MOVING TO THE SERVICES SECTOR, CAN THEY REACH THE MINIMUM WAGE? THE 2021 INDONESIAN NLFS DATA ANALYSIS-BASED STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Objective: This study provides an overview of labor shifting from the manufacturing sector towards the services sector in Indonesia.

Method: Data from the 2021 National Labor Force Survey (NLFS) were used to track laborers’ characteristics with 1,856 sample size of labors in the services sector who previously worked in manufacturing industries in Indonesia. A descriptive statistics method was employed for analysis by utilizing cross-tabulation data.

Results: This sectoral transition from manufacturing to the services sector indicates a decrease in labor absorption in Indonesia’s manufacturing sector, which has occurred since The Asian Financial Crisis in 1997-1998. It was also obtained that the majority of these “new workers” in the services sector are in the category of position/skill level 2, namely jobs with several skills such as clerical support workers, services and sales workers, skilled agriculture workers, forestry and fishery workers, craft and related trades workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers. In addition, only 24.27% of respondents earn more than the minimum wage applicable in the district/city where they live, and 14.31% earn above the Indonesian middle-class standard set by the World Bank (> IDR 3,752,000 per month).

Keywords: Labor shifting, services sector, manufacturing, industry sector.

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PASSANDO PARA O SETOR DE SERVIÇOS, ELES PODEM ATINGIR O SALÁRIO MÍNIMO? ESTUDO INDONÉSIO DE 2021 BASEADO NA ANÁLISE DE DADOS DO NLFS

RESUMO

Objetivo: O presente estudo fornece uma panorâmica da transferência da mão de obra do setor da indústria transformadora para o setor dos serviços na Indonésia.

Método: Os dados do Inquérito Nacional à Força de Trabalho (NLFS) de 2021 foram utilizados para rastrear as características dos trabalhadores com 1.856 amostras de mão de obra no setor de serviços que anteriormente trabalhavam em indústrias manufatureiras na Indonésia. Um método estatístico descritivo foi empregado para análise utilizando-se dados de tabulação cruzada.

Resultados: Esta transição setorial da indústria transformadora para o setor dos serviços indica uma diminuição da absorção de mão de obra no setor transformador da Indonésia, que ocorreu desde a crise financeira asiática em 1997-1998. Obteve-se igualmente que a maioria destes "novos trabalhadores" no setor dos serviços se encontra na categoria de posição/nível de competências 2, nomeadamente empregos com várias competências, tais como trabalhadores de apoio administrativo, trabalhadores dos serviços e das vendas, trabalhadores agrícolas qualificados, trabalhadores da silvicultura e da pesca, trabalhadores artesanais e do comércio conexo, operadores de instalações e máquinas e empresas de montagem. Além disso, apenas 24,27% dos entrevistados ganham mais do que o salário mínimo aplicável no distrito/cidade onde vivem, e 14,31% ganham acima do padrão de classe média indonésio estabelecido pelo Banco Mundial (> IDR 3.752.000 por mês).

Palavras-chave: mudança de mão de obra, setor de serviços, manufatura, setor industrial.

1 INTRODUCTION

In his work entitled "The Service Economy" (Fuchs, 1968), Victor F. Fuchs describes the transition of labor from the industrial sector to the services sector. The process began in England and then spread to many Western countries. By the beginning of the 21st century, all developed industrialized countries had transitioned into 'services sector economies'. This shift is mainly measured by the share of the workforce employed in the services sector industry. In fact, for several decades, the net employment growth in developed countries has only occurred in the services sector (Schettkat & Yocarini, 2006). On the other hand, employment in the manufacturing sector continued to decline (Aswicahyono, Brooks, et al., 2011).

According to Aswicahyono, Hill, et al., (2011), as much as 55% of the working-age population in the United States (aged 15-64 years) have worked in the services sector at the beginning of the 21st century. In contrast, in European countries, only about 40% of the working-age population has worked in the services sector (Sarantis & Swales,
For this reason, according to Schettkat & Yocarini (2006), the US is often used as a benchmark to evaluate trends in the services sector in other countries.

