

WORK IN PROGRESS

Life Course Markers, Independence from Parents and Locus of Control among Young Adults in Greater Jakarta, Indonesia

Peter McDonald, *Australian National University*; Iwu D. Utomo, *Australian National University*; Anna Reimondos, *Australian National University*

The emergence of legal concepts of adulthood

Concepts of a state of childhood and a state of adulthood are common to all societies. In pre-modern societies, the sexual transition (onset of puberty) provided a clear distinction between the two states. In such societies, the physiological transition from child to adult was often marked by ceremony especially for boys (initiation, circumcision, confirmation). The ceremony was a social recognition of adulthood. By chronological age, as puberty conventionally occurred earlier for girls than for boys, so did adulthood.

Earlier adulthood for girls compared to boys was subsequently incorporated in legal systems as they began to emerge in more complex societies. For example, in the Catholic Church's Canon Law, the minimum age at marriage was and is still set at 14 for girls and 16 for boys (Can. 1083) and, maintaining a connection with older traditions, marriage must be preceded by confirmation (Can. 1065), the traditional initiation into adulthood membership of the church. Thus, the early legal association of marriage with chronological age also associated adulthood with marriage. In any society, a married person is rarely considered to be not adult. For example, in Indonesia to which this paper relates, the legal voting age is 17 but a married person aged less than 17 is permitted to vote. Voting age provides another potential legal definition of adulthood and there are other legal ages that might be considered as definitions of adulthood such as the age that a person is permitted to drive a motor vehicle, to consume alcohol or to sign a contract.

There is also the legal concept of minority (being a minor). This concept also appears in Canon Law in that a 'minor child' is not permitted to marry without the knowledge of his or her parents or if the parents are reasonably opposed (Can 1071), but Canon Law does not define an age for minority. An age was put to 'minority' by Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 (Laws of England) and that age was below 21 years (McDonald 1974). This law was not designed to define adulthood but rather to protect property rights where the property of a married woman automatically became the property of her husband. Women aged below 21 years were considered to be vulnerable and potentially incapable of making a reliable decision about their marriage partner. By defining an age of majority, Lord Hardwicke's Act effectively put a legal age to adulthood. In England, the voting age was also later set at 21 and the 21st birthday party became the social rite of passage to adulthood. Thus, adulthood was defined by the freedom to consent to marriage without parental assent, that is, by legal capability.

In the 1970s, there was a movement that spread around the world that the legal age at majority should apply at a younger age than 21 years. In these years of the Vietnam War, for example, it was said that young men under age 21 were being conscripted to fight in Vietnam yet they had no right to vote. In the United States in the early 1970s, high proportions of women had married and had a baby before age 21. Accordingly, the age at consent to marriage was reduced in many countries to 18 years and the voting age was also reduced to 18 years in the vast majority of countries. In countries that have an alternative age of majority, the age is younger at either 17 or 16 years. Thus, on a global basis, there is a degree of consensus that 16-18 years is the legal age of majority, the age at which young people are considered to be capable of making independent legal decisions. The history of the determination of an age at majority was, at least initially, primarily associated with a life course marker, marriage. However, it was not the event of marriage itself that made a person an adult but the age at which the person could marry legally without parental consent. It is noteworthy today that there is no legal restriction upon the age at which persons can cohabit although the age of sexual consent (usually 16 years) provides a lower legal limit.

Demographic concepts of adulthood

While the legal age at majority appears to be well-defined in most countries, it seems social scientists prefer to think of adulthood in other ways. The notion of the life course led demographers to define adulthood in terms of life course markers, especially marriage.¹ According to Shanahan (2001), 'for many decades, scholars held that entry into adulthood was delineated by five life course transition markers: completing school, leaving home, beginning one's career, marrying and becoming a parent'. These were defined as markers of the transition to adulthood.

How adulthood was defined in terms of these five markers has never been particularly clear in the demographic literature, but we can probably take for granted that someone who had experienced all five events could be considered to have 'reached adulthood'. But as described in several papers in a special issue of the *European Journal of Population* (Gauthier 2007), from the 1960s onwards, in western countries, progression through these markers occurred at increasingly older ages, many people did not marry or have children, and there emerged considerable heterogeneity in the sequence in which the five events were experienced. Cohabitation also emerged as a frequent precursor or alternative to marriage. The response of demographers to these trends has been to specify methods (sequence analysis, entropy analysis) that enable the increasing complexity to be described. These measures have a very useful purpose in describing social change but the question arises as to whether the emergence of this complexity presents problems in the use of demographic markers to define adulthood?

Is adulthood status obtained earlier by a person who achieves all five of these markers in the prescribed sequence by the age of 22 compared with his or her age peers who do not? Are people never adult because they never marry or never have children? Is the young Italian man

¹ This approach had some popular justification. *Too young to be married, too young to be free*: the title of a 1967 song by the Hollies, associated marriage with freedom (or adulthood).

who stays at home into his early thirties not adult? Are the Indonesian couple who live with their parents after marriage necessarily not adults? Is the person who delays commence of work while they obtain advanced qualifications less adult than a person who takes a job after dropping out of high school? These rhetorical questions can only be answered in the negative. So, are demographic markers at all useful in defining adulthood (Benson and Furstenberg 2003, Berg 2007)?

