



Child Poverty in Indonesia

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■ Technical terms

Poverty rate	Headcount ratio, known as P0 (Foster, Greer, andThorbecke, 2010). The monetary poverty rate shows the percentage of the population living in households below the poverty line. The child poverty rate points to the percentage of all children living in households below the poverty line.
Poverty gap	Known as P1 (Foster, Greer, andThorbecke, 2010). The poverty gap shows how far away household incomesare from the poverty line. The smaller the figure, the less severe their poverty.
Poverty severity	Squared poverty gap measure, known as P ₂ (Foster, Greer, andThorbecke, 2010). The poverty severity measure focuses on the poorest. The larger this figure, the more inequality among the poor.

■ List of abbreviations

BLT-DD	Bantuan Langsung Tunai-Dana Desa	Village fund direct cash assistance
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik	Statistics Indonesia
BST	Bantuan Sosial Tunai	Direct Cash Assistance
FGT		Foster, Greer, andThorbecke
GoI		Government of Indonesia
PCE		Per Capita Expenditure
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan	Family of Hope Programme
PPP		Purchasing Power Parity
Susenas	Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional	National Socioeconomic Survey
UNICEF		United Nations Children's Fund

■ Executive summary

Children in Indonesia, as is the case in any country, are acutely vulnerable to the negative consequences of poverty. Thus, identifying and recognizing the characteristics of children living in poverty is the first line of defense against a rising child poverty rate. Many may rationalize child poverty as a direct reflection of household poverty rates. However, to create an accurate child poverty threshold, researchers must first track individual child consumption which is considered challenging (Evans, 2019).

This report examines the child poverty situation in Indonesia based on a monetary dimension analysis. The report classifies children as ‘poor’ if they live in a household with per capita expenditure below the national poverty line.

The purpose of this report is to analyze the extent and nature of monetary child poverty in Indonesia, the characteristics of poor children and the households they reside in, and child poverty dynamics over time. It also analyzes the impacts of social assistance provided in September 2020 to mitigate COVID-19 shocks, particularly on poor children. Each analysis in this report utilizes National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) data. Using the said data, this report only reflects the situation of children who live in the households in Indonesia. However, due to the limitations of this report, special attention must also be paid to other vulnerable groups of children, such as those on the street and in institutions. Based on Susenas March 2020 data, 11.80 per cent of the total child population lived in households below the national poverty line set by Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in 2022. The study carried out a logit regression model using children’s poverty status in considering their individual and household characteristics as

the explanatory variables. The analysis aimed to explain socioeconomic and demographic factors that explain higher likelihood of falling into poverty in 2022. Findings show that children in younger age groups, with a disability, living in single-parent households, living in households with heads having the lowest level of education attainment, living in households with the head working in agriculture and children living in urban areas are more associated with being poor.

Interestingly, the likelihood of being poor if children live in an urban area contrasts with child poverty findings in 2016 (UNICEF, 2017), when rural children were more likely to be poor. The COVID-19 pandemic, which mostly affected people living in urban areas, was likely the source of this contradictory phenomena (UNICEF, UNDP, Prospera, and SMERU, 2022; ILO and OECD, 2020). These results indicate that there might be no fixed traits to recognize and precisely target children in poverty. This suggests that making use of social safety nets, which can assist all children in times of shock, is crucial.

A trend analysis using Susenas 2017-2022 data was conducted to examine child poverty at the national level. According to the trend analysis of the poverty rate and extreme poverty rate of children and other age groups in the population, the child poverty rate did not appear to decrease compared to that of adults or the elderly. The central and local governments provided various social protection programmes for the elderly persons from 2017 to 2021. Intuitively, the programmes might have contributed to the decreasing elderly poverty rate. However, it could be argued that in the future, tailor-made social protection programmes for children should be increased in type, value, and coverage. Thus,

this could trigger a decrease in child poverty rates.

Lastly, a simulation was carried out to examine how social assistance programmes disbursed from September 2020 could have helped lessen the impact of COVID-19 shocks, especially on poor children. Findings show that with respect to the welfare groups, children across cohorts of expenditure percentiles were equally impacted by the pandemic and that social assistance helped children in the lowest

cohort. However, children living in a household receiving *Program Keluarga Harapan*/Family Hope Programme (PKH) and other social protection programmes could better cope with shocks than those living in a household only receiving PKH. This result highlights the importance of integrating PKH with social protection programmes that focus specifically on individual children as well as making the current social protection system more adaptive to various shocks.

1. Introduction



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Previous empirical studies show that children living in poor or deprived households experience worse children's outcomes than children from wealthier households (Cooper and Stewart, 2021). Parents or guardians of children in poor households commonly have difficulties meeting their needs, such as nutritious food, good education, quality health care, and adequate housing. Thus, children who live in poor households have greater risks of being stunted, poor school performance, and even dropping out of school (Duncan, Ziol-Guest, and Kalil, 2010). Living in poverty during childhood also leads to a lack of opportunities for higher-paying jobs and, hence, low earnings in adulthood (Rizky, Suryadarma, and Suryahadi, 2019).

In Indonesia, the child poverty rate generally refers to monetary child poverty. It is measured using monetary aggregates, usually income or expenditure at household level. If the aggregates fall below a certain poverty line, then the household and all its members are categorized as 'poor'. It must be acknowledged that there is an ongoing debate whether the child poverty rate duplicates the household poverty rate. However, developing a specific child poverty line requires tracking children's consumption individually, which is considered challenging in most surveys (Evans, 2019).

An enabling environment encompassing national policy and budget allocations specifically targeted towards children is critical in order to protect children against the negative consequences of poverty. Nevertheless, firstly, profiles of children in poverty must be determined to inform policy. The inclusion of children living in poverty is directly in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, ensuring no child is left behind.

As a result, the purpose of this report is to identify and analyze the nature and extent of monetary child poverty in Indonesia, the characteristics of poor children and the households they reside in, and child poverty

dynamics over time. Using available data, this report only reflects the situation of children who live in particular types of households in Indonesia. As such, due to this report's limitations, there is a need to research and shine a light on the situation of other vulnerable children, such as those on the street and in institutions. This study on child poverty complements the official publication released by Statistics Indonesia (BPS) (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022). As part of this project, two other studies on children's welfare – the Multiple Overlapping Deprivation Analysis (MODA) and Monitoring and Analyzing Poverty Across Space (MAPS) – have been published.

This report, *Quantitative analysis of monetary child poverty in Indonesia*, is divided into five sections. Following the first section's introduction to the report, section two explains the static monetary child poverty analysis, which explores child poverty on a national level and is disaggregated through various household characteristics, as well as the determinants of child poverty, using the 2022 household survey dataset. Section three focuses on dynamic child poverty using panel data from 2020 that specifically aims to understand the characteristics of children who fell into poverty during this year when COVID-19 pandemic pressures on the economy began to bite. Recent evidence from the pandemic shows that children were affected due to household economic pressures, leading to increased poverty risks and other negative education and health outcomes (UNICEF, UNDP, PROSPERA, and SMERU, 2022). The Government of Indonesia addressed pandemic challenges by rolling out social protection programmes focused on families and individuals. In section four, the study explores whether the provision of social assistance in September 2020 mitigated COVID-19 shocks, particularly for children in poor households. Finally, section five features a discussion on the overall child poverty analysis. Overall, the findings serve as evidence for informing policymaking and can be used to set priorities to reduce child poverty levels.

2. Static Monetary Child Poverty Analysis



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This section examines the analysis of static monetary child poverty in March 2022. Based on Indonesia's Law on Child Protection No. 23 of 2002, children in Indonesia are individuals aged 0–17 years. Hereafter, this definition of children is used.

2.1 Data

This study provides a profile of child poverty based on the March 2022 round of the National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas). It interviewed a representative sample of 339,584 households consisting of 1,237,946 individuals, including 404,644 children aged 0–17 years. The annual Susenas publishes Core and Module datasets. The Susenas Core consists of information on every person in the household, while household data only covers information at a household level, such as housing conditions and assets.

Susenas is designed to be nationally representative and can be used as the basis for several official indicators, such as poverty rates and demographic estimates. The survey uses multistage sampling, with the sampling frame based on Indonesian census data conducted in 2020. The poverty rates and demographic estimates of the March round of Susenas (across years) can be representative at the national, provincial, and *kabupaten* (district)/*kota* (city) levels for households and individuals. However, since the study restricted the sample to individual children aged 0–17 years, the analysis could only be represented at the national level.

The Susenas Module in March 2022 is the consumption expenditure module, which consists of information on food consumption and non-food consumption. The consumption module provides information on household expenditure per capita, the source of data for the measurement of official poverty statistics in Indonesia. The study also uses Susenas from March 2017 to March 2021. The data allows us to show the trends in child poverty at the national level across years.