Parallel to these conditions, several Asian countries, including Indonesia, have experienced sectoral shifts in their employment structure. The Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998 contributed greatly to this change in the labor structure in Indonesia. The same is also the case in developed countries, as reviewed by Kim & Jang (2020); Lee & McKibbin (2018); Aswicahyono, Brooks, et al., (2011); Aswicahyono, Hill, et al., (2011); and Schettkat & Yocarini (2006), the manufacturing industry sector in Indonesia is also decreasing its role in the absorption of labor.

Referring to the published data of The Asian Development Bank Statistical Database System, it appears that during the period 1990-1996, the manufacturing sector was the second highest contributor to the growth in Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) after the construction sector (11.2%). The sectoral output growth contributed to 6.0% of employment in this sector. The Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998 subsequently had a significant impact on the decline in Indonesia's total GDP growth. The same thing happened to the growth of each sector. The decline in GDP growth in the manufacturing sector was 5.0%, followed by a negative elasticity of labor growth, so employment in the manufacturing sector in the 2000-2008 period was only 0.9%. This condition is the lowest percentage of labor growth, especially among the non-agricultural sector groups in Indonesia.

The low contribution of the manufacturing sector to employment in Indonesia has continued for the past decade. This condition is described in Figure 1, in which the labor absorption in the manufacturing sector in the shown years tends to stagnate (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2020b). It is also reflected by the curve of the percentage of labor absorption, which tends to be flat in the range of 12.7-13.8% for the last ten years (2010-2019). Similar conditions to the manufacturing sector also occur in the labor curve in other industrial sectors as well as in the mining and energy sectors. On the other hand, although the agricultural sector cumulatively has a higher number of workers compared to the previous three sectors, the percentage of labor absorption has continued to decline in the last decade.
On the other hand, the services sector in Indonesia shows an increasing trend every year (Figure 1). In 1995, around 34.9% of the workforce in Indonesia was absorbed into the services sector, which increased to 42.33% in 2010. This percentage continued to skyrocket until the services sector absorbed almost 50% of the total population aged more than 15 years working in Indonesia in 2019 (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2020b). The Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics recorded the number of workers in the services sector in 2019 as many as 62,229,556 people aged 15 years, or about 3.6 times higher than workers in the manufacturing sector, which were only around 17,200,000 workers.

The shifting of labor between sectors can occur in two different economic conditions: stable and crisis. During an economic crisis, which usually triggers an economic slowdown, this will be followed by a sharp decline in demand. As a result, there was a significant decrease in output, resulting in the rationalization of the workforce. Workers who lose their jobs can look for alternative jobs, one of which is by moving to other sectors or even switching to the non-formal sector. Shifting of labor tends to move to sectors that are categorized as "safety nets" in the economy, such as the non-formal sector (Aswicahyono, Brooks, et al., 2011; Aswicahyono, Hill, et al., 2011; Permata et al., 2010). For example, the 1997 crisis in Indonesia greatly impacted the dynamics and structure of employment in Indonesia. It caused a relatively high shift from formal to
informal sectors. In 1998, the informal sector experienced an increase in share from 62.8% in 1997 to 65.4% in 1998 (Permata et al., 2010).

Another example is the change in the face of the Indonesian economy due to the impact of the Covid 19 pandemic. In 2020, the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics recorded a surge in unemployment from 5.23% to 7.07%, or the addition was equivalent to 2.67 million unemployed. On the other hand, the increase in underemployment was even higher, reaching 10.19%, which occurred as a result of a large number of job cuts due to the implementation of the Large-Scale Social Restrictions (PSBB) and the enforcement of Community Activities Restrictions (PPKM). During the pandemic, people have transitioned to various economic activities in the services business sector to obtain alternative income. Thus, the share of the informal sector in Indonesia increased to around 62% in 2020, while the formal sector fell drastically to less than 40% (Pratomo, 2022).

