

The Revolution in Decision-making Among Young Women in Indonesia: A Review of Demographic Data in 1980-1997

Ukik Kusuma Kurniawan

Abstract. Rindfuss' study of the 'demographically dense' period among American youth is applied in the Indonesian situation. The research analyses data sets of the 1971, 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Population Census and the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey, focusing on women aged 15-24 years. Two hypotheses are examined for the changes between 1980 and 1997: (1) more women remained single and were likely to continue education or join the labor force, and (2) pursuing education was more dominant than pursuing employment. Two-thirds of women aged 15-24 remained unmarried in 1997. From 1971 to 1997, marriage and attending school were becoming alternately exclusive, especially below age 20. Between 1980 and 1997, the percentage of those 'working' as main activity dropped slightly, but 'attending school' almost doubled. Another measure, the percentage of women who worked at least one hour in the previous week increased as women became older, but in overall it declined within the 17-year period. Less-educated single women were more likely to work. Mothers with young children tended to stay out of the work force, especially at ages 15-19. Single women had higher unemployment rates than ever-married women. Policy implications include improvements in schooling and working conditions along with delaying first marriage.

Keywords: Decision-making; adolescence; school; marital status; labor force; mothers; female employment; marriage; unemployment; 1971; 1980; 1990 Population Census; 1997 National Social and Economic Survey; Indonesia.

1. Introduction

Ronald Rindfuss in his Population Association of America (PAA) presidential address in 1991 stated that young adulthood (ages 18-32 years) could be characterized as a 'demographically dense' period of life. What he meant was that most demographic events related to fertility,

marriage, leaving school, unemployment, mortality, and migration occurred within these periods, rather than at other stages of lifetime (Rindfuss 1991:496). This paper examines the changing patterns of decision-making concerning four major events of Indonesian women's life cycles between ages 15 and 24: leaving school, joining the labor force, and marriage, followed by motherhood. Rindfuss' study had the advantage of using cohort data from the US National Longitudinal Study from 1972 to 1986 to follow individuals over time. However, similar data is not available for Indonesia. Therefore, trends have been measured using data from three Indonesian Population Censuses and one National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS), and patterns at any one point in time can be examined by looking at women by single years of age.

As Rindfuss (1991:494) noted, the young adult years from 15 to 24 were a 'period of multiple transitions.' It also proved to be the case for Indonesia. The series of Indonesian demographic statistics, especially those from 1971 to 1997, consistently reported fertility rates for Indonesian women peak at ages 20-24 (Central Bureau of Statistics et.al, 1998:36). The 20-24 year age had always been the peak of the proportions looking for work for both men and women (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1992:256-7; 1996:262-3). As Manning (1984:24) noted, the Indonesian pattern exactly follows the pattern in both developed and developing countries with unemployment rates at ages 15-24 double the total proportions of all ages. This implies that most young people who are ready to join the labor force somehow remain unemployed or are in unstable jobs and hence are likely to be lacking in power and economic resources, while women tend to suffer more than men (Lim 1996:20; Rindfuss 1991:499).

The ages 15-24 are also those men and especially women who enter a union and start to form a family. For women, this leads to the reproductive consequences that may affect other options, such as continuing education or joining labor force. The Indonesian Marriage Law No. 1/1974 allows women to marry legally at the minimum age of 16 (Kantor Sekretariat Negara RI, 1989:25). Furthermore, from 1993, the national education policy has required nine years compulsory schooling (Wahjoetomo 1993:28). This comprises six years at the elementary school plus three years at the junior high school, which keeps girls at school at least until age 15 years, since the minimum age for entry to elementary school is seven years.

Two of the demographic events mentioned by Rindfuss, migration and mortality, are not analyzed further in this paper. As expected, young adult Indonesians are also the most prone to migrate. Based on the 1995

Urbanization Survey conducted in six major cities in Indonesia, the largest proportion of in-migrants, around 81 percent, comprises young men and women aged below 30. More than 50 percent were still single, migrating either for economic or educational reasons (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1997:24-6). For mortality, in general, young adults aged between 5 and 40 years are considered to have the least chance of dying (Hinde 1998:44). And in Indonesia, the lowest probability of dying is between ages 20 and 40 years (Hull and Mantra 1981:29).

2. Methodology

This study is largely descriptive, using data from the 1971, 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Population Censuses, plus the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS). The descriptive approach can quantify the phenomena but does not capture the dynamics of the decision-making process. No national-level cohort study of Indonesian women's decision-making has been identified. Nor is there any sub-national study comparable to the Philippine's Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey from 1983 to 1994 that discusses the decision-making of working mothers (Gultiano 1999:33). However, at each point in time, it is possible to regard the young adult women as a synthetic cohort, assuming for example that those aged 15 now will behave like those currently aged 19 when they are four years older.

Furthermore, not all of the Indonesian data sets cover women of all categories of marital status. For example, the Indonesian Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) discussed the income earnings or fertility-related decisions only among married women in the context of their bargaining power within households (Central Bureau of Statistics et.al, 1998:25; Savitridina 1997:37). In fact, Xenos and Kabamalan (1998:12) estimated that two-thirds of women aged 15-24 in most South East Asian countries remain unmarried, a sharp increase from the figure of 43 percent in 1971.

The time frame for this study covers the period from 1980 to 1997, emphasizing 1997, the most recent year for which data are available. The percentage of women working at least one hour in the previous week is regarded as the dependent variable, as participation or non-participation in the labor force can be considered as the outcome of the decision-making process, especially after women have finished their education (Raharto 1992:98). This is also based on an assumption that women's working participation varies at different stages of the family building process, from being single, married, giving birth to a child, and so on (Young 1994:135). Some analyses will

exclude the 1971 census, since it did not ask about hours worked in the previous week.

3. Definitions

The definitions of marital status, school attendance and work participation are the standard definitions of the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985:22, 32, 64). Data comparability could be problematic when comparing the censuses with the National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) figures. The census has total coverage, whereas the SUSENAS is based on a percent sample, and therefore the results are subject to sampling errors. Differences in the type of question contribute to minor changes in overall figures. For example, the 1980 census classifies the working age population based on their main activity (*kegiatan utama*) during last week, while the 1997 SUSENAS used activities that were mostly undertaken (*kegiatan terbanyak dilakukan*) in terms of hours worked (Raharto 1992: 42; Singarimbun 1999:8, 103).

This study adopts the World Health Organization (WHO, 1989) recommendation by defining young adult years at ages 15-24 to represent the late onset of adolescent into adulthood (Rindfuss 1991:499). The lower limit of age 15 assumes that most women have reached sexual maturity or puberty and that they are already at risk of pregnancy (Senderowitz 1995:4). In Indonesia, the upper limit of age 24 is attributable to a social dimension, in that by this age most women have become relatively independent in terms of finance (if they work), residential status (leaving their parents' home), or intellectual maturity, for those who pursue their education (Soetjipto and Faturachman 1989). The term single refers to those who are never married, while the term ever married includes currently married, divorced and widowed women (Central Bureau of Statistics 1998:113).

Attending school covers those who are currently enrolled for and attend formal primary, secondary or tertiary education, or other schools of similar level. Primary education consists of elementary school, while secondary education comprises junior and senior high school; tertiary level includes university, academy, or college (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1985:32). The term less educated refers to those whose highest educational attainment level is elementary school.

The United Nations (UN) and the International Labor Office (ILO) have recommended that the definition of working or employment is based on

the performance of remunerative activities to obtain an income or profit for at least one hour working continuously during the previous week (Raharto 1992:37). The Census and SUSENAS definitions of working use this reference period of a minimum of one hour during the previous week. However, to address the issue on women's major decisions Tables 1 to 6 in this paper define the working category using main activity instead of one-hour enumeration. Both the 1980 Indonesian Census and the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) ask about main activity during the previous week with four pre-coded answers: working, attending school, housekeeping and others.

The percentage of women working at least one hour in the previous week as the dependent variable sets the numerator of the number of women who reported working for at least one hour during the previous week divided by the total number of women at the respective age. The economically active population includes women whose main activity was working as well as those who were not working but reported to be looking for work in the previous week.

4. Hypotheses

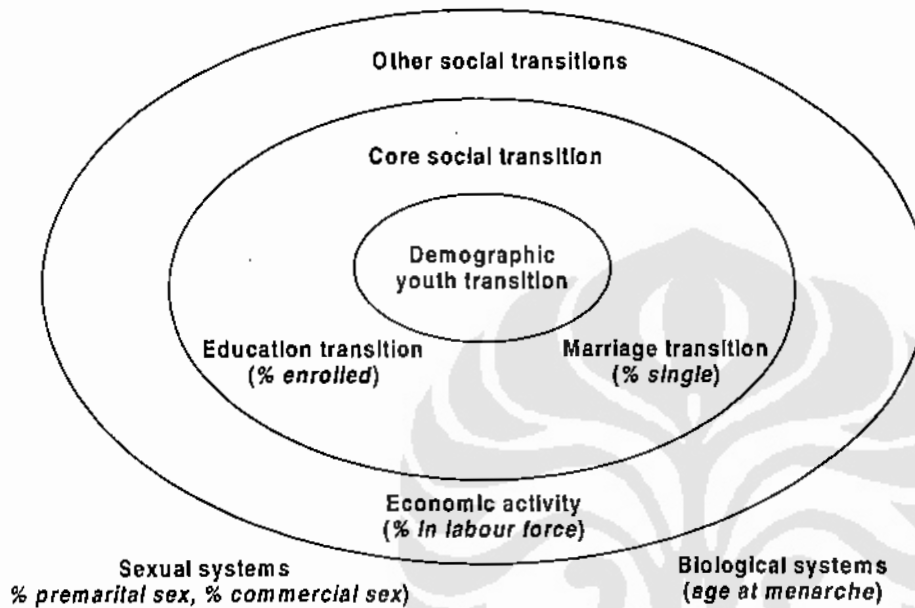
Two theories form the basis of this study. Firstly, ages 15-24 for women are a demographically dense period when transitions between various roles occur, namely from student to worker, from worker to unemployed, from single to married, or from non-mother to mother (Rindfuss 1991:504). Secondly, marriage among women at these ages generally leads to competing roles for women and thus is incompatible either with attending school or joining the labor force (Medina 1991:131). Accordingly, the paper tests two hypotheses:

1. As more women aged 15-24 remained single in 1997, women were more likely to continue their education or join the labor force than their counterparts in 1980.
2. Among single women aged 15-24 in 1997, pursuing education was more dominant than employment compared to their counterparts in 1980.

