Policy analysis of education provision for disabled children in Indonesia

A case study of eight primary schools in Kecamatan Jatiwulung

Nanik Suwaryani

Abstract

This thesis is about the exclusion of disabled children in the education provision at the primary school level in Indonesia. Although the net enrolment rate for children aged 7-12 in primary school had reached 94 per cent in 2000, over 30 per cent of them could not complete their sixth grade. Disabled children are amongst the groups of children who have the highest potential not to complete school. Many of them have never even attended schools. This thesis aims to investigate why and how disabled children are excluded from the school system in Indonesia.

A case study design is selected as the methodological approach to investigate how and why most disabled pupils are excluded from the provision of primary education in Indonesia. Data were collected through interviews with head teachers and teachers from eight primary schools located in Kecamatan Jatiwulung as well as with officials at the Ministry of National Education and the Provincial and District Education Offices to acquire perspectives about existing policies and their implementation strategies.

Analysis of the findings suggests that disabled children are excluded not only from mainstream schools but also from the education system at large. The failure of education policies that is indicated by the lack of clarity and inconsistency is one of the main factors contributing to that exclusion. Another factor is the poor dissemination of policy. To move towards inclusion, there is a need to change the current policy documents which do not take into account disabled children's right to attend mainstream schools. Community awareness campaigns, providing ongoing support and developing practical guidelines are some of the implementation strategies that need to be considered. Priority should also be given to encouraging every school, not only pilot schools, to increase disabled pupils' participation in learning together with their non-disabled peers within their available resources.

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Declaration and Word Length

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Glossary

Depdiknas (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional)	:	Ministry of National Education (MONE)
Depdikbud (Departmen Pendidikan Kebudayaan)	:	Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC)
Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten	:	Kabupaten Education Office
Direktorat PSLB (Direktorat Pembinaan Sekolah Luar Biasa)	:	Directorate of Special Education
GoI	:	Government of Indonesia
Kabupaten	:	An autonomous rural district or regency. Sometimes it is called as the second level region. The first level one is province. *Kabupaten* has its own local government and legislative body.
Kecamatan	:	Kabupaten/kota has a number of kecamatan or sub-district. *Kecamatan* is not autonomous.
Kota	:	Urban or city district. It has the same administrative level with *kabupaten*.
MOEC	:	Ministry of Education and Culture (before 1999)
MONE	:	Ministry of National Education (after 1999)
Peraturan Pemerintah	:	Government Regulation (GR). This form of legislation is legalised by the Government. It is one step lower than Law or *Undang-undang*.
SD (Sekolah Dasar)	:	Primary School
SDI (Sekolah Dasar Islam)	:	Islamic Private Primary School
SDLB (Sekolah Dasar Luar Biasa)	:	Special school for children at primary school age only (7-12). This school is under local government at the *kabupaten/kota* level.
SLB (Sekolah Luar Biasa)	:	Special school for preschool, primary and secondary school age children (5-18). This school is under local government at the provincial level.
Undang-undang		Law or Act. This form of legislation is established by the Government and the DPR

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

This thesis is about the exclusion/inclusion of disabled children from access to education provision at the primary level in Indonesia. Unlike many authors or researchers who have written on disability and who have often done so from a relatively detached position of sheer research interest or driven by some personal experience, my interest in studying disability stems from an official professional perspective. In 1998 I was appointed as a member of a research team, which was assigned to examine a primary school cohort. My experience during that exercise left me with a desire to better understand the processes at work and their interrelationships and to produce a clear picture based mainly on quantitative analysis of the data generated. The study found out that there was a high percentage of repetition and drop-out rates and, consequently, a low completion rate of 69.5 per cent (Jiyono et al., 1998, p. 14). These findings are consistent with the data published by the Ministry of National Education on primary school pupils which showed that of 5 million primary pupils enrolled in 1992/93 in Indonesia, only 72 percent (3.6 million) completed primary school education in 1996/07. The data did not change much for the 1998/99 cohort. It was revealed in 2003/4 that only 73 percent completed their primary education (MONE, 2006a). The low completion rates[1] were due to the high number of

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[1] The term 'completion rates' in this study is calculated from the number of pupils graduate from primary school in a certain year divided by the intake of pupils enrolled six years earlier times 100 percent. Other documents, such as the ones published by the World Bank, define completion rate as the number of pupils graduated from primary school divided by the number of Grade 6 pupils times 100 percent. If used this definition the completion rates will be above 94 percent (World Bank, 2006).

pupils who repeated the class and dropped-out. For example, in 2000/01 - 2001/02 the number of primary schools pupils who repeated the class was 5.42 percent or more than 1.3 million pupils (MONE 2006b). Meanwhile, the number of pupils who dropped out in the same year was 3.2 percent or more than 800 000 pupils (MONE, 2006c).

Insights derived from a Cohort Study that was conducted in 1998, suggest that teachers tend to blame factors other than school-related ones as the causes of drop- out. When asked about the reasons for pupil drop-out, the most common causes as listed by the teachers were laziness, poverty and low parental aspiration. Other reasons include low cognitive abilities, long distance between home and school, disabilities, behavioural problems, inferiority complex, and early marriage (unpublished data from the Study of Primary School Cohort). The most significant revelation from the teacher interviews was that none of the failures were attributed to school-related factors or issues. In the mean time, interviews with local and central education authorities tended to lay the blame on teachers' incompetence, in addition to factors mentioned by teachers. The study also revealed that discussions rarely took place on issues related to education policies, how they were developed and implemented. If teachers are not supported by the authorities through the policies that they develop and implement, it is most likely that they are restricted in their efforts to support their pupils. Subsequently, such circumstances would contribute to the high rates of pupil repetition and drop-out.

The fact that many primary school pupils could not complete their studies/schooling is disturbing and raises many questions. How schools

contribute to their exclusion and what efforts they have made to prevent a pupil from dropping out are two, amongst other questions, applied at the school level. Other questions relate to policy established by authorities at the national, provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels. Whether these policies are implemented successfully or unsuccessfully is a further important question. Analysing the available statistics does not yield all the information needed to fully understand and address these questions. To get a better understanding of why and how a number of pupils are excluded using mainly qualitative data is the aim of this thesis.

Disabled children are selected as the focus of this thesis because amongst the different categories of disadvantaged children they appear to be the most marginalized. Even if disabled children do not come from poor family backgrounds and live in areas where there are many mainstream schools, the possibility that they will repeat the class and drop out, is much higher than for other groups of children. There is also the possibility that their parents do not even try to send their children to school for various reasons. The fact that many disabled children come from poor families and live in rural areas, predisposes them to even more severe marginalisation.

In 2000/01 there were only 43,000 disabled children/young people or 0.1 per cent of the total pupil population, who received special education (Depdiknas, 2002). Data from the 2003 household survey (Filmer, 2005, p. 9) showed a different percentage. This survey found that the percentage of disabled children aged 7-11 who were attending schools was 29.2 per cent whereas non-disabled children was 88.5 per cent[2]. A similar trend was also

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[2] Survey only includes those with visual, hearing, speech and physical impairments.

found amongst children/young people aged 12-17. In this age range, only 18.3 per cent of disabled young people were attending schools, whereas amongst non-disabled young people, the figure was 75.9 per cent. Whether using data from the Ministry of National Education (*Depdiknas*) or from the household survey, the number of disabled children/young people attending schools is very small compared to the estimated number of disabled children in the overall population in Indonesia, which stands at 1.2 million disabled children/young people aged 7-15 (Mulyono et al., 2000). Of the 43,000 disabled children, only 831 attended classes in mainstream schools (Depdiknas, 2002). The actual number of disabled children in mainstream classes might be much higher as it is most likely that the majority of them are informally integrated in mainstream schools. As they do not receive appropriate educational support in mainstream schools, they are amongst the pupils with the highest probability of repeating the class and eventually drop out.

1.2. The Indonesia context

1.2.1. The geographical, socio and economic context

Indonesia is located between the Indian and Pacific Oceans and consists of over 13 thousand islands and is the fifth highest populated country in the world, with over 215 million people. Java is the most populated island with over 60 percent of the total population living on this smallest amongst the main islands in the country. The country consists of 29 provinces and 332 districts. Apart from the national language *Bahasa Indonesia*, over 300 local languages are spoken by different ethnic groups in the country. This reflects the richness of the country with respect to cultural

diversity but at the same time also suggests grounds for the potential for the conflicts which the country experiences.

