



Isomorphic Mimicry and Social Inclusion: an Analysis of the Capability of Wonosobo District Government in Implementing the Inclusive Education Policy

Fernandito Dikky Marsetyo ^{(a)*}, Nurhadi ^(a)

^(a) Universitas Gadjah Mada

* Corresponding Author, Address: Socio Justicia Street No. 2, Departement of Social Development & Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Email: fernandito.d@mail.ugm.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Article History

Submitted 30 September 2020

Revised 25 November 2020

Accepted 30 December 2020

Keyword:

Capability,
Isomorphic
Mimicry, Disability,
Social Inclusion,
Inclusive Education
Policy.

This article examines the implementation of the inclusive education policy to provide educational services for children with disabilities. Using a conceptual framework concerning disability and social inclusion, and isomorphic mimicry and capability, this article aims to explain Wonosobo District Government's capability in implementing inclusive education policy. This article is based on a qualitative study, using a case study approach with descriptive analysis. We argue that Wonosobo District Government's capability to implement inclusive education policy is in a weak or limited position (weak capability). This is a depiction of isomorphic mimicry, where the inclusive education policy in Wonosobo District seems to be functional. As its implication, children with disabilities are vulnerable to being excluded from obtaining inclusive education services.

Introduction

Inclusive education is an educational concept focused on all children's participation in education, especially children who have been vulnerable to be excluded or marginalized in the mainstream of the education system. In some literature, although there are contributions to frame the inclusive education as a concept directed to all (especially children who are from vulnerable and marginalized



groups), there is a universal agreement that the concept of inclusive education is directed to persons with disabilities.¹ Historically, disability has been the focus on special education concerning strategies, approaches and special teaching for children with disabilities.² After Salamanca Declaration and the issue of UN Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) as the legal basis for the rights of persons with disabilities, several conditions change in the countries around the world, especially the universal commitment of all countries in striving for the participation of all children in education.³ Children with disabilities, who also have the right to access education, are included.

The concept of inclusive education that focuses on all children's participation, especially those who are most vulnerable, is also reflected in the goal of Education for All (EFA) adopted by the international community from the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000. In its goal, EFA puts special emphasis on children who are vulnerable and in difficult conditions,⁴ but does not explicitly mention persons with disabilities. However, Booth argues that inclusive education and EFA can be seen as a similar framework because both have a focus on removing barriers to everyone's participation in education.⁵ As an impact, EFA framework leads to the adoption of inclusive policy and its practices into education policy implementation practices in all countries.⁶

¹ Florian Kiuppis, "Why (Not) Associate the Principle of Inclusion with Disability? Tracing Connections from the Start of the Salamanca Process," *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 18, no. 17 (2014): 746–61, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2013.826289>.

² Leda Kamenopoulou, *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South, Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72829-2>.

³ Kamenopoulou, *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*.

⁴ UNESCO, "The Dakar Framework for Action," 2000.

⁵ Tony Booth, "Viewing Inclusion from Adistance: Gaining Perspective from Comparative Study," *Support for Learning* 14, no. 4 (1999): 164–168, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9604.00124>.

⁶ Kamenopoulou, *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*.

Studies related to the implementation of inclusive education policies are repetitive themes in inclusive education literature.⁷ The main topic frequently discussed is the problem in implementing the inclusive education policy. Although most countries around the world have agreed on the global goal for inclusive education, the studies show that there are differences in the policy implementation of inclusive education in each country.⁸ In the context of “northern-southern countries”, studies show that northern countries face problems in the form of hard curriculum burdens and teachers’ fatigue. In contrast, southern countries face problems ranging from poverty, socio-economic inequality to conflict.⁹ Another study was conducted by Pakenkov et al., who carried out a comparative analysis between the inclusive education in India and Russia.¹⁰ The study asserts that the two countries’ main problem are inadequate policy, financial and human resources. Another study was conducted by Dukpa and Kamenopoulou in Bhutan and Villamero and Kamenopoulou in the Philippines.¹¹ Both studies show that even though there are

⁷ Sara Carnovali, “The Right to Inclusive Education of Persons with Disabilities in Italy. Reflections and Perspectives,” *Athens Journal of Education* 4, no. 4 (2017): 315–26, <https://doi.org/10.30958/aje.4-4-1>; Amanda Watkins and Cor Meijer, *Implementing Inclusive Education: Issues in Bridging the Policy-Practice Gap: Volume 8*, ed. Chris Forlin (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2016).

⁸ Fiona Smyth et al., “Inclusive Education in Progress: Policy Evolution in Four European Countries,” *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 29, no. 4 (2014): 433–45, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856257.2014.922797>; Diana Vásquez Orjuela, “Políticas de Inclusión Educativa: Una Comparación Entre Colombia y Chile,” *Educación y Educadores* 18, no. 1 (2015): 45–61, <https://doi.org/10.5294/edu.2015.18.1.3>.

⁹ Leda Kamenopoulou, Jorun Buli-Holmberg, and Jan Siska, “An Exploration of Student Teachers’ Perspectives at the Start of a Post-Graduate Master’s Programme on Inclusive and Special Education,” *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 20, no. 7 (2015): 743–55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2015.1111445>; Sue Stubbs, *Inclusive Education Where There Are Few Resources* (Oslo: Atlas Alliance, 2008).

¹⁰ Oleg V Pavenkov, “Inclusive Education in India and Russia: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Frameworks,” *Russian Social Science Review* 57, no. 3 (2016): 111–21.

¹¹ Dawa Dukpa and Dukpa Kamenopoulou, “The Conceptualisation of Inclusion and Disability in Bhutan,” in *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 55–79; Rolando Villamero and Leda Kamenopoulou, “Teachers’ Assessment Strategies for Children with Disabilities: A Constructivist Study in Mainstream Primary Schools in Negros Oriental, Philippines,” in *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 83–106.

inclusive education policy initiatives, the policy is inadequate and cannot be implemented.

Indonesia, which adopts the inclusive education policy, is also not free from similar problems. Since the enactment of the Regulation of National Education Minister/*Permendiknas (Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional)* No.70/2009, the ratification of UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), and the establishment of Law of the Republic Indonesia of Indonesia No.8/2016 concerning persons with disabilities, the country has acknowledged the rights of persons with disabilities to education. The country guarantees the inclusive education system's implementation at all educational levels without discrimination and based on equal opportunities. Then, it becomes the basis for implementing the inclusive education policy in Indonesia.

However, the facts show that the discourse on inclusive education in Indonesia, has persistently experienced various complicated problems from the beginning until now. On the policy side, there are findings in the form of unpreparedness of the local government in implementing the policy,¹² the unavailability of evaluation to determine the quality and progress of the inclusive education implementation,¹³ as well as the inadequate allocation of human and financial resources.¹⁴ The series of problems at the policy level has implications for the implementation of inclusive education in schools. The main problems that occur are unpreparedness of

¹² Halim Jaya Persada and Mohammad Efendi, "Studi Kasus Implementasi Layanan Pendidikan Inklusif di Kota Madiun," *Jurnal ORTOPEDAGOGIA* 4, no. 1 (2018): 7–11, <https://doi.org/10.17977/um031v4i12018p007>.