Rindfuss (1991:495) noted that marriage and the education/employment spheres are somewhat different in nature. The marriage sphere are related to societal issues such as childbearing, child

rearing, regulation of conjugal relations, and household membership, while the education and employment spheres refer to individual activities to acquire human capital. The problem is that activities in one sphere can have an impact on the other sphere (Rindfuss 1991:495). Stated differently, there is a conflict between women's productive and reproductive roles. And, as expected, this conflict reaches its height just after women have married, at the young adult ages between 15 and 24 years of age (Gultiano 1999:17).

Figure 1
SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE YOUTH TRANSITION



Source : Adopted from Xenos and Kabamalan, 1998: 11.

Note : - Xenos and Kabamalan exclude any discussion on both the sexual and biological systems, and place them outside circles to indicate their importance. Xenos and Kabamalan recognize also that they are unable to depict its trends and differentials adequately.

- The youth demographic transition is not discussed in this paper.

Indonesian literature does not provide any distinctive model or framework showing how women's employment, marriage and education affect one another and in which direction. However, various studies have found a negative relationship between fertility and women's employment in Indonesia

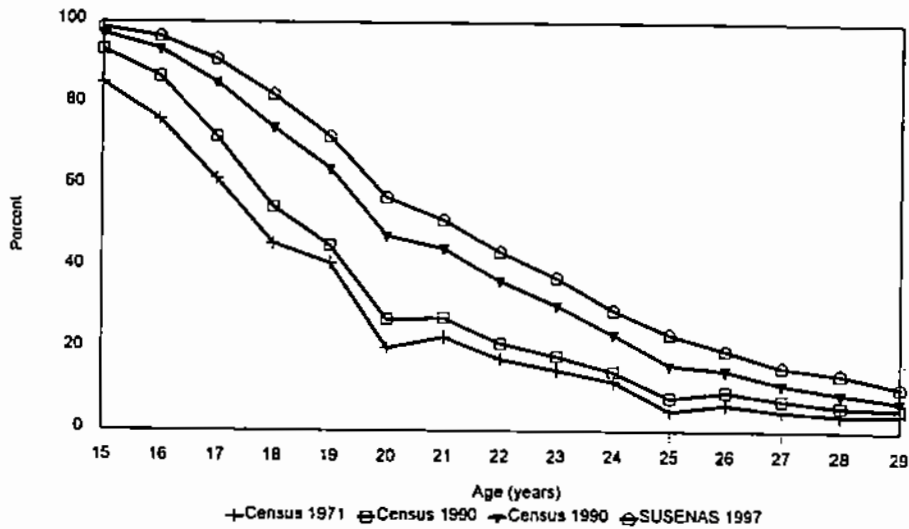
because of higher opportunity costs for women than men, and maternal role incompatibility (Singarimbun 1999:19; Lim 1996:22; Raharto 1992:54). Jones (1977:71) noted that their directive causal relationship remains a 'chicken and egg' question with two-way causation. Accordingly, this paper adopts the conceptual framework from Xenos and Kabamalan (Figure 1), which examines social aspects of youth life transition.

The first circle, youth demographic transition, assumes a shift to older patterns of fertility with the steadily rising proportion of single women by age (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:5). At the same time, young women 15-24 experience the most improved survivorship of all age groups (Hinde 1998:44). The second circle is core social transition, which has been universally and irreversibly experienced by all young women at one time. The long-term extension of school enrolment among these young single women results in the rising proportion of attending school, especially at ages 15-19 (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:13). The third circle is other social transitions, which vary across the population but have direct relevance to policy. This circle directs attention to young women's labor force participation to differentiate it from the second circle, as its occurrence is not one-time or irreversible. Thus, instead of modeling one-way causation, this paper particularly discusses the interrelation between education, marriage, and employment, which belongs to the second and third circles. The other systematic changes, which include two other systems outside the circles (i.e. sexual and biological systems), are omitted.

5. Women's Decision to Marry

The following discussion provides two figures to describe the dramatic transition in marriage behavior among Indonesian women aged 15-29 from 1971 to 1997. Figure 1 demonstrates the rising proportion of single women, and Figure 2 describes the declining proportion of divorcees or widows at ages 15-29.

Figure 2
PERCENTAGE OF NEVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-29
INDONESIA, 1971-1997



Sources: - The 1971, 1980 & 1990 Indonesian Population Census data sets.
 - The 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set.

The rising proportion of single women becomes especially more distinct between 1980 and 1990. The gap over time remains wider at ages 18-23 then gradually reaches an equally low level around four to ten percent at age 29. The bulge of single women aged between 18 and 23 years implies a period of dramatic changes in marriage decisions among them. However, any supporting evidence to identify whether these attitudinal changes are mainly set by the women themselves, by their parents, or social opinion, or any other factors, should be investigated further.

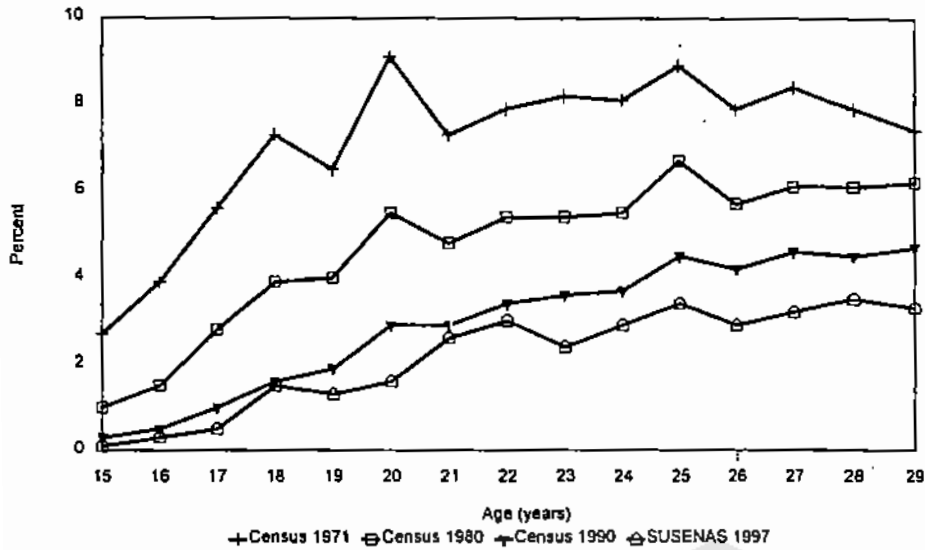
This figure reflects the increasing median age of single women from 17.7 years old in 1971 to 20.9 years old in 1997. This supports the national family planning goals of delaying the age at first marriage until age 20 for women and 25 for men (National Family Planning Coordinating Board and UNFPA, 1998:13). The cut-off point of 29 years old in Figure 2 is designed to detect the degree of marriage universality among Indonesian women. It has been assumed that all women will eventually marry by 35 years of age (Palmore and Singarimbun 1992:5).

However, the cumulative proportion of ever-married women below 18 years of age in 1997 accounts for nine percent, so that Indonesia is comparable with some African, South Asian and Arab countries (Singh and Samara, 1996:148). This also supports previous findings that child marriage (below 15 years) is still practiced in Indonesia, especially in rural areas (Hull and Hull 1987; Hanum 1997:36). Further, Groger and Bronars (1993:156) and Hanum (1997:3) indicate that these early marriages have significant negative impacts, such as lower female education, labor force participation and income, and can lead to poverty. Young marriages also lead to risky pregnancies below age 20, contributing to obstetric complications and persisting high maternal mortality rates in Indonesia (Cholil et al 1998:29).

According to Xenos and Kabamalan's transitional framework, the expanding proportion of single women could be followed by a revolution in their sexual behavior, with increasing incidence of premarital sex. The 1997 Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey, however, shows an identical pattern of age at first sexual intercourse to the age at first marriage. Provided they revealed valid information, this indicates that for most women, first sexual relations occurred at the time of first marriage (Central Bureau of Statistics et al, 1998:116). The acclaimed largest youth survey ever conducted in Indonesia was a collaboration between the Demographic Institute of the University of Indonesia and the National Family Planning Coordinating Board in December 1998. The study covered three provinces of Java and one province of Sumatera but revealed almost no incidence of premarital sex among single young people (Achmad 1999:3).