2.2 Research methodology

We conducted two analyses of monetary child poverty using Susenas March 2022 data and an analysis of child poverty trends using Susenas 2017–2022 data.

2.2.1 Methods of measuring rates of child poverty

Section 2.3 reveals the profile of children living in poverty in 2022, which includes levels of child poverty and disaggregation based on relevant characteristics. Children are classified as 'poor' if they live in a household with per capita expenditure below a certain poverty line. Three poverty lines were considered in this study. The first is the national poverty line set by BPS for the 2022 poverty calculation. This poverty line represents the estimated cost of minimum food consumption of 2,100 calories per person, per day and basic non-food commodities. The poverty line data published by BPS are specific to each urban-rural area in each province and adjusted based on the differences in cost of living. Applying the poverty line data to the Susenas consumption module allows for calculations to the national, provincial, and *kabupaten/kota* level.

The second poverty line is a threshold to capture households living in a situation of vulnerability, which is set at twice the national poverty line. This somewhat arbitrary poverty line is used as a cross-sectional measure to identify the population considered to be at risk of poverty. The third is the international threshold for extreme poverty at US\$1.9 per person per day in 2011, the purchasing power parity (PPP) adjusted for inflation. In 2017, the World Bank published the revised US\$1.9 PPP, which equals Rp10.195,6. In 2022, based on the PPP conversion in 2017 adjusted for inflation, BPS measured the US\$1.9 PPP as equivalent to Rp11.633,2 per capita a day or Rp348.996 per capita a month.

The comparison of household expenditure per capita and the selected poverty lines reflected against the aggregate number for the child population can produce the poverty measures

for children. In this analysis, Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke (FGT) poverty measures were used (Foster, Greer, and Thorbecke, 2010). For a more simple and intuitive poverty measure, the headcount poverty index (P_0) was used to generate the percentage of children living in households with per capita expenditure below the poverty line. The child poverty gap (P_1) or the severity of child poverty by plotting how far they are from the poverty line. It is generated by adding up all children below the poverty line and dividing the total by the child population. The smaller the figure, the less severe the poverty is in that specific region or it takes less proportion of the non-poor population to uplift the poor out of poverty. The child poverty severity (P_2) measures the poverty gap and the inequality among the poor. The poverty severity measure focuses on the poorest. The larger this figure is, the more people are in severe poverty.

2.2.2 Methods of determining factors associated with child poverty

In section 2.4, to explain which characteristics are associated with children who are monetarily poor, a logit model was implemented to examine the determinants of poverty of children at the individual level. Logit model is a regression with binary response outcomes, children living in monetary poverty is referred to as 1 (= poor). Otherwise, it is 0.

The analysis aimed to explore the relationship between individual and household level characteristics as the independent variables, and monetary poverty status of the children as the dependent variable. The use of regression only allows analysis of variables closely correlated with child poverty. Thus, it cannot imply causality. In the logit model, the estimated parameters were examined by maximum likelihood estimation. The estimated coefficients cannot be interpreted directly, but the sign and confidence interval of estimates can be interpreted as they are estimated by ordinary-least-square (OLS).

2.2.3 Methods of analyzing child poverty trends

In section 2.5, child poverty trends are provided to show changes in the child poverty rate at the national level from 2017 to 2022, with poverty rate trends of older age groups. The poverty rates of children were also disaggregated based on age groups (0–4 years old, 5–12 years old, and 13–17 years old).

2.3 Rates of child poverty

Table 1 shows that, nationwide, 11.80 per cent of the total child population lives in households below the national poverty line set by BPS in 2022. When using the vulnerability

Table 1. Prevalence, depth, and severity of child poverty using different poverty threshold, 2022 (%)

	Headcount Index (P_0)	Poverty Gap (P_1)	Poverty Severity (P_2)
Indonesia			
National poverty line (NPL)	11.80	2.01	0.51
Vulnerability line (NPLx2)	58.87	19.34	8.24
Extreme poverty line US\$1.9 a day*	2.54	0.32	0.06
Urban areas			
National poverty line (NPL)	9.51	1.54	0.38
Vulnerability line (NPLx2)	53.31	16.86	7.00
Extreme poverty line US\$1.9 a day*	1.59	0.19	0.03
Rural areas			
National poverty line (NPL)	14.79	2.63	0.69
Vulnerability line (NPLx2)	66.14	22.59	9.86
Extreme poverty line US\$1.9 a day*	3.79	0.49	0.10

Source: Authors' calculation

*US\$1.9 PPP as equivalent to 11.633,2 per capita a day

line, which is twice that of the national poverty line, the number of children vulnerable to poverty increased to more than five times the number of children currently classified as 'poor'. About 58.87 per cent of the total child population are vulnerable to falling into poverty in the future. The percentage of children raised in households living on less than US\$1.90 PPP per day or in extremely poor households is about 2.54 per cent. Urban and rural poverty rates reveal that the percentage of poor children in rural areas is higher than in urban areas. Similarly, the percentage of children living in extreme poverty is also higher in rural than urban areas.

The provincial poverty rate and distribution of children under the age of 18 in households living in poverty reveal that there are five provinces with relatively high child poverty rates: Papua, West Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, and Gorontalo (see Figure 1). This shows that eastern provinces experience higher levels of child poverty than the remainder of the country. It should be noted that poor children are not always concentrated in provinces with high poverty rates. Although child poverty rates in West Java, East Java, and Central Java are considered moderate, it is home to the largest share of the poor children (see Figure 2).

Figure 1. Child poverty rate by province based on the national poverty line, 2022



Figure 2. Number of poor children by province based on the national poverty line, 2022



Policymakers and researchers share a common interest in understanding the distribution of poverty. In addition to urban-rural and provincial factors, child poverty rates also vary according to household characteristics, particularly the circumstances of the household head. Therefore, child poverty discussions and definitions vary according to children's characteristics, household size, household head characteristics (gender, educational attainment, employment status of household heads, as well as their working sector), and the household's location (urban or rural, as well as its province).

When examining monetary poverty based on Susenas data, the assumption is that each

household member shares consumption evenly. A previous study shows that larger households have a higher probability of being poor (Jalan and Ravallion, 1998; Widyanti et al., 2009). Figure 3 shows that similarly the percentage of children living below the national poverty line is higher in larger households.

Household typologies expand beyond the number of household members to provide a better understanding of compositions of households with children living in poverty. Figure 4 shows the household composition based on the number of parents and household head's relationship with other members living in the house.

Figure 3. Percentage of children living in poverty based on household size

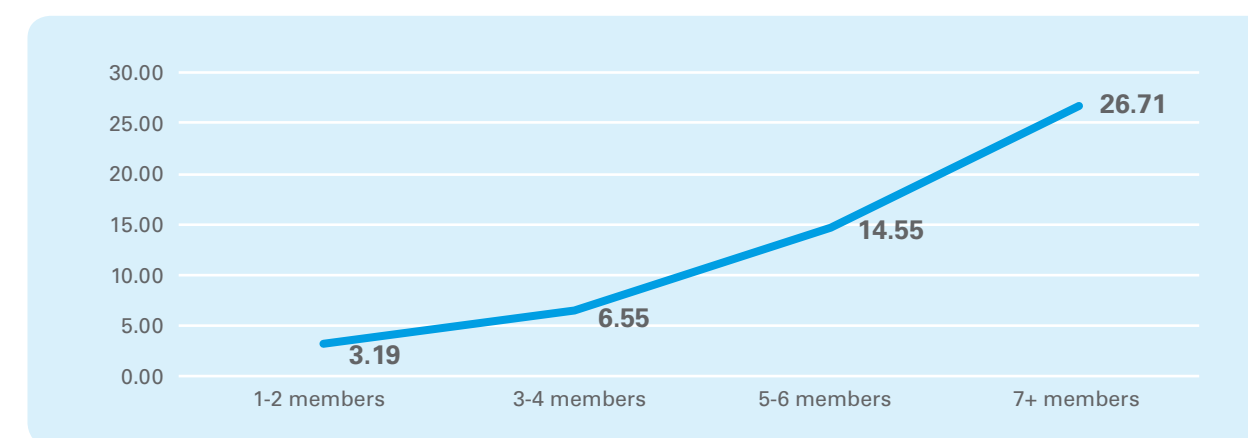
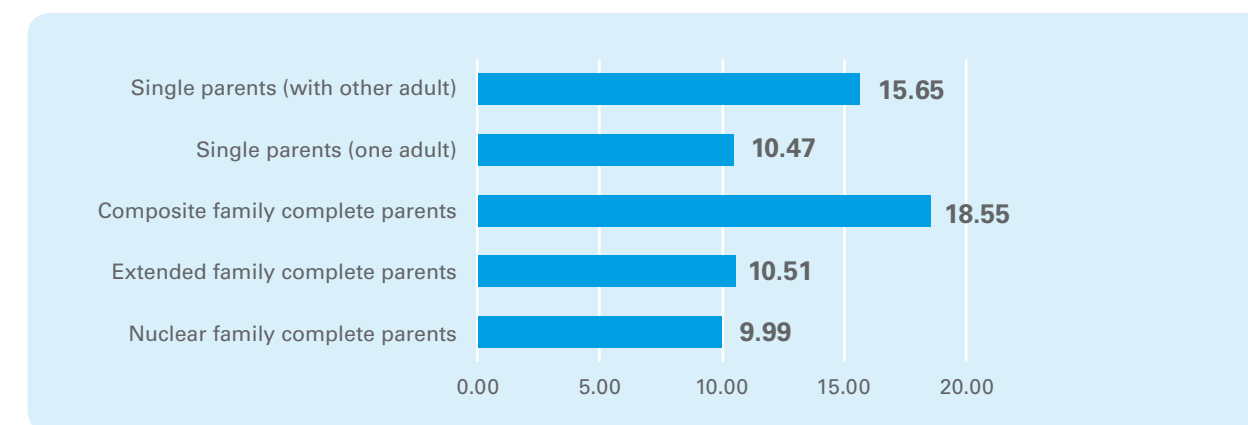