Psycho-social concepts of adulthood

Primarily in the US literature, adulthood has also been defined in psycho-social terms. The principal exponent of this work has been Jeffrey Arnett. For Arnett, adulthood in the United States is associated with the achievement of independence (especially from parents), individual self-reliance and self expression as an individual. An adult is a person who is able to stand alone, not dependent on or co-dependent with other persons². Arnett described this definition of adulthood as consistent with the cultural context of 'broad socialisation'. It contrasted with 'narrow socialisation' in less individualistic societies where young people are expected to conform to a range of social restrictions and a degree of dependency on parents is maintained (Arnett and Taber 1994, Arnett 2001, Shanahan et al. 2005).

Arnett devised a questionnaire to be applied in the United States that measures the achievement of adulthood in the white, middle class US cultural context (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire covers legal, biological and demographic markers of the types already discussed but also covers measures of independence from parents, capacity for self-support and support of a family, and a range of socially responsible behaviours such as not getting drunk, not taking drugs, not using vulgar language and driving safely. Arnett (2001) observed that the demographic markers such as marriage were not at all important in people's conceptions of adulthood in the United States. Rather it was the individualistic criteria that white middle class Americans considered to be the prime determinants of adulthood, notably establishing an equal relationship with parents, accepting responsibility for the consequences of one's own actions, being financially independent of parents, no longer living in the parent's household (one of the demographic markers) and deciding on personal beliefs and values independent of parents. Note, four out of five of these 'individualistic' criteria relate to independence from parents. On the other hand, the item 'not deeply tied to parents emotionally' was rated lowly as an indicator of adulthood.

An almost parallel psychological literature addresses transition to adulthood in terms of the establishment of a sense of personal control (Lewis et al. 1999). In this literature, adulthood is associated with the development of a sense of control over one's life and one's destiny. Use is made of Rotter's (1966) scale of the internal locus of control. Those with a greater sense of control are more adult.

² 'Learning to stand alone' is the title of one of Arnett's articles (Arnett, 1998).

The objectives of this paper

This paper sets out to examine the transition to adulthood in Jakarta, Indonesia, a cultural setting that is different to that of the United States. It is based on analysis of information obtained in the *2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey*. The research team chose Greater Jakarta³ for this study because it is the vanguard of economic development in Indonesia and because its young people are subject to a wide range of socio-political influences including Western individualism, Eastern Islamic fundamentalism, modern Indonesian nationalism as well as the traditions of the many Indonesian ethnic groups from which these young people are descendent. Young Jakartans are not isolated in a traditional culture; they live in a very dynamic environment where the pace of change is considerable. They are relatively highly educated: almost 70 per cent of young people in Jakarta (aged 20-34 years) had completed or will soon complete senior high school (Year 12) and 28 per cent have or will soon have a tertiary qualification. In this context, it was possible to base our survey instruments upon instruments that had been used in studies of the transition to adulthood in western contexts, addressing much the same range of issues (see Appendix 2). The appropriateness of the questionnaire wording was tested with a group of Indonesian PhD students at the Australian National University, most of whom were formerly resident in Jakarta.

Information on the demographic markers of adulthood was obtained in the survey. As this was a broad-based study of the lives of young people, it was not possible to include large numbers of psycho-social questions that would be relevant to the purposes of this paper. Arnett's five-item individualism scale was examined for inclusion in the study but, in attempting to translate the four, parent-related questions into Bahasa Indonesia, we experienced difficulty. We were, of course, able to measure whether or not the respondent was still living in the parent's household, but the remaining three items relating to the respondent's relationship with his or her parents did not translate well. These items were:

- Decide on personal beliefs and values independently of parents
- Establish a relationship with parents as an equal adult
- Financially independent from parents

The translation problem was a problem of culture rather than of language. The translated items sounded inappropriate in the cultural context because, normatively, young Indonesians do not aim to achieve these goals. Young Indonesians do not strive to determine their personal beliefs and values independently of parents. They may have different beliefs and values but independence from parents is not a determining factor in obtaining differing beliefs from their parents. The concept of equal relationship between the parent and the child has no cultural meaning. Parents remain as parents into the adulthood of their children. Indeed, parents frequently address their adult children as '*nak*' (*anak*, or child). Financial relationships between parents and children often extend into adulthood with flows being in both directions, sometimes simultaneously.

³ Greater Jakarta includes the province of DKI Jakarta and the contiguous cities (*kotamadya*) of Bekasi and Tangerang.