According to World Bank statistics, the Gross National Income (GNI) per capita was US$ 590 in 2000 and US$1,130 in 2004 (World Bank, 2006). Chinese ethnic groups, although only 3 percent of the total population were in control of 70 per cent of Indonesia economy resulting in social jealousy which, in the past, triggered some riots targeting Chinese people (Chua, 2003).

The wide economic gap between the rich and the poor is reflected in access to education. There are few elite (public/private) schools whose pupils pay a substantial amount of fees. At the same time, the majority of schools receive very little financial contribution or nothing at all, from the parents of children at these schools, due to the poverty in the areas where the schools are located (Filmer, et al., 2000). These schools have to operate with minimum resources provided by the government

Before the economic crisis that hit Indonesia in mid 1997, Indonesia was one of the most rapidly growing economies in the world and considered as one of the most successful countries in reducing poverty. Between 1970 and 1996 the proportion of the population living below the official poverty line fell by around 50 percentage points (Suryahadi and Sumarto, 2003, p. 1). This trend changed dramatically when Indonesia was hit by a financial crisis in 1997. According to the National Bureau of Statistics, in December 1998, 24.2 per cent of the population or 49.5 million people are living below poverty

level[3] (Kompas, 1999). This was due to the substantial decline in the exchange rate of the Rupiah to foreign currencies, from approximately US$1=Rp 2,500 to Rp 14,000 in 1998, which resulted in very high inflation rates (78 per cent) (ibid). At the school level, the funding provided by the government dropped very significantly in real terms[4] (Filmer, et al. 2000).

The crisis reached an unprecedented political climax when President Soeharto was ousted from his presidential office by the students' movement on 21st May 1998, after being in his position for 32 years. He was promptly replaced by Vice President Habibie. In the second year of Habibie's presidency, a major political change took place, namely the introduction of the decentralisation policy. By the establishment of Law No. 22/1999 on Local Government or *Undang-undang No. 22/1999 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah* (Indonesia, 1999a), most service provision functions that used to be under the control of the central government were now to become the responsibility of the *kota* or *kabupaten*[5] (district) local government. Consequently, most institutions, such as state schools and local education offices are now under the local government at the district level. However, the organisation of special schools, kindergarten to secondary school levels, is regulated by the local government at the provincial level.

At the initial stage of the implementation of decentralisation, there was much confusion and uncertainty as to how education services would be delivered as operational regulations had not yet been produced. The

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[3] The poverty level was based on minimum income per capita of Rp 96,959 in urban areas and Rp 72,780 in rural areas.
[4] The amount of money in real terms can be very different with the one in nominal terms. The former takes into account the inflation rates.
[5] *Kota* is urban district government and *kabupaten* is the rural one.

confusion was further exacerbated partly by the fast changing nature of leadership in the country. Habibie was in the presidency for only two years as his political party lost the 1999 general election. Special general elections which were held in 2000 elected Abdurrakhman Wahid, popularly known as Gus Dur, in October 1999 as the fourth president in the country. However, his leadership lasted only less than two years as he was impeached by the People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* or MPR). Megawati, the Vice President, who replaced him in July 2001 lost his first presidential election and was replaced by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) in October 2004. Every new president appointed a new Cabinet. Although people tried to be optimistic every time a new president was elected and a new cabinet appointed, this had also triggered uncertainty, as each new authority tended to change the existing policy to fit with their own political missions and ambitions. Even if policies are not changed, the way in which they are interpreted and implemented varies. With respect to the lives of disabled people, one of the controversial policies of President Gus Dur was the abolishment of the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1999. It was expected that social welfare programmes could be carried out by the members of the community themselves. This closure resulted in a very strong protest from different groups in the community, including disabled people. This Ministry was eventually reopened during Megawati's presidency in 2000. It was not clear during the closure of the Ministry of Social Affairs which government institution took the lead in implementing Act 4/1997 on Disabled People (Indonesia, 1997) and Government Regulation 43/1998 on the Welfare of Disabled People or *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 43/1998 tentang Upaya*

Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Sosial Penyandang Cacat (Indonesia, 1998). It was during this period of uncertainty that this study took place.

1.2.2. The educational context

Until 2003[6], education was legally run based on Law No 2/1989 concerning National Education System or *Undang-undang No. 2/1989 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional* (Indonesia, 1989). Based on this Law, national education aims to improve the quality of Indonesians as human beings who are faithful and devoted to God Almighty, of good character and personality, knowledgeable and skilful, independent, mentally and physically healthy, and who act as responsible members of the community and citizens (classified as Article 4). Every citizen has the same right to obtain education so that s/he can gain knowledge, competence and skills at least at the same level as a graduate of primary education (Article 6).

An attempt to provide access to primary education to all citizens was actually made before the establishment of that Law. The oil boom in the 1970s helped the country fund the six-year compulsory/universal education policy which was enacted in 1984 for children aged 7-12. At least one primary school was built in every village and a large number of new teachers were recruited. These new schools and teachers resulted in the massive increase of net enrolment ratio in primary schools which was from 80 percent in the 1970s to 93 percent in 1993 (World Bank, 2006). In terms of numbers, the Ministry of National Education Statistics (MONE, 2006) show that in 2005

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[6] In 2003, Law 20/2003 on National Education System was established. However, until the end of 2006 further legislation in the form of government regulation have not been produced except the one on national education standardisation (Government Regulation 19/2005). Therefore, in practice most policies are still referring to the previous legislation which was formed based on Law 2/1989.

the total number of children and young people (aged 7-18) attending schools was nearly 40 million. Of these nearly 30 million were in primary schools (aged 7-12) and 8 million in junior secondary schools (aged 13-15). Meanwhile the number of teachers appointed to teach these pupils is more than 2.4 million. Of those numbers more than 1.3 million teach in primary schools and 600 thousand in junior secondary schools (Depdiknas, 2006). Using the enrolment data only, however, can be misleading in terms of understanding the measure of education success. As presented earlier, not all children enrolled in primary school did complete their primary education.

With respect to disabled children, the segregated provision that is used in their schooling required a large number of special schools. However, only very few special schools were available, most of them located in urban areas, and almost all of them were organised by private foundations. A number of state-funded special schools only began to be established in the 1980s. Through some ministerial decrees such as *Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 0848/O/1986 tentang Pendirian SLB Pembina Nasional C Malang* (Depdikbud, 1986) these schools were designed to be model schools for other, mostly private, special schools at the national or provincial levels. These schools initially specialised in supporting disabled pupils with a particular impairment but at the end of the 1990s began to enrol children with different kinds of impairments.

Meanwhile, a project on integrated education, which was developed in the early 1980s, contributed to the establishment of Ministerial Decree No. 002/U/1986 concerning Integrated Education for Disabled Children or *Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan No. 002/U/1986 tentang*

Pendidikan Terpadu untuk Anak Cacat (Depdikbud, 1986). However, this decree seems not to have been widely implemented, which was indicated by the small number of disabled pupils studying in mainstream schools. One of the major elements of this thesis is to uncover the impacts of these apparent dislocations in policy initiatives.

The school system

Figure 1 shows the school system in Indonesia based on Law no 2/1989 concerning the National Education System[7]. Compulsory education is for basic education which consists of primary and junior secondary school for children aged 7-15. Kindergarten, which is conventionally established for children aged 5-6, is not compulsory and therefore is mainly organised by private foundations. Nursery is for younger children and is the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Affairs and hence is not included in the figure. The figure also shows another type of schools, the Islamic schools or *madrassa*. Whereas the other schools are mainly under the control of the local government at the *kabupaten/kota* level, the *madrassa* remains under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA).

Meanwhile, Figure 2 shows the government institutions responsible for the education provision system. It can be seen on this figure that the organisational position of special schools (SLB), the ones for disabled children attending kindergarten to senior secondary school (aged 5-18), is somewhat different from the position of mainstream schools. Whereas primary, junior secondary and senior secondary mainstream schools are

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[7] Although a new law on national education system was established in 2003 (Law 20/2003), it is the one legalised in 1989 which is presented in this chapter as most of policies and programmes at the time of data collection in 2003 and 2005 were mainly based on legislation produced before the establishment of the new law.

