Growing Up With And Without a Birth Certificate

Exploring the Experience of Urban Migrant Families in Kramat Jati, Jakarta Province

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Disclaimer:

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List of Acronyms

NGO	Non Governmental Organization
KJP	Kartu Jakarta Pintar (Jakarta Smart Card)
DKI	Daerah Khusus Ibukota (Special Capital Region)
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics)
DUKCAPIL	Dinas Kependudukan dan Catatan Sipil (Population and Civil Registration Services)
SDN	Sekolah Dasar Negeri (Public Primary School)

Abstract

Birth registration is an integral part of civil administration in Indonesia. However, In scholarly work, the experiences of individuals regarding birth registration and the challenges of obtaining it have received relatively little attention, particularly in relation to urban migrant parents and children living in conditions of poverty. This is important because the number of undocumented children is likely to increase over time due to the growing population moving from rural areas to urban cities without completing civil procedures for their movement across autonomous regions. This study employed an ethnographic approach to explore the everyday experiences of urban migrant families, including parents and children, concerning birth registration. Data were gathered through observation, informal interviews, participation in the respondents' routines, and by taking a few photographs. This study highlights how the problematic legal status of parents before migration and limited economic resources after relocating complicate the process of registering birth certificates. As children reach school age, the need to register becomes more significant. However, this urgency diminishes when children continue to stay out of school and contribute financially to their families by working at the market. The finding reveals that birth registration ensures access to education, but many other fundamental factors are required to complete it. This study also demonstrates how children and youth navigate their lives based on legal identity, which depends on the policies and actions set by adults. Accordingly, this study advocates for a more practicable approach to birth registration, considering substantial elements within families as executors and beneficiaries of social policy, and focusing on the continuous outcomes of formalization.

Relevance to Development Studies

While the state's idea to register each birth addresses the fulfillment of national children's rights, the practice could limit their ability to obtain one. Moreover, the action to register is beyond the children's control, but they will bear the implications. Therefore, this research will take the perspectives of families in general and bring separate attention to the children. This research is relevant for development studies as it focuses on the perspectives and experiences of urban migrants citizens, living in vulnerable circumstances. By applying an ethnographic approach, this research will focus on the motivations, challenges, uncertainties, and opportunities marginal societies as one of the development targets. This is essential to move beyond abstract discussions of policy frameworks to understand the true impact that citizenship has on the lives of children (James, 2011, p. 168). Lastly, I hope the discussion contributes to our understanding of the minority lives around us.

Keywords

Undocumented Children; Birth Certificate; Education; Urban Migrants; DKI Jakarta; Ethnography.

Chapter 1
Background to This Research

The inspiration for this research came from my experience as a volunteer with an NGO operating in a suburban area of Jakarta. During my time there, I discovered a number of children were not attending or dropping-out of school, primarily because they did not have birth certificates. The chapter begins by describing policies to arrange civil administration, particularly birth registration, and zooms into the discussion of birth certificates in relation to education access from empirical data and narratives in fieldwork.

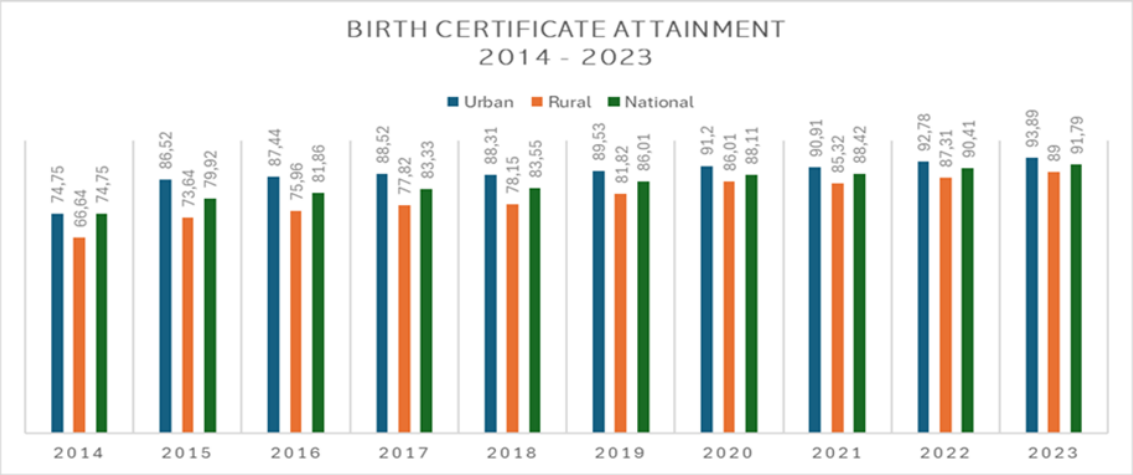
1.1 Registering Birth to Formalize Citizen's Eligibility

> "Yes, from the beginning, we've seen that birth certificates have become a barrier for them (citizens without birth certificates) to claim their rights. It's been a while since we've had these new online platforms in Jakarta Province to apply for school. It wasn't like that before when you could use a birth certificate, but it wasn't mandatory, and you could submit it later. Back then, we could use a school report card as the supporting document to get the birth certificate since they were already registered with the Department of Education, and their parents' names were on the report card. So, the report card used to be able to replace a birth statement from the hospital for birth registration"(Wendy, August 2024).

The statement above comes from an interview with an NGO officer who has been involved in the issue of stateless children in Jakarta for years. He explains how, over recent years, and in relation to Indonesia's move to digital forms of governance, birth certificates have become critical for accessing social services and that the workarounds that were practiced in the past no longer apply. As part of this shift, the Indonesian state has tried to ease the process of obtaining birth certificates at birth. Law No. 23 of 2006, in Article 27, stipulated that parents or guardians must report every birth to the civil office where the birth took place within 60 days of the birth. The law has been updated to Law No. 24 of 2013. The changes made included birth registration based on the place of domicile instead of the place of birth, simplification of approval for late registration, and prohibition of any levies with the main purpose of increasing birth certificate attainment and improving the effectiveness and accuracy of civil administration services nationwide.

Implementing the new policy has a positive contribution to the number of birth certificates issued at the national level. Figure 1 below shows the gradual increase of birth certificate attainment for children (0-17 years old) from 2014-2023, which left 7% of urban and up to 11% of rural children undocumented. Looking demographically, several provinces located in East Indonesia, which are classified as low-income and less-developed regions in Indonesia, are two provinces located in East Indonesia with the highest numbers of stateless children. Horii and Wirastri (2022, p.9) describe the situation in these areas where residents live far away from public facilities, poor infrastructures, and lack of transportation result in barriers to civil services. Therefore, slower progress in increasing birth registration in these parts of Indonesia is unsurprising and has prompted the need to strategize different efforts for urban areas, considering their distinct characteristics from those of rural areas.

Figure 1. Indonesian Birth Certificate Attainment Rate



Source: Author modification based on statistical data, BPS, 2024

Although the lack of birth certificates is more common in rural areas, undocumented children in urban areas also require particular consideration, especially in DKI Jakarta, an epicentre of urban lives where 10% (2.5 million) of the total number of children (aged 0-19) nationwide reside. Surprisingly, this province's statistics recorded that 2%, or fifty thousand children, are still undocumented (Children Statistics of DKI Jakarta Province, BPS, 2023). This research will take the context from this population, representing the minor demographic of citizens not eligible to employ their citizenship rights. While the government continuously works to improve the service to the public, they may overlook the presence of these "last-mile societies" that are surrounded by accessible, abundant, and high-quality public services but have restricted access to them.

Gallien and Boogaard (2023, p.491) stated that formalization has often underpinned the policy arrangement by assuming that transactional interaction between institutions (I,e. state and citizen) will benefit both parties. The state recognition of citizenship through birth registration came from the motivation of integrating people into the system through which access to public provision is granted. In the context of a birth certificate, it has a primary function for school enrollment, access to public services, and obtaining a national identity card when an individual reaches 17 years old. Further, the national identity will be the basis for registering a marriage, arranging inheritance, getting public health services, and applying for a passport as a document with wider functionality outside Indonesia. Therefore, a birth certificate has a fundamental and critical role in individual lives following the stage of their life course. However, a number of birth certificates were issued late or not at all, leading to the deprivation of rights as an individual and a citizen.

1.1.1 Birth Registration in the Context of Marginalized Urban Migrant Families in Jakarta

The Migrant Profile published by the Indonesia National Socioeconomic Survey (BPS, 2022) defined Migrants as residents who relocate across borders and administrative areas such as provinces or districts/cities. Referring to the same report (ibid, p.52), DKI Jakarta is the second-highest province with migrant residents. Thirty-six percent, or 1 of 5 Jakarta residents, were from other regions. The reason was that, as the capital city and central government, this area created different interests for immigrants from the social and economic sides. Lee (1996), cited in Marta (2020), describes the pull factors of migration from rural to urban areas, including social incentives, economic opportunities, political stability, and promising

prospects for employment and education. On the other hand, push factors for this migration include a lack of employment opportunities, political instability, and concerns about wealth.

Referring to one study of stateless children in relation to family decisions for birth registration in the context of Indonesia's transnational migrant labor families living in precarious conditions by Ball, J, et al (2014) pointed out that there was a tendency not to work with the civil administrative process as the priority of parents is to survive the livelihood, causing the high rate of undocumented children. This perspective was also evident in this research, which examined the experiences of several research participants who depend on irregular daily income from informal jobs in the market. For them, spending time dealing with administrative matters at the government office is seen as reducing their chance of earning their source of livelihood.

While external reasons, such as finances, are the most prominent reasons for people to move from rural to urban areas, internal drives, such as family issues, also lead to the decision to migrate. Marriage and divorce as life events can cause migration (Piper, 2003) cited in (Butt and Ball, 2019). The issue of legal documentation will arise when individuals want to register in their urban destination, as they need to provide complete documents from their original place. An interview with an NGO representative who has been involved with the issues of undocumented children in Jakarta shared the facts of his years of experience :

> "Many people left their hometowns due to family issues, like having multiple wives, leading to conflicts over inheritance. For example, a piece of inherited land or house would be sold off by the first, second, or third wives, leaving them nowhere to return. They moved, some became migrant workers, others became transmigrants, or came to Jakarta and lived under bridges. Previously, social service programs aimed to return them to their hometowns. They would be picked up and taken to the shelter in Kedoya (one district of Jakarta), and after their stay, they would be sent back to their hometowns with a travel allowance. But without a place to return to, they would end up coming back to Jakarta" (Wendy, August 2024).