Analysis of the changing dynamics of employment during the crisis due to the pandemic has recently become a very interesting issue to discuss. One of the indications that indicate this structural change is the shifting of labor to sectors that can become a "safety net" for meeting the necessities of life (Permata et al., 2010; dan Pratomo & Manning, 2022). By referring to the data and preliminary explanation above, this research will analyze the occurrence of labor shifts between sectors in Indonesia by utilizing survey data from The Indonesian National Labor Force Survey (NLFS) in 2021. More specifically, this research aims to provide a detailed description of the shifting of labor from the manufacturing sector to the services sector in Indonesia.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

BPS-Statistics Indonesia (2020a) mentions the term Job mobility as another word for labor shift. Job mobility is defined as moving jobs and/or employment status so they no longer have ties with the business (job) or organization where they worked before.

Job mobility is a concept that describes the movement of jobs at the individual level. If the concept of migration raised is only limited to the physical movement of individuals across geographical boundaries of the region, then job mobility is movement in a nonphysical form. The concept of job mobility is closely related to labor behavior at work and in the job market (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2020a). In economics, job movement/mobility is often termed labor shift or transition.
One of the ways between labor movements occurs due to high growth in one sector of the economy. Usually, this sector will be the leading sector of the economy. This unbalanced growth between economic sectors is a hallmark of structural change. Krüger (2008) mentions that structural change in the economy implies that some industries or sectors experience faster long-term growth than others, leading to shifts in the shares of these industries or sectors in the total aggregate.

In line with the thinking of Krüger (2008), another study by Bae-Geun (2020) also mentioned that Sectoral shifts in employment from manufacturing to services are viewed as a structural transformation that occurs over a long time. In his paper, Bae-Geun shows that relatively faster technological advances in the manufacturing sector (henceforth, manufacturing-specific technology shocks) cause both sectoral shifts and comovements in employment. On the other hand, Sasaki (2007) investigates how the employment shift from manufacturing toward service sectors affects the rate of economic growth when services play their role in intermediate and final demand.

According to Dartanto et al. (2020) in Tasmilah et al. (2023), several factors drive economic mobility, including educational attainment, formal employment, water and electricity supply, land ownership, and health investment. This statement means labor transitions are also taking place to improve workers’ welfare. The decision to carry out online work mobility to obtain appropriate acceptance for the fulfillment of the needs of life. As Hohberg & Lay (2015) explained, minimum wages in developing countries are a possible instrument to allow workers a decent standard of living.

3 METHODOLOGY

A quantitative approach was used in this work with a descriptive statistical method using cross-tabulation. It was used as a tool for analyzing the results in accordance with the research objectives. Individual-level data covering 34 provinces in Indonesia, namely Indonesian workers who transitioned from their main job in the manufacturing sector and moved to a new one in the services sector, were used. The data type used is secondary data from The National Labor Force Survey (NFLS) in 2021 provided by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics.
4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LABORS WHO MOVED FROM MAIN JOBS IN THE MANUFACTURING TO THE SERVICES SECTOR

The results of The NFLS data processing show that 1,859 workers in Indonesia moved from their main job in the manufacturing sector to the services sector in 2021. In more detail, Figure 2 describes the characteristics and information on labor respondents who transitioned to the services sector.