Figure 1: School system in Indonesia based on Law No. 2/1989

		Academic Education	Profesional Education

	Higher Education	Islamic Doctorate Program	Doctorate Program	Profesi-onal Program
		Islamic Master Program	Master Program	Profesi-onal Program

Official School Age

Age		
22		
21		Islamic Graduate Program / Graduate Degree Program / Diploma 4 Program / Diploma 3 Program / Diploma 2 Program / Diploma 1 Program
20		
19		
18	Secondary Education	Islamic SSS / General SSS / Vocational SSS
17		
16		
15	Basic Education	Islamic JSS / General JSS
14		
13		
12		Islamic Primary School / Primary School
11		
10		
9		
8		
7		
6	Preschool	Islamic Kindergarten / Kindergarten
5		

Notes:
JSS: Junior Secondary School
SSS: Senior Secondary School

Sources: Balitbang Dikbud (1997)

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Figure 2: The government institutions responsible for the education provision (2000)

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┌─────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────┐
│ Minister of     │   │ Minister of Home     │   │ Minister of     │
│ National        │---│ Affairs and Regional │-------│ Religious       │
│ Education       │   │ Autonomy             │   │ affairs         │
│ (MONE)          │   │ (MOHARA)             │   │ (MORA)          │
└─────────────────┘   └──────────────────────┘   └─────────────────┘
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Minister of National Education (MONE)

Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Autonomy (MOHARA)

Minister of Religious affairs (MORA)

Provincial education office

Provincial MORA office

Special schools (SLB)

Kabupaten/kota education office

Kabupaten/kota MORA office

Secondary schools

Pre-school, primary and secondary religious school

Kecamatan education office

Kindergartens

Primary schools (SD and SDLB)

Note:

Kabupaten/kota: rural/urban district

Kecamatan: sub-district

SD: mainstream primary school

SDLB: public primary special schools (for 7-12 years olds)

SLB: special school (for 5-18 year olds)

---- : Line of coordination

——— : Line of command

commonly under different *kabupaten/kota* education offices, most special schools which cover all levels of education, including kindergarten, are under the same management. For this reason, information related to special schools that will be presented throughout this thesis might not be exclusive only for primary school level.

Education for disabled children

It has been established that only very few disabled children have access to special schools, and the numbers are smaller in mainstream schools. The explanation for why most disabled children are not in school is a complex issue. Identifying the root of the problem will involve and necessitate investigation into direct contributory factors, such as discouraging home environment, ineffective teaching/learning processes and indirect ones as seen in Figure 3 This figure, which was initially developed to get an understanding of why a group of children in general are not learning, gives a bigger picture that, nevertheless, also adequately explains the same situation faced by disabled children. In the case of disabled children, there is an additional factor, namely stigma, which strongly influences the attitude of family, school staff and bureaucrats towards them. Subsequently their attitudes affect the way in which access to education is provided for disabled children. Other considerations, such as the direct factors of unsupportive home environment and ineffective teaching/learning processes in class, are basically the same as the ones affecting other groups of children who do not benefit from schooling.

This thesis will not examine all aspects shown in Figure 3. Focus will be put more on how schools support disabled pupils and how the existing

Figure 3: Factors affecting children for not learning

Outcome

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          Children are not learning        │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Manifestation

| Non-enrolment | | Drop out | Low level of learning |

Home/class-room level

Discouraging home environment.

Ineffective teaching learning in the classroom

Community/ School level

Lack of community interest/ commitment in education

No access

School policy

Poor physical facilities/services in school/ classroom

Lack of commitment amongst teachers

Poor teaching learning aids material & methods

Stigma

Society/ education system

Negative socio-economic factors of society

Education budget

Administrative policies and structures

Educ'l policies ie curriculum, textbook

Central, provincial and district (kabupaten/kota) government

Political and economic system

Globalisation

Source: Adopted from GoI and UNICEF (GoI-UNICEF, 2000, p. 98)

policy on the provision of education for these children is perceived and implemented by officials from different levels of government institutions.

1.3. Thesis structure

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Three of them present and analyse the findings from the fieldwork. While the first chapter dealt with the background and a brief context of the country, the next two chapters cover the literature review and the methodology of the study. Findings of the study will be presented in Chapter 4 to Chapter 6. The last chapter will draw together the analysis presented in the earlier chapters and develop policy recommendations. A brief summary of Chapter 2 to Chapter 6 is presented below.

Review of relevant literature will be presented in Chapter 2. Discussion on the issues of social versus medical model of disability, rights versus charity-based provision, and three different approaches to provision of education for disabled children, namely, segregated, integrated and inclusive, will be the main topic of this chapter.

Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology used in this study. Focus, epistemology of the study, and the more detailed research objectives and questions are presented in this chapter. Discussion on the study design and the implementation of data collection are also a substantial part of this chapter.

Findings on the existing policy documents on the education provision for disabled children and how officials at the different levels of government perceived them are presented in Chapter 4. How the existing legislation was

not applied at the school level because of the poor dissemination will be presented in this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents and analyses findings on how the existing policies on integrated education were not implemented due to the lack of relevant information, lack of knowledge amongst teachers in dealing with disabled pupils and shortage of resources.

Chapter 6 brings together the findings reported in chapters 4 and 5 and provides some evaluative arguments in an attempt to draw some clear conclusions on cause and effect of policy, process and people.

Chapter 7 uses the arguments and positions highlighted in chapter 6 as a basis for drawing some firm conclusions and making recommendations. Suggested research and limitations of the study will also be highlighted in this chapter. The final part of this chapter is the conclusions drawn from this study,

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1. Introduction

Issues related to disability are multidimensional and therefore, attempts to improve the quality of life of disabled people will never be straightforward. They are multidimensional because they involve cultural, social, economic, and political aspects of a society. They do not only involve disabled people themselves, but also their families, the community at large and governmental as well as non-governmental institutions at all levels. They are also multidimensional as disabled people often experience other kinds of oppression because of their 'class, race, and gender' (Charlton, 1998, p. 10).

The aim of the chapter is to discuss literature concerned with the policy of education provision for disabled children. The first part of the chapter discusses the three main approaches to the provision of education for disabled children: segregation, integration, and inclusion. How these approaches are perceived and put into practice in different contexts will be the focus of this section. The second part of this chapter discusses two models of perceiving disability, namely the charity/medical model and the social/rights model. A discussion on this topic is deemed important as the way people perceive disability affects the manner in which disabled people/children are supported in public life, including in education. Consequently, such perceptions also influence the way decision-makers develop, formulate and implement policies.

2.2. Policy on education provision for disabled children

First of all, a clear understanding of what policy entails, within the context of this study, is essential. Policy can be seen as a process. This process can consist of development, formulation, planning, implementation, evaluation, and further development. In Indonesia, this process is often reflected in the organisational structure of many government institutions. For example, at the ministerial level there are units in charge of research and development policy (Office of Research and Development), planning (Planning Bureau/Division), implementation and monitoring (Directorate General), and control (Inspectorate General). With respect to the directorate general, its main responsibility is *membina* or to direct or to give guidance to the other units directly in charge of policy implementation at the lower levels, such as schools. This view of policy, 'the technical-empiricist model' (Larsen, 2001, p. 94), implies that educational policy-making is uncontested and relatively straightforward. It assumes that the language used in policy processes is quite transparent, implying settled and unequivocal 'readings' of policy texts (ibid). Barrett and Fudge (1981) see some problems in using this kind of 'managerial' perceptive.

> ... the problems of implementation are defined in terms of co-ordination, control or obtaining 'compliance' with policy. Such a policy-centred or 'top-down' view of the process treats implementers as 'agents' for policy-makers and tends to play down issues such as power relations, conflicting interests and values system between individuals and agencies responsible for making policy and those responsible for taking action (p. 4).

The fact that there are many different interests involved in all stages of policy for education provision for disabled children and young people

suggests that policy is often contentious, conflicting and contradictory. Hence, texts, as a product of policy, are not necessarily clear, closed or complete (Ball, 2005, p. 44). They are basically a result of compromises and they are typically cannibalised products of multiple influences and agendas (ibid). As one of the concerns of the thesis is the "why" and "how" questions, this study will be looking at policy which takes into account the dynamic nature of educational policy-making. It will examine different forms of policy which Fulcher (1989) categorises as 'written policy' (report, statues, regulations), 'stated policy' (what we say we do), and 'enacted policy' (what the teacher does in the classroom) (p. 8). To understand the gaps amongst the three forms of policy, it will be helpful to see policy as a discourse. Ball (op cit) defines policy as a discourse as follows.

> Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed. Words are ordered and combined in particular ways and other combinations are displaced and excluded (p. 23).

By using this definition of discourse, the idea that policy can be made only at the higher level of organisation and implemented by the lower levels of the organisation is false. The top-down approach of looking at policy will not give an understanding of how and why a policy may not be implemented successfully. 'Policy is made at all levels' (Fulcher, op cit, p. 4). It happens at the national level, but also at the regional and school levels. With respect to Indonesia's education system, this was the case even before 1999 when local government at the provincial and district levels had not been autonomous. The size of the country, the large number of ethnic groups, and the geographical situation are only some of the reasons why it is not possible

to have one single policy decided by some elite group at the central government to be implemented nationwide.

2.2.1. The changing discourse: segregation to inclusion

History and a review of the literature for this research show that, initially, in most countries (if not all), education provision for disabled children in the schooling system was one of segregation. Disabled children and young people tended to go to special schools to receive special education. Barton (2004) identifies some justifications for segregated provision.

1. Such schooling is essential in order to provide the *type* of education and curriculum these children need.
2. Disabled children and young people need *protection* from the harsh and cruel realities of the world, including those to be found in mainstream schools-their size, the attitudes of the staff and pupils, and verbal and physical abuse.
3. Normal pupils need to be protected *from the damaging influences* that disabled pupils will have on their development, especially their academic achievements.
4. Special schools are staffed by teachers *who have special qualities* of patience, dedication, and love. Such schools provide good interpersonal relationship with staff and the small and necessary staff-pupil ratios.
5. Special schools are necessary on *administrative efficiency grounds*. Thus, specialist teachers, equipment, and support services are most effectively deployed (p. 68).

In the 1970s, these justifications were challenged for many different reasons. Erving Goffman (1969) questions the purpose of special schools or special education in general (cited in Thomas and Vaughan, 2004 p. 40). Whether disabled children benefit from a separate form of education is also a question raised by a psychologist, Gary Leyden (cited in Thomas and Vaughan, 2004 p. 51). It remains unclear as to how these children can benefit if the institution itself is actually not established for their interest, as observed by Christoplos and Renz (cited in Thomas and Vaughan, 2004):

> Special education programs were not initiated in response to the needs of exceptional children but rather as an expedient measure to resist a perceived threat to existing goals for 'normal' children who were being more or less adequately served by regular school programs (p. 41).

The humanitarian explanation of special education, where disabled children need to be protected and given special support, is also not accepted by a number of scholars such as Barton and Tomlinson (1981).

> The concept 'special needs' is often used in a mystifying manner, directing attention away from the needs that are actually being served by the expansion of special education. It is an obfuscation of the issue since categorizing or assessing children into special education disguises the reality that they are not wanted in the ordinary school (p. 23).

Abberley (1987) maintains that segregated schooling legitimates the treatment of disabled children as deviant, removes the imperative for any social restructuring in response to their characteristics, and thus contributes to their oppression. Another stance against special education is taken by Oliver (1996a). He sees special education as failing to empower disabled children by not providing them with the knowledge and skills to take their rightful place in the world.

The negative effects of special education, however, do not prevent some parents demanding that their children be educated in a segregated setting. Dyson (2000) critically observes this phenomenon.

> Occasionally, and perversely, it offers a means whereby advantaged families can secure additional resources for their children who find schooling difficult, by 'inventing' forms of disability, which are at one and the same time perceived as non-stigmatized and needy of resourcing ....
> it may marginalize other children in difficulties, whose difficulties are excluded from the 'prestigious' disability categories, and from whom scarce resources are removed (p. 40).

In response to criticisms against special education provision, the idea of *integrated education*, where children with special educational needs learn together with other children in mainstream schools, started to be developed

in the 1970s and the 1980s. Interestingly, the ideological justification for integrated education is the same as the justification for segregation – it is one of 'benevolent humanitarianism' or 'doing good to individual children' (Barton and Tomlinson, 1986, p. 37).

The Warnock Report (DES, 1978) was influential on this new approach as its conclusion formed the basis of the UK Education Act 1981 which affected people's attitudes toward provision for disabled students. In this report the concept of an ineducable child was abolished and new principles of universal education were introduced. The term 'children with special needs' has been used to replace the predominantly medical model terminology. These children's education in regular school started to be acknowledged as a right. Their integration in regular school is:

> ... directly in line with the principle that handicapped (sic) and non-handicapped children should be educated in a common setting as far as possible (p. 100).

The report suggests that 'up to one in five children require special educational provision at any time during their school career' (ibid, p. 45). Some of these children will receive a 'statement,' which is used to claim the necessary support for them. These children can be integrated into one of three different types of integration classified by the report: locational (special unit/class set up in ordinary school), social (children with special needs play and consort with other children) and functional integration (children with special needs join regular classes) (ibid, pp. 100-101).

Support for "statemented" students can mean that they can/should attend a segregated unit/school. Whittaker and Kikabhai (2004) criticise the

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policy of statementing as a way of justifying the maintenance of a segregated system. They point out that:

> By using the statementing process children will be directed to places in those schools and many families will be conditioned into thinking that there is no alternative but segregation and a 'special' system (no page number).

Another criticism of integration relates to the absence of support for children with special needs in their mainstream classroom. As a result, even if a student with special needs is studying in a mainstream classroom, she might experience various forms of exclusion. Ferguson (1996) describes the worst case of integration.

> The most extreme practice is 'dumping,' which occurs when students with disabilities are reassigned to general education classrooms, but neither the students nor the general education classroom teachers receive any assistance to ensure successful learning and social outcomes (p. 22).

In integration, it is the 'special needs student' who mainly has to make an effort to adjust to the requirements of the mainstream school as described by Jha (2005):

> However, with no change in the perspectives on the children's special needs', integration followed a 'fit in' approach, whereby children were expected to assimilate into cultures, norms and curricula of regular schools. Integration thus became an additional burden for these children (p. 25).

Criticism of integration contributed to the new idea of 'inclusion'. This term has come to supersede 'integration' in the 1980s (Thomas et al. 1998, p. 12). One of the main differences between the two is that, while integration focuses on disabled children/young people, inclusion has a much broader remit. It extends beyond special needs arising from disability (Mitchell, 2005, p. 1). It includes critically exploring issues such as gender, language, race, ethnicity and geographic isolation because they sometimes contribute to

marginalisation/exclusion. In the school setting, inclusive education is not only a matter of placement of disabled children in ordinary classrooms but of critically examining the school system which supports all children as emphasised by Barton (1998).

> Inclusive education is not merely about providing access into mainstream school for pupils who have previously been excluded. It is not about closing down an unacceptable system of segregated provision and dumping those pupils in an unchanged mainstream system. Existing school systems in terms of physical factors, curriculum aspects, teaching expectation and styles, leadership roles, will have to change. This is because inclusive education is about participation of *all* children and young people and the removal of *all* forms of exclusionary practice (pp. 84-85).

At the international level, the term 'inclusion' has been used more often since the mid 1990s, after the World Conference on Special Needs Education in Salamanca, Spain in 1994. The conference was attended by 300 participants representing 300 governments and 25 international organisations suggesting concerns about the education of disabled children worldwide. The Salamanca Statement and Framework of Action on Special Needs Education (Unesco, 1999, p. 5) are informed by the principles of inclusion which state that:

> ...ordinary schools should accommodate all children, regardless of their physical, intellectual, emotional, social, linguistic or other conditions.

The statement has a commitment to inclusive education as stated in the following articles.

> 'those with special educational needs must have access to regular schools, which should accommodate them within a child-centred pedagogy capable of meeting these needs'

> 'regular schools with this inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all...' (Article 2)

'Educational policies at all levels, ...should stipulate that children with disabilities should attend their neighbourhood school that is the school that would be attended if the child did not have the disability' (Article 18 Salamanca Framework for Action).

This statement, which uses the rights and ethics discourse, is obviously influenced by the changing language used by scholars and disability activists in developed countries in the West[8]. Although the principles and values of the statement can be widely acceptable, to claim that inclusive education is more effective than non-inclusive education is a matter for empirical investigation (ibid, pp. 37-38). Even in the UK where mainstream schools are well resourced, some people are not convinced that attending these schools will be beneficial for disabled children (Knight, 1999, Warnock, 2005, BBC Online 10 December 2004, 3 July 2005, 16 February 2005, 14 October 2005, and 3 November 2005).