¹³ Muchamad Irvan and Muhammad Nurrohman Jauhari, "Implementasi Pendidikan Inklusif Sebagai Perubahan Paradigma Pendidikan di Indonesia," *Jurnal FKIP Unipa Surabaya Tahun XIV* 14, no. 26 (2018): 175–187, <https://doi.org/10.36456/bp.vol14.no26.al683>.

¹⁴ Haryono, Ahmad Syaifudin, and Sri Widiastuti, "Evaluasi Pendidikan Inklusif Bagi Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus (ABK) di Provinsi Jawa Tengah," *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Unnes* 32, no. 2 (2015): 119–26, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jpp.v32i2.5057>.

teachers,¹⁵ lack of availability of Special Education Needs (SEN) teaching assistants,¹⁶ inadequate facilities and infrastructure,¹⁷ as well as schools that still limit the students who can be accepted.¹⁸

Seeing the reality, Schuelka satirically argues that the results of research on inclusive education are already at a “saturation point”, because they only show a gap between policy and its implementation.¹⁹ Although every country in the world has initiatives to implement inclusive education policy, in reality, the policy is not well-implemented.²⁰ Starting from that point, this article emphasizes the need for a new perspective in the study of the implementation of inclusive education policy as an effort to solve the problem of saturation. The point of view used in this article is the capability in the policy implementation.

Thus, this article aims to explain how Wonosobo Government’s capability to implement inclusive education policy. This article will begin with an explanation of the concept of disability and social inclusion and isomorphic mimicry and capability. Furthermore, in the discussion, the authors will analyze the dynamics of inclusive education policy, both at the policymakers and at the school level. Next, this paper will end with a discussion of findings and recommendations for inclusive education policy development.

¹⁵ J. C. Pratiwi, “Sekolah Inklusi Untuk Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus: Tanggapan Terhadap Tantangan Kedeputannya,” in *Meretas Sukses Publikasi Ilmiah Bidang Pendidikan Jurnal Bereputasi*, 2015, 237–42.

¹⁶ Dieni Laylatul Zakia, “Guru Pembimbing Khusus (GPK): Pilar Pendidikan Inklusi,” in *Meretas Sukses Publikasi Ilmiah Bidang Pendidikan Jurnal Bereputasi*, 2015, 110–16.

¹⁷ Haryono, Syaifudin, and Widiastuti, “Evaluasi Pendidikan Inklusif Bagi Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus (ABK) di Provinsi Jawa Tengah.”

¹⁸ Sulthon, “Pendidikan Dasar Inklusif di Kabupaten Pati: Harapan dan Kenyataan,” *Inklusi* 6, no. 1 (2019): 151–172, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.060107>.

¹⁹ Mj Schuelka, “Inclusive Education in Bhutan: A Small State with Alternative Priorities.,” *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 15, no. 1 (2012): 145–56.

²⁰ Kamenopoulou, *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*.

The authors used a qualitative research method to answer the question through a case study approach with descriptive analysis.²¹ The case study approach is used to analyze phenomena that occur in a limited context.²² In this case, the authors chose Wonosobo District as the study location because it has a unique context in implementing inclusive education policies. It is based on two contexts. First, this policy has been implemented since 2006. Second, Wonosobo District has various regional regulations that support the implementation of an inclusive education policy. The case study approach in this research emphasizes the Wonosobo Regency Government's capability in implementing inclusive education policies.

The author conducted interviews with 21 people consisting of four categories of stakeholders, including local government, schools (principals and teachers), parents and students, and the community. Meanwhile, the determination of informants is based on purposive sampling technique. The data collection techniques used were in-depth interviews and observations, including pre-research observations. The authors conducted a mapping of the parties involved in the inclusive education policy ecosystem. Besides using primary data, the authors also use secondary data in the form of central and local government regulatory documents, documents from the Education, Youth and Sports Office of Wonosobo District, and documents belonging to SMP N 3 Wonosobo and SMP N 1 Kepil.

Disability and Social Inclusion

Disability is not a vacuum concept; it is a multi-dimensional and multi-factor concept that needs to be understood from its

²¹ Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack, "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers," *The Qualitative Report* 13, no. 4 (2008): 544-559.

²² A. M. Miles, & Huberman, M. B. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (2nd Ed.), (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994), p. 336; See also, A. M Miles, & Huberman, M. B. *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994).

inception until the present.²³ Therefore, in understanding the concept of disability, it is necessary to look at the context and perspectives behind it. In this paper, disability perspectives that will be discussed are cultural, medical, social, social-relational and human rights models. The development of disability was initially dominated by the cultural perspective (cultural model of disability). Disability is understood as destiny or karma, which makes persons with disabilities need to accept and think positively about their condition, that God has chosen them to be in such condition for a purpose.²⁴ This viewpoint will result in a policy that requires persons to feel sorry for persons with disabilities and make their lives become a mirror of gratitude. The understanding of the cultural model develops in the study of disability and cultural context.²⁵

In its development, the debate on the concept of disability started from a perspective called medical model (medical model of disability) which later on becomes an important theme in discussions of disability. The model views that disabilities are individuals who have medical problems.²⁶ The individuals are seen powerless to carry out “normal” daily activities due to their limited physical and/or mental conditions.²⁷ The use of the term either, physical, biological, or mental disability, is associated with this perspective.²⁸

²³ See, Tom Shakespeare, *Disability: The Basics* (Routledge, 2018).

²⁴ Arif Maftuhin, “Mendefinisikan Kota Inklusif: Asal-Usul, Teori dan Indikator,” *Tata Loka* 19, no. 2 (2017): 93–103, <https://doi.org/10.14710/tataloka.19.2.93-103>.

²⁵ Matthew J. Schuelka, “The Evolving Construction and Conceptualisation of ‘Disability’ in Bhutan,” *Disability & Society* 30, no. 6 (2015): 820–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2015.1052043>.

²⁶ Meilanny Budiarto Santoso and Nurliana Cipta Apsari, “Pergeseran Paradigma dalam Disabilitas,” *INTERMESTIC: Journal of International Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): 166–176, <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v1n2.6>.

²⁷ Sofiana Millati, “Social-Relational Model dalam Undang-Undang Penyandang Disabilitas” 3, no. 2 (2016): 285–304, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.030207>.

²⁸ Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, *The New Politics of Disablement, The New Politics of Disablement* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-39244-1>.

Persons with disabilities are considered as parties who can be changed or rehabilitated, while society is the party that is 'as it is', is not wrong, and is not a determinant factor in disability.²⁹ Therefore, persons with disabilities must be confident, sure, and willing to make efforts to successfully overcome their own disabilities. Moreover, in this viewpoint, society must be generous towards persons with disabilities,³⁰ so that at this point, the medical model has a common thread with the cultural model.

The concept of disability in the viewpoint of the medical model then received much criticism. Greenstein argues that the emergence of a professional regime for disability puts individuals as the object of medical practice and treatment.³¹ Meanwhile, Greenstein argues that disability cannot be seen as a disease or physical handicap, but disability is a conceptual knowledge reproduced from medical institutions' power.³² Medical practice makes persons with disabilities vulnerable to stigmatization and labelling. They are widely viewed as subjects who do not have physical and/or mental abilities that function and are seen 'different'.³³

Therefore, disability activists propose fundamentally different perspective on disability which was then called the social model (social model of disability).³⁴ This viewpoint started from the argument that a person becomes disabled not because of his physical condition but because of the community's social conditions.³⁵ The

²⁹ Arif Maftuhin, "Mengikat Makna Diskriminasi: Penyandang Cacat, Difabel, dan Penyandang Disabilitas," *Inklusi* 3, no. 2 (2016): 139–162, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.030201>.