The statement reflects not only the reasons for migration but also the actions taken by the Jakarta government to prevent an increase in rural-to-urban migration by returning those people to their hometowns, which demonstrates local government's perspective of Jakarta as an autonomous region would bear more responsibility with population increase instead of looking at the migrants as the inseparable part of Indonesia's citizens. During the field visit to the Kramat Jati Ward Office, one of the local officers in charge of civil administration services pictured the nature of populations in this area shortly after I mentioned undocumented children as the research topic.

> "Oh, the residents there are very mixed. They come from various regions with various statuses, such as unofficial marital status, they have been married several times, moved from one place to another" (Local officer, August 2024).

The initial response from the local officer highlights two points. First, it emphasizes the prevalence of urban migrants living in the Kramat Jati administrative area. Second, it conveys their problematic state, including informal marriages, which contributes to their citizenship issues. He continued his statement :

> "If they are our (Jakarta) citizens, they must first arrange their mutation at their origin place" (Local officer, August 2024).

He expressed his opinion based on the standard civil procedures and regulations which normally apply. While the government continuously develops practices to improve compliance, the system may not adequately consider the difficulties faced by urban migrant families with incomplete legal documents and financial struggles. Regarding birth registration, this challenge becomes more pronounced when migrants form a new family and have children with inherent needs to be registered to the state by their guardians. At this stage, the urban parents must confront their past issues once again, which can make them hesitant to address them.

1.1.2 Birth Certificate's Profound Impact on Children's Lives, Particularly on Education

While registering for birth solely depends on the actions of the adults, who are parents and state administrators, the main beneficiaries of the issuance of certificates are children. A study by Ball J, et al. (2014, p.4) pointed out the intriguing reason for statelessness, a law regulating marriage and birth registration. As the state has been given the autonomy to determine the process to recognize or revoke their citizens, statelessness issues are under the government's intervention. The study presents the example of Indonesia's government, through The Ministry of Education and Culture Number Decree No. 1 of 2021, about the enrollment of new students admission in formal schools, which regulates birth certificates as mandatory requirements for enrolling at school. This is an example of the government enforcing formalization by creating conditions for accessing public services instead of spreading awareness through socialization or expanding birth registration facilities. This approach worked well for some populations but did not work for specific communities that found the calculations of benefits and risks favor non-registration (ibid.,p.5).

The ownership of a birth certificate defines the opportunities available for their development and the limitations on accessing them, particularly in accessing the school. The state continues to promote the functionality of legal identity by integrating it into the digital system. Since 2012, public school enrollment has used an integrated portal named https://siap-ppdb.com/. Practically, applicants are required to upload birth certificates to the platform. The system also serves as a student database until the completion of study and issuance of education certificates. In some exceptional cases, primary schools, especially non-state educational institutions, such as religious-based and informal schools, may accept children without birth certificates. However, the document is still required before the final examination to issue the certificate from the integrated database. This means that while undocumented children may attend formal schools, their education can be validated only by submitting identity documents.

In the interview with Wendy, an NGO officer, he recalled the first time their team encountered issues of statelessness when they met children doing activities on the street during the midday when people their age were generally in school at that hour. After observing several similar situations, one of the reasons for the existence of out-of-school children in DKI Jakarta is the absence of identity, which is evident as the school system requires a birth certificate for enrollment.

> "If they (urban migrants) had children, those children would not have their identities registered because the parents themselves were not documented as residents. It is very unfortunate since all access to government assistance requires identity documents, and the target should ideally be these individuals" (Wendy, August 2024)

The statement emphasizes the exclusion of children citizens living in Jakarta from accessing government provisions, while fundamentally, they should become the state's priority in receiving public services. Although entire urban migrant families have been affected by civil administration issues, the impact on children would be more prevalent due to restrictions on their access as they are growing up. In the context of birth certificates, children are often viewed as passive actors as the decision and action to process the document depend on elderly people. However, Ball, J, et al. (2014) debated this view by foregrounding children's agency in realizing their capacity to navigate their own lives and to influence the decisions made by others or themselves in relation to forms of identity documentation or belonging.

1.2 About this research

Birth registration is one example of formalization by the state toward its citizens with the motivation to facilitate the development of citizens from an early age. This aligns with the capabilities perspective by Biggeri and Santi (2012, p. 377-378), where the state, as an institution, aims to equip its citizens with skills, opportunities, and potential for their development through various system arrangements. When it comes to children, who are at the core of development, they are expected to attain certain capabilities through resources provided by family, community, and school. The effectiveness of these resources is significantly influenced by institutions, norms, and culture, which can hinder or facilitate their development.

In Indonesia, children can access primary education when they reach seven years old or above and obtain national identity when they are seventeen. This process is beyond the administrative matter as someone's citizenship status would substantially influence their life course from childhood until adulthood. While registering for a birth certificate is normal for most citizens, it might not apply to the "last-mile" societies in Jakarta. Having the background as urban migrants with the problematic situation related to their legal status while struggling to maintain their livelihood upon relocation, dealing with the administrative complexities in the form of a birth certificate might be their later priorities.

Recent research around birth certificate issues in Indonesia has focused more on policy implementation, emphasizing the elements that factor in civil and administrative performances in particular areas, mainly rural and remote areas. For instance, studies from Nurhayani et al. (2023) and Putri, Sudiatmaka, and Sanjaya (2023) resulted in suggestions for the government to improve the effectiveness of civil administrative processes by increasing the numbers of socializations, adding the local apparatus, and developing the online based civil registration. Nevertheless, the experiences and perspectives of the main beneficiaries and actors (children and parents/caretakers) in understanding the meaning of identity documents and the impacts this document brings to their lives have not been adequately examined.

Drawing more attention to people's lived experiences is essential, especially for children and youth who play crucial roles in society relative to their age and generational relations in where they are situated (Huijsmans, ed., 2016, p. 327). In the context of children from urban migrant families who were born to parents with incomplete civil documents, looking directly at their actions and the factors that influence them is the means to understand the issues firsthand. According to (Pfister, 2012, p. 245) "citizenship should be understood as a historical process that is driven by its essential contestedness. Investigating the two major waves contesting the abstract idea of equal citizenship one finds that – despite the universalising language of citizenship – each citizenship formation is not only about inclusion, participation, and rights, but also about exclusion and unequal access to its benefits."

1.2.1 Research Objective and Questions

Following the problems and the relevance of the research planning, the research question is:

How do marginal urban migrants, citizens in Jakarta, respond to the birth registration process and experience their lives in relation to their citizenship status?

To address this research question sufficiently, the sub-research questions are identified as follows

1. What factors influence the action/inaction of parents to the birth certificate registration?
2. How do the experiences of the families with different timeframes for obtaining birth certificates?
3. To what extent does identity status influence the lives of marginalized urban migrant children?

1.3 Outline of This Paper

The paper consists of five chapters, which start with the research background in chapter one and continue with the conceptual framework and methodology of research, including reflection on positionality and field work situation to provide a clearer picture of the research dynamic and its limitations. The following three chapters will delve into research findings. Chapter Three describes the different experiences of coping with the birth registration process, including the aspects that influence the willingness or reluctance to register. Chapter four elaborates on outcomes after being registered to the state, looking at the variation between late or timely documented children and how undocumented families carry out their livelihood without access to public services. In Chapter Five, a deeper observation examination of children's experiences inside and outside the education system after being documented is discussed to outline how children respond to their citizenship status, highlighting the element of generation relations where the adults mainly determine action to register. Last but not least, chapter six will provide a summary of the findings and takeaways from the observation.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Approach and Research Methodology

This chapter incorporates several highlights of empirical data and argumentations from prior studies to construct the research framework. It also describes the data collection methodology, including the respondents, aspects of ethics, the research area and its demographic situation, data management, field experience, and challenges. The last section is the reflections on positionality and ethical matters.

2.1 Theoretical Approach

2.1.1 Formalization as The Gateway to Access Educational Institution

In Indonesia, state officials design and implement public schools through the Ministry of Education to provide children with essential knowledge for their development as they age. Education is compulsory in nature, following Constitution No. 31, which states that each citizen has the right to obtain an education through state officials. Additionally, as stipulated in Government regulation No.47 of 2008, each society must perform 12 years of primary and junior high school education, with waived tuition fees for public schools. The current school enrollment requires the submission of a citizenship document in the form of a birth certificate, which is also used as a reference to issue an education certificate by the end of the study period. Upon being enrolled, a student could obtain other schemes of government provision to facilitate quality and continuous education, such as various scholarships and monthly allowances to buy school supplies and nutritious food.

Both citizenship status and education are the state's commitment to national children. In Indonesia, the scheme is arranged so that access to one comes only after the other is fulfilled. The record of a newborn individual in the state system aims to facilitate the government in providing the primary needs of citizens through civil database management. Therefore, citizenship status will determine their eligibility or exclusion from accessing their rights. While formalization would be ideal from the state's perspective, a study by Gallien (2022, p. 494-495) debated this notion with the one finding point from formalization practices named evolutionary fallacy where the formalization that underpins several policy approaches does not always lead to other formalities processes and results in positive externalities due to limitations in following the procedures. Within a society with a huge gap in economic levels, the same access to public services can have different outcomes. Take the example of birth registration in Indonesia, where the certificate has general output to issue other civil documents and is required for starting the education, but it does not guarantee that individuals will complete their education. Jensen and Saunders (2014) note the potential implications of legal identity for development in three ways: recognition of citizens' eligibility for state provision, assurance of individual legal protection, and the beneficial source of demographic data used by the government for development planning. This notion might be logically acceptable, but it requires examination in the context of developing countries with complex economic and social issues.

2.1.2 Challenge of Registration In The Context Of Rural-Urban Migrants In Jakarta

The rapid urbanization from the rural areas to Jakarta has caused the fluctuation of people living in the capital city of Indonesia for a long time. Referring to the statistic profile for the year 2022 (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2023), DKI Jakarta has the biggest population density at the national level at 16,084 people/km2, with a significant difference compared to the National figure of only 142 people/km2. The latest published national report of the Migrant Profile (BPS, 2022) presented that DKI Jakarta is in five provinces with the highest incoming migration from outside provinces. One reason for the large number of people centralized in Java (an Island where DKI Jakarta is located) due to its significant economic contribution to Indonesia (57,89% of the National Gross National Domestic Product), resulting in the attraction to improve the standard of living and the opportunity to obtain a better environment and education for people outside Jakarta (Migrant Socioeconomic Survey BPS, 2022, p.3).