Arnett's items focus on the **independence** end of the relationship between parents and children. We decided to focus our questions on the **dependence** end using the following four-item scale:

1. I am still emotionally dependent on my parents
2. My parents treat me as if I was still a child
3. If I have a problem, I turn to my parents for help
4. I consider myself to be an independent person.

Translation of the locus of control items was less problematic. We applied the following five-items from Rotter's original scale:

1. I have little control over the things that happen to me
2. What happens to be in the future mostly depends on me
3. I can do just about anything if I really set my mind to it
4. There is really no way I can solve the problems I have
5. Sometimes I feel that I continue to be directed by the environment around me.

The paper examines the demographic markers of adulthood and their relationship with these two psycho-social scales of adulthood.

The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

The 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey is based on two standardized questionnaires. The first covers questions relating to demographic, social and cultural issues, education, work, migration, gender, media and internet use, health and well-being, and attitudes and values. The second consists of reproductive health and sexual behaviour questions and is designed to allow the respondent anonymity if they choose to complete the form by themselves and seal the form into an envelope before handing it to the interviewer.

The sampling process involved a three-stage cluster sample using the Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) method. In the first stage, 60 *Kelurahan* (urban villages) were selected using PPS. In the second stage, five *Rukun Tetangga* (RT, neighbourhoods) were chosen within each selected *Kelurahan* by systematic random sampling. The 300 selected RT were then censused and mapped by trained enumerators. The census collected information on the age, sex, marital status and relationship to head of household for all households in each RT. From the RT census, a listing of all eligible respondents (aged 20-34) was compiled. Eleven eligible persons were then selected from the eligible RT population using simple random sampling. In family households, if more than one eligible person was selected, only one was interviewed. In this way 3,300 names were selected for interview with the aim of obtaining a sample of 3,000 taking account of potential refusals and non-contact based on experience with previous urban surveys in Jakarta. The names were allocated to interviewers with a standard interviewer load consisting of 110 named individuals. In total, 3006 young adults were successfully interviewed. The interview took an average of one hour to complete but the length varied considerably depending upon personal circumstances and histories.

The study also obtained rich insights from case study interviews with a subset of the sample of young adults who had participated in the quantitative survey one year after the quantitative survey. The primary objective of the case studies was to obtain in-depth insights into the dynamics and life patterns of young adults. The underlying research themes in the qualitative collection revolved around challenges relating to education, employment, social relations, marriage, sexuality, religion, politics, digital technologies and migration. A sample of 82 respondents was obtained for the in-depth interviews, consisting of 41 female and 40 male respondents.

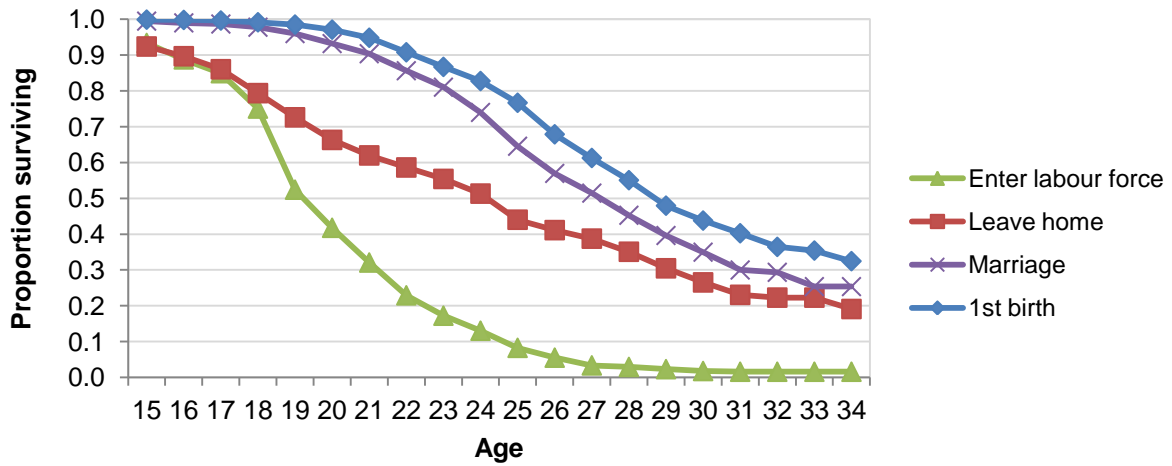
Attainment of the life course markers of adulthood

Figures 1 and 2 present the movement through the four demographic markers of adulthood for our sample. For both men and women, leaving home below age 18 is associated with obtaining the first job. Early home leavers were selective of those that left school early and were often migrants to Jakarta who moved away from their parents to the city to find work. Forty-one per cent of our respondents were migrants to Jakarta but many of these had moved to Jakarta with their parents. After age 18, however, both men and women tended to remain at home with their parents while they entered the paid labour force. Labour force entry occurred over a relatively brief period, between ages 18 and 25. However, 20 per cent of both men and women were still at home with their parents at age 35 even though virtually all of the men and 86 per cent of the women had entered the labour force by age 25.