The labor respondents who shifted from manufacturing to the services sector are dominated by male workers and are concentrated in respondents aged 16 to 55 (Figure 2). The dominance of males in the characteristics of labor movement between sectors in Indonesia does not only occur in the movement from manufacturing to the services sector. Research conducted by Pratiwi et al. (2020) and Lestari (2020) shows that the proportion of male workers is always higher in all types of inter-sector movement in the three main sectors, agriculture, industry, and services. This condition is in line with the role of men, especially those with the status of the head of the household as the family's economic support.
Meanwhile, Suryaningsih et al. (2023) in her research on Indonesian women migrant workers at the border, explained that the role of women in the labor transition is said to have increased in the last period. In her qualitative research, Blabla explained that household income is no longer a husband’s responsibility but has shifted to expecting women to contribute to the family economy. The difficulty of finding a job in the neighborhood causes women to decide to migrate to find work abroad. In more detail, the increasing number of women migrating to get a job is also driven by poverty and women’s significant responsibility to family welfare (Yuarsi, 2002; in Suryaningsih et al., 2023).

When viewed from educational background, only 7.61% of respondents have completed the minimum education level of a diploma, and most of them are high school graduates (Figure 2). The quality of the workforce, one of which is also influenced by the level of education graduated. In Affandi et al., (2018) and Anugrah et al., (2018), it is explained that a qualified workforce will cause productivity to increase. The quality of the workforce is reflected in the level of education, skills, experience, and maturity of the workforce in working.

The status as the head of the household, with the responsibility to provide economic support for the family, is also the main characteristic of the decision to shift to the services sector. Furthermore, the status as a child in the family (31.32%) is also one of the main characteristics of the respondents.

Furthermore, Table 1 summarizes the main reasons workers engage in job mobility. There are three main reasons for workers moving from the manufacturing sector to the services sector: internal, external, and COVID-19. Internal reasons come from within the workforce, such as unsatisfactory income, unsuitable work environment, and not following the expertise/skills possessed (42.57%). Based on NLFS data (2021), information was obtained that the highest internal reason for workers to carry out mobility was that the amount of income received was unsatisfactory (22.95 percent). In contrast, external reasons are causes that come from the external environment, such as layoffs, business stopping or going bankrupt, and the expiration of work/contract (49.72). Termination of employment and business stopping/bankruptcy are the two highest reasons for external factors (NFLS, 2021).

Although during 2021, the labor market is still facing a pandemic atmosphere, the spread of the coronavirus does not necessarily become the main reason respondents quit their previous job and then move to work in another sector. It is evident from the survey
results, which explain that only 7.72% of respondents stated that: (i) they feared being infected with the coronavirus, and (ii) social/physical distancing was the cause of quitting their previous job and moving to a new job in the services sector. When referring to the results of (Pratomo, 2022), it could be this condition where the labor market is getting better in the second year of the crisis due to vaccinations, and more workers are starting to adapt to the unfavorable situation due to the pandemic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Main reason percentage</th>
<th>Reasons detail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. | 42.57% for internal reasons | • unsatisfied with the income  
• inconvenience in a work environment  
• and not in accordance with the expertise/skills possessed |
| 2. | 49.72% for external reasons | • termination of employment  
• business bankruptcy  
• end of contract  
• taking care of household |
| 3. | 7.72% for related to Covid-19 reasons | • fear of the covid-19 infection  
• social/physical distancing, self-quarantine, PPKM |

Source: National Labor Force Survey, 2021

4.2 LABORS SHIFTING TO THE SERVICES SECTOR ACCORDING TO EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND JOB CLASSIFICATION

The question then arises, where is the position of the labor respondents after shifting to the services sector? To answer this question, two approaches will be used to describe the position of workers who shifted to the services sector. The first is seen through the respondent’s employment status, and the second is viewed through the level of expertise in the work determined based on the 2014 Indonesian Standard Position Classification (KBJI).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>39.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>24.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Casual Non-Agricultural Worker</td>
<td>14.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Unpaid family worker</td>
<td>10.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Employer with temporary worker/unpaid worker</td>
<td>9.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Employer with permanent/paid worker</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Labor Force Survey, 2021

Table 2 describes the position of workers by employment status. It can be seen that most industrial sector workers who moved to the services sector are employees
Some occupations include employee status, e.g., civil servant/military, factory worker, and bank officer. In the second position, with 24.68% on average, most workers who moved to the services sector are self-employed. This data shows the high independence and entrepreneurial spirit of workers who shifted to the services sector, considering that they left their main job in the industrial sector to work independently and run their businesses. Some examples of work done by self-employed workers are selling food, online motorcycle taxis, conventional motorcycle taxis, selling other types of needs besides food, and even land brokers. Meanwhile, in his previous research, Pratomo (2016) also described own-account workers and those assisted by family members or temporary workers as self-employed workers.