³⁰ A. Llewellyn and K. Hogan, "The Use and Abuse of Models of Disability," *Disability and Society* 15, no. 1 (2000): 157–165, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590025829>.

³¹ Shakespeare, *Disability: The Basics*.

³² Anat Greenstein, *Radical Inclusive Education: Disability, Teaching and Struggles for Liberation, Radical Inclusive Education: Disability, Teaching and Struggles for Liberation* (London: Routledge, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315690483>.

³³ Program Peduli, *Understanding Social Exclusion in Indonesia*, 2016.

³⁴ Michael Oliver, *The Politics of Disablement, The Politics of Disablement* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1990).

³⁵ R. Daniel Kelemen and Lisa Vanhala, "The Shift to the Rights Model of Disability in the EU

social model describes disability as a social construction created through discrimination and oppression. Persons with disabilities are oppressed by a society obsessed with normality; and therefore, persons with disabilities are socially constructed and stigmatized as weak subjects.³⁶ Exclusion of persons with disabilities is then politically analyzed due to the barriers and discrimination committed by society.³⁷ It has marginalized the existence of persons with disabilities so that they do not get their human rights. As Shakespeare explained, a person becomes disabled because of society, not because of himself.³⁸ It means that the social environment of society makes a person disabled. This viewpoint is then generally stated as the social model.

During its development, the social model also receives criticism and is seen as not solving the problems faced by persons with disabilities. The criticism started from the argument that disability-related explanations were too politicized.³⁹ The social model sees disability as a form of social and political construction so that society is considered failed to fulfil persons with disabilities' rights. This understanding underlies the movement of persons with disabilities' organizations at the global level. However, other factors related to disability conditions cannot be ignored. Disability occurs because of various factors. Problems related to disability cannot be reduced to biological, psychological or social problems. All factors need to be considered, and stakeholders at all levels need to contribute. Both

and Canada," *Regional and Federal Studies* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597560903174766>.

³⁶ Tom Hutchison, "The Classification of Disability," *Archives of Disease in Childhood* 73, no. 2 (1995): 91–99, <https://doi.org/10.1136/adc.73.2.91>.

³⁷ Theresia Degener, "A New Human Rights Model of Disability," in *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: A Commentary* (Springer International Publishing, 2017), https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43790-3_2.

³⁸ Shakespeare, *Disability: The Basics*.

³⁹ Solveig Magnus Reindal, "A Social Relational Model of Disability: A Theoretical Framework for Special Needs Education?," *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 23, no. 2 (2008): 135–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856250801947812>.

the medical and social models have contributed to the development of the concept of disability.⁴⁰ The dichotomy between the medical and social models will make the perspective of disability one-sided and partial.

Scholars on disability agree that there is a need for balanced analysis between physical-biological and socio-political aspects in assessing disability. Therefore, the viewpoint that then arises is a social-relational model that emerges as an alternative to a comprehensive framework in viewing disability.⁴¹ Reindal argues that the social-relational model approach aims to link the influence between physical handicaps in individuals and social, political, and cultural conditions that see disability as a complete and undivided phenomenon.⁴² Persons with disabilities require various interventions according to their conditions, both medical and rehabilitation, assistive devices, psychological support, social protection, legal protection, and cultural changes.⁴³

Arguments in the social-relational model approach also interconnect with the human rights approach (human rights model of disability). The interconnection point lies in the shared ideas and viewpoints that persons with disabilities have human rights and require various interventions. The difference is that the human rights model seeks to institutionalize values that recognize human dignity into disability policy.⁴⁴ All persons with disabilities have the right to be legally recognized as “human beings” before the law. The emergence of a human rights model approach coincided with the presence of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

⁴⁰ Michael Palmer and David Harley, “Models and Measurement in Disability: An International Review,” *Health Policy and Planning* 27, no. 5 (2012): 357–64, <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czr047>.

⁴¹ Millati, “Social-Relational Model dalam Undang-Undang Penyandang Disabilitas.

⁴² Reindal, “A Social Relational Model of Disability: A Theoretical Framework for Special Needs Education?”

⁴³ Shakespeare, *Disability: The Basics*.

⁴⁴ Degener, “A New Human Rights Model of Disability.”

(CRPD). The CRPD aims to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity.⁴⁵ This model then becomes the basis for making inclusive policies as an effort to fulfil the basic human rights (securing basic rights) and as a form of assurance that persons with disabilities are parts of society.

Isomorphic Mimicry and Capability

Pritchett introduces the concept of isomorphic mimicry in his book entitled "The Rebirth of Education: Schooling Ain't Learning".⁴⁶ Isomorphic mimicry is taken from a biological term, which is animals's ability to perform mimicry, an ability to survive by camouflage (changing the color of their skin), according to where they are, without having the same function. More specifically, isomorphic mimicry is a process of adopting the "best practice" which is limited to forms and procedures without understanding the root of the problems to be solved through the best practice.⁴⁷ Pritchett, in his writing, explains using an analogy as follows: Isomorphism is described as the adoption of the act to "look like" rather than to "do". Isomorphic mimicry encourages the systems and structures in the state building focused on form and not on function. The best practice is adopted so that the state looks like a functional state. In the context of education, Pritchett argues that many educational systems in different parts of the world camouflage, rather than appear to be functional education systems as explained below:

Some schooling systems are like a Bollywood set, just realistic

⁴⁵ United Nations, "CRPD," Treaty Series (2006).

⁴⁶ Lant Pritchett, *The Rebirth of Education: Schooling Ain't Learning*, Center for Global Development (Washington, D. C.: Center for Global Development, 2013).

⁴⁷ Lant Pritchett, Michael Woolcock, and Matt Andrews, "Looking Like a State: Techniques of Persistent Failure in State Capability for Implementation," *Journal of Development Studies* 49, no. 1 (2013): 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2012.709614>.

enough to create the illusion of glitz and glamor for a movie, but nothing more than a facade. Buildings that look like schools but don't produce learning are a facade that deludes children and parents into believing they are getting an education while depriving them of real opportunity.⁴⁸

The drive to camouflage with isomorphic mimicry is increasingly carried out in several countries due to globalization. The international community, such as donor agencies and international institutions, provides the 3P (policy, program, project) to the country, but not the capability to implement the policy.⁴⁹ They become agents that influence the direction of education development in a country. Their support makes the country vulnerable to be shackled in an illusion of progress and trapped Western development and growth logic, or it can be called developmentalism.⁵⁰ In general, the discourse in the logic of developmentalism is merely carried out in the levels of practices, methodologies, and techniques, not at the principle level. The country later believes the way to be the only way to a modern and prosperous society. Modernization acceleration is carried out by adopting a global education policy agenda which is considered as best practice. Andrews et al., mention it as normative isomorphic mimicry, that is when countries are encouraged to adopt global agenda and form of policies identified and recognized as “best practice”.⁵¹

Finally, when the country increasingly carries out isomorphic mimicry, it is vulnerable to the capability trap.⁵² This occurs when the state implements the policy known as the “best practice”, but it is trapped with its capability, which results in policy implementation

⁴⁸ Pritchett, *The Rebirth of Education: Schooling Ain't Learning*, p. 143.