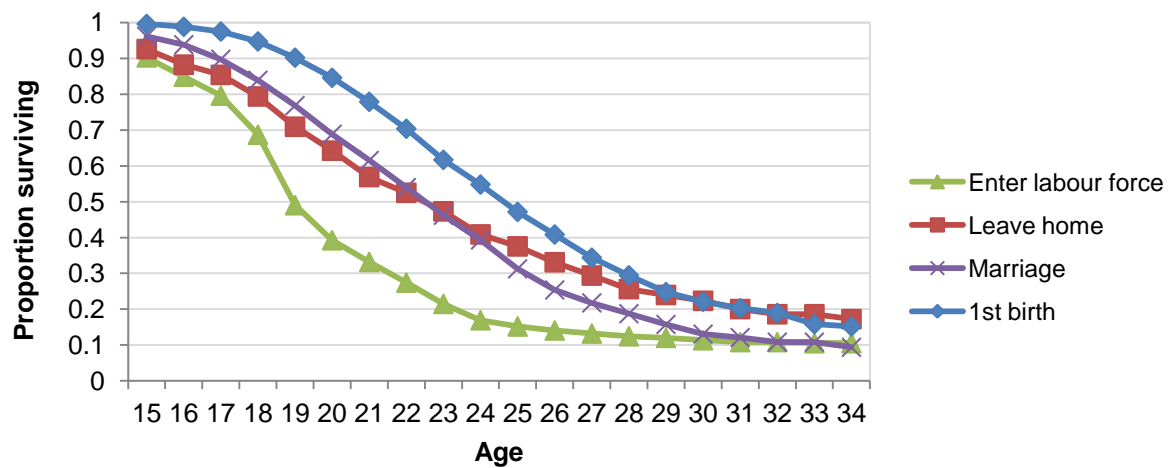
For men, first marriage occurred on average well after entry to the labour force and well after they had left home. Women also married well after they had entered the labour force but departure from the parental home was simultaneous with marriage until age 25. After age 25, women were more likely to have married than to have left the parental home implying that many married women were living with their parents. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to have left home than to have married at all ages up to age 35 suggesting that, where married couples are living with parents, they are more likely to be living with the wife's parents. This is consistent with more traditional behaviour among the Javanese and Sundanese ethnic groups. First birth follows closely upon first marriage in most cases; we have found that 15 per cent of first births for women in the sample were conceived outside of marriage and a third of these were born outside of marriage. By age 35, the proportion of women that had had a first birth was a little higher than the proportion that had married. Very few of our respondents cohabited before marriage.

What can we say from these results about progression to adulthood? While entry to the labour force is completed for almost all of our respondents by age 25 and occurs sharply between ages 18 and 25, the other three progressions are much more spread out with no age thresholds. Twenty-five per cent of men have not married by age 35 and 20 per cent of both men and women are still at home with their parents at age 35. It would be difficult to suggest that these 35 year-olds were not adults. Thus, of these four markers, only entry to the labour force appears to be a viable marker of adulthood.