Another point at issue in this statement is that the emphasis on inclusion of students with special needs might not be a key priority in some countries. For example, in South Africa, inclusion of black South Africans and women has been given higher priority than disabled people (Matshehido, 2005). In the UK and the US, in addition to disabled children, the issues of inclusion tend to have something to do with children from ethnic minorities. In Indonesia, it seems that the policies, which are intended to increase the children's participation in education have, as their main target group, children who come from poor families. There seems to be a general assumption that the major reason for a child not attending school is poverty. Therefore, despite the fact that exclusion can be a result of a combination of factors, the

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[8] The West in this chapter refers to a small number of developed countries in Western Europe, North America, and Australia.

main policy to address the problem is by providing financial support for children from poor families. During the Soeharto era a number of scholarships were given to primary school pupils through a foundation run by GNOTA (National Movement of Foster Parents). The role of the foundation, which was chaired by the daughter-in-law of the President, declined after the resignation of Soeharto in 1998. During the economic crisis, to prevent the increase in number of student drop-outs, one of the social safety net programmes (*Jaring Pengaman Sosial* or JPS) funded by the Government, the World Bank and ADB was the provision of scholarships to a large number of primary and secondary school students. This was carried out between 1998/99 and 2002/03. For the first three years four million scholarships each year were available (Sparrow, 2003, p. 100). In the current government policy, a similar strategy has been used to increase children's enrolment in school. Scholarship for poor children namely Special Assistance for Students (*Bantuan Khusus Murid*/BKM) has been provided as part of the national fuel compensation scheme[9]. This scheme also includes extra funding for school operational costs. It is expected that this funding will replace the school income which usually comes from fees paid by students[10].

Although 'inclusion' for disabled children is not the main agenda, education access has been provided for them to a certain level. The next

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[9] Previously, the oil subsidy was given directly to the people by having a very low oil price within the country. This subsidy has been reduced from time to time by increasing the domestic oil price to make more funding available for other spending. In 2005, besides an additional allocation for education, there is a monthly allowance provided to the poor.

[10] Although officially the nine-year basic education is free, the fact that government can only provide minimum support encourages schools to ask parents for financial contributions. Amongst other, these contributions can be in the forms of monthly fee and entrance fee. This practice is legal if decided by the school and the School Committee. The legal basis they use for charging the school fees is the Education Law 20/2003 stating that 'Education funding is the responsibility of the central government, local government, and community (Article 46).

part of this chapter will discuss the existing policy on education provision for disabled children in Indonesia. The main aim of the discussion is to examine whether the language of 'inclusion' can be used in the Indonesian context.

Segregation, integration and inclusion: Are they sequential?

First of all, unlike the situation in many developed countries where inclusion replaced integration and segregation, in poorer countries of the 'developing' or majority world'[11] (Barnes and Mercer, 2005, p. 1) integration and even segregation might not be in their main agenda. Officially, in Indonesia, segregation is still the main feature in the education provision for disabled children/young people. The previous Law No. 2/1989 on National Education System and the new one, Law No. 20/2003 (Indonesia, 2003), explicitly mention that special education is for disabled learners[12]. Government Regulation 72/1991 on Special Education or *Peraturan Pemerintah No. 72/1991 tentang Pendidikan Luar Biasa* (Indonesia, 1991), as an extension of the Law No. 2/1989, provides guidance on special school components such as establishment, curriculum, assessment, rights and duties of students, and teaching staff. However, there is no mention in this regulation of the need to ensure that all disabled children have access to special schools. As a result, in 2003/04 the number of disabled children in special schools was only 46,370 while the total number of pupils attending primary and secondary schools were about 44 million (MONE, 2005). This represents only 0.1 per cent of the total student population in the country.

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[11] The term 'majority world' will be used in the rest of chapter.

[12] Unlike Law 2/1989, Law 20/2003 includes gifted/talented children in the area of special education. Although in English the terms used in the two Laws are the same, in Indonesian language they are different. The former uses the term *Pendidikan Luar Biasa* and the latter uses *Pendidikan Khusus*. This suggests the awareness in how language matters although whether it changes policy and practice is another issue.

The number of disabled children, if using the 7 per cent minimal WHO estimation, would be over three millions (WHO, 1999). This means that only 1.5 per cent of disabled children were educated in special schools.

Another factor resulting in low school enrolment of disabled children relates to legislation. The fact that there are no legal consequences for government and parents if a child fails to attend school, gives no basis for law enforcement[13]. This leaves certain groups of children whose education provisions are considered to be 'difficult' and 'expensive', such as working or street children, children living in isolated areas, and disabled children, to remain out of school. While they are in their schooling age, they might attend school, but many of them eventually drop out.

A further reason for the low number of disabled students is the high percentage of private special schools. Unlike mainstream primary schools which are mainly run by the government, of the 1312 special schools 77 per cent are privately and poorly funded (Depdiknas, 2003). These schools were primarily established by people who have family members with impairments, religious institutions, concerned people with no specific religious affiliation, and/or by special education teachers who failed to get a job in the existing special schools. Despite many teachers in private special schools are funded by the government, most schools have to struggle financially which make them difficult to expand their capacity. It was only after the enactment of the six-year compulsory education in 1984 that a number of state special schools were established in some cities. In addition, almost at the same time,

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[13] In the English text, 'universal' education is the term that is sometimes used instead of 'compulsory' education. In Indonesian language, however, the term remains the same which is *wajib belajar*.

integrated education for students with visual impairment was developed. The project was managed by the Centre of Curriculum which involved some special and mainstream schools, academics, and organisations of/for disabled people. The Ministerial Decree on Integrated Education for Disabled Children was a product of the project. This decree states that disabled students who can be integrated are:

> 'those who have the ability to follow education together with other normal students based on observation and assessment by the relevant experts' (Article 5).

The above statement certainly limits the integrated education policy only to disabled children who have a certain academic ability. This requirement obviously excludes a number of disabled children who, for any reason, are seen as not having the ability to follow the lessons in mainstream classes. The fact that many disabled pupils could not demonstrate that they have the academic ability because of the unsupportive school environment, is something that seems not to be taken into account.

In the implementation of integrated education, the main support provided by the Ministry was assigning special education teachers (GPK – *guru pembimbing khusus*) to the mainstream schools which have disabled pupils. The task of the GPK ranged from giving additional lesson in any subject areas to translating learning materials into Braille. Unfortunately, the development and implementation of integrated education had been focusing only on children with visual impairment. As a result, although the Ministry recognised that some children with other impairments were attending mainstream schools, they did not receive similar support (Depdikbud, 1989). This explains why by 2000/01, fifteen years after the establishment of the

Ministerial Decree, only less than a thousand disabled students had officially been integrated (Depdiknas, 2002, p. 5). This is very few considering that the total number of students at that time was over 44 million.

This situation seems to have changed in recent years when the Ministry began to develop 'inclusive education'. The change was indicated firstly by the wider scope of the 'inclusive education' project in relation to integrated education. When presenting the idea of inclusive education, to senior officials within the Ministry of Education, Nasichin (2003) explained that this new idea focused on 'children with special needs'. This term refers to children with impairment and other disadvantaged children such as those who come from poor families, nomads, street children, working children, and children of parents who suffer from illnesses (pp. 6-8). The emphasis on 'children with special needs' cannot be separated from his position as the Director of Special Education at that time. This emphasis raises concern about the possible response of the other senior officials to his presentation. They might think that inclusive education is a part of special education. This perception is not helpful because segregation, not inclusion, will still be thought as the best way in educating 'children with special needs'.

The second indicator of change was the recognition of the inadequacy of the system if a child failed in their education (ibid, 5). However, what Nasichin means is that the system was limited to teachers and schools. His definition of system seems to deny the existence of other components of the system such as central and local government authorities, and parents that contribute to the success or failure of education. By putting responsibility on teachers, the authorities fail to acknowledge the school's limitations in

addressing educational issues which are often complex and contradictory. These issues are often as a result of policies established and the lack of support given by the central government or local authorities. For example, the current policy on class acceleration, which is also carried out by the same Directorate, seems to send a different message on how to educate children in school. To increase competitiveness and to avoid having bright pupils underachieving, schools are encouraged to have special classes for those pupils whose IQ is above 125 (Direktorat PSLB, 2006). Extra encouragement and intervention are given to these pupils in order for them to finish the three-year junior/senior high school in two years.