⁴⁹ Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 159.

⁵⁰ See, Mansour Fakhri, *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001).

⁵¹ Lant Pritchett, Michael Woolcock, and Matt Andrews, “Capability Traps in Development,” *Prism* 3, no. 3 (2012): 63–74.

⁵² Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 176.

failure. The study of Chong et al., explains that when all countries adopt the same policy, the results vary and range from complete failure to success.⁵³ This shows another side that the country does not have the adequate capability in implementing a policy. Therefore, the most crucial component for a state to successfully implement a policy is the capability.

Then, what is meant by capability in implementing policy? Beforehand, we need to articulate what is meant by policy and capability. Andrews et al., argue that an ideal policy consists of four constituent elements such as policy formula, organizational process, normative objective, and causal model.⁵⁴ Policy formulas are needed to map conditions and actions that can be taken by agents and organizations. The next integral part is determining which organizations and agents have the authority to take actions.

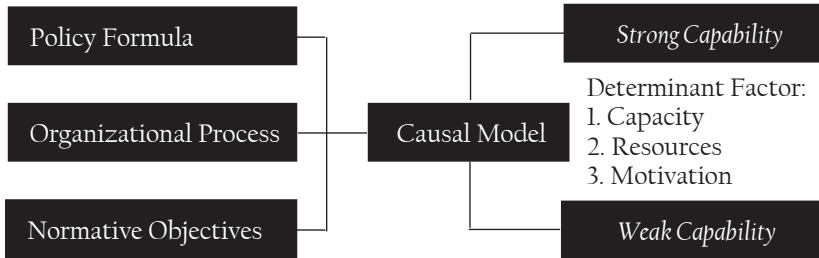
Another vital element is setting policy objectives. Simply, policy objectives will be achieved by the policies that will be implemented. Policy objectives need to be stated both explicitly and implicitly so that agents and organizations can understand the policy's goal. The last element is a causal model, which connects the policy formula (mapping from conditions to agents' actions) with the policy objectives (things want to be achieved by the organization's actions that implement the policy). This is seen as something important. It is because the causal model is rarely made explicit by the organizations. It is an integral part of policy because, in the end, it functions to strengthen the organization's claim as legitimation, both externally and internally to its agents.⁵⁵

⁵³ Alberto Chong et al., "Letter Grading Government Efficiency," *Journal of the European Economic Association* 12, no. 2 (2014): 277–99, <https://doi.org/10.1111/jeea.12076>.

⁵⁴ Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 178.

⁵⁵ Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 182.

Figure 1. The Four Elements of Policy Making



Source: Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, 2017.

Starting from the policy's definition, Andrews et al., further explain the capability to implement policy. According to them, the capability is a condition when an organization finds and acts based on a causal model that has been appropriately set to achieve normative policy objectives.⁵⁶ Capability is not defined as obedience to regulations, because the achievement of goals is not the same as appropriateness or obedience to the regulations. So far, its capability and construction have been separated from goal achievement and reduced to obedience to the regulations. Next, good or strong capability occurs when an agent within an organization takes actions to promote the set objectives. Conversely, organizations with limited or weak capability to implement the policy do not equip their agents with the capacity, resources, and motivation to take actions that promote the predetermined goals.

Inclusive Education Policy in Wonosobo

Wonosobo is one of the regions in Indonesia that implements an inclusive education policy. Initially, Wonosobo appointed one school at each level (SD, SMP, and SMA) as an inclusive school in

⁵⁶ Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 184.

2006.⁵⁷ The number of schools then increases following the issuance of regulation from the National Education Minister in 2009.⁵⁸ Through the regulation, the district government has to appoint at least one primary school (SD) and junior high school (SMP) in each sub-district and one senior high school (SMA/SMK/similar level) to provide inclusive education. After the issuance of the regulation, the number of inclusive schools in Wonosobo increases.

Table 1. Inclusive Schools in Wonosobo District

| SD | SMP | SMA |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| SD N 4 Wonosobo* | SMP N 3 Wonosobo | SMA N 1 Mojotengah |
| SD N Burat Kepil | SMP N 1 Kepil | |
| SD N Rogojati | | |
| SD N Kuripan | | |

Note: *Currently regrouped with SD N 1 Wonosobo

Source: Education, Youth and Sports Office of Wonosobo District, 2020.

In its implementation, the Wonosobo government does not allocate a specific budget for the inclusive implementation; thus, schools need to make independent efforts to continue inclusive education. Therefore, in the first period, there are not many significant developments occur.

In the 2015, the issue of inclusive education began to get excited again. It was motivated by the fact that there were still many children with disabilities in Wonosobo who did not have

⁵⁷ The decree was based on the Decree of the Head of Wonosobo District Education Office Number 421.7/6035/2006 concerning The Appointment of Schools that Implement the Integrated Education (Inclusive) in Wonosobo District Primary and Secondary Levels.

⁵⁸ Minister of National Education Regulation No.70/2009 concerning Inclusive Education for Students with Disabilities and Potential Intelligence and or Special Talents.

access to education. To overcome these problems, the government of Wonosobo initially had the willingness to establish a special public school (SLB) as another strategy so that children with disabilities had access to education. As an illustration, Wonosobo only has one public SLB for the deaf. Meanwhile, other special schools are SLBs owned by foundations or private schools. Therefore, not all children with disabilities can access these schools, especially those from economically weak families.

The willingness to establish a public SLB was even followed up by conducting a comparative study to Pati district and making a detailed plan establish SLB. However, the willingness clashed with school authority handover regulations as the implication of Law of the Republic of Indonesia No.23/2014 on Regional Government. Based on this regulation, the authority to establish SLB is handed over to the provincial government. Therefore, the plan to establish SLB was not carried out. Another implication of this regulation is that the authority to manage SMA also becomes the provincial government's responsibility. In contrast, the district government has the authority to manage SD and SMP. Therefore, the government of Wonosobo tries to maximize the present inclusive schools, so that children with disabilities have access to education.

The community has been informed. If having children who are "less normal" in needing special services, they need to go to such schools. In those schools, although minimalist, the teachers are not like in the special schools. The teachers are prepared to handle such children.⁵⁹

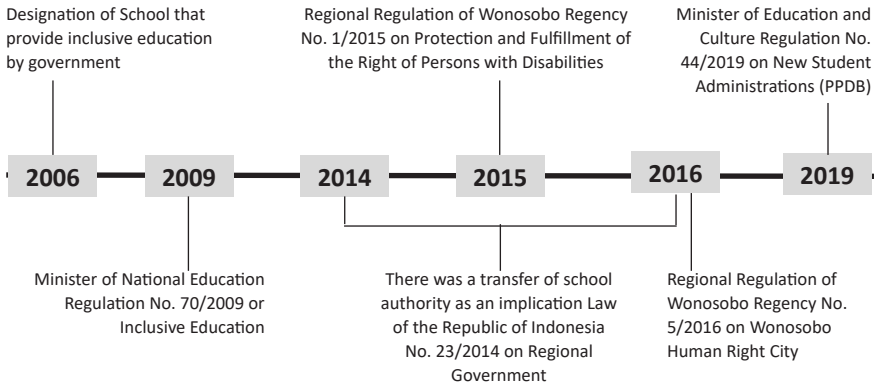
In addition to the failure to establish the SLB plan and the implications of the school authority handover regulations, at least two other important moments occurred in 2015 - 2016. First, Wonosobo government-issued Regional Regulation No.1/2015 concerning the Protection and Fulfillment of Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The regulation explicitly states that education for persons with

⁵⁹ Samsul Maarif, *Interview*. 11 August 2020.

disabilities is carried out through special and inclusive education. Second, Wonosobo government-issued Regional Regulation No. 5/2016 on the Human Rights (HAM) Friendliness of Wonosobo district. In short, this regulation is an initiative of Wonosobo district in the period 2005 - 2015 inspired by the Gwangju Guiding Principles for Human Rights City. This initiative was also supported by Komnas HAM, INFID, and Elsam. In principle, the Regional Regulation becomes the basis for public services based on human rights values, including education services as a right for everyone with any background, including children with disabilities.

