aspirations. Dedi had never been married, but he had a girlfriend he had known since primary school. Dedi expressed that his current partner already met the criteria for the kind of wife he wanted. He already had plans to get married, but he was not certain when it would take place. Dedi already turned 31, and since he thought the ideal age for a man to get married was 30 years old, he already had the intentions to marry his partner.

For Dedi, there was not any particular milestone that needed to be completed prior to marriage. As long as he was ready and had the right partner, marriage could take place any time. A regular employment and a home may be secured following marriage, so the most important thing was for the couple to be able to be responsible in forming a family. Upon marriage, Dedi did not wish to delay having children...if he was blessed with a child. Dedi’s opinion regarding gender role division of labour was for the wife to manage all the household needs, and for the husband to earn a living and to support his wife in managing the household. The wife would take up the role in managing the household finances such as paying the electricity bill and shopping for everyday needs. The wife would also be responsible for looking after the children, including for example, taking them to hospitals and enrolling them in school.

Dedi contended that having a stay at home wife would be a better option however should his partner wish to continue working after they get married, it would not be a problem. However, once they have children, it would be better to make looking after their children a priority.
Gambar 8. Dedi’s mobile phone shop
Yuniarti was born and raised in Kediri, East Java. She was the first child among four siblings and compared to her siblings, she was very devoted to her parents. Following the advice from her parents, she went to religious schools starting from Tsanawiyah (Junior High School) to Aliyah (High School). Apart from following her parents’ advice in her schooling, she was also obedient to his father’s wishes when it came to marriage. Yuniarti relented to an unregistered Islamic marriage to preserve the honour of her parents who had already promised to marry her off. Although the marriage only lasted for one day, at least she already had the courage to change her status from being a virgin to become a ‘divorcee’. There was not any sexual intercourse in that marriage. On her wedding night, she chose to sleep with her grandmother and her best friend. The following day, Yuniarti returned to her parents’ home. Since then, she did not want to meet her said husband.

When she migrated to Jakarta, Yuniarti worked as a Sales Promotion Girl (SPG) in Ramayana Department Store. Here, Yuniarti met a man who worked as a garment trader operating in the near vicinity of her work. Yuniarti confessed to the man that she was a divorcee, but she was still a virgin. In 1997, when she was 19, their romance continued to marriage despite the fact that her parents did not really like her choice of marrying a Sundanese man. Her parents preferred their children to marry someone from the same ethnicity and who professed the same religion.

After marriage, Yuniarti stopped working as an SPG. Together with her husband, they managed a business, selling garments in Palmerah Market. Although they were still living in a rented home in Cipulir, it could be said that
the economic condition in Yuniarti’s family had improved since she got married until the time her first child was three years old. Their garment business continued to growth to a point where they could afford to purchase a kiosk/store in that market.

In 1998, when a plague of instability hit Indonesia and riots occurred in Jakarta, Yuniarti’s kiosk in Palmerah looted and burnt down. None of her assets in that market could be saved. It was lucky that all of the vendors in Palmerah received compensation from a church and the management of Pasar Palmerah of Rp.1,000,000 following the riots. The compensation meant a lot in such time of adversities.

With the leftover money and the compensation, her husband tried to get their business back up and running. Yuniarti’s and her husband’s efforts were fruitful as their business did manage to spring back up, despite failing to yield comparable revenues to what they earned prior to the riots. Approaching the third birthday their child, a second tragedy strikes. Yuniarti found out that her husband had remarried again through an unregistered Islamic marriage. At that time, Yuniarti felt as if the world had ended. She could not stand seeing what had happened to her family, and went back to Kediri with her child.

Without the knowledge of her husband, Yuniarti went migrated back to Jakarta alone, entrusting her child to her parents. For a period of approximately three months, Yuniarti lived alone in a rented home, and while looking for better job opportunities, she worked as a waitress in a Japanese restaurant. While she was hiding in Jakarta, it turned out that her husband had persistently tried to locate her, from going to Kediri to looking for her in Viva Cosmetics, a company where she works. Eventually, they agreed for reconciliation under the condition that her husband must divorce his illegal wife.