The discussion above raises an issue of whether it is possible to develop inclusion in a situation where even segregated education cannot be accessed by the majority of disabled children. In developed countries, the fact that the ideas and formal policies of inclusion have tended to come after integration, and integration after segregation, suggests that the development of the dominant policy in education provision for disabled children tends to be sequential. In the majority world, there is a question of whether it is possible to leapfrog stages of development, from no education or segregation to inclusion directly.

Scarcity of resources

Although Indonesia is very rich in natural resources, such as oil, minerals and forest products, the country has been dependent on foreign aid for decades. Consequently, each year, a substantial part of the national budget is spent on debt repayment, including the interest. In the last three years this repayment amounted to a third of the total national budget

(Tumiwa, 2005). With respect to the education budget, a legal attempt had been made to boost its allocation. The Amended National Constitution 2002 states that the minimum budget for education is 20 per cent of the national budget. After the amendment, the percentage that the government and the House of Representatives allocated was actually very close to that minimum target. It was 19 per cent in 2005. Of this budget, only 8.1 per cent goes to schools managed by the Ministry of National Education, a percentage that the Indonesia Teacher Association (PGRI) regards as very low (Jakarta Post 8 February 2006). The rest goes to the local government at the district and provincial level as part of the general allocation fund (*Dana Alokasi Umum* or DAU)[14], and to other government institutions which have education and training programmes. As it is up to the local government how to use the local budget, there is always a concern on the actual allocation that schools would receive. It is common knowledge that, in the past, local authorities deducted from the education budget money that should be allocated to schools for their own purposes which sometimes could be seen as corruption. This concern is one of the reasons why people at the central level, including PGRI, think that a higher percentage of the budget should be managed by the Ministry of Education. However, there is no guarantee as well that the central government will be able to manage it in a more transparent, cost effective and accountable way. Indonesia has been known as one of the most corrupt countries (Tempo Interaktif 15 April 2006). The issue of resources, therefore, is not only related to the total amount allocated for education but also how this budget is managed.

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[14] DAU is part of the local government budget allocated by the central government.

By regional comparison, the allocation for education in Indonesia is also very low. Data presented in Supriyoko's paper (2004) shows that when the budget is considered as a percentage of gross national product (GNP), it will be 1.4 percent. This is very low in comparison with some other South East Asian countries such as Malaysia (5.2 per cent), Singapore (3 per cent), and Thailand (4.1 per cent). In nominal terms, the amount of education funding in 2005 was Rp26.5 trillion (£1.66 billion). With this allocation, issues on educational provision involving over 2.2 million teachers, 200 thousands schools, and 50 million students (MONE, 2005), become an ongoing issue with very little, or perhaps no improvement. Insufficient number of teachers[15], their low salaries that force them to have second jobs and poor textbook distribution, are only some of the issues that cannot be resolved without a substantial increase of funding for education.

Although there is always the issue of limited resources in developed countries, the scarcity of resources in Indonesia described above, like in other majority world countries, is so severe that it is difficult to compare service provision for disabled people to the ones available in the West. Artiles and Dyson (2005) describe the different circumstances between the two.

> The inclusion efforts of the affluent Western democracies, where well resourced segregated forms of special education are being merged with equally well resourced regular education, seem to be quite different from those of many economically poorer countries where special education has never been fully developed and where regular education is desperately lacking in resources. (p. 37)

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[15] As part of decentralisation policy, district government should be the one responsible in recruiting new teachers. However, only few districts have done so. This causes less number of the already insufficient number of teachers due to retirement. This forced the central government to carry out a crash programme where a number of new teachers were recruited based on yearly contract.

This situation results in different issues being contested. For example, in developed countries, the inclusion of students with visual, hearing, or physical impairment is relatively unproblematic due to the technologies and other resources available to support them. In Indonesia, many mainstream teachers cannot imagine having those children in their classrooms, although many schools, especially those in the rural areas, do not reject them if they register in their schools. At the same time, however, it is not uncommon that mainstream teachers have children with intellectual disabilities and children, who in the developed countries are classified as having dyslexia, autism, and other kinds of special educational needs. In the UK, for example, some of these children are educated in special schools. The presence of children with these types of special needs in mainstream schools in Indonesia is not because schools deliberately have the policy of accepting these children, but it is simply because they look 'normal' as their types of learning difficulties are not visible.

The issue of resource scarcity also relates to the Indonesian government's ability to establish state secondary schools and eventually relates to issues of selection, school choice and competition. In 2004, only 55 per cent of primary school graduates continued to junior secondary level (MONE, 2005). At the state junior high schools there have been many more applicants than what the schools can accommodate. Therefore, selection has to be carried out and one main criterion is students' academic achievement. What happens then is that 'favourite' schools will accept students with the highest achievement. Significantly, these students tend to be non disabled students and come from families who are of higher socio-economic status.

Other students would go to the average or below average state/private schools. The prestige of being able to send many graduates to favourite junior high schools leads to competition amongst primary schools particularly in urban areas. At the same time, it creates pressure on teachers.

Is inclusion possible in Indonesia?

Considering the situation in Indonesia where many disabled children are currently excluded from the system, I would argue that if the language of inclusion has to be used in education provision for disabled children, there should be space for policy initiatives or approaches which might be very different from those in the West. For example, there might be a policy of establishing segregated schools/units. By establishing new special schools/units in districts where currently there are none in place, at least disabled children will be included in the system. In addition, it is widely regarded that specialists, including special teachers, play an important role in developing integration/inclusion. In the current system, where special teachers can only be employed in special schools, the absence of this type of school in some districts leaves the issue of segregation, integration and inclusion untouched.

Barton (2003) argues that 'inclusive education is not an end in itself but a means to an end' (p.11). It is a process involving a re-evaluation of the premises on which education systems are based (Armstrong, 2003, p. 3). Given the different situation in Indonesia, the move towards inclusive education might have different strategies. As long as the strategy eventually increases the participation of all children, including disabled children, in terms of numbers and learning process, I would argue that there is a process of

inclusion. To impose the language of inclusive education in the way the West has interpreted the concept and in the manner in which policy has been implemented might be counter productive. In the majority world where a substantial number of disabled children still do not attend school, introducing 'inclusive education' in the way the developed countries understand it, will make people feel that they will not be able to do it. Miles and Hossain (1999) remind us.

> In the western world of disability, new terms are rapidly manufactured, consumed, discarded, and dumped in used condition on third world countries. Asian educational policy makers still trying to discover whether "normalisation" and "special needs" have any meaning for children in their cities and rural schools now meet western advisors nudging them onwards to "differentiation" and "inclusion" (p. 73).

How language matters in the field of disability study will be discussed more in the next section of this chapter. Two models of disability and their applicability in the Indonesian context will be the main focus of the discussion.

2.3. Social model of disability: the Indonesian context

The way in which those who are involved in the service provision for disabled people, formulate, develop, interpret and implement policy, is influenced by the way in which they perceive disability. This section focuses on definitions and perceptions of disability. It includes a discussion of the social model of disability, a model that consequently challenged the medical model, which used to dominate the discourse of disability. A discussion of this aspect is deemed important because, in the UK, this model has inspired the disabled people's movement in their struggle for their rights. In the Indonesian context, however, there are some reservations about the

application of the model and these will be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

2.3.1. The history of the social model of disability

The complexity of disability issues is indicated partly by the difficulty of defining a concept of disability that is accepted globally. Many definitions have been advanced and founded on diverse values and theoretical propositions (Gilson and Depoy, 2000, p. 207). The most frequent definition cited is the definition used by the World Health Organization (WHO) in the International Classification of Impairment, Disabilities and Handicaps (ICIDH2) in 1980.

> Impairment refers to 'any loss or abnormality of psychological or anatomical structure or function'. 'Disability' denotes 'any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being'. 'Handicap', is the 'disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or disability, that limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex and social and cultural factors) for that individual (WHO 1980 in Barnes 2003).

These definitions have been criticised for presenting impairment/s as the primary cause of disability and handicap (ibid). The definitions of 'disability' and 'handicap' are centred on the individual and do not adequately clarify the interaction between societal conditions and the abilities of the individual (UNESCAP, 1997). This kind of approach in perceiving disability is referred to as the 'medical model' and has been challenged by disabled activists, who view disability as a human rights issue.