The 2020 Population Census Results show that 56,1 percent of the population lives in Java (Migrant Socioeconomic Survey BPS, 2022, p.3), while the region only covers 6.7 percent of Indonesia's territory. As a result, the urban capacity will be inadequate in supporting the fluctuation of residents over time, raising the issue of urban migrants, such as fewer opportunities to obtain decent housing and working children to support family finances. Linked to research on the relationship between the Crisis of Rapid Urbanisation and Children's Rights by Malone, K. (2015, P.4), It has long been evident that urban areas will increasingly become the center of global poverty. The continuous incoming of rural-urban migrants in one region with its limited capacity will give rise to slum areas with indecent housing situations, homeless people, a number of children working in informal sectors, and a higher probability of undocumented and out-of-school children. Accordingly, being mostly not registered at birth and living in transient communities, where residents are often moved on, these children from poor neighborhoods, slums, or squatter settlements are among the least likely to have their basic rights recognized or realized (ibid, p.5).

Another aspect of statelessness was taken from a study in the Asia-Pacific region by Ball J, et.al. (2014, p.9), which highlighted that the estimated 45–50% of infants born without birth registration worldwide are likely not fully explained by structural barriers to child registration, such as the availability of birth registration services, but rather by state laws governing marriage, documentation, and immigration, as well as social norms influenced by culture and religion. In Indonesia, where birth is normatively seen as a result of the legal family institution (formal marriage), the birth certificate issuance highly depends on the completeness of the parent's documentation. From the context above, it is necessary to navigate the discussion of undocumented children in the context of spatial mobility from the main actors involved in registration and migration. The research aimed at understanding the way transnational families (parents and children) utilized their resources to the chances and access available (or limited) embedded in the urban city. Aligning to one theory within the context of family and migration named situated agency "as a means of acknowledging the voices, subjectivities, and strategies of children and their parents in capitalizing on the opportunities geographical mobility has provided for self and family advancement" (Choi et al., 2018, p.2)

2.1.3 Approach to Children's Perspectives

This research brings attention to the children's direct perspectives and life experiences after formally obtaining citizenship, which is linked to the importance of looking at the outcomes over the regulations. One study by James (2011, p.172) clearly explained: "The idea of lived citizenship draws attention, therefore, to the significance of children's own agency with respect to their citizenship status since, while children may have theoretical rights in law,

whether or not, and how, they come to exercise these rights in their everyday lives will provide an important gauge of their status as citizens, in practice." Despite their less involvement in the registration process, the presence or absence of this document mainly impacts their lives, particularly in education. This is one reflection of generational relations where children's lives are affected by the systems tailored by the adults. Accordingly, it becomes important to directly observe how children demonstrate their abilities and restrictions through their actions and decisions on negotiating within this power dimension (Punch, 2021, p.1).

Another framework is related to the understanding of the sociology of childhood. Matthews, S.H. (2007) pointed out that children who used to be considered incomplete persons should be recognized as integral individuals who could affect social structures with their capabilities to influence societies. This is to understand children not only as the passive beneficiaries of state provision but also as social actors proactively involved in the system arranged by the state (as children in families, students at school, and citizens). Whereas school is considered a typical process for children in most societies, the situation might differ for children in urban migrant families. Living under economic limitations and surrounded by an environment where many children do not attend or drop out of school, they live between the available choices of being inside or outside school, even after obtaining the birth certificate. Cele (2006) emphasizes the importance of viewing children as similar to adults instead of separate groups with different needs to avoid stigmatizing them. The tendency to view children's capabilities as inferior to adults and generalize their situation as playful and sweet can lead researchers to ignore societal issues they face and hinder their involvement in society.

To conclude the theoretical section, Formalisation in the form of birth registration comes from the idea of integrating newborns into the state system, through which the government can continuously provide its citizens with benefits throughout their life course. While this is the ideal of formalization, in practice, it could lead to the exclusion of a particular group in societies from accessing basic needs. For instance, the people who migrated from rural to urban areas with the motivation to increase their wealth but ended up in precarious living situations, the priority to maintain their livelihood would diminish the capacity and motivation to follow the state's arrangement. In the context of birth registration, while adults play the main role in registration, the impact is profound for children within the migrant's family, whose lives will be influenced by the level of intervention the state can provide them.

2.2 Methodology

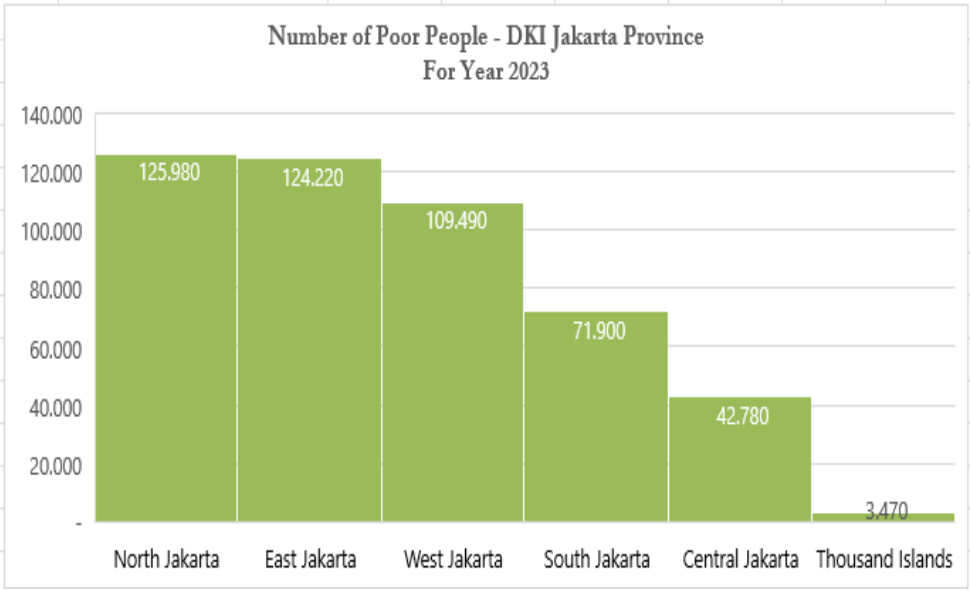
2.2.1 Methodological Consideration

To accommodate the research question on responses and experiences of citizens in the context of identity status, an ethnographic approach is considered a suitable methodology to collate the data. This approach emphasizes people's everyday lives and delves into what is generally considered normal by looking, listening, collecting data, and asking questions with several methods (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3). From the several techniques within ethnography, this research applied participant observation, informal interviews, and participation in a few respondents' activities related to the research context.

The research location is in the urban village of Kampung Tengah, under Kramat Jati District, East Jakarta Municipality, DKI Jakarta Province, Indonesia. In this region, the largest traditional market in Jakarta Province is located. A place where the big parties of fruits, vegetables, and spices are delivered from regions out of Jakarta and then distributed to smaller markets across Jakarta. Several statistical reports of East Jakarta were gathered to give a clearer picture of the demographic and socioeconomic situation of the research area (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2023). Within six municipalities under DKI Jakarta provinces, East Jakarta

(where the research took place) has the highest number of residents and represents 29% of the total Jakarta population. Looking at the poverty statistics, Figure 2 below displays that East Jakarta has the 2nd highest number of poor people among six municipalities, with 124 thousand people categorized as poor.[1]

Figure 2.Number of Poor People per Municipality – DKI Jakata Province



Source: Author modification based on statistical data, BPS DKI Jakarta, 2023

The respondents were purposively selected following the focus of research exploration; the families live in densely populated neighborhoods with inadequate housing situations. They spend most of their day doing informal jobs in the market (hawkers, market porters, waste picker, and onion peelers), and all the adult participants (parents) did not complete their formal education. Most respondents rent a small space behind the market, while one family stays inside the market building as they cannot afford to pay the rent. Some respondents shared that they have lived in Jakarta since birth, but their parents migrated from outside Jakarta. The others described that they moved from other regions within Java and relocated several times across the districts in Jakarta, depending on their source of income. Figure 3 below shows the map of Jakarta with the division of regions and districts to give pictures of where the research is located (in red circle).

[1] Poverty indicator is based on expenditure where a household is classified as poor with the average expenditure under IDR 697 thousand/month.

Figure 3.DKI Jakarta Map with Districts

Source: Jakarta-administrative-map (www.shutterstock.com)

2.2.2 Research Participants and Primary Data Collection

The research observed urban migrant families exposed to the need for birth registration. Based on the characteristics of the respondents, a personal approach is considered the best option for explaining and requesting permission in this context. I connect with the respondent through an NGO. They operate a learning center and support marginalized children in the Kramat Jati and areas nearby. Initially, They listed families who had received their assistance for birth registration along with undocumented children from their list of active attendees. I approached seven families from the suggested names, five of whom I knew before the research while volunteering at this NGO. From there, I only managed to interview four families since one candidate was rarely present at the market, so it was hard to arrange further conversations. Other candidates were elderly and had difficulty hearing. Additionally, I met with two other adult participants referred by other participants who knew them as fellow sellers at the market. Besides that, I met three children and one youth through their parents' involvement, and two other children I had encountered during an interview at the market. During my voluntary period in the NGO, I was familiar with their faces, but not all had prior interaction with me.

The following table summarizes seven families comprising seven adults, five children, and one youth participant. Each family has different categories of participants following the availability of parents and understanding of context. For example, the children's participants were set for ten years and above as they had been at school for some years and were more able to share their opinions. The classification of respondents is based on the timeline for getting the certificate to see aspects causing the variation and whether any key takeaways can be drawn from the different experiences. Timely documented are children who obtained birth certificates within 60 days after birth, as mandated by the government; undocumented are children who did not own birth certificates until the research date; and late documented children are those who just owned birth certificates one to two years before enrolling in primary school.

Table 1.List of Participants

Participant Type	Type	Pseudonym	Categories
Family 1	Undocumented	Ika	Adult
	Undocumented	Iga	Children (10-12 y.o)
Family 2	Undocumented	Leni	Adult
Family 3	Late Documented	Tina	Adult
	Late Documented	Cika	Children (10-12 y.o)
Family 4	Late Documented	Ali & Wife	Adult
Family 5	Late Documented	Eki	Children (10-12 y.o)
	Late Documented	Eka	Children (10-12 y.o)
Family 6	Timely Documented	Ani	Adult
	Timely Documented	Ari	Youth (24y.o)
Family 7	Timely Documented	Nina	Adult

Fieldwork was conducted for one and a half months from July until mid-August 2024 using participant observation, such as visiting the market and participants' homes and direct data collection through informal interviews, following the participants in doing routines, such as selling goods and picking up their kids from school, having activities together (with children), and photographs[2]. For most participants, informal interviews were conducted to obtain information about their history of living or relocating to Jakarta, what they do for a living, and information about children, particularly their identity documents. The interview questions were prepared in advance only to facilitate the discussion since the conversation was developed and directed based on the participant's response. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p.3) pointed out, the characteristic of data collection through ethnography is relatively unstructured as it does not precisely follow the details and structure of the initial design.