Figure 4. Percentage of children living in poverty based on household composition



Note: The main difference between composite and extended family with complete parents (household head and spouse) is the presence of grandparents in the composite family.

About 18.55 per cent of children living in households with two parents and their grandparents, termed composite families with complete parents, are poor. Of children who live with one parent and other adult household members, 15.65 per cent are poor. The multigenerational living arrangement or presence of other adult household members reflects that more people in the households means more people to support, particularly when income is limited.

In terms of educational characteristics, the least educated household heads predicted a lower consumption level in Indonesia, which means these households are likely to be poor (Chaudhuri, Jalan, and Suryahadi, 2002). Table 2 shows that among children who live with household heads who had never attended

school, 25.92 per cent are poor – the highest percentage of poor children in Indonesia. However, it accounts for just 5.65 per cent of all children living in poverty, as the share of children living in households with heads who never attended school is small, amounting to just 2.42 per cent of Indonesia’s total population. On the other hand, household heads who completed primary school account for the second largest population segment in Indonesia (27.69 per cent), but the share of children who live in such households is the highest, comprising 16.09 per cent of children living in poverty. The composition of these figures shows that children living in poverty are not only concentrated in the subgroup of least educated household heads, but also the one with a relatively large population share.

Table 2. Percentag of children living in poverty based on household head characteristics

Head of Household Characteristics	Child Poverty Rate	Share of the Poor Children	Children Population Share
Gender			
Male	11.64	92.38	93.62
Female	14.09	7.62	6.38
Education Attainment			
Never attended school	25.92	4.81	2.19
Did not complete elementary school	19.75	14.71	8.79
Completed elementary school	16.09	37.77	27.69
Completed junior high school	11.95	18.59	18.35
Completed senior high school	7.76	21.32	32.40
University degree	3.12	2.80	10.58
Working Status			
Not working	15.84	6.65	4.95
Working	11.59	93.35	95.05
Working sector			
Non-agriculture	8.45	48.50	66.52
Agriculture	17.82	51.50	33.48
Employment Status			
Self-employed	12.56	29.87	27.55
Self-employed w/ unpaid worker	16.91	19.75	13.53
Self-employed w/ paid worker	6.89	2.65	4.46
Paid employment job	8.02	29.83	43.09
Casual worker	18.37	16.48	10.39
Unpaid worker	16.82	1.42	0.98

Source: Authors’ calculation

2.4 Factors associated with child poverty

This section focuses on factors associated with monetary child poverty. The identification of children’s characteristics is important as it optimizes provision of social protection programmes to break the cycle of poverty from parents to children. Based on the literature, numerous factors play an important role in shaping children’s risk of poverty. A recent study reveals that women and girls are more likely to be poor at most ages (Boudet et al., 2021). Khadan, Strobl, and Tuffour (2020) found that the size of the household can also be a contributing factor to child poverty since a larger household means fewer resources available to children. The marital status and educational attainment of the household head also plays an important role in the socioeconomic well-being of a child (Artha and Dartanto, 2018). Household heads who are married with higher education attainment have a lower probability of being poor. Employment

status may be considered as one of the most important determinants of a household’s well-being. Zizzamia, Schotte, and Leibbrandt (2019) found that households with heads who are employed were less likely to be poor.

Table 3 shows the estimation results of determinants for monetary child poverty by using the province fixed effect. The estimated coefficients of the logistics regression results cannot be interpreted directly, but can show the relationship of the predictor and the outcome variables. If the coefficient sign is negative, it means the predictor variable has a negative relationship with the poverty status: as one goes up, the other goes down.

Table 3 presents the odds ratio of child poverty determinants with a marginal effect for variable interpretation. Based on children’s characteristics, the interpretation of children’s gender marginal effect is that, if a child is female, the probability of being poor is relatively the same as if it is male, holding all

Table 3. Estimation result of logistic regression of child poverty determinants in 2022

	Coefficient	Odds	Robust	Marginal
	Sign	Ratio	SE	Effect
Working Status				
Age of children (relative to 0–4 years old group)				
5–12 years old	(-)	0.860*	(0.000)	- 0.014
13–17 years old	(-)	0.713*	(0.000)	- 0.029
Child is female (relative to male)	(-)	1.010*	(0.000)	0.000
Child is disabled (relative to non-disabled)	(+)	1.334*	(0.006)	0.028
Household characteristics				
Household composition (relative to nuclear family with complete parents)				
extended family complete parents	(-)	0.581*	(0.003)	-0.039
composite family complete parents	(-)	0.935*	(0.001)	-0.006
single parents (one adult)	(+)	1.070*	(0.004)	0.006
single parents (with other adults)	(-)	0.925*	(0.003)	-0.006
Others	(+)	1.334*	(0.002)	0.027
Number of household members	(+)	1.804*	(0.002)	0.029
Child dependency ratio	(+)	1.634*	(0.001)	0.043
Dwelling density (floor area (m2) per capita)	(-)	0.950*	(0.000)	-0.004
Household located in urban (relative to rural area)	(+)	1.013*	(0.001)	0.001

	Coefficient	Odds	Robust	Marginal
	Sign	Ratio	SE	Effect
Head of household characteristics				
Head of household is female (relative to male)	(+)	1.316*	(0.004)	0.026
Head of household works in agricultural sector (relative to non-agricultural sector)	(+)	1.716*	(0.001)	0.049
Employment status (relative to head of household works in paid employment)				
Self-employed	(+)	1.128*	(0.001)	0.011
Self-employed w/ unpaid worker	(+)	1.139*	(0.002)	0.010
Self-employed w/ paid worker	(-)	0.697*	(0.002)	-0.023
Casual worker	(+)	1.738*	(0.002)	0.055
Unpaid worker	(+)	1.256*	(0.005)	0.024
Educational attainment (relative to head of household with university degree)				
Never attended school	(+)	4.725*	(0.010)	0.118
Did not complete elementary school	(+)	4.084*	(0.024)	0.101
Completed elementary school	(+)	3.723*	(0.005)	0.091
Completed junior high school	(+)	3.068*	(0.004)	0.072
Completed senior high school	(+)	2.096*	(0.003)	0.041
Diploma degree	(-)	0.904*	(0.005)	-0.003
Dummy province	Yes			
Pseudo R2	0.1561			
Observations	68,613,133			

Note: Odds ratio is exponentiated coefficients, standard errors (SE) in parentheses.
 *Significant at 10%
 **Significant at 5%
 ***Significant at 1%

other variables constant. Whether the child is a boy or girl, both have the same probability of being poor. If the child has a disability, the probability of being poor increases by 2.8 per cent ($=0.028 \times 100\%$), holding all other variables constant.

In terms of age, children 5–12 years old have an expected lower probability of being poor by 0.2 per cent compared to those aged 0–4 years, holding all other variables constant. The regression findings indicated the lower probability of being poor with every increase in age.

Household members significantly impact the probability of poverty. Children living in larger household are especially at risk of being poor. For one additional household member, the probability is expected to increase by 2.9 per cent, holding all other variables constant. Nevertheless, the probabilities shift when

household composition is further analyzed. Children who live in single-parent households have a higher probability of poverty by 0.6 per cent relative to the nuclear family with complete parents, holding all other variables constant. Therefore, single-parent households without other adult family members are likely at risk of being poor.