The medical model, also known as an individual model, assumes that the difficulties faced by disabled people are a direct result of their individual impairment (Swain et al. 2003, p.138). The medical approach concentrates on a set of functional and physical limitations requiring technical interventions

and individual adjustment. This technical intervention can be in the form of medical treatment as disability is often linked to illness that can be cured in order for disabled individuals to function at the normal standard. Based on this definition, disability has been understood as a sickness, and disabled people have been understood as invalids (Hughes, 2003, p. 58).

The consequences of understanding disability as an individual problem are significant. Disabled people are perceived as unfortunate, useless, different, oppressed, and sick (Hunt, 1966, p. 3). They are seen as unfortunate, as they are unable to enjoy the 'goods' that the rest of society are accustomed to, such as marriage and having children, going to work and earning money, independence and freedom of movement. They are seen as useless as they are perceived as being unable to contribute to the economic good of the community. Disabled people are seen as different, abnormal, and marked out as members of minority groups (ibid, pp. 4-8). At the cultural level, abnormality is interpreted and represented as a personal tragedy and hence, people will regard disabled people with pity and fear (Hughes, 2003, p. 62). As a result of being viewed as negatively different, disabled people often meet prejudice, which expresses itself in discrimination, and even oppression (ibid, p.10). They are patronised and often undermined as human beings.

These definitions of disability that use a medical or individual model are criticised because they suggest that the life of a disabled person must be understood in terms of incapacity and confinement (ibid, p.59). Therefore, for disabled people, redefining disability that involves changes to the way they see themselves is essential. Reformulation of the definition is needed to

provide more positive imagery as part of the attempts to resolve problems faced by a number of groups such as women, black, gay and disabled people (Oliver, 1990, p. 3). It is part of attempts to dispel stigma attached to disabled people. In the 1970s in the UK, through the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) which was initiated by Paul Hunt, new definitions were developed and these became the starting point of the disabled people's movement in the UK. This definition was very different from the previous conception and can be seen as a radical conception:

> *Impairment* lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organism or mechanism of the body;

> *Disability* the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream of the social activities (UPIAS, 1976, pp. 3-4).

These definitions were brought to the international level through the Disabled People International Conference in Singapore in 1982. Vic Finkelstein, a prominent member of UPIAS, who chaired the meeting, was influential in putting forward ideas on the new definitions of disability and impairment as follows.

> Impairment is the functional limitation within the individual caused by physical, mental or sensory impairment.

> Disability is the lost or limitation of opportunity to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers (DPI cited in Oliver, 1996b).

Unlike the WHO definitions where there is a causal link between impairment, disability and handicap, this link cannot be seen in the DPI definition. In the WHO definitions, handicap is a result of disability, and disability is caused by impairment of an individual person. On the other hand, the DPI and UPIAS definitions are 'wholly and exclusively social' and

'disablement has nothing to do with the body' (ibid). It is not the difficulty of an individual functioning with physical, sensory or intellectual impairment which generates the problem of disability (Thomas, 1999, p. 14). Disability is considered in these definitions as something imposed on top of people's impairments by the way they are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society (UPIAS, 1975).

The approach of perceiving disability from a social perspective, known as the social model of disability, initiated and developed by disabled people, reflects their anger and frustration at the oppression and discrimination they experience. This model is crucial in shifting the way disability is perceived, especially by disabled people themselves. It gives disabled people a new understanding that it is not their impairment that makes them unable to be an active member of a society. It inspired the disabled people's movement with a new vision. Unlike the previous focus of organisations for disabled people, which were more concerned with rehabilitation and institutionalisation, organisations using social model perspectives emphasise the removal of environmental and social barriers.

The social model does not only change the way disabled people see themselves but also the way support for disabled people is provided. When disability is seen as tragedy and disabled people are regarded with pity, charity becomes the dominant discourse in the service provision. As a result, the extent of support depends upon the goodwill of people in donating their money, time or energy. Therefore, there is no certainty about the sustainability of support received by disabled people. Charity might positively affect more the people who give it rather than the people who receive it.

Charity-based provision is challenged by disabled people as it 'undermines their value as an autonomous human being' (Morris, 1991, p. 108). On the other hand, the social model supporters 'demand rights, not charity' (Barnes et al., 2002, p. 65). They demand the right to be treated equally. Unlike approaches using the medical model, which gives much authority to professionals to decide what is best for disabled people, the social model emphasises the need for disabled people to be the main parties in making decisions about their lives.

It cannot be denied that the social model of disability gives powerful strength to the disabled people's movement in their demand to remove social barriers. By separating impairment and disability, disabled people can make the case that disability is a public issue, not an individual problem. It is society, that isolates and excludes disabled people, and that needs to change. However, the simplicity of the model, which has the slogan 'disabled by society not by our bodies', makes it easy to be challenged (Shakespeare and Watson, 2002). Some scholars, amongst them disabled people, disagree with some conceptions of the social model with respect to its denial of individual impairment as part of the problems (Morris, 1991 and French, 1993). French, as a person with visual impairment, argues that even after social barriers have come down and relevant facilities are in place, people with visual impairment will still be unable to see, to work fast and to scan print (ibid, p. 19). External disabling barriers may create social and economic disadvantages but the subjective experience of disabled people's bodies is also an integral part of their everyday reality (Crow, 1996). Bury (2000), as an architect of ICIDH-2, contends that the social model does not

really respond to the problems faced by disabled people, by arguing that it has not produced 'a cogent approach which can serve the real practical needs of disabled people, or indeed the research community' (p. 1075). He based his argument mainly on the fact that chronic illness and disability are closely related (p. 1074). Oliver (1996a) disagrees and argues that doctors have a role to play in the lives of disabled people by

> stabilising their initial condition, treating any illness which may arise and which may or may not be disability related. The problem arises when doctors try to use their knowledge and skills to treat disability rather than illness (p36).

Thomas (2003), on the other hand, defends the social model in a different way. She argues that

> *If* the social model position were that *all* restrictions of activity experienced by people with impairment are caused by social barriers (and this is how it sometimes appears), then this would indeed be an oversocialized stance. But this is not the claim made in the UPIAS reformulation of disability cited above. The UPIAS statement asserts that disability comes into being when aspects of contemporary social structure and practice operate to disadvantage and exclude people with impairments through a restriction of their activity. Disability is not equated with restricted activity *per se*, as it is in the ICIDH scheme. The potential for impairment to limit activities is not denied, but such restrictions do not constitute *disability*; (p. 43).

The criticism of the ICIDH2 definitions led to the attempt to develop new ones that are expected to be more widely acceptable by including the environmental factors. Attempts are also made to integrate the medical and social models, for example by the WHO. The organisation uses a 'biopsychosocial' approach to develop International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, known as ICF (WHO, 2001, p. 20).

> Disability is characterised as the outcome or result of a complex relationship between an individual's health condition and personal factors, and of the external factors that represent the circumstances in which the individual lives... Society may hinder an individual's performance because either it creates barriers (e.g. inaccessible

buildings) or it does not provide facilitators (e.g. unavailability of assistance devices) (ibid, p. 17).

Hurst (2005) suggests that the ICF could be a useful tool for assessment and statistical application using a social model approach (p. 70). However, she would prefer the DPI to persuade the WHO to abolish all the classification altogether. She argues that:

> ... it does still give the medical professions the opportunity to ignore environmental factors, only use it for disabled people, and just continue to repeat their prejudices in the past (ibid).

From the discussions on the social model of disability, it seems that there is no single definition that can be widely accepted. Matshedisho (2005) worries about the impasse of the social model of disability.

> Everything that the disability rights movement disliked was labelled medical model of disability. Problems are not analysed and contextualised....the dichotomy of the 'social' and 'medical' model is equivalent to a discretionary accept vs. reject by the proponents of social model of disability. No grey area in between permitted and no alternatives are permitted (p. 90).

In contexts where the disability rights movements are invisible due to other dominant rights movements, such as race and gender in South Africa and political freedom in Indonesia, it is questionable whether a social model of disability can be applied in ways similar to the UK or other developed countries. In Indonesia, there are at least two reservations to the applicability of the social model: the change in language of disability and the discourse of rights and charity, which I shall now explain in the new few paragraphs.