In 2016, teacher training activities to support the implementation of inclusive education began to be carried out. Not only teachers who came from inclusive schools, but all schools also were asked to send representatives to come to the training. This activity took place from 2016 to 2018. The training is expected to provide knowledge to teachers. Another effort made was a comparative study of the city of Semarang, which has also implemented the inclusive education policy. This comparative study is considered necessary because Wonosobo feels the need to learn and look for role models from other regions who are considered successful in organizing inclusive schools. Entering 2019, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued the Regulation of Education and Culture Minister (Permendikbud) No.44/2019 concerning the admission of new students (PPDB) with a zoning system. Zoning policy makes children with disabilities obtain services at the nearby school education by the zone, which previously could only have access to education in inclusive schools.

Figure 2. The Journey to Implement the Inclusive Education Policy in Wonosobo District



Source: Researcher's Output, 2020

The Dynamics of Inclusive Education Policy

The journey of implementing an inclusive education policy in Wonosobo as an effort to fulfil the right to education for children with disabilities is not without any problems. The problem begins with the difference in understanding among policymakers about the urgency of inclusive education, whether it is to fulfil the central government's request or it is committed to implementing the policy. Although Wonosobo government has three legal bases that serve as a reference in implementing inclusive education policies (Minister of National Education Regulation No.70/2009, Regional Regulation of Wonosobo Regency No.1/2015, and Regional Regulation of Wonosobo Regency No.5/2016), they have not been followed by implementation guidelines made by Wonosobo government. These guidelines have an essential role in the implementation of the inclusive education policy. The existence of guidelines will make the policy position robust, binding and have clear objectives. The absence of these guidelines makes the inclusive education discourse vulnerable to rise and fall. This indication can be seen from the heads of offices'

substitutions that often occur within the Wonosobo government. These substitutions can be problems because each active head of office has a different political will in realizing inclusive education.

For example, “Head A” concerns with inclusive education, the policy will run. Then, he is substituted with “Head B”, who does not concern with inclusion; it will not run well.⁶⁰

The unavailability of guidelines has also raised objections to several schools’ refusal to accept children with disabilities. It happened when the zoning policy was started. In the policy, all children with disabilities can be accepted according to their zones. It means that the opportunity to access schools will be more excellent, considering that previously they could only get education services in inclusive schools appointed by the government.

For the government, the zoning policy will have a positive impact on children with disabilities. Wonosobo is an area with a wide geographical area. Meanwhile, the inclusive schools that have been appointed are mostly located in the district centre. This is a problem for children with disabilities who live in rural areas far from the district centre. So, when the zoning policy is implemented, the accessibility to access schools can be closer and more affordable.

Voices of objection and rejection also arouse, especially from schools that previously were not schools that provided inclusive education. The government has informed the school principals and teachers who had the objections that accepting children with disabilities is a mandate and form of worship as the motivation. Suppose the teacher considers that children with disabilities cannot follow the teaching and learning activities’ learning process. In that case, the government states that the most important thing is to achieve a social goal. The social goal is that children with disabilities can socialize with their peers. The government states that they will

⁶⁰ Lintang, *Interview*, 10 July 2020.

assist if the schools want to accept children with disabilities.

We always emphasize that if a child has physical problems, and has the same capability or ability to think as a normal child, it doesn't matter.⁶¹

Implementation in School

To find out the capability of Wonosobo government in implementing the inclusive education policy, the authors need to look at implementing the policy in schools. In this article, the authors conducted a study in two schools, namely SMP N 3 Wonosobo and SMP N 1 Kepil. SMP N 3 Wonosobo is a school that has been designated as an inclusive school since 2006. Meanwhile, SMP N 1 Kepil is not a school designated as an inclusive school but has accepted children with disabilities since 2018.

In general, there are various terms used in both schools to describe children with disabilities. The terms used such as “inclusive children”, “special-needs children” and “abnormal children”. The three terms have the same common thread: a matter of perspective on children with disabilities. Both schools have the same perspective that children with disabilities have limitations and deficiencies, whether physical, mental, intellectual or sensory. As a result, they are seen as, unlike other children who are considered “normal”. The conditions experienced by a child with disabilities makes them requires an approach and special treatment during school time.

Started from the perspective, both schools have the same viewpoint that “regular” schools are seen as improper places for children with disabilities. Places that are considered appropriate are schools or special institutions with special resources, either in facilities, teachers or curriculum.

Here only helps to access the nearest education. The best is in an special institution; the child will be taught many things. For

⁶¹ Lintang, *Interview*, 10 August 2020.

example, if you deal with other persons, you will be taught there, because the teacher already knows what obstacles the child will face, and he knows the child's characteristics with the deficiency.⁶²

The viewpoint does not appear without causes, but it is formed based on the experiences that have been happening in schools. This experience can be seen from the registration process to the teaching and learning activities.

As previously explained, the objections and rejection of children with disabilities in schools may happen. This is reflected in the new student's registration process (PPDB). There is a long process that needs to be taken so that children with disabilities can be accepted into schools. Even though the zoning policy gives them the right to get an education at the nearest school, it does not become easy. The main factor taken into consideration is the condition of children with disabilities. Schools are relatively easy to accept children with physical disabilities (such as impaired body functions or handicaps). Meanwhile, schools need more time to consider other factors for children with intellectual, mental or sensory disabilities.

When PPDB takes place, children with disabilities are allowed to register themselves at destination schools offline. As being done by SMP N 3 Wonosobo, one of the main requirements must be met the professional's assessment, such as a pediatrician or psychologists. The results of the assessment are used as the primary basis for admitting children with disabilities in schools. Besides explaining the child's condition, assessment is also a form of experts or professionals' recommendation.

The assessment is a written form, which states that the child can be accepted at school—the possibility. There is a word "normal", which means that I (can) accept; or there are words "within reasonable limits". If it's hard (conditions), then it cannot be.⁶³

⁶² Duanty, *Interview*, 26 August 2020.

⁶³ Endang Hermawanti, *Interview*, 26 August 2020.

However, some do not include the assessment. Besides the lack of facilities for conducting the assessment (currently limited to regional public hospitals), parents also need to pay a lot. This obstacle also appeared in SMP N 1 Kepil, that was when children with disabilities in the school came from the weak-economy families. Thus, the decision to accept children with disabilities is handed over to the schools.