Other primary data were gathered by visiting several places where respondents were situated and engaged in daily routines. The main observation was located in several spots within the market where the respondents work as hawkers. The respondent's living places were also frequently visited during fieldwork as a few respondents work from their homes (as onion peelers and plastic waste sorters). A school where children from a few participants studied was also helpful in completing the observation. Several photographs were captured throughout the fieldwork as these are relevant to understanding the participants' daily routines and supporting the particular narratives. The data collection for children was generally the same, with additional activities. For example, every Sunday, I visited the NGO's learning home that operated in the research area to volunteer while observing the children; a few were the research respondents. Other activities, including but not limited to chatting, teaching, and writing the daily routines, were performed to develop conversations with children. As remarked by Christensen and James, ed., (2000, p.121), the approach of research with children is in the sense that the adult tries to comprehend children's worlds, which may alter the researcher's perspectives and expectations throughout the research experience.

[2] The details of the data acquisition method per participant are attached in Appendix 1.

Before any data collection method, each respondent was asked for consent (including approval to record the interview before it started), either in written form or verbal approval, by explaining the points from the consent form since not all of my participants are used to reading pages of paper, and some have asked me to explain them directly. For the children respondents, permission from their parents (in another written form or verbal) was obtained before conducting the observation, except for two children respondents due to the absence of the parents. In separate situations, I also talked directly to each child and youth respondent about the purpose and topic of the research, why they were involved, and their willingness before continuing the data collection and sharing the result for the academic context.

2.2.3 Experiences in Field and Data Management

Since the research was centralized in several places with plenty of underprivileged populations, every observation opened me to the vulnerable living situation in the urban city of Jakarta, and every interview exposed me to the different struggles of surviving and managing a livelihood using limited resources. Therefore, I realized the importance of maintaining physical and emotional energy by taking one day off during the weekdays and focusing only on one respondent per day to provide space for a break.

I processed the data before analysis by combining the interview transcription (using a software tool) with manually typed field notes taken from each day of observation in a Word document. Subsequently, I manually scanned through the writing again while defining the coding to the particular texts related to the research context or any sections necessary for the analysis development. In parallel, several pieces of conversation and field notes were translated from Bahasa (Indonesian language) to English before being included in the paper.

Unlike the adult participants, doing research with children requires me to employ different approaches for each child, depending on their situation. To one child who had just dropped out of school, I asked her to write and tell her brief daily activities at the current time compared to when she was a student to understand the impact that a birth certificate brings into her life experience. Meanwhile, conversing while playing was preferred by other children who were personally closer to me. The selected method for particular children did not guarantee more robust data since I, as an adult, relied on my own assessment to understand children's perceptions. Punch (2022, p.324) highlighted that adults' behavior toward children is influenced by their attitudes, fears, and assumptions. Therefore, the methodologies employed and the data analyzed are shaped by the researcher's beliefs about children's social position. Furthermore, as a researcher who knew some of the children's respondents, I realized the ease of building good rapport during data gathering, but this became a challenge at the same time as I needed to be reflexive on power interactions between us, recognizing that children are more vulnerable to the unequal power dynamic in research with the tendency to please adults and may fear adult's reactions (ibid, p.326).

2.2.4 Reflection on Positionality

Reflecting on strategic positionalities and how a researcher might be perceived differently by presenting different access to individuals and their lives could provide insight into data collection and analysis (Reyes, 2020, p.222). I conducted research involving an NGO as a gatekeeper, where I had previously volunteered for several years; I realized there was ease in finding and connecting with potential research respondents. This was proven when I first approached some of them at the market, and their responses were generally positive and open to sharing their experiences. However, I always tried to start the conversation by explaining that I was a student working on a final project about the experiences of urban migrants in Jakarta in registering birth and related contexts. However, my previous figure as a

volunteer was still apparent as some respondents asked for my help with their civil documentation, such as obtaining a health card or helping their neighbors who did not have identity documents. My response to such matters was to inform them that I was not in a position to help them with civil administration issues, but I was aware that building a good rapport with the respondents was a priority. Therefore, I told them I could only assist by passing their requests on to the NGO. Most of my mobilization in the market was done independently, especially during interviews, to emphasize my position as an independent party in the context of this research.

As a person who was born and grew up in East Jakarta and volunteered for years in an NGO which is located near the research area, I felt a sense of being an insider with the easiness in interaction and communication with locals, aware of their daily routines as an important consideration before scheduling the meeting, and quite familiar with research area. However, the fieldwork has allowed me to visit other parts of the market and places more regularly than before. I have encountered several new sites, such as many small rental houses in narrow alleys behind the market. The alley can only allow two people to pass through, and even on sunny days, it was dark to mobilize inside these spaces because of the density of houses surrounding it. I visited the homes of my respondents, which were primarily small-sized rented houses consisting of a family of three or more people who manage their activities to rest, cook, study, and locate their stuff in the very limited space. I also observed that the main market building became a place for people to sleep at night and children to gather with their friends during the day. At the corner of the vacant kiosks, they place mats, burlap sacks, and sometimes thin mattresses along with their stuff. Therefore, although I have lived in Jakarta for years, this very contrast from the usual situation reveals the hidden reality of the vulnerable societies living in DKI Jakarta.

I also reflect on my position as an outsider who grew up without any issue with identity documents, following the normal stage of schooling and getting the opportunity to complete a high degree at a considerably normal age, which influenced the way I perceived the education and civil administration process as the common norm. Meanwhile, as a researcher, I need to foreground the respondents' perspective and rely on their understanding of the context. Therefore, I took the approach of being an active listener and observer, trying not to dominate particular points of discussion and writing the original perspectives and reality of the respondents as a substantial part of the research content. According to Chege (2015, p.478), identities are dynamic and unique in every research context, and no single pre-field training would fit and be sufficient to equip researchers. The best approach is to be proactive and empathetic, and participate ethically during the site work.

2.2.5 Limitations

The research was only conducted in one district of Jakarta, which may limit the variations of findings and depth of analysis since the urban migrants were spread all over Jakarta's region. Moreover, the different bureaucratic practices across local government officers will influence citizen's experiences in engaging with civil procedures.

Due to the time limitation in conducting data collection, the frequency of meetings and depth of interactions between respondents differed. It was especially difficult to set appointments with a few adult respondents who needed to stand by at their stalls as they had no one to take their turn selling the goods. Sometimes, they did not come without advance notice.

Chapter 3
Citizen's Struggles in Getting Citizenship Status

This chapter starts with the findings from observation and interactions with the participants: marginalized citizens who are required to deal with the civil administration process upon moving from villages to the urban city of Jakarta, particularly once their children reach school age and need birth certificates for enrollment. This chapter describes the contributing and restricting factors to the family's decision to apply for birth certificates. Furthermore, it highlights the circumstances where birth registration became less urgent and unintentionally left children undocumented despite their substantial nature as Indonesian citizens.

3.1 School And Other Benefits That Come After Registering the Birth

> "Yes, that's why I need to hurry and register Toni (her eight-year-old son) before he starts school." (Tina, July 2024)

This is a statement shared by Tina in our second meeting at the NGO's learning place when I asked her primary motivation for applying for her children's birth certificate. This reason resonates with one situation back in October 2022; I remember her participation in one advocacy seminar held by an NGO, where I became one of the volunteers for that event. Toni (her son) was seven years old back then, the standard age to start primary school. On that day, when most participants had left the socialization right after the event finished, she was one of a few parents who stayed and approached us to share her situation and confusion in applying for her son's birth certificate. In addition to that, she was also bringing her family's civil documents in one map to show us what she had that might help with the application. Considering her serious efforts, we invited her to visit the ward office the next day to help her find the solution. One day after, she arrived on time and followed us for almost half a day, even the days after, since the process took longer at the government office. For Tina, as the main provider to her family, replacing her time earning money by doing administrative matters might take much consideration. Throughout this process, she maximized the opportunity to get assistance from the NGO. She demonstrated an eagerness to ensure her son was enrolled in school on time by obtaining a birth certificate.

During the fieldwork, Tina asked me to help her get the physical health card from the public health center. However, unlike the last time, she did not come when we agreed to meet at the health service place two times. When I met her in the market, she explained that no one could replace her to take care of the wares, especially during the peak hours at the market between 9 a.m. and 12 p.m. In contrast to the previous situation, there was an urgent need to obtain identity documents for her son's school. Otherwise, she prioritized earning money over other civil administration matters.

Another respondent named Nina, a 40-year-old mother, does not have a marriage certificate as she had married only under religious custom. However, when her daughter was born, she still registered her birth certificate using the alternative, namely the birth certificate for a

child from a mother[3], which has the same functionality and is legally recognized by the state. Still, the child will be lawfully identified without a father, which may cause future administrative complexities (for example, in the case of inheritance distribution). She explained her reason as follows:

> "So, whether we like it or not, to make it quick, we just have to make it like that. Like making a statement letter for a child of a mother. If we don't do that, it can't be taken. Yeah, it's just that, only to get my daughter to school " Nina, July 2024)

Nina shared that her sister, who lives nearby, helped her apply for any civil documents by providing information and collecting the required documents, such as birth registration and school enrollment. Nina depends on her nuclear family, who used to deal with civil administrative matters, to handle her unusual case since alternatives offered by the government are also not straightforward as she should complete a letter from the hospital of the birth acknowledgment, proof of identity as a Jakarta citizen, a family book under one district in Jakarta, a letter from the head of the neighborhood where the family book is recorded, and approval from two witnesses who are also registered as Jakarta's citizens. Nina's response reflects that parents' actions highlight the multiple constraints influencing their decision while emphasizing how family belonging values shape their strategic responses (Butt and Ball, 2019, p.5)

In another interaction with one respondent named Ani, a mother with three children in primary school and another one in college school, she pointed out that the possession of a birth certificate is important not only as an enrollment document but is a required document to facilitate school activities. As an active student, her children are eligible for an allowance from Jakarta's government named the KJP Card (Jakarta Smart Card)[4]. Conceptually, the card is under the name of a registered student in any public or private school, and the benefits vary depending on the education level (primary, junior high, and senior high school). The benefit in the form of a cash allowance is received monthly to the registered bank account. It can be withdrawn only for purchase from assigned school suppliers and food supplies (such as rice, sugar, oil, etc.). Realizing the right to utilize these facilities, Ani ensured her children were eligible to use this card during their study period. She shared her experience working with the application for this card and how birth certificate plays a role in it.