After being reconciled for three years, Yuniarti delivered her second child. Upon the birth of her second child, Yuniarti decided to stop working and chose to be a housewife in 2007. Since the beginning of her marriage until now, the household finances had been managed by her husband. Yuniarti was only given shopping money for food, amounting to Rp.40,000 per day. Her husband bought other necessities, such as milk for their child, and other household needs like soaps and clothing. When Yuniarti wanted to buy clothes for her children, she would ask her husband for money. Such money management
patterns, according Yuniarti, was a common practice for families whose lives depend on trading. Since her husband was the only one working for the time being, it was acceptable that he should be the one managing the household finances.

Yuniarti managed the shopping fund allocated by her husband very well. Every day, she tried to save up some of the money. Without the knowledge of her husband, she owned a savings account in a bank. She used some of her savings to buy her children’s and her personal necessities. She even once used Rp.1,000,000 of her savings to add to her husbands’ trading capital to buy clothes. Yuniarti told her husband that she borrowed that money from her friend, and not from her savings. By saying that it was a loan, her husband should then return that money.

So far, Yuniarti had not been suspicious of her husband’s admission of how much profits he made from his garment trading business. Her husband frequently shared stories on what he did at work all day, starting from picking up clothes from a store or a textile factory, and then sending them to a variety of stores in Jakarta and Tangerang. Yuniarti never had bad thoughts against her husband, wondering whether he really had divorced his illegal second wife, or whether he would repeat what he did once again. Even if such things eventuated, she could not care less, let alone leave her husband as she once did. The one thing weighing up her mind was the feeling that she could not survive should she become separated from her husband, because she did not have a job that could adequately provide for her children, whose needs kept on growing as they got older.
Iis was born in Majalengka, West Java, 33 years ago. She only managed to complete primary schooling since she was prevented to go on to further schooling by her parents. Her parents reasoned that it was useless for a girl to attain high education since she would end up in a kitchen anyway. According to Iis, the main reason her parents stopped sending her to school was actually to do with fact that her parents could no longer afford to send her to school. She came from a large family, with eight other brothers and sisters. Her father – who was mere farmer - took a liking for marrying women, so he ended up having many children.

In 1990, when Iis was just 13 years old, she departed to Jakarta in search for a job while living in her older sibling’s house. She could not stand living in her village anymore since her father was no longer able to look after her, particularly ever since the death of her biological mother. She was jealous of her cousins or neighbours her age who were given new clothes by their parents. This was something that she never experienced. At that time, she knew that there were many people from her village who migrated to Jakarta, and every time they returned home, they always brought with them souvenirs and gifts for their family back home. For that reason, Iis really wanted to migrate to Jakarta so she could buy nice clothes.

In Jakarta, Iis immediately began working for a textile home industry located not too far away from the house of her aunt and her older sibling, who had earlier migrated to Jakarta. The first time she worked, her pay was Rp.1,500/day. After using up the money to eat and to buy snacks, Iis could save up between Rp.800- Rp.900 every day. The price for a portion of rice with
a side dish of soy cake and vegetables at that time was Rp.200. She already felt happy to be able to earn her own money.

Although Iis had changed jobs many times, she continued to work in the textile industry all along. The last employment she had was with a company in West Jakarta, which lasted until her second pregnancy. The company was located not too far from where she lived. The reason she quit her job was because there was nobody to look after her two children. When she had her first child, her older sibling looked after the baby. After the birth of her second child, her older sibling could no longer look after her children. She was earning Rp. 600,000/month and even with the additional income of her husband, they could not afford to pay for the wage of a domestic worker to look after the children. Their combined income was only enough to buy milk for their children and for their daily necessities. It was fortunate that after she stopped working in 2002, she received a pay out of Rp. 10,000,000 which was then used to purchase a 3x4 m home.