Figure 3 shows a sharp decline in the proportion of divorced or widowed women, from around eight percent in 1971 to three percent in 1997. For each time period, the pattern forms a plateau with slightly rising mode and heaping at ages 20 and 25. These rates especially start to rise between ages 15 and 18, reflecting the crucial stage of early married life. The declining proportion of divorcees and widows might be because far fewer women aged 15-24 are married, and thus fewer become divorced or widowed. Another proposition argues that marriage in Indonesia nowadays has become more stable. This is proven by the fact that rates decline in all age groups, based on comparison of the 1976 Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS) with the 1987 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS). The divorce rates have fallen from 15 to seven percent at ages 15-24; from 28 to 15 percent at ages 25-34; and from 37 to 29 percent at ages 35-49 (Palmore and Singarimbun 1992:10). Nevertheless, findings based on Figure 3 above confirm Rindfuss' statement (1991:497) that the young adult years are the peak for divorce rates.

Figure 3
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AGED 15-29 WHO WERE DIVORCED OR WIDOWED, INDONESIA, 1971-1997



Sources: - The 1971, 1980 & 1990 Indonesian Population Census data sets.
 - The 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set.

If marriage indeed becomes more stable, this reflects an increasing consciousness in women's decisions about marriage, so that once they marry (although at young ages) they tend to maintain their marriage properly. There could be a state of harmony between couples, as suggested in the Indonesian Marriage Law of 1974 article 13, that 'the husband is the head of the household and the wife is the mother of the household' (Singarimbun 1999:4). Despite suggestions that women are culturally disadvantaged in terms of education, food allocation, political participation or employment (Cholil et al 1998:21), Indonesian wives are not usually viewed as subordinate to their husbands and have equal decision power regarding how household matters should be settled (Williams 1987:60).

6. Marriage and Its Implications for Women's Main Activities

Tables 1 to 6 illustrate different patterns of women's main activity in the week prior to the enumeration. These tables are derived from primary analysis of the 1980 Indonesian Population Census and the 1997 SUSENAS by selecting women aged 15-24 by their marital status: all, single, and ever married, respectively.

Although 'housekeeping' is still the most important activity, its proportion has declined considerably by 12 percentage points (percent) from 1980 to 1997 (Table 1 and 2). 'Attending school' outweighed 'working' to become the second largest proportion in 1997. At the same time, the proportion 'attending school' almost doubled to 26 percent, while the proportion 'working' stayed relatively constant at 24 percent. In both 1980 and 1997, the proportion 'attending school' fell substantially between ages 19 and 20, indicating that many women moved to another category after finishing senior high school around age 19. In 1980, most of these women became housekeepers, as the proportion 'working' and 'others' at aged 20 declined. In 1997, however, they spread from the 'attending school' category to the 'working' and 'others' category (three percent each) and 'housekeeping' category (around 11 percent). Given the fact of increasing proportions single, the stable proportion of those who were working reflects the higher percentages of school attendance.

Table 1
ALL WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK,
INDONESIA, 1980

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	19.5	41.1	19.5	19.9	100.0	1,765,394
16	23.2	34.3	24.1	18.4	100.0	1,518,684
17	25.6	23.9	33.1	17.4	100.0	1,663,121
18	26.2	15.3	43.4	15.1	100.0	1,932,102
19	24.7	12.4	49.2	13.7	100.0	1,368,874
20	24.8	4.4	60.1	10.7	100.0	2,550,407
21	25.5	4.6	60.0	9.9	100.0	1,203,999
22	25.4	2.8	63.4	8.4	100.0	1,406,071
23	25.4	2.0	64.9	7.7	100.0	1,152,261
24	26.0	1.3	66.1	6.5	100.0	1,118,307
Total	24.6	14.2	48.4	12.8	100.0	15,679,220

Note: Computed from the 1980 Indonesian Population Census data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

Table 2
ALL WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK,
INDONESIA, 1997

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	9.8	67.1	9.7	13.5	100.0	2,221,124
16	14.6	57.1	13.0	15.3	100.0	2,232,605
17	18.3	47.3	18.9	15.5	100.0	2,158,793
18	22.6	34.6	26.2	16.5	100.0	2,088,811
19	26.8	20.3	33.3	19.6	100.0	1,729,882
20	29.3	10.1	44.4	16.2	100.0	2,325,044
21	29.1	9.6	47.0	14.4	100.0	1,685,965
22	30.2	7.6	50.9	11.4	100.0	1,731,743
23	29.4	5.6	55.0	10.0	100.0	1,640,406
24	30.2	3.1	58.7	8.0	100.0	1,755,492
Total	24.0	26.2	35.7	14.0	100.0	19,569,865

Note: Computed from the 1997 Indonesian National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

Caution should be exercised in relation to the large proportion of the 'others' category, which generally exceeds ten percent for all ages except 24 years in 1980 and 1997. As Rindfuss (1991:500) pointed out for the US, due to the definition used, the 'others' category becomes diverse; there may be a mixture of unpaid family workers, unemployed women who were looking for work, disabled women, or those who were simply 'hanging out.' The 1980 Indonesian Census even included in this category, workers who were temporarily not working (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1983:xxv).

Tables 3 and 4 show the main activity of single women and depict a dynamic period among women aged 15-24. The only main activity that shows an increase at all ages between 1980 and 1997 is 'attending school.' At ages 15-18, this proportion roughly increased by 20 percent, but from 18 onwards, the increase in school attendance was only around three percentage points. This is related to a large drop in the number of those who were 'working' or 'housekeeping' at the respective ages. The proportion of 'housekeeping' declined markedly from 1980 to 1997, as they became older, implying that these young women took more initiatives and active decisions in their lives by choosing to work. From an external standpoint, this may also be associated with more 'socially approved' opportunities available for women in terms of education or employment.

Table 3
NEVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK, INDONESIA, 1980

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	19.5	44.0	16.2	20.3	100.0	1,647,229
16	23.7	39.5	17.5	19.3	100.0	1,316,257
17	28.0	32.9	19.0	20.1	100.0	1,198,002
18	31.6	27.6	20.1	20.6	100.0	1,058,655
19	31.1	27.0	19.5	22.4	100.0	620,293
20	37.6	15.7	22.4	24.2	100.0	696,144
21	39.0	15.9	21.5	23.6	100.0	333,913
22	42.5	12.2	22.0	23.3	100.0	301,110
23	44.3	10.5	21.7	23.5	100.0	209,597
24	46.2	8.2	22.3	23.3	100.0	161,564
Total	34.4	23.4	20.2	22.1	100.0	7,542,764

Note: Computed from the 1980 Indonesian Population Census data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

Table 4
NEVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK, INDONESIA, 1997

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	97	680	88	135	100.0	2187667
16	146	593	106	155	100.0	2145437
17	187	524	126	163	100.0	1946538
18	242	426	145	187	100.0	1693413
19	312	284	147	257	100.0	1230566
20	389	182	170	259	100.0	1289033
21	395	187	170	248	100.0	840471
22	441	172	163	224	100.0	747736
23	463	152	155	231	100.0	599079
24	523	105	149	224	100.0	490023
Total	319	330	142	208	100.0	13169963

Note: Computed from the 1997 Indonesian National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

In Tables 5 and 6, in both 1980 and 1997 'housekeeping' occupies the largest proportion of the main activity among ever-married women aged 15-24, with an increase of four percentage points. 'Attending school' comprises the smallest proportion. The proportion of 'others' declined by two percent. In 1980, the proportion of those whose main activity is working remained similar at a high level for all ages, around 20 percent. In 1997, however, the overall percentages have fallen to about 17 percent, with the lowest point at age 15 and are increasing with age. Compared to the 1980 pattern, ever-married women aged 15-24 in 1997 were more likely to be housekeepers and less likely to work. This may be because, as the society becomes more modernized, the nature of employment tends to be formal, which offers less opportunity for compromise for ever-married women, especially those with young children. One could speculate that the striking decrease in patterns of 'working' has a correlation with the nature of the urban and rural sample frame. The weighted ratio of urban and rural sampling in the 1980 census is 22:78, while 1997 SUSENAS increased the urban proportion to a ratio of 33:67 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998:3).

Table 5
EVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK, INDONESIA, 1980

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	19.7	0.4	64.7	15.2	100.0	118,165
16	19.8	0.3	67.2	12.6	100.0	202,427
17	19.4	0.8	69.3	10.5	100.0	465,119
18	19.7	0.3	71.6	8.4	100.0	873,447
19	19.4	0.3	73.7	6.6	100.0	748,581
20	20.0	0.1	74.3	5.6	100.0	1,854,263
21	20.4	0.2	74.7	4.7	100.0	870,086
22	20.7	0.2	74.7	4.4	100.0	1,104,961
23	21.2	0.1	74.5	4.2	100.0	942,664
24	22.6	0.1	73.5	3.7	100.0	956,743
Total	20.3	0.3	71.8	7.6	100.0	8,136,456

Note: Computed from the 1980 Indonesian Population Census data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

Table 6
EVER MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MAIN ACTIVITY DURING THE PREVIOUS
WEEK, INDONESIA, 1997

Age	Working	Attending school	House Keeping	Others	Total	Numbers
15	13.5	6.3	69.5	10.8	100.0	33,457
16	14.9	1.7	72.5	11.0	100.0	87,168
17	15.1	0.4	76.0	8.5	100.0	212,255
18	15.7	0.7	76.5	7.1	100.0	395,398
19	15.9	0.4	79.0	4.6	100.0	499,316
20	17.3	0.1	78.5	4.1	100.0	1,036,011
21	18.8	0.5	76.8	4.0	100.0	845,494
22	19.6	0.3	77.1	3.0	100.0	984,007
23	19.7	0.1	77.7	2.5	100.0	1,041,327
24	21.7	0.3	75.6	2.4	100.0	1,265,469
Total	17.2	1.1	75.9	5.8	100.0	6,399,902

Note: Computed from the 1997 Indonesian National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set, Central Bureau of Statistics, Jakarta.