**Figure 1: Survival analysis of life course markers
(Males)**



**Figure 2: Survival analysis of life course markers
(Females)**



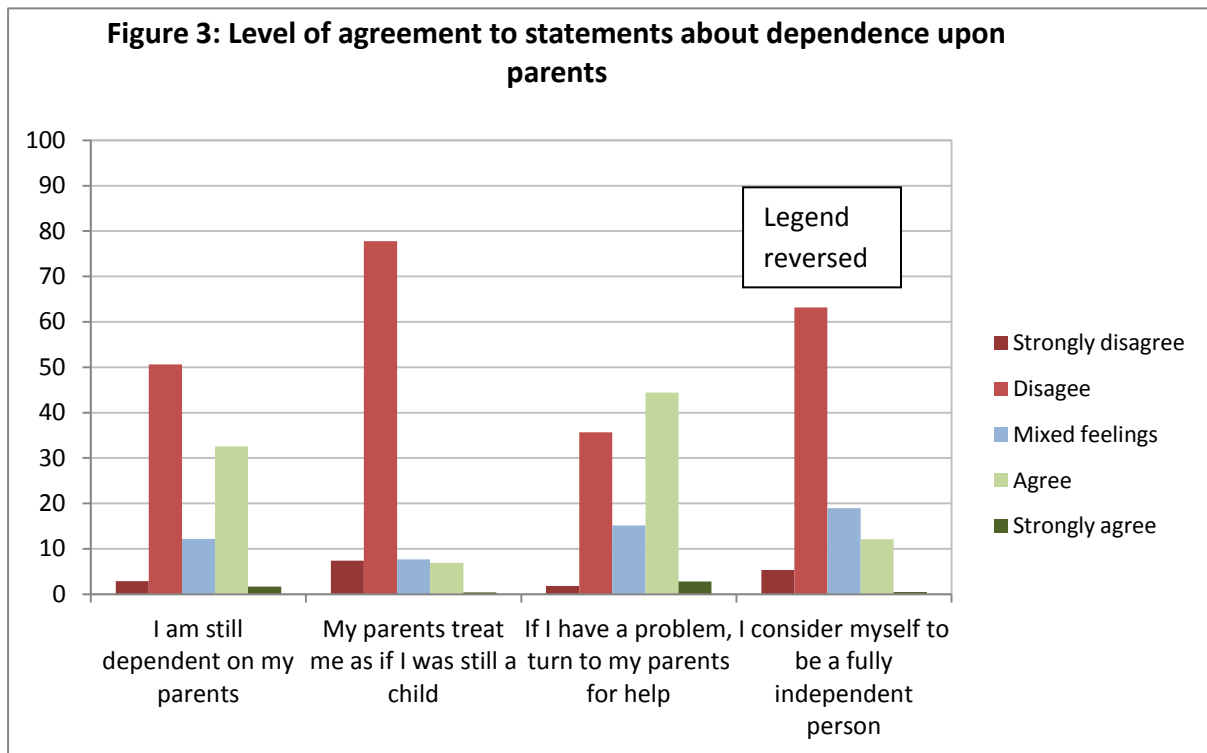
Parental dependence scale

The questions on dependence upon parents, ask respondents to rate on a 5-point scale ranging from ‘*Strongly disagree [1]*’ to ‘*Strongly agree [5]*’ their agreement to the following items:

1. I am still emotionally dependent on my parents
2. My parents treat me as if I was still a child
3. If I have a problem, I turn to my parents for help
4. I consider myself to be an independent person.

The distributions of responses are shown in Figure 3. A scale of parental dependence was created using these four items. The scale was standardized to have a mean of 0 and a variance of 1⁴

Item	Obs	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation
1. I am still emotionally dependent on my parents	2,983	0.69	0.36
2. My parents treat me as if I was still a child	2,985	0.58	0.20
3. If I have a problem, I turn to my parents for help	2,985	0.64	0.29
4. I consider myself to be an independent person	2,986	0.56	0.18



Relatively high percentages of respondents agree that they are still dependent upon parents (33 per cent) and that they would turn to parents when they had a problem (46 per cent). About 15 per cent agree that their parents still treat them like a child. Thirty-one per cent do not consider themselves to be a fully independent person.

⁴ The Cronbach's alpha for the locus of control scale was 0.45. While low, this is reasonable level for a four-item scale. For the same level of association between items, alpha increases with the number of items in the scale (Kuder and Richardson 1937).

Locus of control scale

Questions on self-efficacy and locus of control, ask respondents to use the same 5-point scale to signal their agreement to the following items:

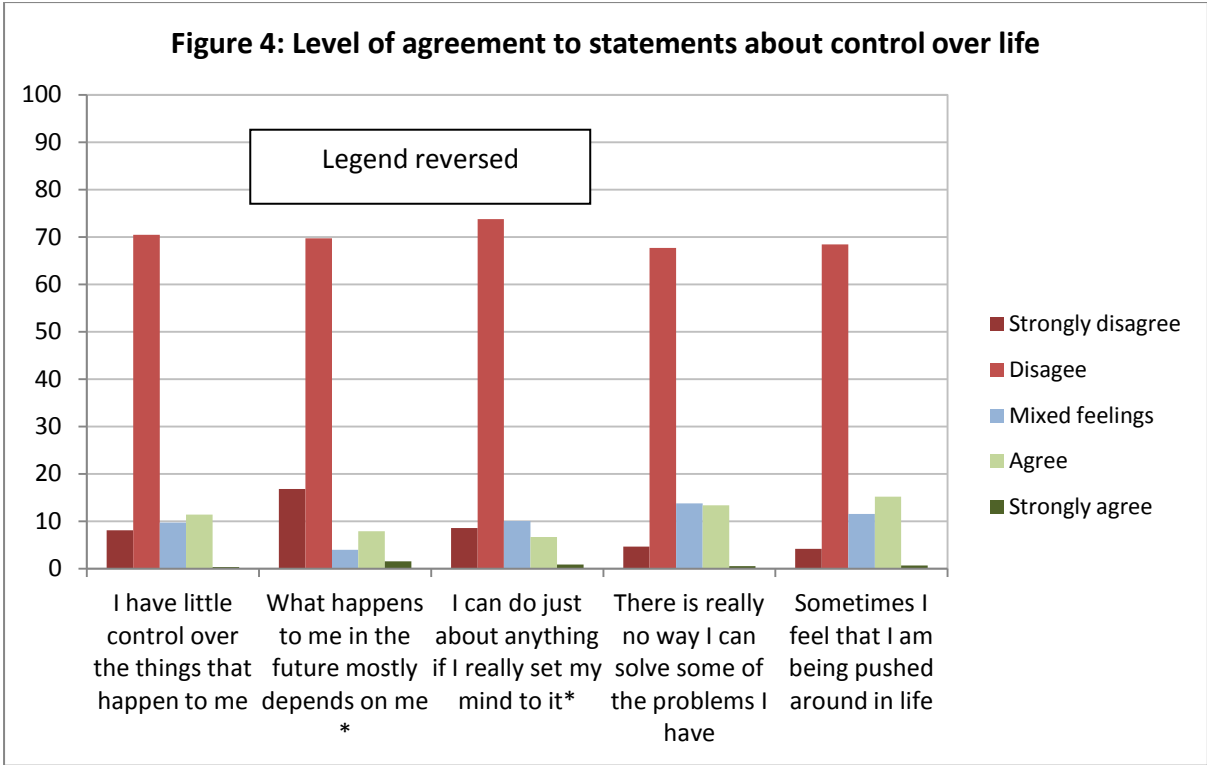
5. I have little control over the things that happen to me
6. What happens to be in the future mostly depends on me
7. I can do just about anything if I really set my mind to it
8. There is really no way I can solve the problems I have
9. Sometimes I feel that I continue to be directed by the environment around me.