Iis married a man of Chinese descent from Teluk Melano, Ketapang, West Kalimantan, who happened to live in a rented home not too far from where she lived at that time. He was a junior high school graduate and worked casually in the textile industry, earning an income between Rp. 700,000-Rp. 900,000 per week when plenty of jobs were available. When demand for clothing was low, her husband’s earning also fell to about Rp. 300,000 – Rp. 500,000 per week. Her husband did not give Iis all of his income. When there was little work available she was only given Rp. 200,000/week. When there was plenty of jobs for her husband, he gave her no more than Rp. 300,000/week. All of the income she received was used for household expenses, including groceries, electricity and water bills, and her children’s education expenses. Such limited amount of money, exacerbated with her unemployment, meant that her household needs could not be met. Asking for additional money from her husband was impossible, as her husband also needed money for his food related expenses at his work.

Realising her household financial condition, Iis wanted to go back to work, but she realised it was impossible. As such, Iis tried to manage the money she received from her husband as thriftily as she could. She tried to save up Rp. 10,000-Rp. 20,000 every week, and used the savings to pay for her children’s school fees.
She had the initiative to undertake a number of income generating activities to supplement her budget. She made cakes/fried snacks to sell around the neighbourhood, or at small neighbourhood kiosks. As an alternative, she would also go along with her neighbour to cook specially ordered festive yellow rice offerings (tumpeng). The income she earned from cooking and selling ranged between Rp.30,000-Rp.40,000. Unfortunately, Iis could not sell her fried snacks every day due to her child caring responsibilities. Her husband did not want to look after the children at all. Iis had the sole responsibilities to do the housework, while her husband was the one responsible to be the breadwinner even though her husband’s income was not enough to meet their ever increasing household expenses.

Despite all the hardships in her life, Iis still felt temporarily grateful because the company where her husband worked had been doing well in the last one year. Accordingly, her husband’s earnings increased, and every week he could earn between Rp.900,000-Rp.1,000,000. With the rise in her husband’s earnings, her shopping budget also rose. She hoped that such situation could last for a long time, so she could focus on looking after her child, and their schooling expenses could be met every month. Once her kids can look after themselves, as in bathing and feeding themselves, she would like to go back to work in the same company she last worked for. The management division of that company often offered her a job whenever she came to visit old workmates working in that company.
Joko was born in Ponorogo, East Java in 1978. Joko was the last child in a family of three children, and he was the only boy. His mother died when he was 2 years old. After his mother passed away, his father entrusted him to live in his grandmother’s house while his father migrated to Palembang. When Joko started Junior High School, his father returned to Ponorogo. Joko’s parents had never gone to school; they were farmers working in the village.

Since he was a kid, Joko aspired to either be soldier or a police. Due to economic constraints, he could only manage to finish Junior High School despite aspiring to continue to High School. Upon his Junior High School completion, his father wished for Joko to follow his older cousins who worked as a foreman in Jakarta. But Joko refused to follow his father’s request. Realising that his parent could not pay for his education, Joko tried to apply for the Police Force and the ARMY Special Forces Command (Kopassus). Equipped with his Junior High School certificate, he tried to apply for both when he was 15 in 1993, but his plan failed as his parent could not afford to pay for the Rp.4,000,000 application fee.

His father realized that Joko wanted to continue his schooling. But his father could not afford it. Using this information to his advantage, the father then ‘tricked’ Joko by saying that his older cousin, who was a foreman working in Jakarta, would send him to a Senior High School. Joko eagerly departed for Jakarta and he lived with his aunt (his father’s sister) in Bekasi – East Jakarta. He waited and waited, and subsequently, he was confused why it was taking so long for them to enroll him in school. While waiting to be sent to school, Joko helped his aunt selling rice in the Pertamina housing compound in
Jatiwaringin, Bekasi. After a while, Joko realized that it was highly unlikely that he would be sent to school. In the end, Joko agreed to come along to work in building sites. His felt that working on the building sites was his only choice since he was embarrassed to go back to his village, and on top of that, there was nothing to do back there.

The income he earned being a labourer in building sites was admittedly small, but being single, it was enough for Joko. However, the income was not always reliable since building projects were not always available. Sometimes, there were no jobs for one - two months. Joko often heard his older sister argue with her husband who worked as a labourer. The arguments were mostly caused by her husband’s income, which was not sufficient for their household. For this reason, Joko decided to quit working as a labourer and looked for another job, as a public minivan driver (angkot). He worked as a minivan driver for four years. After that, he changed to become a personal driver. When he became bored after working as a personal driver for 10 years, he switched career to work as an employee in an alternative medicine clinic in a housing complex in Bekasi.