Another experience comes from how schools struggle to meet the needs of infrastructure and children with disabilities. As previously explained, Wonosobo does not have a specific budget for implementing inclusive education. This is a challenge for every school to struggle independently so that inclusive education can continue. In limited school budgets, various efforts have been made. Starting from asking fellow teachers to collect money, coordinate with related government agencies (such as the Education, Social Service, and Health Offices), to utilize the personal networks. Another effort was also made by SMP N 3 Wonosobo in which the school made proposals directed to several parties.

I made an accessibility proposal for special-needs children (ABK). Finally, it succeeded, and I got the money. I had the idea; the amount was not stipulated. Many relatives are there through the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD), so I finally proposed a document. I was asking for help from my friends and relatives. If there are special-needs children (ABK) who need glasses, it's not a big deal; we can still provide them, but not the big one. The School Operational Assistance Program (BOS) fund cannot be used for that. Asking the community is also impossible; there are only a few children with special needs.⁶⁴

Frequently, schools consider that children with disabilities need surgeries to recover their physical conditions. Generally, it happens because the families of children with disabilities have the weak-economy ability. The lack of parental knowledge about their

⁶⁴ Endang Hermawanti, *Interview*, 26 August 2020.

children makes parents often leave their children's conditions to schools. This experience comes from SMP N 1 Kepil, which struggles to help children with disabilities to get health services. However, the effort has not succeeded yet.

Last night I was already told by the head of the Education Office, especially the child who needs surgery immediately. The family is poor and also does not have social insurance (BPJS). As has been reported, the agency will follow up. We already proposed some document to the Social Services Office everywhere. It turns out that it has not been realized. The parents are also passive, only leaving it to school. It will be a pity if the surgery is not conducted right away. The kid should have had surgery since he was a child, but it is just ignored due to economic condition and lack of knowledge.⁶⁵

In teaching and learning activities, teachers become more careful while interacting with children with disabilities. It does not happen without causes. The main factor that causes it is the lack of knowledge about disabilities. Although the 2016 Wonosobo government has started to organize training on inclusive education, this is seen as ineffective. In training, schools are usually asked to send one representative. However, representatives assigned for the training are usually guidance and counselling (BK) teachers. It is hoped that the knowledge gained from the training can be shared with other teachers, especially teachers who teach school subjects. However, this has not run optimally.

In teaching and learning activities, both schools carry out what is known as curriculum adaptation. The point is that the schools' curriculum is adjusted to the conditions of children with disabilities. Therefore, the practices will vary, such as the one done by SMP N 3 Wonosobo with children with sensory disabilities (blind). In the language lesson, the most emphasized competencies are in listening and speaking aspects. This is done because the teachers regard that it will be difficult to emphasize the aspects of writing and reading.

⁶⁵ Bambang Nuryanto, *Interview*, 27 August 2020.

Not too different, SMP N 1 Kepil also does the same for children with physical disabilities. During the sports lesson, the children will be given dispensation for not taking the lesson. This is because the children are considered unable to join the lesson considering his physical conditions.

However, there are various obstacles experienced by schools when adapting the curriculum. There are at least four factors that made these obstacles appear. First, from the beginning, the schools have the viewpoint that children with disabilities are children who are “different” from other children.

From the very beginning, I term inclusive and normal children as small glass and basin. They are different from the beginning. It is impossible for me to force one basin of water in one glass. I force the others because the government targets such achievement.⁶⁶

The second factor is the unavailability of clear or standardized guidelines regarding curriculum adaptation. This makes teachers feel confused and have no basic reference in adapting the curriculum. The third factor is the schools’ limited facilities and infrastructure to support teaching and learning activities. For example, a child with a sensory disability (blind) needs a book in braille so that the child can read. However, the facility’s unavailability makes the reading aspect assessment not carried out, and it is focused on the listening and speaking aspects. The fourth factor is the teachers’ lack of knowledge and competence of disability. Teachers in both schools stated that they still had difficulties teaching because their educational background is not from special education. It becomes more problematic due to the unavailability of Special Education Needs (SEN) teaching assistants. These four factors are the obstacles in the effort to adapt to the curriculum. Instead of making adjustments, some curriculum parts have been eliminated and are not replaced with something equivalent. Therefore, it has implications in the learning quality for

⁶⁶ Duanty, *Interview*, 26 August 2020.

children with disabilities.

However, teachers have struggled maximally to serve children with disabilities. The various efforts made are considered sufficient, considering the limitations and obstacles occurred.

It seems sufficient; this is outside the context of costs. If there must be surgery and others, we can not afford, need support from other parties. That is the one considered insufficient, but the school service is sufficient.⁶⁷

In the end, from all the experiences faced by the schools, there is an opinion that it will be better if children with disabilities are in special schools or institutions. The two schools are still doing their best by contributing all their capabilities to continue the inclusive education. However, it is still considered will not be optimal and will prevent children with disabilities from getting ideal and optimal educational services tailored to their needs.

The Capability of Wonosobo District Government in Implementing the Inclusive Education Policy

The Wonosobo district government has continued its efforts to implement an inclusive education policy since 2006. This is done as an effort to provide educational services for children with disabilities. Various efforts have been made, ranging from increasing the number of schools that provide inclusive education, organizing teacher training, conducting comparative studies and implementing zoning policy that expands the access and opportunities for children with disabilities to obtain educational services. However, there are still criticisms on the journey. Criticism comes from the Wonosobo Disability Association (IDW) that considers Wonosobo government is not that serious in implementing it. Thus, this policy is considered stagnant and does not significantly impact fulfilling the education right for children with disabilities. The research results find the main

⁶⁷ Menik, Interview, 27 August 2020

issue that is interesting to be discussed. Further, that is, related to Wonosobo district government's capability in implementing the inclusive education policy.

At the policy level, Wonosobo district has several regulations as the basis for implementing the inclusive education policy. Besides the Regulation of National Education Minister (Permendiknas) No. 70/2009, Wonosobo also has Regional Regulation Number 1 of 2015 concerning Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo District Friendliness to Human Rights. The regulation explicitly states that education for persons with disabilities is carried out, either through special education or inclusive education. In a universal context, the regulation states that education is a right for everyone with any background.

However, these regulations are just a formality, rather than seen as functional. There are two factors that make it happen. First, there are differences in understanding among policymakers regarding the urgency of inclusive education. The difference in understanding that exists is related to whether this policy is merely to fulfil the central government's request or it is committed and serious about implementing the policy.