> "Yes, I was applying for the card for all my children. In the registration process, a birth certificate is not required, but when opening a bank account, they (the government officer) ask for the birth certificate to match the data. When Ami (second daughter, 10 years old) graduates from primary school to junior high level, I need to re-register. The amounts differ: IDR 250,000 for elementary school, IDR 300,000 for middle school, and IDR 450,000 for high school. The re-registration is needed, but the bank stays the same." (Ani, July 2024)

Ani is very aware of the procedure, including the details of benefits and the timeline for renewing the card so her second daughter can get the updated benefits timely. This conversation happened when Ani was waiting for her daughter to study at a preschool managed by

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[3] Refer to Deed No.24 year 2013, the birth certificate can be issued based on the mother's report in specific cases where the father's information is not available or not declared (I,e outside marriage), the child's legal status may be recorded only under the mother's name.

[4] Jakarta Smart Card (KJP) is an educational assistance program by Jakarta Government to help students from underprivileged families to access decent education. This program provides assistance in the form of money that is transferred electronically to the KJP recipient's account, which can then be used for various educational needs.

the NGO. After class, I walked with her and her daughter to their home, which took one and a half hours from the school. Ani talked about her background as a migrant from East Java who relocated to Jakarta in her twenties and worked as an onion peeler at Kramat Jati Market. Back then, she was able to complete her marriage documentation with the help of the head of the neighborhood where she resided. Subsequently, she was able to arrange all of her children's certificates on a timely basis.

We arrived at Ani's house, a small rented house built under the main road. We descended dozens of stairs and stopped in front of the two doors of rented houses, one occupied by Ani, her husband, and their four children. I was sat on the floor of the front room. The small space contained an open cupboard full of clothes, a refrigerator, and a television with a drawer underneath containing documents, books, school bags, and other stuff. Additionally, there were two folded mattresses stacked on top of each other. Some family members seem to rest in the front room as the home has only one bedroom. Ani's house situation and background justify her motivation to comply with civil regulations to maintain her family's livelihood. Figure 4 below displays the well-archived legal documentation maintained by Ani. Ani takes the role of ensuring compliance and updating information around civil documentation to maintain the economic benefit from it. Among the other participants, she is the only full-time mother. This family has two sources of income: her husband is a construction laborer, and her first daughter works part-time while she is studying at college. Ani's household situation gives her more time to engage with aspects related to school and civil administrative matters. She demonstrates strategic action by combining the household need, a fluid understanding of civil documents, and the use of resources to support the family's well-being (Butt and Ball, 2019, p.6)

Figure 4.File holders inside the drawers at Ani's house to keep civil documents

From the stories above and the general answer from the respondents, education is the main reason for birth registration. This situation becomes more urgent once the children reach primary school age, pushing them to deal with unusual situations to fulfill the administrative requirements within the process. The respondents' stories also demonstrate different experiences of performing the registration depending on the level of resources and involvement of other parties, such as family or community development. This narrative is aligned with research by Jensen and Saunders (2014, p.65), which disclosed that different levels of resources that families have will determine their capability to carry out the registration process that comprises various financial expenses.

3.2 Rationalization for Stay Unregistered

3.2.1 Maintaining Livelihood Over Education?

When I visited Leni, a 50-year-old mother with two undocumented children, she was busy working as a waste sorter. In front of her home, she and another woman separated chunks of plastic waste (mostly from drinking water) based on their type and put them inside burlap sacks. She was welcome when I came as we had agreed to meet one day before. However, I felt uneasy as I arrived one hour early from the scheduled time, which meant cutting off her time to achieve her daily waste collection target. I only realized after our conversation that she said that every day, she has a minimum target kilogram of waste to collect and bring to the plastic waste buyer in return for money amounting to IDR 60,000-70,000.

When I arrived, she took me to her place, which looked like a stilted house. After stepping off the wooden stairs, I could see three small rented houses closely situated together. Leni's home is located on the left side of the stairs. She offered to go inside, but I asked if we could talk outside and not disturb her husband and her son, who were still asleep at that time (around 11 a.m.). She said they just finished working as market labor from dawn. At the same time, I saw her second child, Arni, a 12-year-old girl who was drying clothes in front of their home. Leni's children's activities illustrate the situation of out-of-school children who help with household chores and take midday naps after working in the morning, unlike other children their age who typically attend school.

> "Initially, I moved to this area because of a disagreement with my first husband, whose behavior was unacceptable. I just left with only the clothes I was wearing, as I could not tolerate his behavior. I came with her stepfather (who is currently her husband). And a week later, when I retrieved our belongings, they had all been taken to his parents' house. I tried to find all the documents (including my children's birth certificate), but I was unable to meet with him, even after searching up until the last Eid (Moslem Holiday). This situation has been ongoing since Arni was four years old" (Leni, July 2024)

Referring to the above statement, it has been eight years since the incident that caused Leni's children to lose their identity documents and restricted their access to school. As her children currently have passed the period to start school at the normal age, she did not talk much about the continuation of education for her children, on the other hand, she pointed out her children who started to support the family's financial:

> "....I'm really open to doing any work. For example, yesterday, after returning from Sunday class, Arni asked what she could sell, so I made green beans. She went out selling, while her older brother sold vegetables in the morning and then gave the money to their mother. The children want to help; they're not shy about it. *Alhamdulillah* (praise term in Moslem), they're not like other kids. (Leni, July 2024)

Leni spoke the last sentence with a louder tone, displaying her pride in her children for having the courage to contribute to the family's livelihood, which does matter in the context of low-level economic families, diminishing the urgency to enroll their children in school over time. I asked what her difficulties were when she tried to apply for her children's birth certificate, and she quickly replied that she did not have money to pay someone who could expedite the process. Her responses justify the inaction to work on registration since the

urgency to start school has passed, and the economic benefit expected from the education process can be attained without formally going into school institutions.

3.2.2 Affordable Private Health Services

Apart from education, a birth certificate also grants access to public health services. Technically, data from the birth certificate is integrated into the family book, and registration with the health security system relies on the information in the family book. Therefore, each individual can benefit from public health services by using data from the family book. Nevertheless, the motivation to get heath public service is less effective in stimulating birth registration as affordable private health services are available as an alternative. As I asked Leni about the health facility that she used to visit, she answered :

> "No , I use a clinic. Because the health card (to access the public health service) is not applicable. Just recently, when Arni was sick, the treatment cost IDR 150,000. It is expensive, but it is good. (Leni, July 2024)

For Leni, whose children are undocumented, she goes to private health services when her children get sick. The name is 24-hour Clinic, located near her house, which is an important factor in saving time and cost. In this place, patient registration does not require identity, and they sell generic medication at an affordable price. Even though undocumented individuals are unable to access free health services, the availability of private health services has offered an affordable alternative.

3.2.3 The Experiences With Bureaucracy

The first visit to meet Tina, a 30-year-old mother with three children, happened on a Sunday evening around 4.00 p.m. at one outside section of Kramat Jati Market, where plenty of hawkers are located. From far away, I saw Tina having a conversation with other sellers next to her stall, a simple mat made from a burlap sack. She displayed her wares on the mat, including vegetables and fruits, neatly packed in plastic bags (refer to figure 5). She sells each plastic at the same price, IDR 5,000, which is relatively cheaper than traditional market vendors. As the stall was not too busy with visitors, Tina asked somebody to look over her wares while we talked.

Figure 5.Outside place in Kramat Jati Market where Tina sells her wares

After conversing for around an hour, I understood that Tina is fully responsible for her family's livelihood as her husband is unemployed, and they have three children who depend on her. We agreed to meet at the NGO's learning house near the market the following day. She explained that her husband was an urban migrant who only had a temporary identity card (KTP) from Jakarta when they married, which caused the absence of a marriage certificate and led to incomplete supporting documents to apply for a birth certificate. Unlike her husband, Tina has been legally registered as a Jakarta citizen since she was young with the help of her mother. She recalled her memory of registering as a citizen :

> "Back then, my mother used to help (neighbors) with making things like national identity cards and birth certificates, as she had some connections inside (government officer). Sometimes, people gave money to my mother, but she didn't keep it. The officials at the sub-district office took it because my mother knew someone on the inside. Therefore, I could get my identity card" (Tina, July 2024)

This statement indicates that informal practices and internal connections with government officers facilitate civil administration matters. The experience from Tina might have happened decades ago. However, societies' perspective of having "money and an inside person" to expedite civil administration remains recognizable. An official-free process to issue identity documents is frequently subjected to informal practices, often depending on the

applicant's financial capacity (Jensen and Saunders, 2014, p.65). A supporting statement from another respondent named Ari, a 24-year-old girl, presents the opinion of a young citizen witnessing the informal practice of the current bureaucracy. She highlighted the basic qualification of public service practices can hinder or encourage citizens' actions to register:

> "the government shouldn't charge money for everything, honestly. In my opinion, sometimes they (the government) scare us. If we want everything sorted out, we need to pay. Sorry to say, but actually, you shouldn't have to. As the part of government, they should serve every people equally"(Ari, August 2024)

A similar experience came from Ali, a 41-year-old father who works as a small seller at Kramat Jati market. The NGO assisted him in applying for his daughter's birth certificates. Despite the fact that an NGO representative accompanied him during the application, it took almost a month until the document was issued. His statement below expresses a tiring and complex process of a local government officer. Furthermore, he needed to sacrifice his time to earn money during busy market hours to visit government offices for several days. He shared :

> "The story goes like this: Mr.Wendy (NGO's representative) handled everything, running back and forth here and there, and I ran out of money. Mr.Wendy is tired, too; it's exhausting at Dukcapil (Population and Civil Registration Services). On top of that, I had to spend fifty to one hundred rupiah buying duty stamps and other stuff, and there were additional costs. It was exhausting physically and mentally, to say the least." (Ali, July 2024)

To close this chapter, several narratives above clarified the impulse to obtain education by starting formal school in a timely manner as the motivation for birth registration. For urban migrant families with incomplete formal documentation and who have moved to Jakarta due to economic difficulties, this procedure is burdensome since it consumes their limited yet fundamental resources, which are time and money. From the observation, state provision to its citizens was provided through the formalization channel, which requires the proactiveness of the individual to interact with the officer and be aware of the updated regulations. Meanwhile, it is difficult for most urban migrant families with a lack of knowledge and connections to adequate information on registration. As Jensen and Saunders (2014, p.67) pointed out, the fundamental obstacle to registration is a lack of understanding about the idea of birth certificates. Furthermore, most respondents still depend on the role of intermediaries, such as community development and nuclear families, to process their civil administration matters on their behalf. The data also brings rationality to staying undocumented; first is the children who can contribute to the family's economy, reducing the purpose of school. Second is the affordable alternatives to public services such as health. Third is the bureaucratic figures, known for their informal practices, such as levies and inside connections, to expedite the process.

Chapter 4
Navigating Life on The Presence or The Absence of Birth Certificate

This chapter explores the role of birth certificates in shaping the lives of families of urban migrants and understands how one document that conceptually has the same contribution to every citizen could have different outcomes for diverse groups of societies. The following sections will bring out grassroots stories on the benefits of owning birth certificates and the efforts to maintain those benefits, which is interesting to see from different families with and without registration issues. The last part discovers the stories of families whose children are undocumented and how they manage to direct life as citizens with limited access to public services.