The ratio between a house's floor area and the number of persons living in it shows that larger dwelling density leads to a lower probability of being poor. Meanwhile, it also means that children living in overcrowded housing are likely to be associated with being poor. A higher child dependency ratio, or the number of household members aged 0–17 divided by the number of household members aged 18–64, has a higher probability of poverty by 4.3 per cent, holding all other variables constant.

Based on demographic characteristics, although gender does not affect the probability of being poor, place of residence does. Children living in urban areas have a negative coefficient, meaning they have a higher probability of being poor by 0.1 per cent ($=0.001 \times 100\%$) relative to children in rural areas.

Based on household head characteristics, children growing up in female-headed households have about 2.6 per cent ($=0.029 \times 100\%$) increased probability of being poor, holding other variables constant. Children living in a household whose head is a agricultural sector worker also have 4.9 per cent ($=0.049 \times 100\%$) increased probability of being poor. Children who live with a self-employed head of household that has a paid worker have a 2.3 per cent ($=0.023 \times 100\%$) lower probability of being poor. A higher educational attainment by household heads results in a higher probability of them being non-poor (Artha and Dartanto, 2018). Similarly, children living with the least educated head of household have a higher probability of being poor relative to a household head holding a university degree. However, children who live with a household head holding a diploma

degree have a lower probability by 0.3 per cent ($=0.003 \times 100\%$) of being poor relative to the head of household holding a university degree.

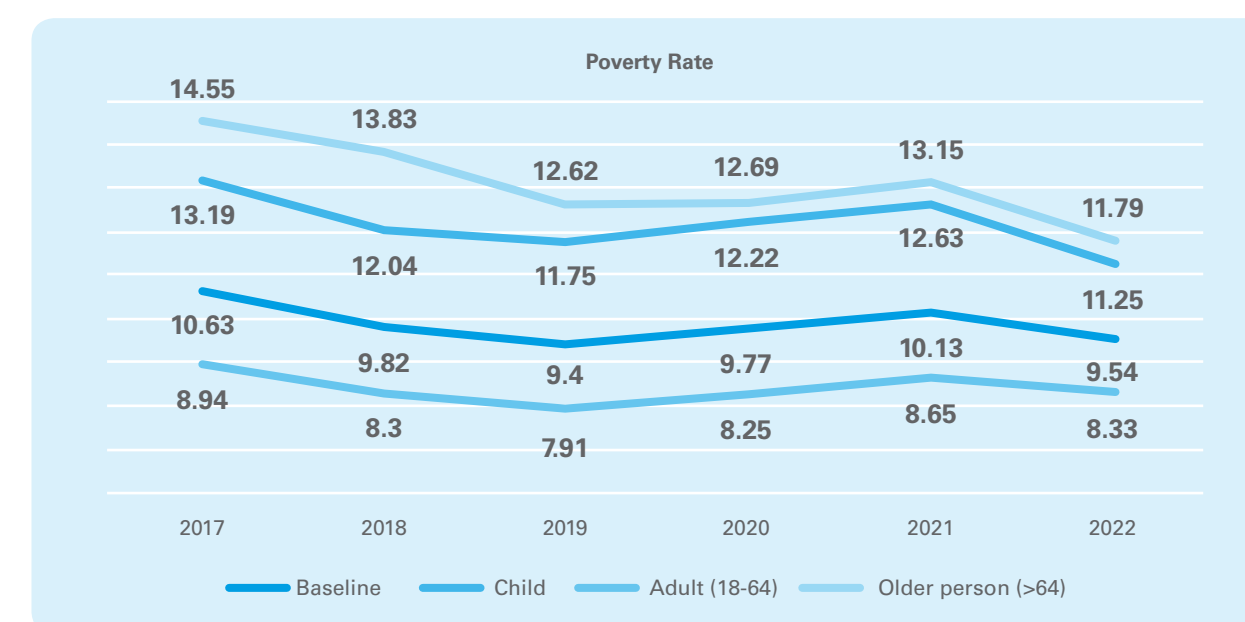
2.5 Trends of child poverty

A trend analysis of child poverty at the national level from 2017 to 2021 was carried out to examine how the percentage of children living in poor households changed over time (see Figure 5). On average, the child poverty rate was found to be higher than that for adults and the national poverty rate, except for older persons.

Based on Figure 5, the child poverty rate was on a steady decline prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. During the health crisis, monetary child poverty increased from 11.75 to 12.63 per cent of the total population over two years, 2019 to 2021. In 2022, the child poverty rate sat at 11.79 per cent.

This 2021 child poverty rate was similar to one of the child poverty projection scenarios due to COVID-19 carried out by the Ministry of Finance and UNICEF (2021). The scenario that

Figure 5. Percentage of population living below the national poverty line



Source: Authors' calculation

there was no social protection programme expansion resulted in the prediction of child poverty in 2021 to be 12.6 per cent (Ministry of Finance and UNICEF, 2021: 7). Those numbers reveal that the pandemic’s impact on child poverty worsened despite the expansion of social protection programmes by the Government of Indonesia. This means the situation could have been even worse without these programmes.

The household approach employed to measure poverty, based on expenditure per

capita, contributes to a higher prevalence of poverty among children than adults. Evans (2019) mentioned the use of a regression approach based on expenditure items likely specific to children (such as toys, baby food, and education) to develop a measure of child monetary poverty. However, to carry out those approaches would require a detailed household-children expenditure which is rarely feasible because it is difficult to track children’s consumption individually in most surveys (Evans, 2019, Silwal et al., 2020). Nonetheless, the effort to apply children’s poverty line

resulted in even higher child poverty rates than those of adults when using the households’ poverty line (Evans, 2019; Bargain, Donni, and Kewnda, 2014).

The poverty rate trend analysis, when using the national poverty line and extreme poverty line, shows that children are disproportionately affected (see Figure 5 and Table 4). Although there is an improvement in the overall rate of extreme poverty (4 to 2.04 per cent), extreme poverty among children seems to deteriorate at a slower rate (4.88 to 2.54 per cent) as it has for adults (3.36 to 1.73 per cent) or even older persons (6.23 to 2.79 per cent) in relative terms. There was an assumed larger shift in the prevalence of older persons living in poverty from 2017 to 2021 than that of children living in poverty, as according to

TNP2K (forthcoming). Therefore, various social protection programmes are focused on older persons’ well-being from the central and local governments within that period.

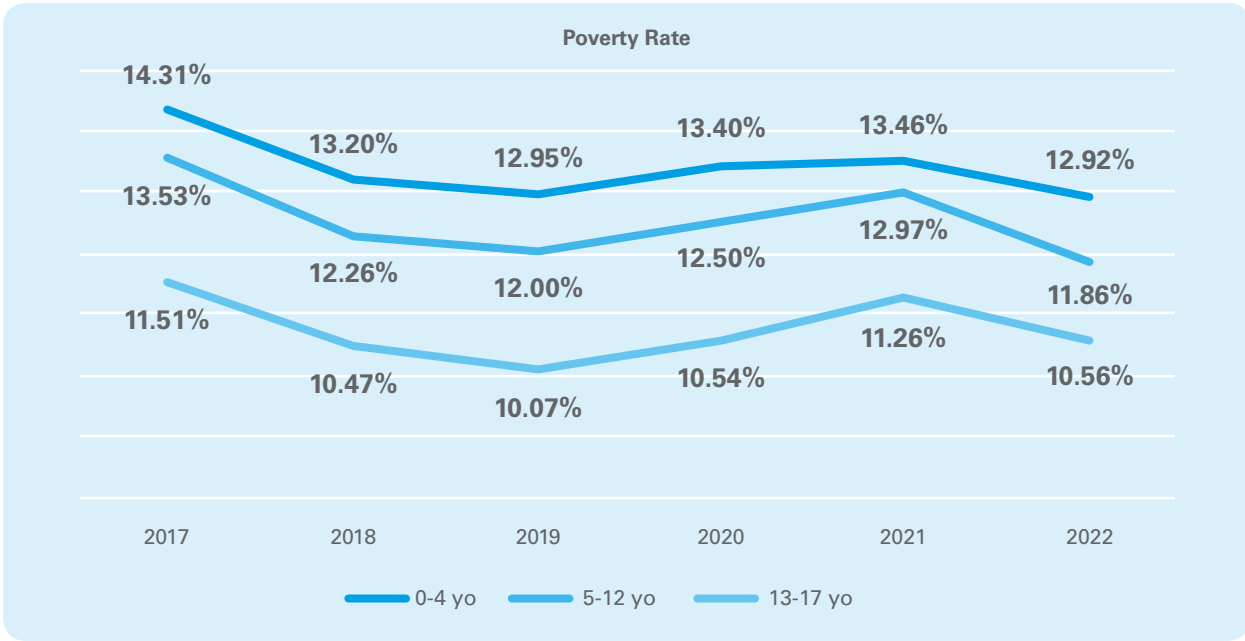
Disaggregating the child poverty rate by age can inform whether certain groups are disproportionately affected by poverty. The poverty that children experience at one age may create different outcomes for them at later ages (Aber, Morris, and Raver, 2012). For example, children unable to attend early childhood education due to their parents’ inability to afford it might have different academic outcomes than children who experience poverty at a later age. Figure 6 shows a higher poverty rate for children under five years old than for older peers.