A locus of control scale was created using these five items, with items 1, 4 and 5 reversed so that a higher score indicated a greater degree of perceived control. The scale was standardized to have a mean of 0 and a variance of 1⁵. Distributions are shown in Figure 4.

Item	Obs	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation
1. I have little control over the things that happen to me	2,988	0.57	0.23
2. What happens to be in the future mostly depends on me	2,987	0.51	0.16
3. I can do just about anything if I really set my mind to it	2,988	0.53	0.18
4. There is really no way I can solve the problems I have	2,981	0.57	0.23
5. Sometimes I feel that I continue to be directed by the environment around me	2,974	0.50	0.14

Compared to the parental dependence scale, there was not a high degree of variation in the respondents' answers to these questions with around 70-80 per cent indicating control on all five questions.

⁵ The Cronbach's alpha for the locus of control scale was 0.38.



The relationship between the parental dependence and locus of control scales

Table 1 indicates that the overall correlation between the parental dependence scale and the locus of control scale is low (0.23). This suggests that they are measuring different dimensions. The correlation was higher for men than for women. It is notable that the level of correlation of the two scales was not affected by life cycle stage for any of the four demographic markers of adulthood. This again suggests that different dimensions are being measured by the two scales and by the demographic markers.

**Table 1. Correlation between
parental dependence scale
and control scale**

Sex

Male	0.318
Female	0.158

Age group

20-24	0.266
25-29	0.189
30-34	0.257

Highest education

Primary school or less	0.281
Junior high school	0.237
Senior high school	0.219
Certificate	0.327
University	0.306

Religiosity

Not religious	0.230
Somewhat religious	0.212
Religious/Very religious	0.242

Migrated since 17

No	0.245
Yes	0.206

Objective markers

Ever worked

No	0.242
Yes	0.224

Left home

No	0.312
Yes	0.213

Married

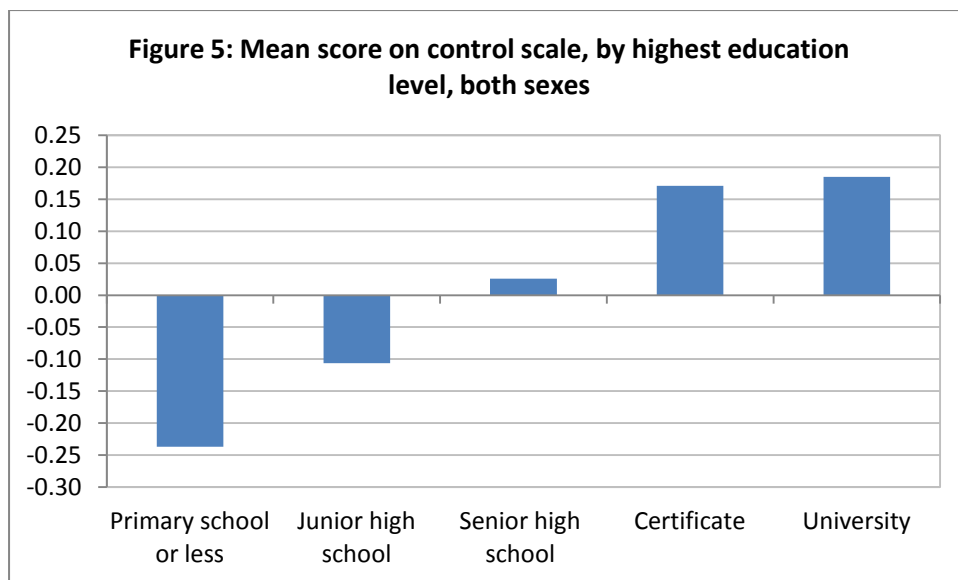
No	0.287
Yes	0.245

Had a child

No	0.287
Yes	0.235

Total **0.2284**

In Table 2, the two psycho-social scales are used as dependent variables in multivariate models that indicate their relationships with a range of independent variables including demographic life cycle stages. The results show that locus of control is not related to life cycle stage with the exception that men who had had a child (fathers) had a lower sense of control than non-fathers. This probably has more to do with the demands of parenthood than with adulthood. Instead, locus of control was strongly related to education with the sense of control increasing as education increased for both men and women (Figure 5). Again, this association would seem to have little to do with achieving adulthood but more to do with the capacity to control one's world that education provides. Interestingly, for women but not for men, increases in religiosity provide a greater sense of control. Overall, the models explain very little of the variation in locus of control. Thus, there is little evidence that 'adulthood' might be defined reliably using life course markers in combination with sense of control in people's lives.