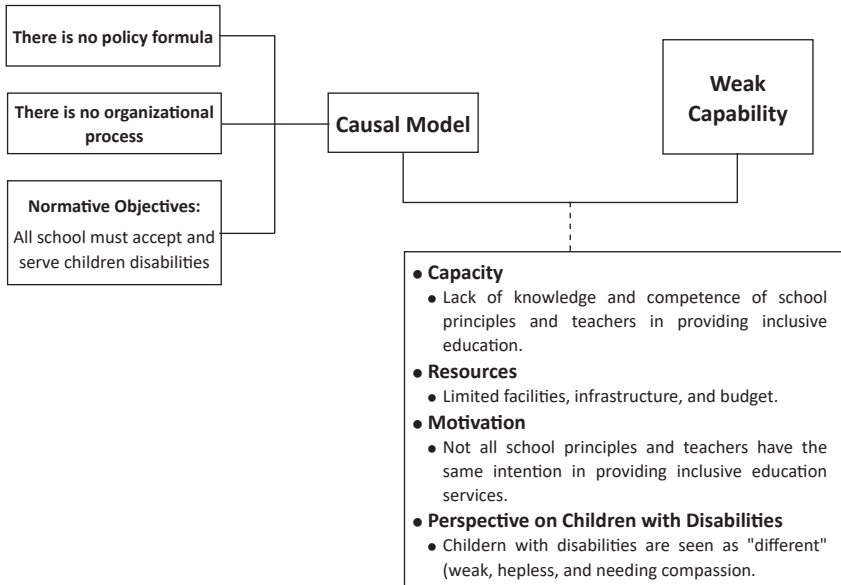
Second, the unavailability of guidelines regarding the implementation of inclusive education. Although Wonosobo district has several central and regional regulations as the basis for implementing inclusive education, these have not been followed by technical or operational guidelines. These guidelines have an important role in the implementation of the inclusive education policy. The existence of guidelines will make the policy position robust, binding and have clear objectives. The absence of guidelines makes the inclusive education discourse vulnerable to rising and fall, leading to the absence of evident sustainability. The Wonosobo

district government has firmly stated its normative goal: all schools must accept and serve children with disabilities. However, in the context of policy formulas and organizational processes, the existence of guidelines has an important role. Besides to map the conditions that occur and what actions can be taken by relevant stakeholders, the guidelines can also be a basis for guidance regarding who is responsible and what authority owned by those involved in the inclusive education policy ecosystem.

The problems that occur at the policy level have serious implications for implementing inclusive education in schools. Principals and teachers in the context of agents are not yet fully equipped with sufficient capacity, resources, and motivation to promote the predetermined normative goals. This is reflected in various problems in schools, such as the lack of knowledge and competence of teachers, limited infrastructure, and budget. Another problem is not all school principals, and teachers have the same intention in providing inclusive education services.

Another factor that emerges in the context of agents is the viewpoint of children with disabilities. From the beginning, children with disabilities are seen as “different” from other children. This is reflected in the variety of terms used to describe children with disabilities, such as “inclusive children”, “special-needs children” and “abnormal children”. When analyzed further, these terms have the same common thread: a matter of perspective in seeing children with disabilities. Children with disabilities are seen as children who have limitations and deficiencies, either physical, mental, intellectual or sensory. Children with disabilities are seen as powerless to carry out activities “normally” due to their limited conditions. This viewpoint makes children with disabilities vulnerable to stigma and labelling. They are seen as subjects who were seen as “different” compared to children who are seen as “normal”.

Figure 3. The Capability of Wonosobo Government in Implementing Inclusive Education Policy



Source: Researchers' Output, 2020.

The analysis chart becomes the basis of the authors argument that Wonosobo district government's capability in implementing the inclusive education policy is in a position of limited or weak (weak capability). This is in line with what Andrews et al. elaborate, regarding capability: a limited or weak capability in policy implementation occurs when organizations do not equip their agents with sufficient capacity, resources and motivation to take actions that promote predetermined goals.⁶⁸

In this case, although the Wonosobo district government has explicitly stated its normative goal that all schools must accept and serve children with disabilities, school principals and teachers are

⁶⁸ Andrews, Pritchett, and Woolcock, *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*, p. 190

not equipped with sufficient capacity, resources, and motivation to realize the normative goals that have been set. School principals and teachers' viewpoints that view children with disabilities as "different" subjects also become another factor that makes the capability weak or limited (weak capability).

The capability position in a weak or limited position (weak capability) has at least two impacts in implementing inclusive education policy. First, objections to rejection arose, especially from schools that were not previously schools that provided inclusive education. Second, both inclusive schools and schools that are not designated as inclusive schools require a long process to accept children with disabilities. Besides looking at the condition of children with disabilities, other factors considered by the schools are the capability and resources to provide educational services aligned with the needs of children with disabilities.

A capability that is in a limited or weak position is a manifestation of the isomorphic mimicry phenomenon. Inclusive education policies are just a formality, instead of being seen as functional policies. Pritchett explained that isomorphic mimicry is a phenomenon in which policies are implemented as functional policies.⁶⁹ Although Wonosobo District has local regulations that support implementing an inclusive education policy, this is not followed by implementation guidelines that are technical and operational. This kind of policy will have further implications. Children with disabilities are vulnerable to being excluded in efforts to obtain inclusive education services, which is the right of children with disabilities to get quality education services according to their needs.

⁶⁹ Lant Pritchett, *The Rebirth of Education: Schooling Ain't Learning*.

Conclusion and Recommendation

This article aims to explain how Wonosobo district government's capability in implementing the inclusive education policy. This research shows that the issuance of the inclusive education policy is an effort of Wonosobo district government to provide inclusive education services for children with disabilities. However, this research shows that Wonosobo district government's capability in the implementation of inclusive education policy is in a position of limited or weak (weak capability). This is a depiction of isomorphic mimicry. The inclusive education policy in Wonosobo district seems to look like a functional policy. The implication is that children with disabilities are vulnerable to being excluded from obtaining inclusive education services.

To respond to the problems, the authors provide recommendations for developing inclusive education policy for Wonosobo district government. First, harmonize the regulation and make guidelines for implementing the inclusive education policy with clearly stated policy formulas, organizational processes, and normative objectives. This is important because, to realize the normative goal in which all schools must accept and serve children with disabilities, a technical guideline is needed to map the conditions that occur and what actions are taken by relevant stakeholders. The guidelines can also be used as a basis for guidance concerning who has the authority and responsibility in the inclusive education policy ecosystem in Wonosobo. Thus, this policy has evident sustainability.

Second, there is a need for support for the policymakers and implementers of the inclusive education policy in capacity building, resources and motivation to provide inclusive education services for children with disabilities. Third, the government need to build synergy with schools, parents and community who actively engage in the issue of the fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities

and collaborate with the private sector to integrate the practice of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) to fulfil the rights of education for children with disabilities.

Acknowledgement

Fernandito Dicky Marsetyo and Nurhadi of the Department of Social Development and Welfare, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada (FISIPOL UGM), prepared this journal article based on the report “Isomorphic Mimicry and Social Inclusion: an Analysis of the Capability of Wonosobo District Government in Implementating the Inclusive Education Policy”. This work has been funded by FISIPOL UGM under the programme of Research, and Community Service Grants 2020. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do, nor necessarily reflect the views of the funding agency.

References

- Andrews, Matt, Lant Pritchett, and Michael Woolcock. *Building State Capability: Evidence, Analysis, Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Baxter, Pamela, and Susan Jack. “Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers.” *The Qualitative Report* 13, no. 4 (2008): 544-559.
- Booth, Tony. “Viewing Inclusion from Adistance: Gaining Perspective from Comparative Study.” *Support for Learning* 14, no. 4 (1999): 164–68. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9604.00124>.
- Carnovali, Sara. “The Right to Inclusive Education of Persons with Disabilities in Italy. Reflections and Perspectives.” *Athens Journal of Education* 4, no. 4 (2017): 315–26. <https://doi.org/10.30958/aje.4-4-1>.