Table 4. Extreme poverty rate by age group from 2021 to 2022

Extreme Poverty Line US\$1.9 a Day	2021a			2022b		
	Headcount Index	Poverty Gap	Poverty Severity	Headcount Index	Poverty Gap	Poverty Severity
	(P0)	(P1)	(P2)	(P0)	(P1)	(P2)
Indonesia	2.14	0.25	0.05	2.04	0.25	0.05
Older persons >64 years old	3.44	0.42	0.08	2.79	0.34	0.07
Adult 18–64 years old	1.76	0.21	0.04	1.73	0.21	0.04
Children	2.66	0.31	0.06	2.54	0.32	0.06

Source: Authors’ calculation
a Conversion of US\$1.9 PPP to Rp year 2021 is Rp11.739/day.
b Conversion of US\$1.9 PPP to Rp year 2022 is Rp11.633,2/day.

Figure 6. Percentage of Children Living Below the National Poverty Line



Source: Authors’ calculation

3. Dynamic Monetary Child Poverty Analysis



This section provides an analysis of monetary child poverty. The availability of the latest Susenas panel data presents an opportunity to revisit and better understand recent poverty dynamics in Indonesia. It can show the transition of poverty within a period of six months and enables the identification of newly poor, defined as those who lived in poverty during the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.1 Data

The panel data from Susenas 2020, from which a sample of households were interviewed twice in March and September 2020, was utilized to carry out a dynamics analysis of child poverty. Susenas September 2020 was designed to produce provincial-level estimates with a sample size of 75,000 households, a subsample of Susenas March 2020. The households sampled in Susenas March 2020 became the Susenas September 2020 household sample (household sample panel). The dynamics analysis describes movements in and out of poverty between these two survey periods, focusing on volatility due to COVID-19 shocks.

3.2 Methods

To measure the dynamics of children's welfare in March and September 2020, the study methodology incorporated three main steps. First, children's expenditure was derived individually based on the

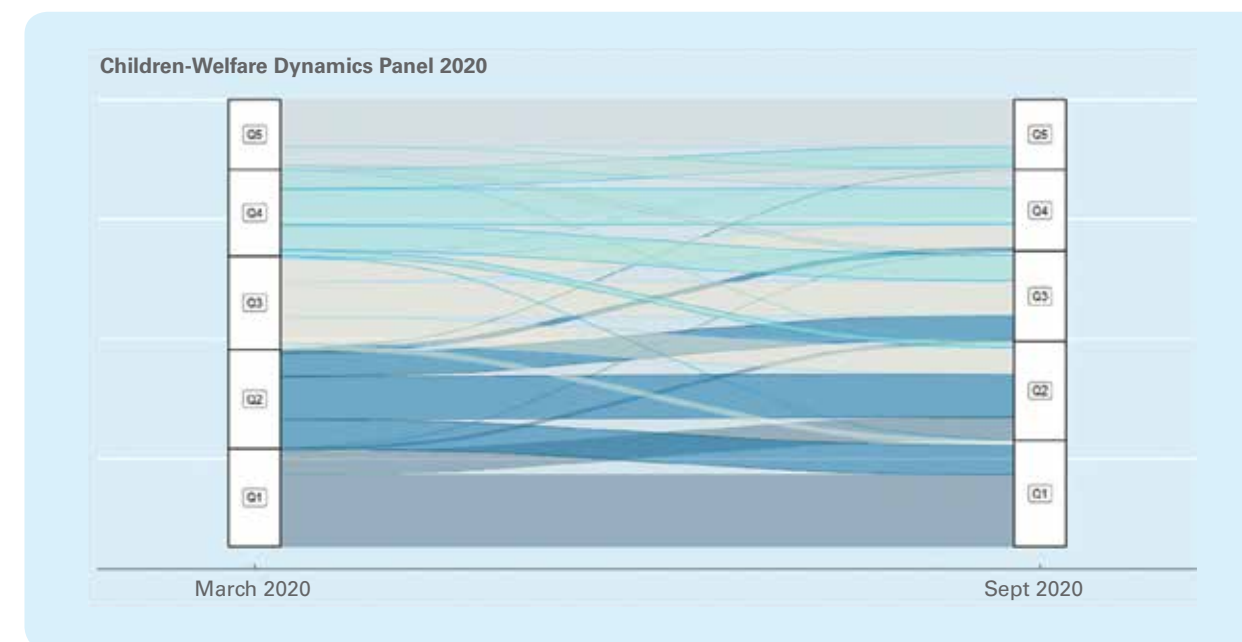
per capita expenditure of the household. The data was sorted according to capita expenditure and categorized into five quintiles (from the poorest (Q1) to the richest (Q5)). Second, a children dataset was created by keeping children, i.e., household members below 18 years old, in the March 2020 dataset. Meanwhile, for the child dataset in the September 2020 dataset, household members below 19 years old were kept to accommodate children whose birthdays were between March–September 2020. Lastly, both datasets were merged to create a children's panel dataset based on their household and individual identification numbers.

3.3 Child poverty dynamics

Since poverty is a stochastic phenomenon, movements in and out of poverty status are expected. The child poverty dynamics analysis using panel data, i.e., several observations of the same set of households, was implemented. This approach allowed for an analysis of poverty transitions and welfare mobility of children based on household expenditures.

Table 5 provides a summary of children's relative movements across quintiles of expenditure per capita of the national distribution. During the March–September 2020 period, the majority of the poorest (Q1) children remained the poorest (73 per cent), while most of the richest (Q5) households maintain their status quo (68 per cent). Meanwhile, children belonging to the middle

Figure 7. Movements of households with children across quintiles of household expenditure per capita between March 2020 and September 2020



Source: Authors' calculation

groups (Q2–Q4) showed movements to other wealth groups. About 4 per cent of the panel children managed to move from the vulnerable group (Q2) to the richer group (Q4). Most of the quintile changes occur adjacent to each other (from Q2 to Q3, Q3 to Q4).

Figure 7 illustrates the short-term movements of children during the two periods (March and September 2020). The patterns in this alluvial diagram show the same movements of children across quintiles of household

expenditure. Between March 2020 and September 2020, new poor children moved from the Q2 cohort to the bottom 20 per cent of household expenditure.

Meanwhile, looking at the dynamics of poverty status, most children were able to maintain their status quo as non-poor (see Table 6. However, 7 per cent of the non-poor in March 2020 became poor in September 2020, indicating many of these children as the “new poor”. Even so, by contrast, there were also

Table 5. Quintile Transition Matrix for Expenditure Per Capita for the Balanced Panel in March 2020 and September 2020 (percentage)