Status as a casual non-agricultural worker is also part of three higher employment statuses for workers who moved from manufacturing to the services sector (Table 2). Around 14.47% of respondents are at casual non-agricultural worker status after moving to the services sector. Casual non-agricultural workers worked in the non-agricultural sector and had more than one employer in the past month or could also work without a permanent employer. Some jobs included in this status, e.g., as a porter in the traditional market, station or other places; laundry services offered door to door; construction worker; parking attendant, worked without a permanent employer (BPS-Statistics Indonesia, 2021).

Apart from being seen from the job status, the classification of the respondents' job status can also be seen from the type of position in the job, which is determined through the level of the respondent's expertise in work. The classification of types of job positions in the 2021 NFLS was determined based on the 2014 Indonesian Standard Classification of Position (Klasifikasi Baku Jabatan Indonesia/KBJI), which refers to the 2008 International Standard Classification of Occupations (International Labour Organization, 2012; and Ministry of Manpower & BPS, 2014). The type of job title is determined based on the breadth and complexity of the set of tasks—the wider and more complex the set of tasks, the higher the expertise required for this position. Operational skill level is also measured by the years of formal education, training, and relevant experience normally required to complete a series of tasks satisfactorily.

The 2014 Indonesian Standard Classification (KBJI 2014) distinguishes the workforce into four levels of expertise, where Level 1 indicates the type of job/position with the lowest skill qualifications, and Qualification 4 indicates the highest level of
expertise. The description of the skill level of the labor who shifted to the services sector from the industrial sector is illustrated in Figure 2. It can be seen that most (almost 70%) respondents have expertise at level 2. Workers with level 2 expertise, according to the 2014 KBJI, are workers with equivalent educational competencies with junior and senior high school. Some jobs also require special vocational education, which is done after completing junior high school education. Jobs that fall into this level include Clerical Support Workers; Services and Sales Workers; Skilled Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery Workers; Craft and Related Trades Workers; Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers.

![Figure 3. Distribution of Labor Shifting to the Services Sector by Expertise Level](image)


Most of the labors in the manufacturing sector who moved to the services sector are dominated by workers with skill level 2 (Figure 3). This indicates that workers with moderate skill levels indeed dominate them. This condition is possible because, generally, only workers from the informal sector can easily move. In contrast, those who work in the formal sector in the industrial sector generally have a more stable type of work and income. Thus, they prefer to stay in their main job in the industrial sector. Looking back at Figure 2, only 6% of the respondents have the same qualifications as managers and professionals (levels 3 and 4).
4.3 LABOR EXPERTISE LEVEL BY AGE AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS AFTER MOVING TO THE SERVICES SECTOR

Table 3 describes the three levels/qualifications of Indonesian workers (KBJI 2014) according to their job type/status. On average, workers who moved from the manufacturing sector to the services sector in 2021 were mostly employees at every skill level. In workers with basic skills (level 1), after the second most employees are casual non-agricultural workers (37.06%). This condition is in line with conditions where workers with basic knowledge (at level 1) are generally more absorbed in the field of work classified as a non-formal sector (Tridiana & Widyawati, 2019; and Gunawan & Prayudhani, 2019).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Level of Expertise (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Level 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>7.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Employer with temporary worker/</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unpaid worker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Employer with permanent/paid worker</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>45.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Casual Agricultural Worker</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Casual Non-Agricultural Worker</td>
<td>37.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Unpaid family worker</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Labor Force Survey, 2021

In contrast to workers at Level 1, workers who are at the middle-skill (level 2) and high skill (levels 3 and 4) levels, in addition to being employees, also occupy many positions in the field of work with self-employed status after moving from the manufacturing sector to the services sector (31.38% and 19.63% respectively). Workers at these two levels generally have higher skills and expertise than at level 1.