The remaining question is whether the population of women who were single but not attending school is also changing. Assuming that all young women in school are still single, then the figure of single women aged 15-24 who are out of school can be derived by subtracting the numbers of those attending school from the numbers of single women at each age (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:15). These numbers emerge from a race between rising percentage of singles and rising school attendance. Based on the calculation, between 1980 and 1997 the proportion of single women who were out of school declined from about 69 percent to 59 percent. A similar decreasing trend has been found in East Asian regions, Brunei, Thailand and the Philippines. This declining pattern is due to the upward movement of enrolment rates that easily outweigh female marriage delay (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:15). This proves the second hypothesis that between 1980 and 1997 a larger proportion of Indonesian girls stayed at school, instead of working or housekeeping.

In developing countries, it is usual for women to start their first job or to marry after they leave school (Domingo 1985:15). This transition results in both negative correlations between the proportion of those attending school and the proportion of women working, and between the proportion of those attending school and the proportion of women who are married. Using the 1997 data, the correlation coefficient for those attending school and the proportion of those working is -0.82, while the correlation coefficient for

attending school and the proportion of those married is -0.94 . In other words, both working and being married are associated with women leaving school, but marriage has the strongest impact on women's leaving school, as it results in the highest negative correlation coefficient.

7. Proportion Married and Attending School: A mutual exclusivity

The relationship between the proportion of women who were currently married and proportion of women whose main activity was attending school at ages 15-24 became more mutually exclusive from 1971 to 1997. As these women tended to delay their first marriage over time, more of them prolonged their schooling. This assumes the number of women whose main activity was attending school was lower than the total number currently enrolled in school, as some women may have worked and also studied part time. Figure 4 illustrates the shifting age distribution at which both proportions of married and attending school reached a meeting point at an equal percentage. From 1971 to 1997, these crossing points rose from 20 to 30 percent, but shifted into older ages from 16 years of age in 1971, 17 years in 1980, 18.3 years in 1990, and 18.8 years in 1997. This implies a delay in the life-course negotiating point where the decision whether women marry or stay at school has to be made.

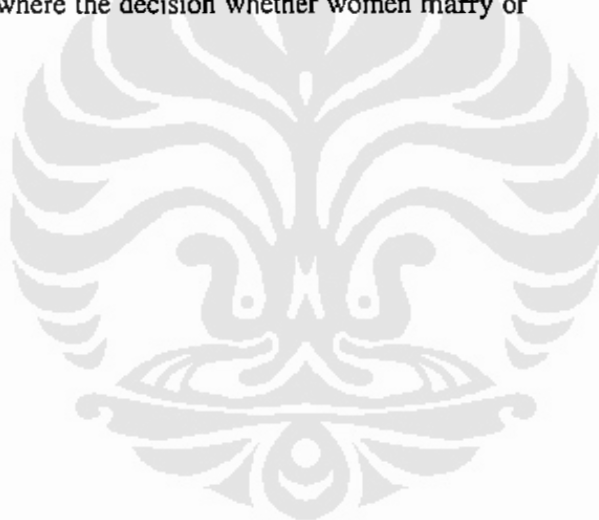
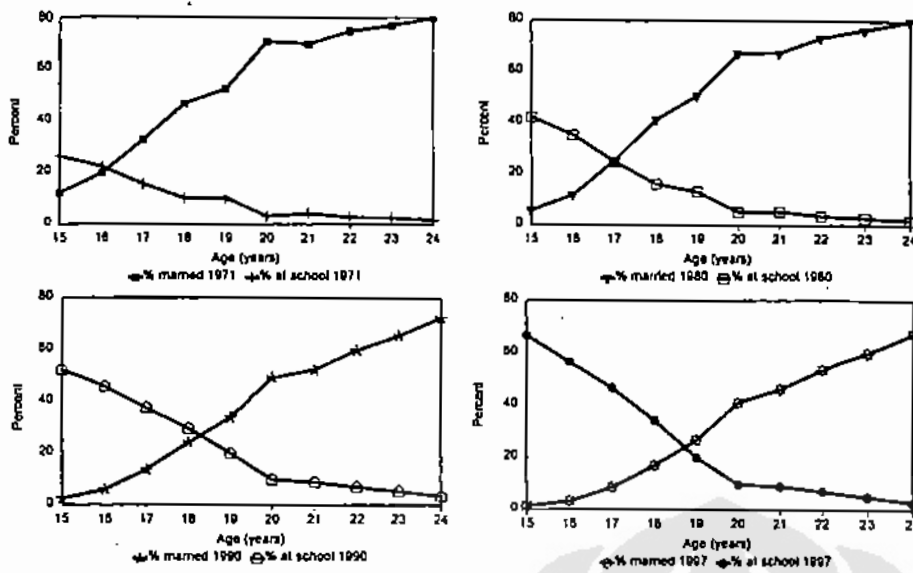


Figure 4
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AGED 15-24 WHO WERE ATTENDING SCHOOL OR WERE MARRIED, INDONESIA, 1971-1997



Note: 'Attending school' as the main activity.

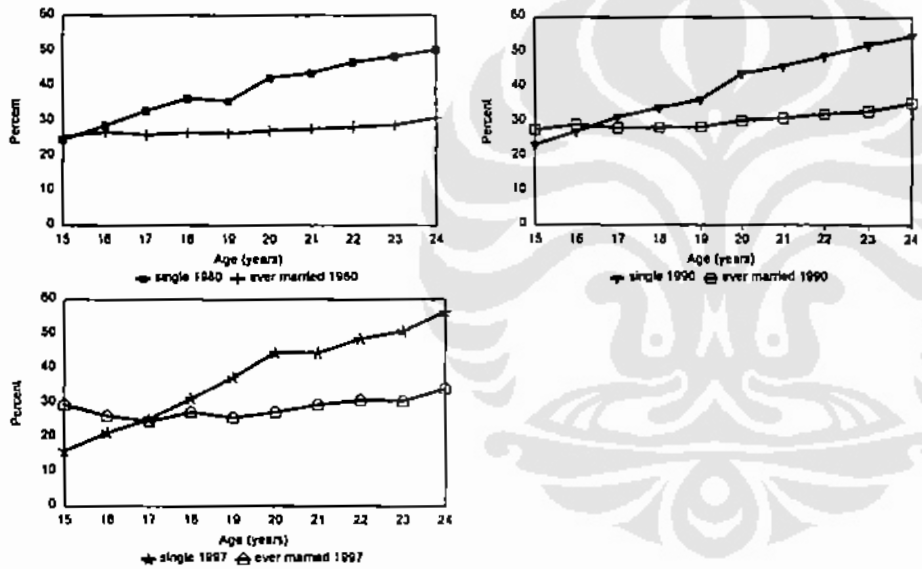
Source: The 1971, 1980, 1990 Indonesia Population Census & the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS), data sets.

The question arises as to whether such decisions were voluntarily made by these women, whether just after getting married they decided to leave school, or whether they were forced by other institutional constraints. Even if it was considered to be the woman's own decision, did it involve any interference from their family (parents) or even further, a societal opinion? We might expect that these women were getting more exposure to broader options during their life course. However, for every decision taken, some consequences must follow, which means that taking one decision constrains their options about other decisions. In Indonesia, there has been social disapproval of married or pregnant women proceeding with their education, except at tertiary level, both in urban and rural areas. For an example, the Yogyakarta Provincial Office of Education and Culture issued an instruction (*surat keputusan*), No. 0159/113/UKpts/1994 chapter II paragraph 5, that restricts married and or pregnant students from attending junior and senior high school (Khisbiyah 1994:86).

8. Does Marriage Affect Women's Decision to Work?

Based on a longitudinal survey of cohorts of working mothers between 1983 and 1994 in Metro Cebu, the Philippines, Gultiano (1999:15) confirms the hypothesis that women's productive and reproductive roles are incompatible, and this incompatibility reaches its maximum conflict after the women marry. Evidence based on analysis of these Population Censuses and SUSENAS show that the Indonesian case is no different. In order to depict the real figures on women's work participation, besides working as the main activity, another measure is introduced. Figure 5 shows the percentage of women aged 15-24 who were working at least one hour in the previous week by single and ever-married status, calculated from the 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Census and the 1997 SUSENAS data sets. Subsequently, this term will be expressed as percentage of women working.

Figure 5
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AGED 15-24 WHO WERE WORKING AT LEAST ONE HOUR DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK BY MARITAL STATUS, INDONESIA, 1980-1997



Source: The 1980, 1990 Indonesia Population Census & the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS), data sets.