4.1 Open Doors After Owning the Identity - Stories From The Late Documented Children

Draw the line from the previous chapter that school is the main reason to apply for a birth certificate; access to public education is open after owning the birth certificate. Some of my participants have different experiences with utilizing the certificates for school registration. Tina, whose son got a birth certificate when he was seven years old (age limit for primary school), became the priority in getting accepted based on the applicable procedure referred to the Ministry of Education and Culture Regulation Number 1 of 2021 regarding new student admissions specifies in article 4, point 2 that in the process of admitting new students, elementary schools must give priority to accept the students age seven and above.

Other than getting accepted at school, Tina shared an impressive point about the changes in routines shown by her son after being a student. Before learning at school, Tina's son used to spend the whole day at the Market, staying at her mother's stall, playing, or just hanging around with friends and adult people at the market. He also follows his peers earning money by picking vegetables and fruits from wholesalers and reselling them to small sellers to get money. After becoming a student, he spends more time with his father on the weekends and no longer joins his friends to pick vegetables and fruits. Most of his time is now taken up by activities related to school.

Meanwhile, Ali's wife, whose daughter also obtained the birth certificate only a year before she started school, showed her gratitude when sharing her experience applying for school

> "I was at school until 4 p.m. from 12 p.m. to fill out plenty of forms, but finally, my daughter could go to school; not long after that, she was announced as the student. *Alhamdulillah* (praise term in Moslem). (Ali's wife, July 2024)

Ali and her wife continue their role after registering their kids at school by being present in their daughter's routines at school. When I visited one public school named SDN Merdeka to meet one of the children's participants, I came early, but the school gate was still closed. Not long after, Ali also arrived early by riding his motorbike to pick up her daughter. After meeting her daughter, Ali sat with her at the small park in front of the school to discuss something related to the lesson. Unlike most parents who return home after seeing their children, Ali's daughter took one book out of her bag and gave it to her father. A few minutes

later, Ali wrote something in the book while talking to her daughter, who was seriously paying attention. This interaction demonstrates a father's interest and attention to his daughter's school performance, which could positively contribute to her education. It is also important to note that although Ali has a similar situation as other urban migrant parents who depend on their income from the activities at the market during the day, he spends more time supporting his kid's education since the school is only five minutes distance by motorcycle from the market. Additionally, Ali and his wife run their stall together. Thus, his wife is still available at work once Ali is away to take care of the school matter.

Following the ownership of birth certificates, students from marginalized families can benefit from Jakarta's government program to facilitate their school supplies and nutrition through the establishment of the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP Card). This benefit is inclusive for public and private schools, unlike the scheme for health card systems, which only covers service at government hospitals. When I asked Tina and Ali about this facility, they were aware that the government provides facilities to support students at school. However, both were unsure about the documents required for the application and have yet to do anything to start the application process.

In fact, according to Ali's responses below, there was a tendency to depend on and wait for external support (such as NGO) to work on administrative matters. For Ali, facing the bureaucracy without backup from someone more knowledgeable will only exhaust his substantial time to earn money.

> 'How do you feel after the document was issued, *Pak*?' (or Sir, to call an older man)
> 'Yes, *Alhamdulillah*, all is completed, I was happy.'
> I continue, 'Now you can apply for other allowances with this document. Have you done so?'
> '*Belum, belum* (which is not yet, he repeated twice). I was not sure about it.
> Yes, you should use it, *Pak*', I responded excitedly, and he also enthusiastically answered,
> 'If you can help, let's do it, I will follow your instructions.'
> (Ali, July 2024)

Referring to the stories above, the families experience changes in their routines following the issuance of birth certificates and their children's enrollment at school. Children adjust most of their time mobilizing at the market to learning at school; even during the weekend, they have less interaction with activities in the market to play and earn money. Whereas, for adults, the availability of resources will impact the level of support that they can bring to the children's education continuity, for instance, accessible school from the working location and the presence of a spouse that can take turns earning money at the market. On the other hand, the opportunity to access education facilities by the government (through formality procedures) tends to be ignored by families who have experienced complexities in prior processes of birth registration. Accordingly, birth certificates do not guarantee access to the benefits they are supposed to bring (Butt and Ball, 2019, p.3)

4.2 Following The Ownership of Citizenship - Stories From The Late And Timely Documented Children

The following sections will focus more on how urban migrants' families cope with situations that arise after their children register at school, look into the similarities and variations between the families whose certificates were issued late and timely, and examine to what extent

these particular groups within societies could leverage their status as citizens. In the previous chapter, Ani's children, whose birth certificate was processed in a timely manner, shared the subsequent benefits after obtaining citizenship status and her strong commitment to complying with civil administration. This section will delve into Ani's experience utilizing the benefit and to what extent it can support Ani's household, which consists of five people. Among the other participants, Ani is the only full-time mother. With two sources of income within her household, Ani's economic situation is more stable, giving her more time to engage with school information, including taking action in handling administrative matters.

Using the Jakarta Smart Card (KJP), Ani can withdraw monthly money to purchase staple foods in the wholesale market in Kramat Jati. Figure 6 below is a government poster inside the building at the market stating, "Provide access to affordable food distribution." along with pictures displaying the types of available food. Ani indicated that this allowance is sufficient to provide daily meals for the whole family and meal boxes for her children at school, which are both primary needs in the household.

Figure 6.Poster inside the Kramat Jati Wholesale Market

I asked if KJP is sufficient to cover all the school-related expenses, and she answered :

'Yes, but especially with the new *Kurikulum Merdeka* (new curriculum established by the government for education), there is a lot of practical stuff. Books also need to be bought. For example, I recently bought a religious book for IDR 22,000. Uniforms also need to be purchased. Last time, I spent IDR 700,000 on uniforms and other items for two children.'

'That's quite a lot, even with KJP', I replied

'Yes, I still need to pay for those. But, I think that since the card (KJP) covers the food for the whole family, it's fair to spend more on other school needs, which need to be quickly fulfilled; the priority is for my children's school.' (Ani, July 2024)

Using the same card, Ani's first daughter, who studied in a non-public high school, was supported with tuition fees for three years of study. Nonetheless, the students who registered under this allowance scheme get differentiated when receiving the performance report, as the students under the KJP scheme can only obtain their results after the self-funded students. This explains the different treatment of school services, which are unnecessary in the context of education. I asked Ani's perspective on this matter, and she stated:

"I don't mind, and take it easy. We have to be patient. I don't let it bother me. I stay calm and go with the flow. Even if we have to wait longer, we understand it's because it's free. We just have to be patient"(Ani, July 2024)

Ani's family is one example of the expected outcomes that come after identity registration, which cannot be applied to all citizens in practice. However, Ani's pathway to support all of her children's education until completing a higher degree (ideal to start formal work) still takes 10-15 years from now, as three of four children are still in primary and pre-school. Therefore, referring to her experience in utilizing the allowance from the state, to only depend on the periodic government allowance might be uncertain. At the very least, she needs to maintain her current source of income and periodically perform administrative work to stay eligible as a beneficiary of social provision. Following the argumentation from Gallien and Boogaard (2023, p.505), the positive externalities of particular policy implementations are often less assured that the advantage of formalization should be viewed as conditional.

Another participant taught me the different levels of parents' involvement in their children's activities after enrolling in school. In my second meeting with Tina, whose son (Toni) just got the birth certificate one year before school, she brought her son's latest academic report from a few months ago and showed it to me. Looking at his report, in which almost all subjects are above the class average score, I praised her son, who completed the 1st level of primary school with an excellent performance. However, when I looked at the attendance evaluation column, I noticed five days of absence without explanation. When I asked Tina about this, she just smiled and didn't explain her son's absence at school. As a mother working by herself a whole day at the market (her husband is unemployed and rarely appears at the market), Tina may have less time to supervise her son's school activities.

Tina's son, Toni, was born and raised in this area. He is used to playing with children his age who spend the entire day at the market, many of whom are out of school. One day, during fieldwork at around 11 am, when Tina and I planned to pick up Toni before heading to school to buy uniforms, I saw that Toni was still in his pajamas and barefoot. He came out of the market building and greeted us, then shook my hands. I asked, "Did you go to school today?" he replied, "I didn't, *Ka* (to call older people); I woke up late." This short conversation illustrates how Toni's environment has influenced his habits and disrupted the expectations of school rules. Additionally, Toni's family is currently homeless. They sleep and store their stuff in the area in front of empty kiosks. Toni's living situation makes coping with the school's discipline challenging.

Free education at public schools is commonly understood as no additional cost as schools will provide all required learning tools. The same interpretation is also understood by the urban marginalized group of parents in the Kramat Jati Market area. While getting into the education system was hard for some of them, the uneasy path continues when their children request to purchase several things as learning support, not all of which are affordable. This challenge was pictured when I followed Tina to buy her son's uniforms. I noticed that certain types of uniforms are specifically designed for each school and can only be purchased from the respective school. Students are required to have these specific uniforms. The moment when Tina asked for a sports and Moslem uniform, the teacher who was in charge also offered to buy another uniform for Toni because his uniform looked worn out and faded. However, Tina immediately replied that the uniform was still good and there was no need to replace it soon. The offer that was rejected directly by Tina shows her inconvenience of spending money on school supplies, which were not urgent.

Receiving education services from the state is the expected output of owning a legal identity. In practice, public schools require resources from the state and the students' guardians. In the context of urban migrant parents who live in instability, this means that they need to leverage resources in time and money to look closely after their children's school performance and provide the required learning medium. Jensen and Saunders (2014, p.60) highlighted that data suggest that enhancing access to education does not depend on legal identities since addressing the underlying economic and social issues is more necessary. Therefore, encountering children out of school in this area is considered normal, as well as seeing children earning money inside and around the market area.

4.3 Navigating Life in The Absence Of Birth Certificate – Stories From Families With Undocumented Children

Kramat Jati Market is a popular site for urban migrants looking for an easy way to earn money daily. The market accommodates small-scale sellers, street food vendors, second-hand sellers, market laborers, waste pickers, and other informal workers. During my observations at the market during midday, I often see people of teenagers and children's age mobilizing around the market area to play with their peers, help their parents sell wares, and work, including Leni and Ika's children; both are mothers respondents from undocumented children. While Leni and her family have lived in Jakarta for over a decade, Ika only moved with her family a few years ago. Both of them had tried to formalize their citizenship status but have yet to find a solution.