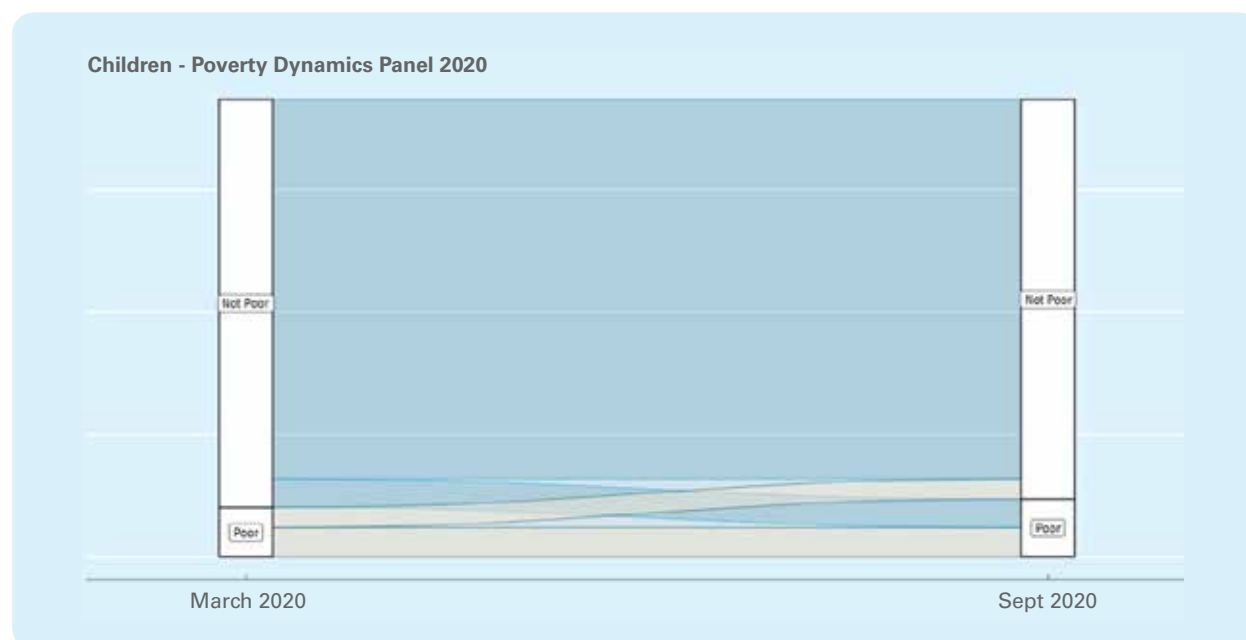
Quintiles in March 2020	Quintiles in September 2020					Total
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	
Q1	73.3	23.6	2.8	0.3	0.0	100
Q2	29.4	43.0	23.8	3.8	0.0	100
Q3	5.9	28.7	37.1	24.9	3.4	100
Q4	0.0	6.7	29.4	41.5	22.4	100
Q5	0.0	0.1	5.6	26.6	67.8	100

Source: Authors' calculation

Table 6. Poverty status transition matrix for the balanced panel in March 2020 and September 2020 (percentage)

Poverty Status March 2020	Poverty Status Sept 2020		Total
	Non-Poor	Poor	
Non-Poor	93.0	7.0	100
Poor	40.7	59.3	100

Figure 8. Movement of children across poverty status between March 2020 and September 2020



children previously poor in March 2020, but were no longer poor in September 2020.

Three categories of poverty status are frequently used: chronic poverty, transient poverty, and the never poor (Widyanti et al., 2009). Chronic poverty refers to those who stay poor over several periods of time (in this case, in March and September 2020), whereas transient poverty refers to those whose poverty status is near the poverty line and whose poverty status fluctuates in and out over time.

However, with the limited panel data of two points in time over a duration of six months,

chronic poverty was not used to describe children categorized as poor in March and September 2020. Based on the matrix in Table 5, children were categorized in this poverty dynamics analysis as those who were never poor, no longer poor, new poor, and remained poor. Examining the characteristics of the new poor category, more than half of the children who live in urban areas and breadwinners who work in the non-agricultural sector were categorized as poor. Results for new poor children in 2020 aligned with findings of a report by ILO and OECD (2020). The report reveals that the services sector was most affected by the pandemic, mostly concentrated in urban areas.

4. Impact of Covid-19 Social Protection Programmes on Children



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The effects of the COVID-19 pandemic were widespread and disproportionately affected vulnerable segments of the population, namely those already in poverty or vulnerable to falling into poverty, including children and their families. Children were significantly affected by COVID-19 (UNICEF, UNDP, Prospera, and SMERU, 2022), particularly when shocks to the economy were involved.

As a working assumption, the pandemic was viewed as likely creating the 'new poor'. While it was difficult to disentangle whether the emergence of the new poor is COVID-19 shock related, households that received the COVID-19 social protection programmes were assumed as new poor. This study aims to examine whether children who live in households that received such social protection programmes are better off.

4.1 Data

In this section, Susenas September 2019 and Susenas September 2020 were used to determine changes in households' per capita expenditure before and during the pandemic. The observed expenditure in Susenas, total expenditure of food and non-food items, is equal to a household's private out-of-pocket, plus any replacement costs. If expenditure was only defined by households' private expenditure, purchasing power would likely be overestimated, especially of low-income households likely to receive various kinds of financial assistance. As Susenas' expenditure includes subsidies, households may appear to have higher incomes. This information and that relating to COVID-19 social protection programmes received by households provided in Susenas September 2020 was used for the analysis presented in this section. Then, household level information was applied to the individual level of children.

4.2 Methods

Analysis was carried out following several steps. First, households were ranked based on expenditure per capita in each dataset, Susenas September 2019 and September 2020. During analysis, households that ranked in the bottom to top percentiles in September 2019 were assumed to rank the same in September 2020. A pseudo-panel approach was used, the assumption and observation of the same cohorts of households (based on their percentile of per capita expenditure) over time.

In the second step, changes to per capita expenditure between September 2019 and September 2020 in each percentile were calculated, without interventions except for adjusting for inflation. The third step involved subtracting the value of the cash assistance from each households' per capita expenditure in September 2020. This is called a counterfactual scenario, whereby the household receiving COVID-19 social protection programme support did not actually receive it (see Table 5).

Finally, changes in per capita expenditure between 2019 and 2020 were calculated and then compared with changes in per capita expenditure when cash transfers were received in 2020. This analysis aimed to estimate the impact of cash transfers during the pandemic in 2020 on households under different welfare groups, particularly those in the bottom 40 per cent. These steps were also carried out for the cohorts of individual children.

During the pandemic, the GoI expanded existing social protection programmes (i.e., PKH and Sembako) and disbursed BLT-DD and BST to address needs arising from socio-economic impacts of the health crisis. Cash assistance was distributed by programmes such as PKH, BLT-DD, and BST. Food assistance was delivered through the food assistance card (Kartu Sembako), which can only be used to buy food.

Table 7. Values of each social protection programme during COVID-19 shocks

Programme	No. of Beneficiaries (Millions HH)		Value per Household 2019 (Rupiah)	Value per Household 2020 (Rupiah)
	2019	2020		
PKH (Family of Hope Programme)	9.2	10	Varies, depends on household members: Pregnant: Rp3 million/year Children 0–6 yo: Rp3 million/year Elementary school/equivalent: Rp900,000/year Junior high school/equivalent: Rp1.5 million/year Senior high school/equivalent: Rp2 million/year Severe disability: Rp2.4 million/year Older persons (>=70 yo): Rp2.4 million/year	Varies, depends on household members: Pregnant: Rp3.75 million/year Elementary school/equivalent: Rp3.75 million/year Elementary school/equivalent: Rp1.125 million/year Junior high school/equivalent: Rp1.875 million/year Senior high school/equivalent: Rp2.5 million/year Severe disability: Rp3 million/year Older persons (>=70 yo): Rp3 million/year Minimum Rp900,000/year, maximum Rp10 million/year
Programme Sembako (Food Assistance)	15	20	Rp150,000/month	Rp200,000/month
BLT-DD (Direct Cash Transfer-Village Fund)	-	7.8	-	Rp600,000/month (Apr–Jun) Rp300,000/month (Jul–Dec)
BST (Direct Cash Assistance)	-	9	-	Rp600,000/month (Apr–Jun) Rp300,000/month (Jul–Dec)

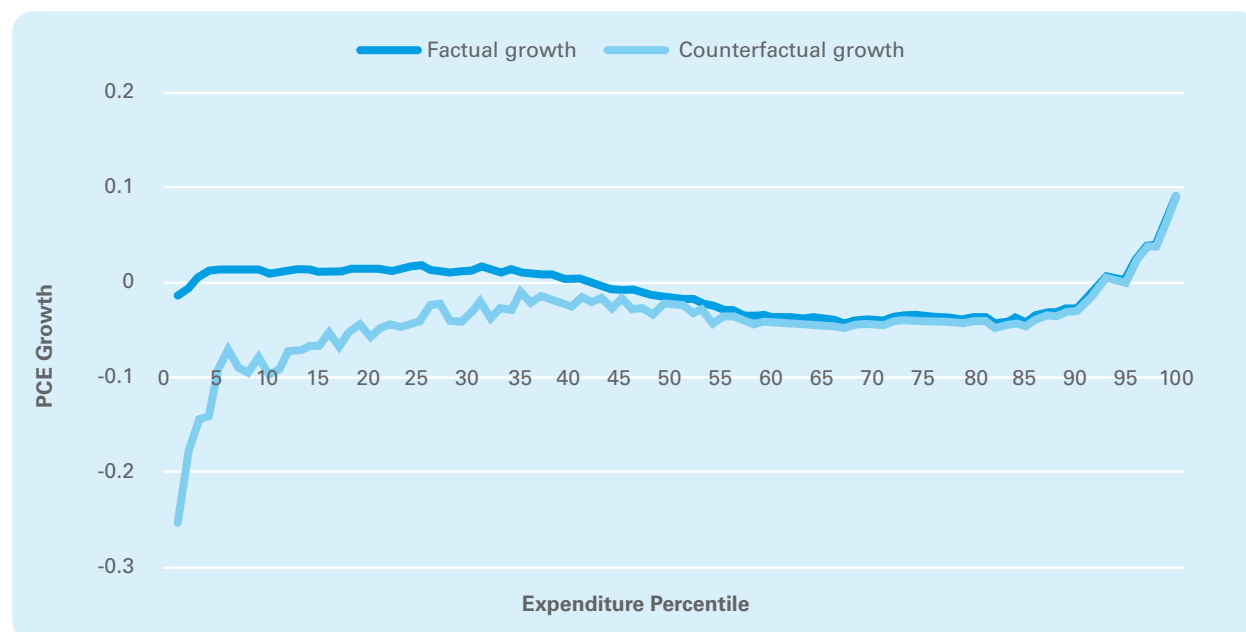
Source: Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia, n.d.