Between 1980 and 1997, the percentage of women working increased slightly and was consistently higher for single women. Interestingly, the increasing percentage of women working contradicts the overall declining proportion of women whose main activity is working based on Tables 1 to 6 earlier. The gap between single and ever-married patterns remains relatively constant at ten percentage points, and keeps increasing as women become older, especially for singles. Generally, the percentage of ever married women working tends to be stable with minor fluctuation between 28 and 30 percent. At individual ages, only the 1997 ever-married pattern shows a substantial fluctuation.

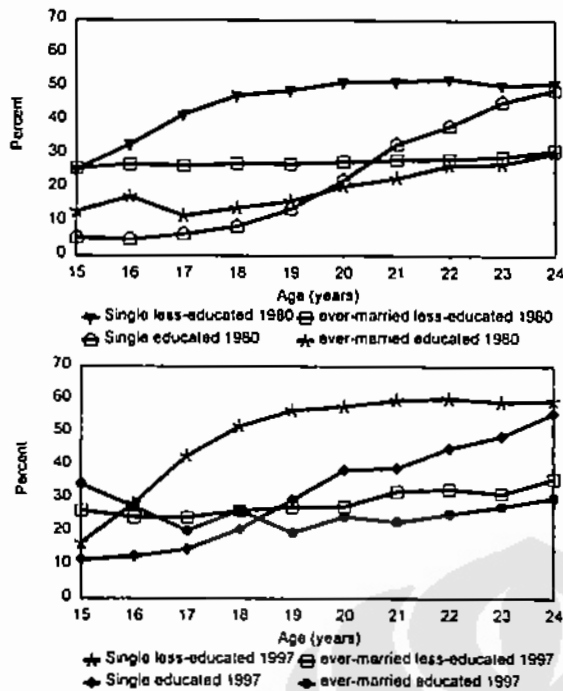
A mild fluctuation between 38 and 40 percent also occurs among single women. In 1980 the percentage of women working reached similar level for both single and ever-married women at age 15. However, in 1990, the age at which the percentage of women working by marital status reached a similar level shifted to aged 16 and in 1997 to age 17. Correspondingly, the percentage of ever-married women working exceeded the percentage of their single counterparts at age 15 in 1990 and 1997, and 16 in 1997, since single women aged 15 and 16 in these years were more likely to stay at school, which prevented them from working.

The dramatic increase in the percentage of single women who work, as they become older supports the notion of decision-making freedom among these women in the face of their options. However, this increase would be less accelerated once they chose to marry. The reluctance of ever-married women to work compared to their single counterparts is associated with a lack of decision-making on economic earnings. This might be due to such factors as husband's or family's disapproval, the presence of young children, or simply because of a lack of motivation to work. Married women are generally economically secure, and thus have lower aspirations about finding jobs or being independent (Standing 1978:99). Even if this is the case, there is still a freedom in decision-making among ever-married women themselves, i.e. choosing not to work.

9. Percentage of Women Working by Education and Marital Status

Figure 6 illustrates the percentage of women working by their marital status and education between 1980 and 1997. Generally, the percentage of women working at least one hour rose from 1980 to 1997, especially among the educated single and ever-married women.

Figure 6
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AGED 15-24 WHO WERE WORKING AT LEAST ONE HOUR
DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEK BY THEIR MARITAL STATUS AND EDUCATION
INDONESIA, 1980-1997



Source: The 1980 Indonesia Population Census & the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey.

Between 1980 and 1997, the percentage of those working among single educated women increased from 23 to 32 percent, while among the educated ever married it increased from 20 to 26 percent. During the same period, the increasing pattern also occurred among less educated women, but with lower percentage points. The percentage of less educated single women increased from 45 to 49 percent, while the percentage of less educated ever married women increased from 28 to 29 percent. Hence, the more educated the women, the more likely is the percentage working at least one hour a day to increase.

The educational differential plays its role in the 1980 pattern, where less educated women, both single or ever married, contribute the greatest percentage working at least one hour, around 45 and 28 percent, respectively. The 1997 pattern, however, demonstrates that the marriage differential plays

an important role, where a higher percentage of single women, both educated and less educated, were working, around 49 and 32 percent, respectively. In both 1980 and 1997, the percentage of those working among single women, both educated and less educated constitutes a similar pattern. What has changed by 1997 is the much higher proportion of educated single women. This would contribute to a large effect on the overall percentage of working activity among single women.

In both 1980 and 1997, a higher percentage of less educated women were working at all ages above 15. At around age 20, single educated women moved into the second position, reaching the level of less educated single women at around age 24. As expected, the less educated single women always had the greatest percentage working at least one hour in the previous week. However, the percentage at age 15 in 1997 was less than for ever-married women, both educated and less educated; this may be due to heaping cases or sampling errors.

In 1980, the pattern for less-educated ever-married women tended to level off at around 30 percent, but slightly increased in 1997, especially after age 21 when the level exceeds 30 percent. For educated ever-married women in 1980, the percentage of those working generally increased until it reaches the same level as the percentage of women working among less-educated ever-married women at age 24. However, the 1997 pattern shows considerable fluctuation. Nevertheless, the percentage of those working among educated ever-married women was always lower than among their less-educated ever-married counterparts, in both 1980 and 1997.

The rising percentage of those working among educated single women at around age 20 supports the crossing-over in Figure 4 with the demographically dense period for marriage at around ages 18-21 after these women completed their education. Others, who remained single, started working, resulting in a sharp increase in the percentage of women working at age 20 onwards. In comparison, the rising pattern of educated women's working activity is also evident in the Philippines, where women's education and work experience have a positive effect on their working participation (Gultiano 1999:21).

Standing (1978:153) argued that women's working activity by marital status differs between developing and developed societies. As he noted that in developed societies, ever-married women with low educational attainment generally belong to low-income households and are therefore more likely to work because of inadequate income, not because of inadequate education

itself. Yet, this is not always the case in developing societies, where women's economic activity belongs to other social transitions in Xenos and Kabamalan's framework (1998:11), as its patterns do not follow a simple path. This may relate to limited choices as opposed to decision-making power over these women. They marry at a relatively very young age, receive low education, and perhaps have a baby and a husband who disapproves of work, in a situation of scarcity of jobs for people of low level education, and where other factors restrict these married women from working (Raharto 1992:127). This is, perhaps, why the percentage of those working among less-educated ever-married women in both 1980 and 1997 leveled off and constituted the lowest increase (only one percentage point) from 28 to 29 percent, respectively.

In relation to the marriage differential, another issue to be examined is the urban-rural differential. Analysis of both the 1994 and 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data (not shown here) demonstrates a higher percentage of both urban and rural single women were working than ever-married women, especially after aged 19. Among ever-married women, those who lived in rural areas had a higher percentage of those working than their urban counterparts.

10. Female Job Seekers As the Proxy for Unemployment

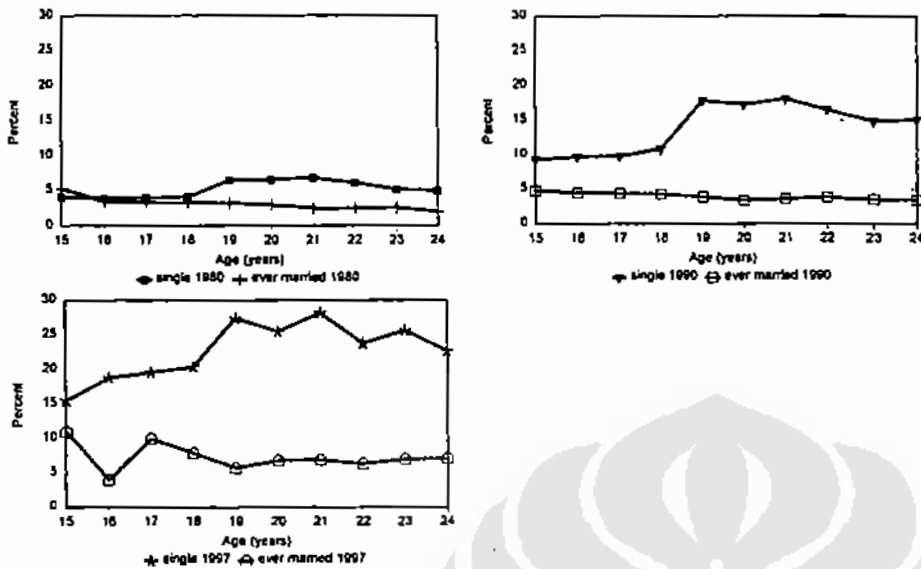
It is recognized that women's economic status empowers their autonomy, and thus becomes a predisposing factor to their decision to work (Wolf 1988:85). Accordingly, deciding to work reveals the proportion of those who are looking for work, which reflects the unemployment rates. In this study, the unemployment rate is defined as follows:

$$\frac{\text{number of women aged } x \text{ who were not working at least one hour in the previous week but were looking for work}}{\text{number of women aged } x \text{ who worked at least one hour in the previous week} + \text{number of women aged } x \text{ who were not working at least one hour in the previous week but were looking for work.}} \times 100\%$$

According to the labor force approach, these job seekers, who have either worked or never worked before, or been dismissed from work, would also be categorized into the economically active population (Soehartadji

1978:8). Figure 7 depicts the growing differences in unemployment rates between single and ever-married women.

Figure 7
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF ALL WOMEN AGED 15-24 BY MARITAL STATUS,
INDONESIA, 1980-1997



Source: The 1980, 1990 Indonesia Population Census & the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set.