Ika is a mother of three children who migrated from Serang, a district in West Java, to Jakarta for economic reasons; she works in front of her home as an onion peeler, while her husband is a porter in the market, with irregular income. She doesn't have a Jakarta identity for herself. Meanwhile, Leni has an issue since she did not formally divorce her first husband. Hence, she can not formalize her relationship with her current partner. As a result, neither of them can normally regularly process birth registration.

Following are two pieces of dialogue with different participants :

Ika: He (head of the neighborhood where she resides) said, I can help you get Jakarta's identity. His name is Pak Ismail. He asks only for the mutation letter.

Me: He requires only one letter, *Bu* (to call older woman)?

Ika: Yes, a mutation letter from the village, but the officer (from her village) asked for money.

Me: They ask for money, *Bu*?

Ika: Yes, It's very difficult. Other than the money for administration, the cost of traveling there and returning here is also not cheap.

(Ika, July 2024).

Leni: I was married only with the religious leader's approval, and the prior marriage has not legally ended. Honestly, I can only process a certificate for a child from a mother, but the cost is not cheap (Leni, July 2024).

Both statements depict the struggle to process the identity document in the urban area where migrants had resided and worked for years. They highlighted the points beyond service availability or alternatives to registering a birth but more about the required cost during the process. Therefore, as remarked by Jensen and Saunders (2014, p.54), improving the civil registration coverage and service might not be the proper response since the people most in need of government support tend to be the people with the least probability of registering. It is interesting that both of them also mentioned the same alternatives when I raised a question about school for most of their children who have passed the normal age to start primary education (Leni's children are 15 and 12 years old, and Ika's children are 11, 10, and 6 years old).

Ika: "Yes, I wanted to do that, but we are still unable to do so because of the absence of a birth certificate to enroll in the one-year escalation program (managed by the government to attain the education certificate for citizens who because of several reasons, are not able to go through normal education track). Eventually, the state will issue the certificate; then, a birth certificate is needed."(Ika, July 2024)

Leni: "I was looking for a one-year escalation program. There is a free option, but the school is registered in East Jakarta, and they require a birth certificate. Other than that location, I need to pay IDR 1,2 million for uniforms and service." (Leni, July 2024)

They understand the options offered by the government to facilitate out-of-school children's obtaining of education, but they also realize that the absence of an identity document restricts every opportunity to bring their children into formal education.

Figure 7.Working situation of Leni as a plastic waste collector

Figure 7 above pictures a space in front of Leni's rented home equipped with simple equipment to gather the plastic waste before separating it into recycled materials. She does this activity daily with another woman and shares the earnings equally. Despite all the limitations, these families continuously demonstrate their attempts to live in Jakarta. Leni sounded optimistic when talking about her children.

> "I continuously save money and intend to bring my children to school. But, *Alhamdulillah* (praise God in Moslem), she already can read and even could calculate how much money I spend on groceries. Even my neighbor said she was touched by seeing my daughter's independence, doing house chores, and helping earn money." (Leni, July 2024).

Leni also mentioned that she plans to relocate to another rental house nearby.

> "I wanted to move as my children grow older since the space is narrower for us to move around inside. Today, I am trying to fulfill the target (plastic waste) of 100kg to get IDR 70k by noon, and tomorrow starts over in the morning; everything we do is our responsibility to the family. My husband also looks for waste once every three days."

Another respondent named Ika mentioned that in the first few days of migration, she and her family stayed inside the market building until they earned enough money to rent space around the market area. When any of her family members are sick, she will come to the non-

public community health services, which offer an affordable cost. She does not have specific plans to enroll her children in school. Reflecting on the experiences of undocumented families above, it is unlikely that their children will get citizenship status without direct intervention from local apparatus or community-based organizations. However, what draws attention is how these families utilize their minimal resources to continue addressing the difficult situation of living in urban cities. They share the other perspectives from last-mile societies in navigating their daily lives with less or no involvement from the state provision.

To sum up, from the time of getting a birth certificate, Whether late or on time, there is no difference in access to school, as every child is eligible to enroll after being registered as a citizen. Still, the subsequent significance of this document was affected by various factors, mainly by socioeconomic situation and influence from the environment. Drawing an example from the timely documented family, their compliance with civil procedures helps them benefit from the comprehensive scheme of public provision, yet it does not guarantee the completion of education. Meanwhile, the late documented children tend to delay or ignore the interaction with any bureaucratic procedures, putting them in the less likely position of being targeted by government provisions. Therefore, it is critical to consider the cost and benefits behind the development of the civil registration process in the context of other development priorities to accomplish the substantial objective of improving society's quality of life (Jensen and Saunders,2014, p.49).

Chapter 5
Understanding of Birth Registration and its Consequences by Children and Young People

According to Punch (2021, p.4), children are limited in their independence but demonstrate a certain level of autonomy within the restricted options. During my fieldwork, I observed four children and one young person from urban marginalized families in the Kramat Jati area. As I talked to my children's participants, they did not understand birth certificates from the same perspectives as adults who take action for registration with less or no involvement from them. However, with the document that children have very little control over (since obtaining one depends on their parents/guide), their existence in society is defined, and their eligibility to access their basic rights (particularly in education) is determined. The following parts will delve into children's lives after getting a birth certificate, particularly in school, and to understand how children within urban migrant families carry out daily lives in the presence or absence of birth certificates.

5.1 How Children Understand Birth Certificate

One afternoon, I met Cika (a 13-year-old) at her mother's stall, then we went to the canteen inside the market for some snacks. A few days before, I asked permission from her mother, Tina, who is also one of my research participants, to meet her children personally and asked several things in the context of research. Since Cika is familiar with me from her visits to the NGO when I was volunteering there, we connected quickly, and then I asked her particular questions while connecting them with memories during our interactions from past moments. During our conversation, I took an image of the birth certificate and showed it to her. She looked confused and couldn't explain the picture. Then, the conversion continued.

"Do you have a birth certificate?" I asked
She answered, "I do, but I've never seen it".
"Where is your birth certificate?" I continued with another question
"at mom's" she shortly replied.
(Cika, August 2024)

From this interaction, asking specific questions about birth certificates might not be an effective way to communicate with children. Nevertheless, when she was sure that her mom had the document, this demonstrated her awareness about the existence of her birth certificate and her belief that the adult had more control over this document. Meanwhile, another children's participant named Eka (10-year-old) reflected on her circumstances that enrolled at school late due to the absence of this document.

"I had delayed enrolling in school because the card (certificate document) hadn't been picked up. I should have been in 4th grade because I am already ten.(Eka, August 2024)

This is one reflection from a child who understood an unusual aspect of her life. When children her age should be in 4th grade of primary school, she is only in 2nd grade this year. She was aware of the impact on her education track, although she was not getting involved in the process. She called the document the card instead of the certificate, and she thought

her parents had not taken the card from someone, but in fact, her parents did not register her birth on time.

While the children might not deeply understand the process of integrating themselves into the state system, one youth participant named Ari, who is 24 years old, understood this document's functionality by sharing her experience using it for University applications.

> "If we want to process a diploma or something like that, we use a birth certificate, so we match the information from the birth certificate with the certificates from elementary, junior high school diplomas, etc., so everything aligns. When it came to the university application last time, I handled everything herself. We were filling out something on Google Chrome, and it asked us to take pictures of our birth certificate, vocational school diploma, and, recently, ID card. That's all." (Ari, August 2024)

Ari engaged with the document that gave her access to education only after it was issued. With sufficient resources, such as parent support, a conducive environment, and an NGO operating close to her home (she was an active student in the NGO from primary school through senior high school), she could continue her education until a higher degree.

5.2 Experiencing School After Getting Identity (Stories From The Timely Documented Children)

Looking into the continuation of children's routine after getting a birth certificate is necessary as this document is considered substantial to lives as citizens. Therefore, looking up to the point when children are successfully accepted at a school institution (output) should not be the end goal but the outcome, which is education completion. This section will outline how children from urban migrant families experience school to understand how the identity document affected children's lives.

During my several visits to Kramat Jati Market, I saw Cika (a 13-year-old) twice sleeping at midday in front of market kiosks. Her parent mentioned that she usually stays late earning money from an activity named "*memungut*" or "collecting fruits and vegetables" in the market with other children from late at night until dawn. Hence, it is reasonable that she gets tired and rests at noon. When I asked Cika whether she wanted to continue her level of education from primary to junior high school, she quickly answered :

> "I don't want to go to school, I just want to help my mother, I feel sorry for myself. I want to help my brother at school and encourage them, but sometimes it's hard to say something to him. I've reminded him not to play on his cell phone until night, but he still does it." (Cika, July 2024)

Cika is a child from a migrant family, obtained her certificate timely, and started her primary education on time. Unfortunately, in 4th grade, she had to drop out due to unforeseeable changes from offline to online learning methods during COVID-19, where her family could not afford to buy the required devices to follow the lessons. Two years later, she used the opportunity to finish primary school by registering (using a birth certificate) for the one-year education acceleration program held by the Ministry of Education to facilitate citizens who cannot follow the normal study path.

I came to visit Cika at the market around 11 a.m. We decided to talk at the canteen on the first floor of the market building. I pulled out two sheets and asked her to remember her daily activities (*Kegiatan Harianku*) from when she was in school (right sheet) and her current routines (left sheet). While drinking avocado juice, she wrote her activities, and sometimes she confirmed her answer with me, ensuring that I could understand her handwriting (figure 8).

Figure 8.Cika's handwriting on her activities in and out of school

She shared that when she was a student, her routine was studying (*belajar*) in the morning and afternoon, cleaning up the class (*piket*) in the evening before returning home, and sleeping at night. Meanwhile, her current routine is helping her mother at the market in the morning, playing with friends in the afternoon, taking a shower in the evening, and playing again at night; she wrote that sleeping at 1 a.m., and playing as her most favourite (*paling kusuka*) activity throughout the day.

Reflecting on Cika's experience, a birth certificate helped her to enroll in formal school and supported her in completing primary school, which was interrupted due to financial difficulties. However, a few factors influenced Cika's decision to discontinue her education to a higher level. The first one is the environment, which represents where she stays and the people surrounding her daily. She mentioned that her last school experience was unpleasant since she had few friends to play with. According to her report, playing is her favourite activity. Therefore, it is reasonable that she prefers to be outside the school environment since, in the market, she has more friends to play with. This is aligned with the discussion on children's experience at school by Gerber and Huijsmans (2016, p.212-213) that explained how the characteristics of friends were linked with the level of children's enjoyment at school, where the children appreciate the forming of new friends, having good engagement with friends, as well as devalued the bad experiences from negative behavior from their peers, such as teasing or bullying. Furthermore, the neighborhood where Cika lives also views children who are not in or dropping out of school as usual, thus minimizing the social pressure to complete the study. The second is the economic factor. As a child who had an unfortunate experience dropping out of school due to financial difficulties, she can now support her family's livelihood (refer to her handwriting). Therefore, continuing her education might be a choice that limits her autonomy.