He worked for two years, and eventually quit when he saw the number of patients gradually decreased over time. Following that particular job, in the beginning of 2009, Joko began to work as an entrepreneur, selling mobile phones and mobile phone credits. From all of his work experience, he felt that this was his most successful venture. His business continued to grow, until one day when a tragedy fell upon him. He was arrested by the police in an illegal gambling scene in Bekasi at the end of 2010. At that time, his business could potentially generate a monthly profit up to Rp.5,000,000.

Joko still remembered the details when he was arrested by the police. Once his business was closed for the day, a friend had asked him to hang out with their other friends in a house. It turned out that his friends were gambling *dalu koprok* and *kartu* (dice and cards) in that house. Unexpectedly, the police suddenly came and raided the house. According to Joko, he was just there to watch and he did not participate in gambling. But the police’s report and others arrested in the house stated that he was gambling. Joko felt his world was falling apart. He could not do anything. He tried to appeal his case, but the judge merely threatened to increase his prison time. At that time, he felt that the law was essentially unjust, especially if you were poor.
When Joko was imprisoned in Bekasi Jail, his growing business could no longer continue as his wife was unable to overtake and run it. All of the assets from his business were sold to support his wife and three children. The one thing that terribly upset him was that he felt he was trapped by his own close friend. Joko thought it was possible that his friend was jealous of the progress in Joko’s business.

Joko was imprisoned for nine months and was released prior to the Ied celebration in 2011. In the three months after his release (when the interview was conducted), the memories of how difficult life was in prison continued to haunt him. At the moment, Joko was trying to get back on his feet. As a starting step, he began working as a personal driver at a kindergarten where his wife worked in Bekasi. He was paid Rp.600,000 per month, with an additional daily meal allowance of Rp.15,000. It could be said that Joko worked every day, because on Sundays, he was often asked to drive his boss’s children around.

Joko’s wife worked every day as a guard in the kindergarten. She had been working in the school for 12 years. The kindergarten was quite large so its owner allocated some of the rooms for Joko and his family to live. The owner of this kindergarten was actually his boss during the time he worked as a personal driver in the past. The same person employed him once again after he was released from prison. Joko felt grateful because his employer was kind hearted and willing to let him go back to work and live in the school.

These days, Joko would be extremely careful in selecting who his friends were. He did not want to hang out with his old friends. His neighbours were the only current friends he had. Now, he just focused on his work, and wished to pay back the sins he committed for ‘abandoning’ his family. One day, he wished that he could rise back up, owning a business and not be dependent on other people.
Photo 9. Joko being interviewed in the kindergarten where his wife works and where his family lived.
The 25 years old Nuraini was born from a Sundanese parents. Her mother came from Bogor, and her father came from Karawang, West Java. Nuraini herself felt like she was a Jakartan because she had never been back to her parents' hometowns. Her parents never took her to either Bogor or Karawang. She rented a place with her younger and older sibling in Rawa Badak, Jakarta. It could be said that Nuraini lived in a crowded slum.

Nuraini only completed Junior High School because her parents could not afford to pay for her education. Her father passed away 13 years ago when she was 11 years old. Her mother passed away four years ago. If truth be told, Nuraini wanted to continue to study in a SMEA (commerce vocational high school) and become a stewardess. But she was satisfied with her existing education qualification. At least, she had the experience of being in school.

When interviewed, Nuraini was unemployed since she had to look after her three months old baby. Her husband would let her go back to work once her child turned one. In the past, Nuraini had worked in a thread disposal factory worker (buruh pembuang benang) in a textile factory in Kawasan Berikat Nasional (KBN), in Cakung East Jakarta. Her other work experience included working as a cafeteria waitress in a number of office buildings, and selling coconut rice (nasi uduk) around the neighbourhood.