In contrast to the locus of control scale, there are associations between the parental dependence scale and three of the four demographic markers of adulthood, the exception being becoming a parent. For men, there are strong positive associations between leaving home and entry to the labour force and not being dependent upon parents. Marriage for men does not add to the explanatory power. For women, leaving home, work and marriage all help to account for not being dependent upon parents and to about the same extent. As would be expected, being dependent on parents is negatively related to age with older persons being significantly less dependent. Migrants also expectedly are less dependent upon parents. Finally, again in contrast to locus of control, dependence upon parents tends not to be affected by education or religiosity. In other words, dependence on parents and sense of control have a different set of determinants.

The models in Table 2 were repeated for men and women combined with sex as an independent variable. These analyses showed that, all else being equal, men were significantly less dependent upon parents and also significantly more likely to have a sense of control over their lives (Table 3).

Thus, there is evidence that dependence upon parents is partly explained by demographic markers but more by leaving home and entering the work force than by marriage or parenthood. The association between entering the work force and a lower level of dependence upon parents may be the best way to define 'adulthood' in this cultural context. Adulthood seems more likely to be explained in terms of a person's relationship with his or her parents than by sense of control over his or her life. The relationship with parents needs to be measured using items at the more dependent end of the scale than the independent end.

Table 2. OLS regressions of parental dependence scale and control over life scale, by sex

Variable	Parental dependence		Locus of control	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age group				
20-24	-0.09**	-0.11***	-0.09**	0.03
25-29 (ref)	--	--	--	--
30-34	0.06	0.10***	-0.05	0.10***
Highest education				
Primary school or less	-0.13**	0.07*	-0.27***	-0.23***
Junior high school	-0.03	0.05	-0.10**	-0.13***
Senior high school (ref)	--	--	--	--
Certificate	0.11*	0	0.16***	0.14***
University	0	0.07	0.06	0.23***
Religiosity				
Not religious (ref)	--	--	--	--
Somewhat religious	-0.02	0.02	-0.05	0.08**
Religious/Very religious	0.03	0.09*	0.06	0.09**
Migrated since 17				
No	--	--	--	--
Yes	0.12***	0.10***	0.01	0.00
Objective markers				
Ever worked				
No (ref)	--	--	--	--
Yes	0.35***	0.11***	0.06	0.00
Left home				
No (ref)	--	--	--	--
Yes	0.31***	0.15***	0.09**	-0.03
Married				
No (ref)	--	--	--	--
Yes	0.05	0.15***	0.05	-0.07
Had a child				
No (ref)	--	--	--	--
Yes	0.00	0.04	-0.12*	-0.02
Constant	-0.48***	-0.41***	0.03	0.01
Number of observations	1236	1743	1236	1743
Prob>F	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001	<0.001
Adjusted R squared	0.19	0.13	0.04	0.09

Table 3. OLS regressions of parental dependence scale and control over life scale, both sexes combined

Variable	Parental dependence	Control over life
Age group		
20-24	-0.11***	-0.02
25-29 (ref)	--	--
30-34	0.08***	0.05**
Highest education		
Primary school or less	0.01	-0.25***
Junior high school	0.02	-0.12***
Senior high school (ref)	--	--
Certificate	0.03	0.14***
University	0.03	0.15***
Sex		
Male (ref)	--	--
Female	-0.13***	-0.05**
Ever worked		
No (ref)	--	--
Yes	0.18***	0.03
Left home		
No (ref)	--	--
Yes	0.27***	0.03
Married		
No (ref)	--	--
Yes	0.10**	-0.02
Had a child		
No (ref)	--	--
Yes	0.03	-0.07*
Constant	-0.33***	0.04
Number of observations	2979	2979
Adjusted R squared	0.15	0.06