Another schooling experience of youth in migrant families was from Ari (24-year-old), who worked to save enough money for her college education after postponing it for a year.

> "At first, I hadn't thought about going to college, so I work and see how it goes, thinking maybe I'd get lucky. Otherwise, finishing vocational school would be enough. But after going through it, I felt like my savings were enough, and I also got some motivation from people saying, 'Do you just want to stay like this? Nowadays, it's hard to find a job".(Ari, August 2024)

Ari is motivated by the opportunity to get a formal job after completing her education, which is normal as the main aim of education is to equip individuals for the job market. She was excited to share her experience in college, where she could learn from scholars and practitioners and interact with students from diverse backgrounds. Some of them work at a bank, which is Ari's dream workplace. Additionally, as a student and worker, support from her supervisor at the workplace was helpful for her in adjusting to her college schedule. With both external support and internal motivation, Ari was able to cope with education requirements and manage and complete her education.

The two narratives above depict the realities that go beyond the status of citizenship for children of urban migrants in the market Kramat Jati area and how they practice their agency at a relatively very young age.

5.3 About Being Outside School (Stories From The Late Documented Children)

Eki (10 years old) is one respondent I met accidentally at the market. When I interviewed Ali (one of the adult participants) at the market, she called me from inside the market building "*Kak*̈ "(to call older people). I turned around and saw a familiar face I had known from volunteering at the NGO. Eki has a twin named Eka; both of them obtained birth certificates late (in their 8th year) with the assistance of an NGO officer. They have one older sister and two brothers aged between 13-20. A year after getting their birth certificates, I discovered that Eki's mother had enrolled them in school. Their mother worked as an onion peeler at a market, while their father did not have a steady job.

After finishing the interview with Ali, I met Eki. The first thing she shared with me was about her mother, who had passed away from illness the previous year. She stays with her older sister inside the market building since her father has formed a new family and lives away from them. She shared that she had not attended school for weeks because her classmates were teasing and bullying her for having short hair. Her experience in school was similar to Cika's, which factored in a positive engagement with peers to continue going to school.

The other day, I met Eki's twin, Eka, as they often play together at the Market after Eka finishes school. Unlike Eki, Eka continues her education since her mother's relative took care of her after their mother passed away. She was a close friend of the twins' mother and decided to become Eka's guardian out of goodwill, considering their past strong bond. She explained that Eki had refused to stay with her and had chosen to work at the market.

> "I already asked Eki to live together with the condition of going to school, but she didn't want to. Eki was influenced by her siblings who live and work at the market." (Eka's guardian, July 2024)

Working at the market is seen as normal for children and teenagers residing in the market area. This activity is called "*memungut*" where children ask for a small quantity of vegetables or fruits from large wholesalers or take the leftovers from the truck after loading at the market. With anything they get, they sell to the small seller (sometimes to their parents who open a stall at the market) at a low price. For example, four pieces of corn are sold for Rp 5,000, and 1 kilo of carrots is sold for Rp 2,500. In return, these children will get money to buy food and snacks or play rental video games inside the market. The more time they spend on this "*memungut*" activity, the larger the money they can earn.

Eki's life reflects the problematic situation that a child should encounter. The absence of parents and the mistreatment from fellow students at school left Eki with the preferable choice to leave school. On the other hand, living in the market allows her to earn money, be close to her siblings in the absence of a mother, and stay connected with friends. Looking at Eki's circumstances, the discussion related to birth certificate functionality might become less relevant. Still, the late issuance of a birth certificate will result in a longer time for a child to be exposed to the routines outside school. In Eki's case, late enrollment in school for two years made her more engaged with the activities inside the market. Therefore, adjusting to the new routine will be more difficult, especially when they used to live in an environment that prioritizes economic benefit compared to the burden of schooling.

To wrap up this chapter, I started with the suggestion of James (2011, p.173), which mentioned that the observation of citizenship for children should not be only assessed by how the documents are legally granted but also by how the children encounter and respond to this framing through their everyday lives. The element of generational relation was illuminated in a few conversations with children about birth certificates where one child was aware of the presence of this document but understood this document is under an adult's control, and another child recognized the impact of owning this document to her education level. Children's life experiences emphasize the importance of economic stability and a pleasant environment in order to survive school. Obtaining the documentation promptly does not do much as the financial factors still dominate the factors that support the continuity of education, especially until higher education. This also explains the normalization of seeing children's outside education as an opportunity to contribute to the household's finances, reducing the urge to perform registration over time.

Chapter 6
Conclusion

Over the years, various policy arrangements have been established and revised to improve the efficiency of the birth registration process. As a result, the number of birth certificates issued at the national level has increased. However, about 10% of children remain undocumented nationally (BPS, 2023). The empirical data shows that while the percentage of undocumented children in urban areas, such as Jakarta, is lower than in less developed rural regions of Indonesia, it still highlights the presence of many children living in a city with advanced and accessible public services, yet unable to access them. This research aims to explore a developing issue from a small segment of society that is often overlooked by focusing on the experiences and knowledge of urban migrant families in Jakarta. The aim is to address the main question of *"How do marginal urban migrants, citizens in Jakarta, respond to the birth registration process and experience their lives in relation to their citizenship status?"*

The research used an ethnographic approach to address the research question, paying attention to the mundane aspects of registration. The research was conducted in Kampung Tengah Village, located within the Kramat Jati District of East Jakarta Municipality, DKI Jakarta Province, Indonesia. This area is home to many migrants from outside Jakarta Province, who rely on their livelihoods in a market where the largest supply chain of vegetable and fruit wholesalers in Jakarta is located. The characteristic of respondents were the underprivileged population who migrated to Jakarta. However, their relocation across autonomous regions was not followed by formal administrative status changes. As a result, issues related to civil matters began to arise, affecting both parents and children growing up in urban migrant families.

The current birth registration procedures serve children born to legally married parents who own citizenship documents according to their current residence. However, these conditions often contradict the realities faced by many urban migrant families, who often lack complete civil documentation and were informally married. Another significant challenge with birth registration highlighted by families is the bureaucratic hurdles and informal practices associated with the application process. From a few observations, NGOs' or relatives' involvement facilitates smooth interaction with civil officers. Still, to access the extension of government benefits, the citizens must be proactive and maintain compliance with the state arrangement. Other observations indicated that the urge to register declines over time as children contribute more to the family's finances by working at the market and as affordable public service alternatives become available. This aligned with Gallien's (2022, pp. 494-495) notion that formalization should not be considered the rationalization of a silver bullet but rather a part of a large set of policies that connect the state with the marginalized population.

The discussion continues to explore the differences in experience among urban migrant families after possessing birth certificates (or staying undocumented) to understand the situatedness driving the family's actions and responses (Choi et al., 2018, p.4). The first aspect was the school system with the continuous need to procure supplies to support the learning, which impacted the household budget. Although some parents are aware of the educational support provided by the government, such as allowances for students from underprivileged families, many lack the knowledge and resources to navigate the application process. As a result, they often ignore or delay submitting their applications. On the other hand, the observation highlighted how the market as a place of various economic activities has opened the opportunity for urban migrant families to earn money by working informally. Even children might sell food on the street, collect market waste, or assist wholesale sellers. Since their primary focus is on meeting daily needs, the situation of these working children becomes normalized, resulting in prioritizing work over formal education over time.

The observation also highlights the children in migrant urban families as social actors whose lives are shaped by birth certificate policies that regulate access to education. This is further influenced by the actions or inactions of their parents regarding the registration of their births. Discussing birth certificates with children highlights their limited involvement in processing this document. However, access to their fundamental rights, especially in education, is determined by the time they obtain this document. The children's responses highlighted two key points regarding citizenship status and school continuation: the conducive school environment and financial adequacy. Additionally, an element was not explicitly mentioned but presented from the observation in the market, which was a preference among some children to stay at the market instead of school.

This study contributes to the discussion on birth registration regulations. Currently, the focus is primarily on developing infrastructure and improving the operation of civil services rather than paying more attention to the characteristics of societies, which are the key actors in implementing these regulations. By understanding the multilayered socioeconomic situation faced by the urban migrant's parents prior to and upon the relocation and foregrounding the experience of the families, particularly children, in understanding and obtaining value from the registration to their lives, policymakers can assess whether the requirement and current arrangement for birth registration can accommodate or complicate the execution of the regulation itself.

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Appendix I. Participant Profiles and Data Acquisition Method

Participant	Pseudonym	Age	Group	Remarks	Data Acquisition Method
Family 1	Tina	30	Adult	3 children : 1 timely documented 2 late documented	Visiting her stall at market a few times, accompanying to school to buy uniform, having lunch together, visiting the market kiosk where they stayed (homeless), having informal interview, observing activities in Market, planning to going to community health centre, but cancelled due to rush at work.
	Cika	13	Child	Obtained written consent from Mother	Snacking, having conversations and sharing activities from her writing, observing her and her friends at the market (while playing and having casual chats).
Family 2	Ani	42	Adult	4 children with birth certificates (all timely)	Visiting home two times, observing her and her daughter at a preschool place, walking home from school, having lunch at street food near home, accompanying to her 2nd kids' school to see extracurricular activities, having informal interviews and conversations via WhatsApp
	Ari	24	Youth	Obtained verbal consent from Mother	Home Visit, informal interview
Family 3	Nina	40	Adult	1 child (timely documented))	Visiting home two times, informal interview
Family 4	Ali & Wife	41	Adult	2 children with late documented	Visiting his stall several times, accompanying him meeting officer at public health service (for administrative matter), having a few chats with his wife, visiting his daughter's school, informal interviews
Family 5	Ika	43	Adult	3 undocumented children	Visiting home two times, having informal interviews while she is working as an onion peeler, observing her children's activities at NGO

Participant	Pseudonym	Age	Group	Remarks	Data Acquisition Method
	Arni	12	Child	Obtained verbal consent from Mother	Observation at learning home, having casual conversation,
Family 6	Leni	50	Adult	2 undocumented children	Visiting home one time, having lunch with her daughter, observing her work
Family 7	Eki	10	Child	Late documented child - maternal orphan	Visiting them at the market where they are around while having casual conversations, teaching them in one learning session at NGO's place
	Eka	10	Child	Late documented child - maternal orphan	Visiting the school, visiting them at the market where they are around while having casual conversations teaching them in one learning session at NGO's place, Visiting Eka's guardian
NGO	Wendy		NGO Representative		Interview
Local Government				Ward officer – Kampung Tengah, Kramat Jati District	Observation, having informal conversations at their offices - cannot continue to formal interview due to pending bureaucracy approval.