Nuraini’s husband only managed to complete primary school, and came from Sumedang, West Java. Her husband’s parents came from a poor family. When she met her husband, he was working as a labourer in building sites. About five months ago (when the interview was conducted), her husband left to work in Malaysia as a car spray paint worker on a three year contract. Her husband would only return back to Indonesia when his contract ended.
Nuraini wanted to return to work as soon as she gets a job offer. This was because she thought that the monthly remittance of Rp.1,500,000 her husband sent her was insufficient. To meet her needs, the remittance needed to be supplemented. She wished to return to work in the textile factory since the employment criteria were easy to meet, and a maximum pay of Rp.400,000 pay was given fortnightly. In her opinion, it was not a problem for a wife to work given that the husband’s earnings was insufficient. She could ask her currently unemployed older and younger sibling to look after her child.

At the time of the interview, Nuraini felt that she was already (financially) independent because she had a husband and did not depend on anyone else. She felt she had been (financially) independent since she was 20 years old because she had worked since then, and could provide financial support for his parents. According to Nuraini, this was different to what happened before she was 20 years old, when she did not have a job and still asked her parents for money. At that time, the only thing she did was just playing around. To be independent, according to Nuraini, meant that one would stop troubling his/her parents, and be able to do anything for him or herself.

Nuraini confessed that she had many friends from her neighbourhood and from work. Most of her friends were males, working as truck drivers and office boys. This was especially the case when she was working in a cafeteria. She preferred to be friends with men because they could keep secrets much better than women, who tend to talk too much and spread rumors. She thought friends were really important because they could help each other, and shared their life experiences. For her, friends are not only there to share each other’s innermost feelings, but they could also help each other financially. She had one friend who always helped her in everything, and sometimes when she did not have any money to buy milk for her child, her friend would buy it for her. She communicated almost everyday with this particular friend via a mobile phone, through calls as well as text messages.

Although she had been living apart from her husband who was working in Malaysia for 5 months, she felt that her relationship with her husband was going well. Her husband usually called her two-three times a week. Nuraini met her husband through a friend, who introduced them when she visited North Jakarta. In her opinion, her husband had met her criteria for a partner, since he could accept her just the way she was, and he also had a great personality. However, at that time, her husband was not well off financially as he did not have any regular jobs.
Nuraini married eight months ago (since the interview was conducted), after two years of courtship at 24 years of age. They did not have a wedding party since they had no means of funding it. She gave birth five months after they got married. Before they were legally married, she frequently had sexual relationship with her now husband because she was sure he was going to marry her. She felt grateful that her husband fulfilled his promise. Should she feel incompatible with her husband in the future, she would have the courage to ask for a divorce. In her opinion, there was no point to keep the family together when they were no longer compatible. It would only make her feel exhausted.

Although she did not have a wedding party, she did have a small gathering as a token of gratitude for her marriage with her family and close neighbours. She believed that a wedding party is important for women since the memories could be then be passed on to and shared with their children one day.

Nuraini expressed that she did not belong to any organisations, including any religious or political organisations. She did not attend the prayers’ gathering (pengajian) in her neighbourhood as she would have been busy with her baby. During the election campaign in the past, she liked to participate in the parade whenever there was a political party who gave out money away, like the case of PDIP and Demokrat. She felt that she has no interests in joining either social organization or political parties.

Religion wise, she confessed that she was not a devout Muslim. She rarely read the Quran, and she only read Surah Yasin on Thursday evenings once in a while. Similarly, she did not strictly adhere to the praying and fasting schedule. She rarely went to the mosque, only a couple of times during Ramadan to participate in Tarawih. She did not wear a veil, although she was happy to see others who would wear one as the veil made them look prettier. She herself had no intention of wearing the hijab. In her opinion, religion made wearing the hijab compulsory for women, but then whether one would wear it or not is up to the individual.

The original paper entitled “The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey: Profil Penduduk Usia Muda di Jakarta, Tangerang dan Bekasi” was translated to English by Dr. Ariane J. Utomo.
Photos of living area where respondent lived

Photo 10. Multi-purpose kitchen, 2011

Photo 11. Public toilet, 2011

Photo 12. Alley to housing area, 2012

Photo 13. The interior of a low income house, 2011

Photo 14. Vendor cart for selling ginger tea

Photo 16. Rented house of vendors
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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.