From 1980 to 1997, the patterns of unemployment rates between single and ever-married women aged 15-24 become more distinctive. Generally single women had higher unemployment rates. Manning (1984:29) suggests that these single young women are better educated and thus more fussy about their future jobs and wages. Others suggest that many married women are discouraged workers and that two-thirds of them fall into the 'housekeeping' category (Widarti 1984:99). Standing (1978:99) argued that single women may simply have more aspirations to work than ever-married women who are already secure with their husband's income. Some argued that fertility-related issues, i.e. childbearing tasks, restrict these ever-married women from seeking jobs (Singarimbun 1999:20). This paper, however, gains insufficient evidence to identify, which of the determinants is the major cause.

In 1980, the unemployment rates at ages 15-18 had narrowed the gap between single and ever-married women, by around four percent. However, after age 19 the rates for single women increased by three percentage points, although after age 22 onward the rates decline again. On the other hand, the persisting low unemployment rates among ever-married women aged 15-24 (on average three percent) tended to decline, as these women became older.

The figure in 1997 shows the most remarkable difference between single and ever-married women's unemployment rates compared to 1980 or 1990. Interestingly, both patterns demonstrate some fluctuations at different ages. Among single women, the rate steadily increased by above 15 percent between ages 15 and 18, then skyrocketed to almost 30 percent at age 19, and started fluctuating in a steadily decreasing trend. The ever-married rate, however, plummeted from 11 percent at age 15 to four percent at age 16, then rose again to about ten percent at aged 17. Thereafter, it declined again to reach eight percent at age 19 and after that fluctuated slightly with a leveling-off tendency. Overall, the unemployment rates among ever-married women in 1997 increased by three percentage points compared to 1990. Some assume that the higher rates of SUSENAS compared to the census may be due to interviewers' capabilities (Raharto 1992:37,41).

Concerning the higher rates especially among single women in 1997, this paper associates the rising unemployment with occupational sex segregation. It is recognized that in South and South East Asia, the agricultural sectors (female-dominated occupations) have been replaced by industrial-manufacturing ones (male-dominated occupations). This leads to declining opportunities for women's paid employment and thus causes women's unemployment to increase (Manning 1984:11).

In developing countries such as Indonesia, some people argue that the unemployment rates do not reflect the real situation of labor markets, as there are only small proportions of workers in the formal sectors. For example, in the Philippines, the 83 percent of informal workers maintain no insurance or formal wage systems (Gultiano 1999:63). These job seekers also cannot afford to be unemployed for a given period of time and have to engage in any economic activity, although it may be inadequate, for which they will not be counted as unemployed (Lim 1996:21).

Therefore, some argue that the term underemployment should be introduced along with unemployment in such cases (Lim 1996:21). Underemployment applies when employed persons do not work full time

while they are willing to do so or to earn more. In other words, their income or productivity would have been raised if they worked under better arrangements or were promoted to another job where their skills were taken into account (Soehartadji 1978:3). Since the 1980 Census, the underemployment approach has been incorporated into the questionnaire to capture five components. These components are: 1) those who seek jobs, 2) part-timers due to lack of working hours (below 35 hours per week), 3) underemployed due to low wages, 4) underemployed due to mismatch between education and occupation, 5) full-time workers (Widarti 1984:92).

As mentioned earlier, women's unemployment reflects a wide range of labor force issues in the society, which may be interrelated and can not be explained by only one scenario. In the high unemployment situation, for instance, young women may have to compete with men for jobs, as the family needs them to work (Manning 1984:11). Consequently, women are engaged in lower levels of occupations with low wages because of the stereotyped view that costs are higher for female workers on maternity leave and benefits (Lim 1996:17). Women who fail to get a job become discouraged workers and are excluded from labor force. They may fall into non-economically active categories, such as housekeeping. Yet, in certain situations, for example the ongoing monetary crisis in Indonesia since 1997, these housekeepers may reveal their unemployment status. This explains why the real pattern of women's unemployment is hard to derive. This is also the reason why it is argued that discouraged job seekers seem to be more prevalent among women than men (Lim 1996:20). In the frame of the demographically dense period, Lim (1996:20) indicates that the problem of women's unemployment tends to be especially serious for young and first-time job seekers.

Another aspect of women's unemployment is the difference between urban and rural areas. Unemployment among women seems to be higher in urban areas (Soehartadji 1978:30; Manning 1984:41; Widarti 1984:72). One reason is that, when a society becomes modernized, the jobs available tend to be formal, which pushes these women to choose either maternal or worker roles, and offers less compromise (Rindfuss 1991:496; Widarti 1984:68). On the other hand, rural women are working in the informal sector where a combination of family and work activities is easier (Rindfuss 1991:496). This issue raises the question of to what extent the women's reproductive and productive roles are conflicting?

11. Women's Reproductive Versus Productive Roles

The following discussion compares the working activity of mothers and non-mothers. As Bisgrove and Viswanathan (1997:27) stated, parity has either a positive or negative effect on mothers' working activity. The decision as to when or whether women work and when they start childbearing are interrelated (Singarimbun 1999:19). Such decisions are not only driven by economic factors, but also by social attitudes toward working married women, both childless and with children (Singarimbun 1999:29).

Some researchers argue that women with children may need to join the labor force to support their family, especially if they have helpers to take care of the children (Williams 1987:57). Others argue that having no children means being free of conflict with market activities and encourage women to work (Gultiano 1999:20). The data from the 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Census and the 1997 SUSENAS support the latter argument. Figure 8 demonstrates that having children discourages women from working. The measure of having at least one living child assumes these women are engaged in childcare responsibilities that may conflict with labor activities, given the fact that, because the women are young, their children will be still young, too.

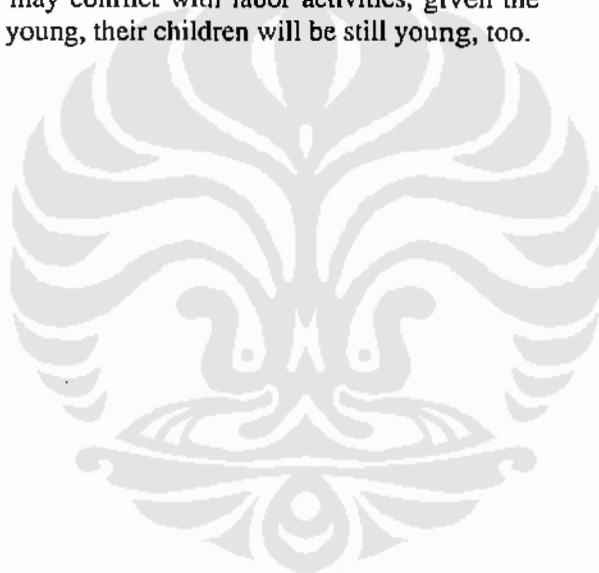
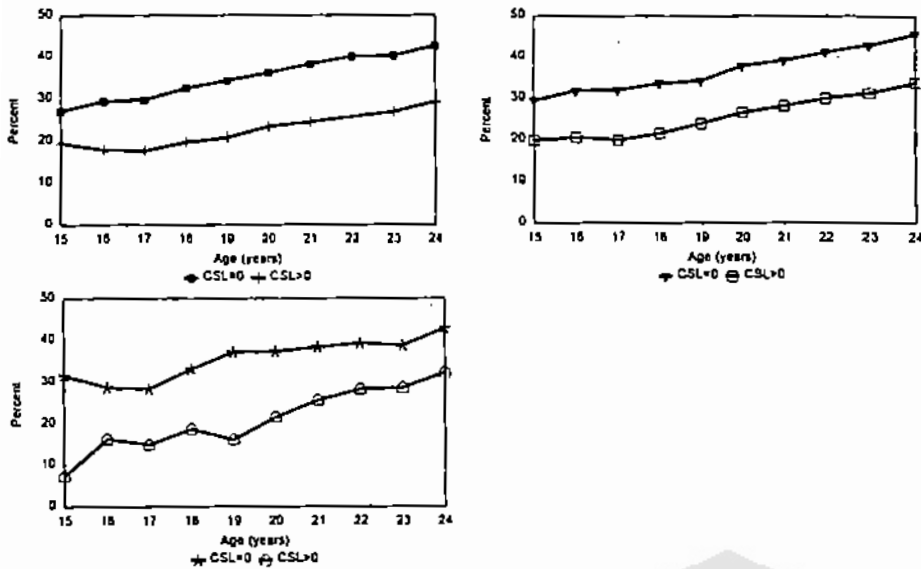


Figure 8
PERCENTAGE OF EVER-MARRIED WOMEN AGED 15-24 WHO WERE WORKING
AT LEAST ONE HOUR A DAY DURING LAST WEEK BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN STILL
LIVING (CSL), INDONESIA, 1980-1997



Source: The 1980, 1990 Indonesia Population Census & the 1997 National Social and Economic Survey (SUSENAS) data set.

As expected, the above figure based on data from two censuses and one SUSENAS shows that mothers with at least one living child have a lower percentage of "working", compared to those without children. This finding supports the proposition that having at least one living child restricts these mothers from working (Gultiano 1999:141).

In both 1980 and 1990, the gap between mothers and non-mothers seems to be parallel, with a steady increase of both, as they become older. The overall levels do not differ much. Among non-mothers, the percentages fluctuated between 35 and 37 percent between 1980 and 1997. Among mothers in the same period, the fluctuation ranged from 21 to 26 percent. The tendency of SUSENAS to record a higher proportion of unpaid workers should make the reported percentage of those who worked at least one hour longer than the reported percentage from census data (Raharto 1992:41; Singarimbun 1999:6). Yet, percentages for both mothers and non-mothers in 1997 were lower compared to the 1990 figure.