References

- Arnett, J. 1998. 'Learning to stand alone: the contemporary American transition to adulthood in cultural and historical context', *Human Development*, 41: 295-315.
- Arnett, J. 2001. 'Conceptions of the transition to adulthood: perspectives from adolescence through midlife', *Journal of Adult Development*, 8(2): 133-143.
- Arnett, J. And Taber, S. 1994. "Adolescence terminable and interminable: when does adolescence end?" *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 23, 1-21.
- Benson, J. and Furstenberg, F. 2003. 'Subjective perceptions of adulthood among urban youth: are demographic transitions still relevant?' The Network on Transitions to Adulthood. Research Network Working Paper No. 3, March 2003.
- Berg, J. 2007. 'Subjective age identity during the transition to adulthood: psychological and sociological perspectives', *Social Thought & research*, 28: 145-163.
- Gauthier, A. 2007. "Becoming a young adult: an international perspective on the transitions to adulthood", *European Journal of Population*, 23: 217-223.
- Horowitz, A. and Bromnick, R. 2007. "'Contestable Adulthood": Variability and disparity in markers for negotiating the transition to adulthood', *Youth & Society*, 39(2): 209-231.
- Kuder, G. and Richardson, M. 1937. 'The theory of the estimation of test reliability', *Psychometrika*, 2: 151-60
- Lewis, S., Ross, C. And Mirowsky, J. 1999. "Establishing a sense of personal control in the transition to adulthood", *Social Forces*, 77(4): 1573-1599.
- McDonald, P. 1974. *Marriage in Australia: Age at First Marriage and Proportions Marrying, 1860 - 1971*, Australian Family Formation Project, Monograph No. 2, The Australian National University, 1974, 311p.
- Rotter, J. 1966. 'Generalized expectancies for internal vs. external control of reinforcements', *Psychological Monographs*, 80:1-28.
- Shanahan, M. Porfeli, E, and J. Mortimer. 2005. Subjective age identity and the transition to adulthood: when does one become an adult? In Settersten, R., Furstenberg, F. and Rumbaut, R. (eds). *On the Frontier of Adulthood: Theory, Research, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.225-255.

Appendix 1: Items in Arnett's measurement module

Arnett asks respondents to indicate how important each of the following 39 factors are in determining whether or not a person has reached adulthood and also whether or not the respondent has achieved this in their own lives.

1. Financially independent from parents
2. No longer living in parents' household
3. Finished with education
4. Married
5. Have at least one child
6. Settled into a long-term career
7. Purchased a house
8. Avoid becoming drunk
9. Avoid illegal drugs
10. Have no more than one sexual partner
11. Drive an automobile safely and close to the speed limit
12. Avoid use of profanity/vulgar language
13. Use contraception if sexually active and not trying to conceive a child
14. Not deeply tied to parents emotionally
15. Reached age 18
16. Reached age 21
17. Committed to long-term love relationship
18. Decide on personal beliefs and values independently of parents or other influences
19. Make life-long commitments to others
20. Become capable of supporting a family financially
21. Become capable of caring for children
22. Become capable of running a household
23. Grow to full height
24. Become biologically capable of bearing children (women)

25. Become biologically capable of fathering children (men)
 26. Become capable of keeping family physically safe (men)
 27. Accept responsibility for the consequences of your actions
 28. Have obtained license and can drive an automobile
 29. Have had sexual intercourse
 30. Be employed full-time
 31. Avoid drunk driving
 32. Avoid committing petty crimes like vandalism and shoplifting
 33. Establish a relationship with parents as an equal adult
 34. Learn always to have good control of your emotions
 35. Become less self-oriented, develop greater consideration for others
 36. Capable of supporting parents financially
 37. Allowed to drink alcohol
 38. Allowed to smoke cigarettes
 39. Completed military service (males)
40. Is there anything else that you think must be achieved before a person can be considered an adult? If so, write it down here:

-
41. Do you feel like you have reached adulthood?
 - A. yes
 - B. no
 - C. in some ways yes, in some ways no

Appendix 2: Content of the 2010 Greater Jakarta Transition to Adulthood Survey

Part 1

- Household composition
- Housing: type, cost, quality
- Respondent: age sex, relationship status, mobility, education, religion, religious activity, voting, political activity, birth order, siblings, ethnicity, has a driver's licence.
- R's parents: biological or social, age, still alive, age of R at death of parent, divorced, age at parents' separation, education, occupation, condition of economy when R aged 10, parent religious activity, parent political activity, quality of relationship with R., financial interchanges between R and parents.
- Partner's characteristics: similar but more restricted set of variables including employment and education as per below.
- Leaving home: age at, where to, return, age last left
- Employment and education: history every year from age 12, education, current training, several questions relating to the nature of R's current employment, aspects of job satisfaction, importance scales, journey to work and commuting time.
- Relationship history: marriage history, how met first spouse, wedding arrangements and costs, has a boy/girl friend, intention to marry, gender values.
- Children and family planning: birth and pregnancy history, birth intentions, family planning, maternal leave, attitudes towards children.
- Income and household economy: income, receive/provide income support to others, how much, economic situation (disadvantage measures)
- Media, attitudes and values: use of media, use of internet, depression, sense of control, emotional support, world views, what is important, domains of life satisfaction questions.
- Health: self-assessed, physical activity, BMI, alcohol, smoking drugs, chronic illnesses.

Part 2

Sexual and reproductive health module.

Part 3

Intensive case study interviews