Since the analysis relied on expenditure data, the consumption of cash transfers received by households needs to be considered. The general approach assumes that cash transfers were fully consumed by households and none were put into savings (marginal propensity to consume (MPC)=1). However, that may not be the case as Jappelli and Pistaferri (2014) found that relatively richer households tended to use less of their cash transfers and put the remainder into savings. Therefore, the assumption was relaxed and $MPC < 1$ was applied to each household. To determine the value of MPC to each household, the method used by Suryahadi, Izzati, and Yumna (2021) was replicated, which set an overall MPC of 0.75 based on Burney and Khan (1992), and then used the slope of the MPC based on Jappelli and Pistaferri (2014).

4.3 Analysis of impacts

Figure 9 represents changes in the median per capita expenditure between September 2019 and September 2020, adjusted with inflation, based on the percentile of households' per capita expenditure under two different scenarios. The first scenario is an actual change in median per capita expenditure between individuals in the same percentile in March 2019 and March 2020. In the second scenario, individuals who received certain cash assistance programmes were identified (see Table 7). These individuals were identifiable in the Susenas September 2020 dataset. The assumption was then made that they received a certain amount of cash assistance. A simulation was then implemented, in which these individuals did not receive programme support and the corresponding amount in cash assistance was taken out from the household expenditure data (refer to Table 7).

Figure 9. Distribution of individuals across percentile of per capita expenditure under two scenarios



Source: Authors' calculation

The simulation showed that under the actual change scenario, there were cohorts who were better-off in terms of consumption even during the pandemic (see Figure 9). Between March and September 2020, there was an increase in median per capita expenditure for individuals within the bottom 40 per cent of household expenditure per capita. The bottom 40 per cent experienced an increase of less than 5 per cent.

However, looking at the counterfactual scenario, the poorer individuals (bottom 40 per cent) would suffer a massive hit if there were no cash assistance in September 2020. Once simulated and the amount of social assistance was taken out, there was a dramatic decrease in the change in percentage of per capita expenditure for individuals at the bottom 40 per cent. Estimations suggest that individuals within the bottom 40 per cent would have experienced a decrease in their median expenditure by up to 25 per cent, depending on the percentile.

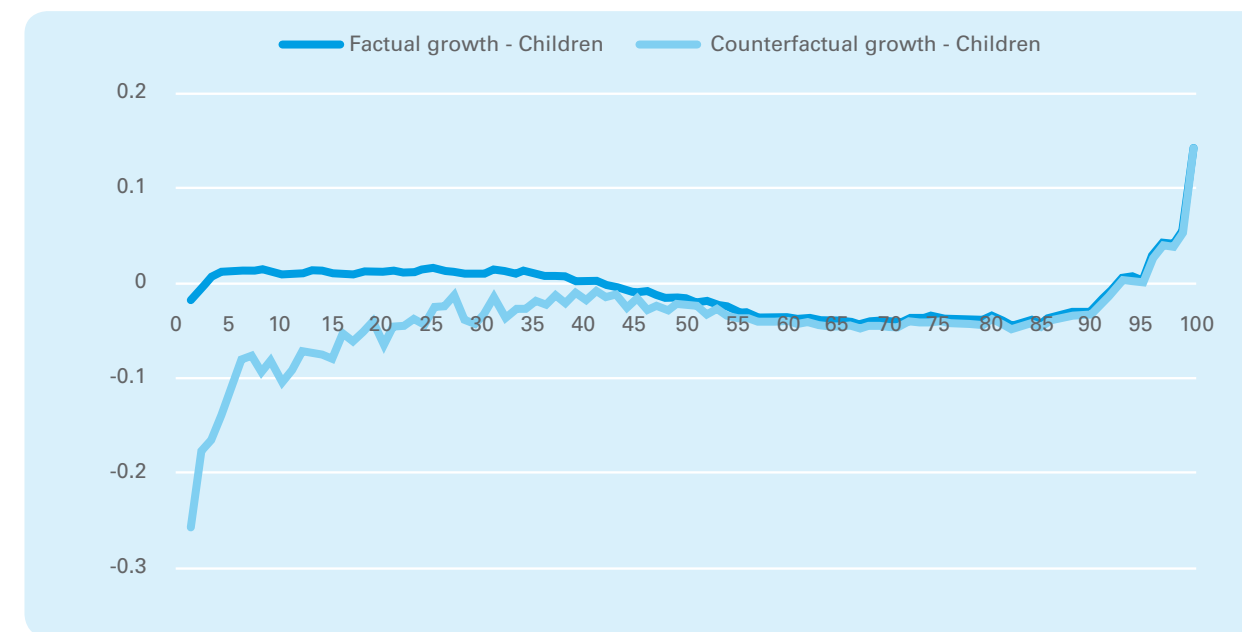
The difference between the actual and counterfactual changes also showed that the bottom 40 per cent of households remained as the group with the biggest proportion of

cash assistance recipients. As the household percentile increased, the difference in median per capita expenditure change between actual and counterfactual scenarios fell as social protection programmes are designed to be received by poorer households or the bottom 40 per cent.

Since the focus was on child poverty and given the available household data, the analysis was only able to proxy the impact of COVID-19 social protection programmes on cohorts of children. Based on Figure 10, in the counterfactual scenario, the cohort of children was affected by the pandemic. If such children had not received support from social protection programmes, their per capita expenditure would plunge. Children would experience a 26 per cent fall in per capita expenditure if they lived in households that did not receive any transfers from the social protection programmes listed in Table 7.

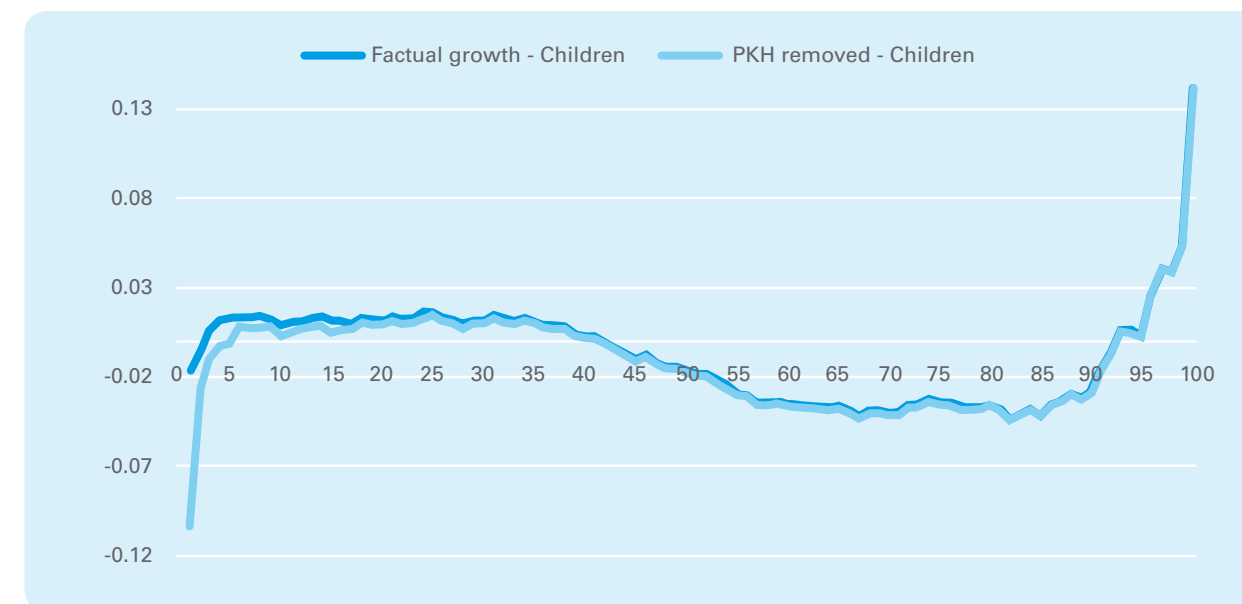
PKH transfers were taken out of overall expenditure calculations to simulate per capita expenditure. Simulations showed that children are less likely to be affected by the pandemic, especially the poorest children (Figure

Figure 10. Distribution of children across percentile of PCE under two scenarios



Source: Authors' calculation

Figure 11. Distribution of children across percentile of PCE under two scenarios without PKH



Source: Authors' calculation

11). Children in the lowest fifth percentile experienced a 10 percent decrease per capita expenditure if PKH transfers were not received.