At single years of age, women at younger ages tended to show diversity. Among mothers, for example, ages 15 and 19 seemed to show the most substantial changes between 1980 and 1997, where percentages of women who were working dropped by 13 and eight percentage points, respectively. Among non-mothers, however, ages 15 and 17 displayed the most dramatic changes between 1980 and 1997, as the percentage of those working went up by five percentage points for age 15, but declined by four percentage points for age 17. Following the 1997 Indonesia DHS results that the median interval between first marriage and first birth was 9.6 months (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998:43), the period of diversity may occur at ages 15 to 19 when these women start childbearing soon after they get married.

From 1980 to 1997, the percentage of working mothers fell by roughly 36 percentage points, once they have a child. However, all three figures between 1980 and 1997 indicate that these percentage decreases kept the gap between mothers and non-mothers narrowing, as they became older. According to Durand (1975:31,42) the women's labor force in Indonesia in 1966 formed an early-peak (C-1) pattern, implying that the female labor force is composed largely of single or young married women without children. The majority of these women dropped out of work when they married or became mothers. Still, their working pattern peaked at aged 20-24, because of their younger age at first marriage (Singarimbun 1999:31), which reflects the dynamic period during the young adult years. Since the age range for this study is 15 to 24 years, information is not available on whether there is an anti-climax in the percentage of women who are working after age 24, as suggested in the C-1 pattern.

Based on findings from the literature, it is also useful to examine the role of mother-substitutes in the household and whether this influences the relationship between women's fertility and employment. Gultiano (1999:62) hypothesizes that pregnancy and the presence of a young child significantly reduces the likelihood of mothers to work except where other children are old enough to take care of their younger siblings, or where relatives or servants are present in the household. However, when Gultiano correlated the presence of a servant with mothers' working activity in the Philippines, she found that the proportion of working mothers was greater among those who did not have a servant compared to those who hired a servant at home. In other words, hiring a servant is neither a consequence nor cause of maternal employment (Gultiano 1999: 40,92).

In a similar context, the Indonesian pattern shows no difference from that in the Philippines. Mothers with at least one living child are less likely to work than non-mothers. Furthermore, the proportion of households with a servant in Indonesia remains low. This may be partly due to the definition adopted: servants have to both eat and live in their employer's household, in order to be enumerated (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1998:25). Based on the 1994 and 1997 SUSENAS that adopted a household approach, the proportions were 1.6 and 1.3 percent, respectively. These proportions are derived from the number of servants over the number of sampled households, assuming each household employs only one servant, which is not always the case. These proportions are heavily concentrated among urban households, about 85 percent in 1994 and 88 percent in 1997. On the other hand, the urban households for each SUSENAS account for only 33 percent of total sampled households. Yet, according to Gultiano (1999:92), working mothers tend to rely on paid helpers (i.e. servants) rather than other female relatives, as child-care needs to be carried out continuously.

Further evidence to support this argument is that, the variable relation to head of household reveals that the proportion of young women aged 15-24 who were children (or in-laws) increased from 53 to 66 percent between 1980 and 1997. In contrast, the proportion enumerated as wife declined sharply from 33 to 20 percent between 1980 and 1997. This suggests that the majority of these young mothers were still dependents in their parents' or in-laws' households. In this case, the decision to hire a servant would actually belong to their parents (or in-laws) and hence would not relieve these women of child-care responsibility.

12. Summary

With respect to Rindfuss' argument that the young adult years are a 'demographically dense' period of life, in the last two decades a dramatic change has occurred in the decisions made, and the context of individual decision-making among Indonesian women aged 15-24 with regard to marriage, education and employment. The paper examines two hypotheses: first, as more young women remained single in 1997, they were more likely to continue education or engage in the formal labor force than their counterparts in 1980. Second, among single young women in 1997, the option of pursuing education was more dominant than employment compared to their counterparts in 1980. The study findings confirm both hypotheses. There is a positive association between the proportion of singles and the proportion of those attending school. In terms of labor force participation, single women

are more likely to report working at least one hour a day in the previous week compared to ever-married women.

However, the proportion of women whose main activity is working actually declined between 1980 and 1997 for both ever-married and single women. The overall percentage of women working at least one hour during the previous week also declined slightly from 1980 to 1997, also when the variable whether having at least one living child was introduced. However, when educational levels was used as the controlling variable, the percentage of women working increased between 1980 and 1997. This confirms the second hypothesis that education and employment have become competing outcomes following women's decision to delay their marriage, but that education is the stronger. The use of secondary data such as census and SUSENAS data limits the ability of the study to identify whether decisions to pursue education are autonomous choices made by the women themselves, or made by their parents/family, or are highly conditioned by societal opinion.

It is believed that women have to cope with conflicting roles between working and family responsibilities (Lim 1996:25). Marriage is considered to be an entry point for women to experience this conflict. The following four major findings affirm the theory that marriage is considered to be an institutional constraint for women to acquire human capital (Standing, 1978:99).

1. Education and marriage seem to be mutually exclusive in Indonesia, especially at young ages (below 20). Social disapproval restricts married women from attending school. Improvement in schooling regulations would greatly benefit these young women. Yet, regardless of marital status, after age 20 the proportion of women attending school has dropped to levels below ten percent by 1997, which may be due to the high cost of tertiary education.
2. The percentage of women who were working at least one hour a day during the previous week is lower among ever-married women, than single women. Among ever-married women, the percentage becomes lower still when they have at least one living child (presumably young children, as the mothers are also still young).
3. Ever married women are less likely to report seeking work than are single women. This may be due to conflict between working and maternal responsibilities. Further, this conflict discourages them from declaring themselves as part of the economically active population, with

the majority falling into the typical 'housekeeping' category. Hence, the formal unemployment rates are higher among single women.

4. In terms of the decision to engage in working activity and education, the urban-rural differentials are less profound than marriage differentials in shaping women's decisions. Less educated women are more likely to work at least one hour in the week before the survey, provided they are still single. Yet, after they get married the percentage of those working decreases to levels similar to those of the educated ever-married women. This finding provides weak support to the thesis that higher education leads to more job opportunities, and hence to higher working activity (Lim 1996:68). Similarly, a higher percentage of single women than ever-married work, regardless of whether they live in urban or rural areas. Manning (1984:40) suggested that the increasing growth of the informal sector in urban areas might explain this phenomenon.

In interpreting the above findings, differences between census and survey data characteristics, including definitions, concepts, methodology and research focus should be taken into account.

13. Recommendations

Policy-making addressed to the changing lives of young women requires comprehensive understanding of the causes and dynamics that occur among them, including the dramatic transition in both numbers and proportions (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:16). The following five issues may be put forward for general policy implications for consideration by the Government of Indonesia to respond to the demographically dense period among young adults.

1. The need to expand schooling and education, especially for women aged 15-24. The proportion of single women who remained at school between 1980 and 1997 increased by 41 percentage points. Hence, access to higher education should be facilitated, including improving regulations regarding school fees. Schooling needs to be more accessible to young married women, particularly at senior high school and tertiary levels. Meanwhile, the educational systems should also be diversified into professional and entrepreneurial skills, to anticipate the inflated number of graduates entering a situation of job scarcity.
2. General improvement for women's working conditions, as the percentage of women who reported working at least one hour during the previous week generally declined between 1980 and 1997, both for single and ever-married women. This issue requires a multi-dimensional

approach. To some extent, the decline in work participation may reflect the fact that women prolong their education. However, it may also be a sign that working conditions for women need to be improved, so that ever-married women, who are generally excluded from school could join the labor force. The improvements should not be only at the micro level, involving company or government commitments (such as health facilities, maternal benefits, or protection of women's rights in relation to sexual harassment), but also in broader context, such as social attitudes towards working women.

3. Government initiatives to provide job opportunities or income-generating schemes to anticipate the rising youth unemployment among both single and ever-married women aged 15-24 between 1980 and 1997. Government initiatives should take into account that urban unemployment rates are higher than rural rates (Manning 1984:41). The declining Indonesian young population resulting from the rapid demographic transition since the 1970s still does not allow national resources to absorb the youth into the economic system (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998:10). Increasing credentialism among young women attending school may create further problems, as they will soon enter the labor force, but jobs are in short supply. This could have a push down effect upon these young graduates (Jones 1990:42).
4. Strengthening women's empowerment to postpone their first marriage, by improving their economic status. This includes providing adequate wage levels for less-educated single women who have to work instead of continuing education. The findings of this study support the theory that marriage is an institutional constraint for women to acquire human capital. Therefore, decisions about marriage need to be taken carefully. Family planning programs advise postponing marriage until at least age 20 for women and 25 for men, to give them a chance to complete senior high school or acquire necessary work experience (National Family Planning Coordinating Board, 1998:14).
5. Reproductive health information and services for young single women to prevent them from unintended fertility or being exposed to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) due to ignorance about sex. A vastly increasing proportion of women aged 15-24 remains single or postpones their first marriage, instead they continue their education or join the labor force. This implies a longer time span between their sexual maturity and when they marry. Despite the global concern about reproductive health for single young women, this issue is not reflected in the policies of the Government of Indonesia, mainly because of religious and cultural resistance (Utomo 1997:5,40).