- Chong, Alberto, Rafael La Porta, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. "Letter Grading Government Efficiency." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 12, no. 2 (2014): 277–99. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jeea.12076>.
- Degener, Theresia. "A New Human Rights Model of Disability." In *The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities: A Commentary*. Springer International Publishing, 2017. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-43790-3_2.
- Dukpa, Dawa, and Dukpa Kamenopoulou. "The Conceptualisation of Inclusion and Disability in Bhutan." In *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*, 55–79. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Fakih, Mansour. *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001.
- Foucault, Michel. *Psychiatric Power*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Greenstein, Anat. *Radical Inclusive Education: Disability, Teaching and Struggles for Liberation*. London: Routledge, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315690483>.
- Haryono, Ahmad Syaifudin, and Sri Widiastuti. "Evaluasi Pendidikan Inklusif Bagi Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus (ABK) di Provinsi Jawa Tengah." *Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Unnes* 32, no. 2 (2015): 119–26. <https://doi.org/10.15294/jpp.v32i2.5057>.
- Hutchison, Tom. "The Classification of Disability." *Archives of Disease in Childhood* 73, no. 2 (1995): 91–99. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1136/adc.73.2.91>.
- Irvan, Muchamad, and Muhammad Nurrohman Jauhari. "Implementasi Pendidikan Inklusif Sebagai Perubahan Paradigma Pendidikan di Indonesia." *Jurnal FKIP Unipa Surabaya* 14, no. 26 (2018): 175–87. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36456/bp.voll4.no26.a1683>.
- Kamenopoulou, Leda. *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72829-2>.

- Kamenopoulou, Leda, Jorun Buli-Holmberg, and Jan Siska. "An Exploration of Student Teachers' Perspectives at the Start of a Post-Graduate Master's Programme on Inclusive and Special Education." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 20, no. 7 (2015): 743–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2015.1111445>.
- Kelemen, R. Daniel, and Lisa Vanhala. "The Shift to the Rights Model of Disability in the EU and Canada." *Regional and Federal Studies* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597560903174766>.
- Kiuppis, Florian. "Why (Not) Associate the Principle of Inclusion with Disability? Tracing Connections from the Start of the Salamanca Process." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 18, no. 17 (2014): 746–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2013.826289>.
- Llewellyn, A., and K. Hogan. "The Use and Abuse of Models of Disability." *Disability and Society* 15, no. 1 (2000): 157–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687590025829>.
- Maftuhin, Arif. "Mendefinisikan Kota Inklusif: Asal-Usul, Teori dan Indikator." *Tata Loka* 19, no. 2 (2017): 93–103. <https://doi.org/10.14710/tataloka.19.2.93-103>.
- . "Mengikat Makna Diskriminasi: Penyandang Cacat, Difabel, dan Penyandang Disabilitas." *Inklusi* 3, no. 2 (2016): 139–62. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.030201>.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1994.
- Millati, Sofiana. "Social-Relational Model dalam Undang-Undang Penyandang Disabilitas", *Inklusi* 3, no. 2 (2016): 285–304. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.030207>.
- Oliver, Michael. *The Politics of Disablement. The Politics of Disablement*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd, 1990.
- Oliver, Michael, and Colin Barnes. *The New Politics of Disablement. The New Politics of Disablement*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-230-39244-1>.
- Palmer, Michael, and David Harley. "Models and Measurement in Disability: An International Review." *Health Policy and Planning*

- 27, no. 5 (2012): 357–64. <https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czr047>.
- Pavenkov, Oleg V. “Inclusive Education in India and Russia: A Comparative Analysis of Legal Frameworks.” *Russian Social Science Review* 57, no. 3 (2016): 111–21.
- Persada, Halim Jaya, and Mohammad Efendi. “Studi Kasus Implementasi Layanan Pendidikan Inklusif di Kota Madiun.” *Jurnal ORTOPELAGOGIA* 4, no. 1 (2018): 7–11. <https://doi.org/10.17977/um031v4i12018p007>.
- Pratiwi, J.C. “Sekolah Inklusi untuk Anak Berkebutuhan Khusus : Tanggapan Terhadap Tantangan Kedepannya.” In *Meretas Sukses Publikasi Ilmiah Bidang Pendidikan Jurnal Bereputasi*, 237–42, 2015.
- Pritchett, Lant. *The Rebirth of Education: Schooling Ain’t Learning*. Center for Global Development. Washington, D.C.: Center for Global Development, 2013.
- Pritchett, Lant, Michael Woolcock, and Matt Andrews. “Capability Traps in Development.” *Prism* 3, no. 3 (2012): 63–74.
- . “Looking Like a State: Techniques of Persistent Failure in State Capability for Implementation.” *Journal of Development Studies* 49, no. 1 (2013): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2012.709614>.
- Program Peduli. *Understanding Social Exclusion in Indonesia*, 2016.
- Reindal, Solveig Magnus. “A Social Relational Model of Disability: A Theoretical Framework for Special Needs Education?” *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 23, no. 2 (2008): 135–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856250801947812>.
- Santoso, Meilanny Budiarto, and Nurliana Cipta Apsari. “Pergeseran Paradigma dalam Disabilitas.” *INTERMESTIC: Journal of International Studies* 1, no. 2 (2017): 166–76. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v1n2.6>.
- Schuelka, Matthew J. “The Evolving Construction and Conceptualisation of ‘Disability’ in Bhutan.” *Disability & Society* 30, no. 6 (2015): 820–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2015.1052043>.

- Schuelka, Mj. "Inclusive Education in Bhutan: A Small State with Alternative Priorities." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 15, no. 1 (2012): 145–56.
- Shakespeare, Tom. *Disability: The Basics*. London: Routledge, 2018.
- Smyth, Fiona, Michael Shevlin, Tobias Buchner, Gottfried Biewer, Paula Flynn, Camille Latimier, Jan Šiška, Mario Toboso-Martín, Susana Rodríguez Díaz, and Miguel A.V. Ferreira. "Inclusive Education in Progress: Policy Evolution in Four European Countries." *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 29, no. 4 (2014): 433–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856257.2014.922797>.
- Stubbs, Sue. *Inclusive Education Where There Are Few Resources*. Oslo: Atlas Aliance, 2008.
- Sulthon. "Pendidikan Dasar Inklusif di Kabupaten Pati: Harapan dan Kenyataan." *Inklusi* 6, no. 1 (2019): 151–72. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ijds.060107>.
- UNESCO. "The Dakar Framework for Action," 2000.
- . "The Salamanca Statement Framework." *Policy*, 1994. <https://doi.org/E D -94/WS/18>.
- United Nations. CRPD, *Treaty Series* (2006).
- Vásquez Orjuela, Diana. "Políticas de Inclusión Educativa: Una Comparación Entre Colombia y Chile." *Educación y Educadores* 18, no. 1 (2015): 45–61. <https://doi.org/10.5294/edu.2015.18.1.3>.
- Villamero, Rolando, and Leda Kamenopoulou. "Teachers' Assessment Strategies for Children with Disabilities: A Constructivist Study in Mainstream Primary Schools in Negros Oriental, Philippines." In *Inclusive Education and Disability in the Global South*, 83–106. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Watkins, Amanda, and Cor Meijer. *Implementing Inclusive Education: Issues in Bridging the Policy-Practice Gap: Volume 8*. Edited by Chris Forlin. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2016.

Zakia, Dieni Laylatul. “Guru Pembimbing Khusus (GPK): Pilar Pendidikan Inklusi.” In *Meretas Sukses Publikasi Ilmiah Bidang Pendidikan Jurnal Bereputasi*, 110–16, 2015.