Figure 11 also shows that children in the 10th percentile and above, likely to live in non-PKH beneficiary households, did not experience

negative changes in per capita expenditure because their households were supported by other social protection programmes. The cash transfers enabled them to maintain their per capita expenditure or else they would experience negative changes as shown in Figure 10.

The differences between simulations in Figures 10 and 11 show that percentage changes per capita falls less significantly when in addition to PKH, all cash transfers are also taken out. This implies that children might be more affected by the pandemic when PKH cash transfers are not complemented by other social protection programmes.

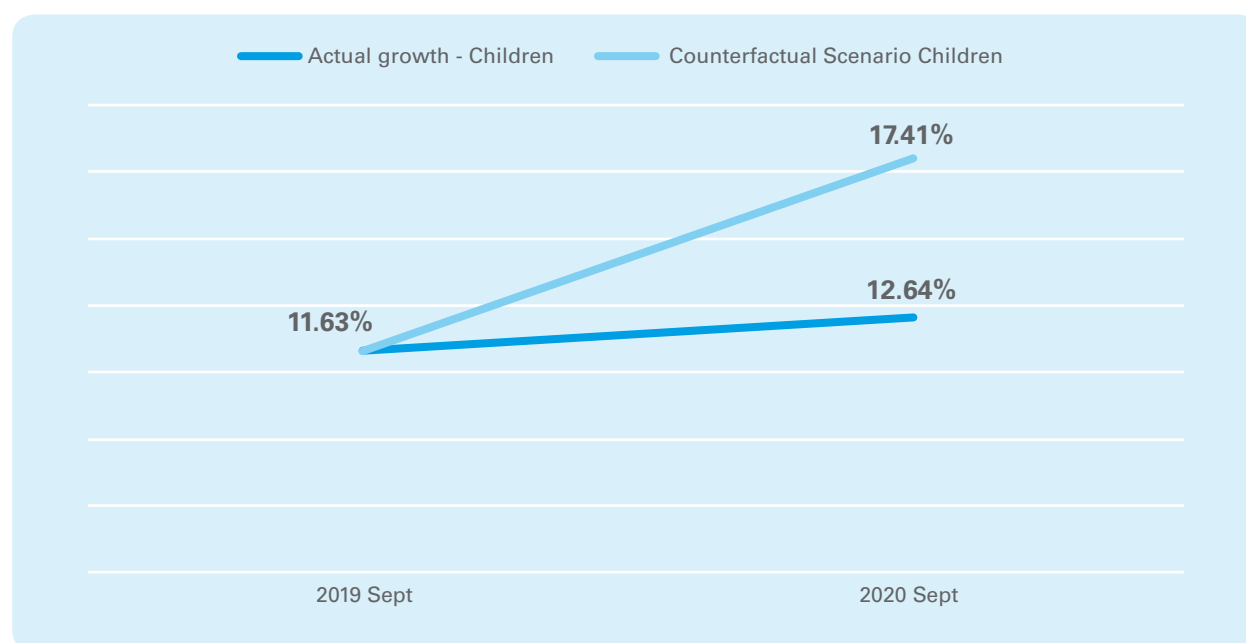
The reason for this occurrence in cohorts of children in the 10th percentile and above may lie in the design and value of social protection programmes. By design, children who live in households that received PKH might have also received Sembako programme support. However, the households were not allowed to receive BLT-DD or BST. Hastuti, Ruhmaniyati, and Widyaningsih (2020) found that PKH beneficiaries who only met one PKH eligibility component of having a primary school child in their household, for example, received Rp225,000 per quarter, or Rp75,000 per month. This value is much smaller if compared to other social protection programmes, such as BST that provide Rp600,000 per month. This

implies that children living in households that receive PKH are likely to receive a smaller transfer compared to those living in households that receive BLT-DD or BST.

On another note, the results are in line with the qualitative findings of Hastuti, Ruhmaniyati, and Widyaningsih (2020) in that there is a need for adjustments to PKH cash transfer amounts. These amounts should be at least equivalent to the value of assistance provided by other programmes for the mitigation of pandemic impacts, such as BLT-DD and BST.

The child poverty rate was also estimated for children's households that did not receive social protection programme support. Under the actual scenario, overall, the child poverty rate in September 2019 was 11.63 per cent and in September 2020 it was 12.64 per cent. Meanwhile, under the counterfactual scenario, without social protection programme support, children's household poverty rate would be 17.41 per cent; an increase of around 4 per cent in the child poverty rate.

Figure 12. Households' poverty rate under two scenarios



Source: Authors' calculation

5. Discussion



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Using available data from the National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) provided by Statistics Indonesia (BPS), this report examines monetary child poverty in Indonesia. This report's data also provides a platform for the production of an updated version of this report every year. This report focuses on children who live in typical households in Indonesia, as defined by the sampling design of Susenas. However, more attention needs to be paid to other vulnerable children, such as those with a disability, living on the street or in care.

Child poverty levels in Indonesia were found to have decreased in 2022, but remained higher than overall national poverty rates. The child poverty level in this report is defined as the percentage of children identified as 'poor', that is who live in a household with per capita expenditure below the national poverty line. According to monetary poverty principles, if a household is poor, then a child living in that household is also poor. Thus, the relevant strategy for reducing child poverty would be to improve the economic conditions of the child's household.

The household approach employed to measure poverty, based on expenditure per capita, contributes to a higher prevalence of poverty among children than adults. Evans (2019) recommended the use of a regression technique based on expenditure items likely specific to children (such as toys, baby food, and education). The method requires tracking of children's consumption separately, which will be challenging for the BPS to realize.

According to a trend analysis of the poverty rate and extreme poverty rate of children and other age groups in the population, the child poverty rate does not appear to reduce as much as that of adults or even the elderly in relative terms. If implementation of social protection programmes for the elderly from 2017 to 2021 is evaluated, at national or local government level, tailor-made social protection for children could contribute to an increased reduction of child poverty rates in the future.

To boost efforts to reduce poverty and improve economic conditions, there is a need to identify which households, particularly those with children, should be targeted. Disaggregation by three age groups of children (0–4 years old, 5–12 years old, and 13–17 years old) shows that the child poverty level is lower when children are older. Similarly, regression at the level of individual children reveals that older age groups have less probability of being poor. Children with disabilities are also associated with a higher probability of being poor. Such a likelihood is contributed to by the increase in costs of raising children with disabilities, unavailability of childcare support, and parents' difficulties in balancing their work and caring responsibilities (Parish and Cloud, 2006). In terms of household size, the highest child poverty rate is in households with more than seven members. However, if there is only one adult within the household, i.e., a single-parent household with children without any other household members, the probability of being poor is higher than a nuclear family with complete parents. The probability being poor is also higher when children live in a female-headed household. There are other characteristics within the household associated with children being poor, such as a household head having a low level of educational attainment, working in the agricultural sector, and children living in urban areas.

Comparing the situations during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, children continue to be susceptible to poverty. From the dynamics analysis of child poverty, children who were not poor in March 2020 were found to be poor in September 2020. In line with the regression findings, new poor children were mostly living in urban areas.

The likelihood of being poor if children live in an urban area is counterintuitive with previous child poverty findings in 2016 (UNICEF, 2017), when rural children were likely to be poor. The contradictory phenomenon is likely due to the pandemic largely affecting those living in urban areas (UNICEF, UNDP, Prospera, and SMERU, 2022; ILO and OECD, 2020).

The characteristics of children below the poverty line and those at risk of falling into poverty are constantly changing. There are no fixed characteristics of children that are easily identifiable and accurately targeted. This implies the importance of leveraging the social protection system to support all children during shocks or crises.

Analysis of social protection programme child impacts during the pandemic found that given their welfare groups, children across cohorts of expenditure percentiles were equally impacted by the pandemic, and social assistance helped

children in the lowest cohort. However, children living in households that receive PKH and other social protection programmes are better able to cope with shocks than children who live in households that only receive PKH. This result highlights the importance of integrating PKH with social protection programmes that focus specifically on individual children and making current social protection system more adaptive to responses to various potential shocks. We encourage mutli-stakeholders to continue further policy dialogue to improve the current social protection system based on above findings.

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