14. Acknowledgments

The article was written in fulfillment of degree requirements for a Master of Arts in Demography, Research School of Social Sciences, the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra. The author would like to convey gratitude to his supervisor, Dr Terence H. Hull, and adviser, Dr David W. Lucas, for their guidance and encouragement. He would also like to thank the AusAID and the National Family Planning Coordinating Board for granting him a scholarship and for giving him the opportunity to have studied at the ANU. Finally, the author expresses his gratitude to all those who supported him during his study, especially Prof. Peter F. McDonald, Prof. Gavin W. Jones, and Ms Frieda Mason. During the research preparation, the author owes many thanks to the computing programmer, Ms Karen Ewens, and the editor, Ms Marian May.

References

- Achmad, Sulistinah Irawati and Wesley, Sydney B. 1999. "Indonesian Survey Looks At Adolescent Reproductive Health," *Asia-Pacific Population & Policy*, No. 51. October. Honolulu, HI: East-West Center Population and Health Studies.
- Bisgrove, Eilene Z. and Viswanathan, Meera. 1997. "A Framework for The Analysis of The Impact of Family Planning on Women's Work and Income." *Working Paper No. WP97-012*. North Carolina: Women's Studies Project, Family Health International, Research Triangle Park.
- Central Bureau of Statistics. 1983. *Population of Indonesia: Results of the 1980 Population Census*, Series S-2. February. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- , 1985. *Konsep dan Definisi Operasional Baku Statistik Sosial dan Kependudukan* (Standard Concepts and Definitions for Social and Demographic Statistics). October. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- , 1992. *Population of Indonesia: Results of the 1990 Population Census*, Series S-2. July. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- , 1996. *Hasil Survei Antar Sensus/SUPAS 1995* (Result of Statistics 1995 Indonesia Intercensal Survey). Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- , 1997. *Profil Migran Masuk di Enam Kota Besar: Hasil Survei Urbanisasi 1995* (Profile of In-Migrants in Indonesia's Six Largest Cities: Results of the 1995 Urbanization Survey), Series S-5. February. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- , State Ministry of Population/ National Family Planning Coordinating Board, Ministry of Health, and Macro International Inc. 1998. *Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey 1997*. September. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.

- , 1997. *SUSENAS (Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional) 1998: Pedoman Pencacah Kor* (The 1997 National Social and Economic Survey: Manual for Core Enumerators). Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Cholil, Abdullah, Iskandar, Meiwita B. and Sciortino, Rosalia. 1998. *The Life Saver: The Mother Friendly Movement in Indonesia*. Jakarta: State Ministry for the Role of Women, Republic of Indonesia & The Ford Foundation.
- Domingo, Lita J. 1985. "Women and Work: Some Life Cycle Issues." *The 1983 National Demographic Survey (NDS). Paper No. 5*. Quezon City: Population Institute, University of the Philippines.
- Durand, John Dana. 1975. *The Labor Force in Economic Development: A Comparison of International Census Data, 1946-1966*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Grogger, Jeff and Bronars, Stephen. 1993. "The Socioeconomic Consequences Of Teenage Childbearing: Findings From A Natural Experiment." *Family Planning Perspective*, 25 (4): 151-61 & 174.
- Gultiano, Socorro A. 1999. *A Longitudinal Perspective of Mother's Employment in Metro Cebu, The Philippines*. Ph.D thesis, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. July. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Hanum, Sri Handayani. 1997. "Perkawinan Usia Belia" (Young Marriages). *Report Series No. 71*. Yogyakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Studi Kependudukan, Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Hinde, Andrew. 1998. *Demographic Methods*. London: Arnold.
- Hull, Terence H., and Hull, Valerie J. 1987. "Changing Marriage Behaviour in Java: The Role of Timing of Consummation." *South East Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 15 (1): 104-119.
- Hull, Terence H., and Mantra, Ida Bagus. 1981. "Perubahan Penduduk di Indonesia" (Indonesia's Changing Population). Translated series No. 21 from the *Population Dynamics Project Working Paper No. 17, 1979*. Yogyakarta: Pusat Penelitian dan Studi Kependudukan, Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Jones, Gavin W. 1977. "Factors Affecting Labor Force Participation of Females in Jakarta." *Kajian Ekonomi Malaysia*, 14 (2): 71-93.
- Jones, Gavin W. 1990. "Population Dynamics and Educational and Health Planning." Training in Population, Human Resources and Development Planning, *Paper No. 8*. Geneva: International Labor Office.
- Kantor Sekretariat Negara, Republik Indonesia. 1989. *Undang-Undang Pokok Perkawinan* (The Indonesian Marriage Law). Jakarta: Bumi Aksara Publishers.
- Khisbiyah, Yayah. 1994. "Konsekuensi Psikologis dan Sosial Ekonomi Kehamilan Tak Dikehendaki pada Remaja" (Psychological and Socioeconomic Consequences of Teenage Unwanted Pregnancies). *Populasi*, 5 (2): 74-89.

- Lim, Lin Lean. 1996. *More and Better Jobs for Women: An Action Guide*. Geneva: International Labor Office.
- Manning, Chris. 1984. "Introduction." In Central Bureau of Statistics. *Analisa Ketenagakerjaan di Indonesia Berdasarkan Data Sensus Penduduk Tahun 1971 dan 1980* (Labor Force Analysis in Indonesia Based on The Population Census 1971 and 1980), Series 1. April. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Medina, Belen T. G. 1991. *The Filipino Family: A Text With Selected Readings*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines.
- National Family Planning Coordinating Board (NFPCB) and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). 1998. *Reproduksi Sehat: Buku Pegangan untuk Petugas Lapangan* (Reproductive Health: Manual for Family Planning Field Workers). Jakarta: National Family Planning Coordinating Board.
- Palmore, J.A., and Singarimbun, Masri. 1992. "The Conflicting Effects of Delayed Marriage and Declining Divorce Rates on Cumulative Fertility in Indonesia." *Asian and Pacific Population Forum*, 6 (1): 5-14.
- Raharto, Aswatini. 1992. *The Context Of Women's Work Decisions In DKI Jakarta, Indonesia*. PhD thesis, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. March. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Rindfuss, Ronald R. 1991. "The Young Adult Years: Diversity, Structural Change, and Fertility." *Demography*, November, 28 (4): 493-512.
- Savitridina, Rini. 1997. "Determinants and Consequences of Early Marriage in Java, Indonesia." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal*, June, 12 (2): 25-48.
- Senderowitz, Judith. 1995. "Adolescent Health: Reassessing the Passage to Adulthood." *World Bank Discussion Papers*, No. 272. Washington D.C.: World Bank Press.
- Singarimbun, Nima Sulina. 1999. *Changing Female Labor Force Participation and Work Patterns in Jakarta*. PhD thesis, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. July. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Singh, S., and Samara, R. 1996. "Early Marriage Among Women in Developing Countries." *International Family Planning Perspective*, December, 22 (4): 148-57.
- Sochartadji. 1978. *Seasonal Employment of Agricultural Workers in West Java and the Special Region of Yogyakarta: A Comparative Study*. M.A. thesis, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. July. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Soetjipto, Helly and Faturochman. 1989. *Pengetahuan, Sikap dan Praktek Kesehatan Reproduksi Remaja* (Knowledge, Attitude and Practice of Youth Reproductive Health). Yogyakarta: Pusat Penelitian Kependudukan, Universitas Gajah Mada.

- Standing, Guy. 1978. *Labor Force Participation and Development*. Geneva: International Labor Office.
- Utomo, Iwu D. 1997. *Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour of Middle-Class Young People in Jakarta*. PhD thesis, Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences. December. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Wahjoetomo. 1993. *Wajib Belajar Pendidikan Dasar 9 Tahun: Problematik dan Alternatif Solusinya* (The Nine-Year Compulsory Education Policy: Problems And Alternative Solutions). First edition. November. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Widiasarana Publishers.
- Widarti, Diah. 1984. "Analisa Ketenagakerjaan di Indonesia Berdasarkan Data Sensus Penduduk Tahun 1971 dan 1980." In Central Bureau of Statistics. *Analisa Ketenagakerjaan di Indonesia Berdasarkan Data Sensus Penduduk Tahun 1971 dan 1980* (Labor Force Analysis in Indonesia Based on The Population Census 1971 and 1980), Series 1. April. Jakarta: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Williams, Linda Brooks. 1987. *Migration, Women's Intra-Familial Decision Making Power, and Fertility: The Case of Rural Central Java*. PhD thesis. Department of Sociology. May. Providence, Rhode Island: The Brown University.
- Wolf, D.L. 1988. "Female Autonomy, the Family, and Industrialisation in Java." *Journal of Families Issues*, March, 9 (1): 85-107.
- World Health Organisation (WHO). 1989. *The Reproductive Health of Adolescents: A Strategy for Action*. Geneva: WHO, UNFPA & UNICEF.
- Xenos, Peter and Kabamalan, Midea. 1998. "The Changing Demographic and Social Profile of Youth in Asia." *Asia-Pacific Population Research Reports*. No. 12. October. Honolulu: East-West Center Program on Population.
- Young, Christabel. 1994. "The Family Life Cycle Approach in Demography." In David Lucas and Paul Meyers (eds). *Beginning Population Studies*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University.

Ukik Kusuma Kurniawan, SKM, MPS, MA. Staff member of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board, Provincial Office of Jakarta, Indonesia. Phone/Fax: 6221 788 80 178.