4.4 IS THE INCOME OF THE NEW JOB IN THE SERVICES SECTOR REACHING THE MINIMUM INCOME?

As described in Table 1, the highest reason for respondents to shift to a new job in the services sector was that the income received in the previous main job was not satisfactory. This indicates that respondents expect additional income in their new jobs in the services sector. As mentioned by Ezcurra-Zavaleta et al. (2023), this similar condition also occurred in Peru, where approximately one-third of workers in Peru are forced to look for other work to supplement their income. And it is caused by the highest dissatisfaction of the remuneration they earn from their job.
The analysis of the 2021 NLFS data shows that respondents' income from work/business activities in one month is very diverse. If the respondent's income from his main job is in the services sector in a month, compared to the minimum wage that applies in each district/city where the respondent lives, then around 75.49% of respondents who work in the category of position/skill level 2 have an income lower than the minimum wage applicable to the district/city where they live. In addition, only 24.27% of respondents earn more than the minimum wage, and 0.24% earn the same as the prevailing minimum wage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Level of Expertise (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Level 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real income &lt; Minimum Wage (at the district/city level)</td>
<td>84.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real income &gt; Minimum Wage (at the district/city level)</td>
<td>15.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Labor Force Survey, 2021

Yet, the labors in the expertise category of levels 3 and 4 (manager and professional levels), with a total of 21.50%, have earned a monthly income above the average minimum wage prevailing in their region. While workers with basic skill and knowledge (Level 1), only 15.32% of them received income above the minimum wage in 2021.

Another benchmark that can be used to determine a decent life for workers is to compare the monthly income of respondents with income that meets decent standards for middle-class workers (World Bank, 2021). These labors must be categorized as middle-class workers in order to enjoy a decent life. According to the World Bank, middle-class workers in Indonesia must earn an income equal to or above (more than) IDR 3,752,000 per month to be able to meet their consumption needs with a decent standard of living. This value is obtained using the following formula:

\[
MIC_{w, min} = \frac{(3.5 \times PL \times 4)}{1.5} \quad \text{.......... (1)}
\]

where:

- \( PL \) is the national poverty line of middle-class employment, and the number 3.5 is the consumption threshold of the middle class, estimated at around 3.5 times the poverty line per capita. Subsequently, the value of 4 represents the average number of household members, and 1.5 is the income received by middle-
class households, assuming one household consists of one full-time adult worker and one part-time adult worker.

The income position of workers who shifted to the services sector can also be determined by referring to the benchmarks set by the World Bank. The results of processed NFLS data show that around 85.69% of respondents in the services sector earn below the World Bank's middle-class standard for Indonesia (< IDR 3,752,000 per month). The remaining 14.31% can be said to have been able to access a decent life because they earn above the standard of Indonesian middle-class workers (> IDR 3,752,000 per month).

5 CONCLUSION

The transition of labors from the main job in the manufacturing sector to the services sector in Indonesia, according to the 2021 NLFS data, is dominated by male workers, who, on average, are in the age range of 16 – 23 years old, with high school education being the highest education completed by most of the respondents. The factor of dissatisfaction with income in the previous job was the most cited reason as the main reason for transitioning to the services sector. Around 39.20% of the labours have employee status in their main job in the services sector, and concerning the 2014 KBJI, the average is in the position/skill level 2 category. In addition, only 22.17% of respondents earn more than the minimum wage, and 14.31% earn above the standard of Indonesian middle-class workers (> IDR 3,752,000 per month).

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Tables: Vol. I.