One indicator of the change of people's attitude towards disabled people is by the change in language which they use. Unlike in the English world where disability and impairment have an interrelated meaning, in the

Indonesian language that is not the case. The word *cacat*, which in English is the same as impairment, does not always relate to *ketidakmampuan* or disability. The latter is not commonly connected with impairment. It refers to an inability to do something in general terms.

The second reservation relates to the demand of the proponents of the social model for rights-based and not charity-based provision in supporting disabled people. This needs to be examined very carefully, considering the economic condition of the country and the value system of the people. In Indonesia, most of the population claim to be Muslims and in Islam charity is one of the five pillars that should be exercised by any Muslim.

2.3.2. The change of the language of disability

Language plays an importance role in the way people perceive disability. Clark and Marsh (2002) articulate this issue as follows:

> The language that people use reflects what they think and can influence how they deal with situations. If they behave as if the problem is with the individual, they will take a different approach than if they regard the problem as being with the attitudes, systems and practices that create disabling barriers (no page number).

In Western society, in an effort to remove the stigma associated with the labels of the past which were discouraging and oppressing, the old language has been the subject of criticism and replaced by a new language. In line with the social model, disabled people reject many terms that portray them with negative connotations. Terms such as moron, idiot, cretin, cripple, lame, dwarf, midget and lunatic are amongst other terms that are rejected and replaced by the new term 'disabled people' (ibid). In legislation, changes in language are affected by the dominant discourse of the time. For example, in the UK legislation on education, Benjamin (2001) observes that children

who nowadays are defined as having learning difficulties were known as 'idiots' in the late 19th century when disabled people were the object of Christian pity and charity (p. 27). The term changed into 'feeble-minded' in the early 20th century, when the local authorities were given rights to provide education for disabled children if they wished. When the medical hegemony lingered in 1921-1941, the patients were referred to as 'mental defectives' subject to educational and other 'treatment'. The 'objective' tests such as 'intelligence quotient' (IQ), were used to determine whether a child fell into the category of 'idiot', 'imbecile' or 'feeble minded' (ibid, pp. 32-37). Nowadays, the term 'student with special educational needs' is formally used.

The change to a new language does not always occur in the same way and time in different parts of the world (or sometimes in the same parts of the world), even when they share a common culture and language, as in the case of the US and the UK. A term might be acceptable in one place but not in another. For example, in the US, a memorandum from the Office of Civil Rights in 1993 suggested that some terms be changed based on the Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1992. It was suggested, for example, to use the term 'persons with disability' instead of 'disabled people' (Jernigan, 1994). Many people prefer to use this term (both in the UK and US) because people come first, not the disability (Snow, 2001). This term has been rejected by the British civil rights movement as it implies that the disabling effect rests within the individual person rather than coming from society. The term 'disabilities' when used in this context refers to a person's medical condition and thus confuses disability with impairment (Clark and Marsh, op. cit.). Some national and international organisations of/for disabled people do

not agree with the term 'people with disability' as it is considered offensive and prefer to use the term 'disabled people'. Other terms are used including 'intellectually challenged' or 'differently able', terms that according to Corbett (1996) are 'too gimmicky and too inclusive' (p. 58). There are also people who tend to use the old language because it has 'precise meaning' such as 'mentally retarded' (Burling, 2002).

The changes in the language of disability are even more complex when comparisons between countries using different languages are made, as the language system interacts with the social system (Bourdiau cited in Ha, 2000, p. 4). In similar fashion, what has been happening in western countries regarding the influence of language and culture is also occurring in Indonesia. One of the factors influencing that language dynamic is the presence of a number of scholars within a society who have studied special education in western countries, as well as the presence of foreign consultants in projects funded by international donor bodies. International networking of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) of/for disabled people whose funding often comes from institutions in western countries has also contributed to the change of language.

For disabled people in Indonesia the influence of Western languages, particularly English, raises some complex and difficult issues. The absence of literal terms in Indonesian dictionaries makes it difficult to translate the new western language into the Indonesian language with exact meaning. In addition, the context of the creation of new language can be different. In the UK, as discussed earlier, the disability language basically changes in line with the change of dominant discourse used to perceive disabled people. For

example, the term 'disabled people' was produced as part of the development of the social model discourse initiated by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in the 1970s whose view is that society disables physically impaired people (Shakespeare and Watson, 2002).

In the Indonesian language, the term "impairment" does have an exact translation which is *cacat,* but the terms "disability" and "disabled people" do not. One scholar has attempted to translate disability as *'ketidakmampuan'* (Wibowo, 2001). The sense and meaning are very close but are not exactly the same as many non-disabled people also have *'ketidakmampuan'* or disability. This word is a common word that is often used when people are talking about the incapacity of people to do things in general terms. Wibowo disagrees with the term disabled persons/people because the literal translation in Indonesian language would be *'orang tuna-mampu'*. For him, the meaning of this term if it is translated back into English is a person who does not have ability. This is a very offensive term. He tends to use the English term 'persons with disabilities' or *'orang dengan ketidakmampuan'* since the people or persons come first, not the disability.

A disabled activist, Setia, who lost his sight in a traffic accident, does not use either 'disabled people' or 'people with disability' and prefers to use the term 'diffable' (different ability). Since there is no exact translation, an English Indonesian word 'difabel' was created (UNESCAP, 2000). This might be rather similar to the word *'penyandang kelainan'* or 'people with differences' which is often used to replace *'penyandang cacat'* or 'people with impairment'. Unlike Law 4/1997 on Disabled People or *Undang-undang No.*

4/1997 tentang Penyandang Cacat (Indonesia, 1997) which uses the term *'penyandang cacat'*, Law 2/1989 on the National Education System and the Government Regulation 72/1991 on Special Education use this term to refer to learners who have physical and mental impairment. Setia might not be in favour of this term as it tends to have a negative connotation and is not empowering. *Penyandang* is mainly used to refer to those who 'suffer' from a certain condition especially impairment.

Although *'difable'* seems to be more neutral and less offensive, it is not widely accepted. Komardjaja (2002), an ambulant disabled woman who received her PhD in Australia, argues that this term does not have the effect of including disabled people in society. 'Difference' signifies nothing because everyone has different abilities but not everyone has impairment. She suspects that the proponents of the adoption of the term 'diffable people' feel that this term is embarrassing and that the vague generality of this term may cover up people's physical malformation. She herself prefers to use the term 'disabled people' or *'penyandang cacat'* because it is straightforward, uncomplicated, and does not try to cover up the reality of being disabled with euphemistic expressions. The social model of disability, which considers society as the agent for disabling people with impairments, does not appear to fit well with the term 'diffable'. This term tends to focus only on those with impairments, while the social model sees disability as part of a social problem involving not only disabled people but also non-disabled people. Another scholar, Abdurrakhman, in my conversation with him in 2001, basically agrees with the meaning of disabled people in English but he does not have a short Indonesian term for it. Instead, he describes it in the

following way: "people with impairment are not disabled if they are provided with the necessary support".

The construction of a new language does not dispel completely the old ones especially in the colloquial language. People might use the politically correct language in official, formal or written circumstances but this might not be the case in informal conversation on a daily basis. Therefore, although they use the new language, if they do not agree with the ideas behind it, their attitudes do not change. On the other hand, the different interests of medical professionals, teachers, social workers, disabled people themselves, their families, and politicians in their policymaking and daily practice, lead to an unpleasant continuity with the past. This implies that people can use the same language but mean different things. Some people might agree with the ideas of the language but interpret it in different ways. Disabled people might see the way in which new language is used as patronising, which makes them feel that they do not have control over themselves and how they are defined. For those who prefer to use the old language, for example those in medical professions, one of their justifications is the need to label based on categories developed using some kind of assessment in order to find the appropriate treatment/support. They contend that, for them, changing the language might not be helpful as the new terminologies might blur the real condition of a disabled person.

The different interpretations of the same terms suggest the relativity of what can be considered to be better and more acceptable language. This is affected by at least two factors: how broadly each individual person learns about other views and their experience as a disabled person or their

interaction with disabled people. For example, the reasons why some people prefer the straightforward terms might be that they find the new, more polite language useless, as it does not change in a more positive way how the government and society perceive and support disabled people. This is especially true in the case of majority world where provision for disabled people moves very slowly. Another reason relates to the culture of a particular society where labelling does not necessarily imply disrespect or discrimination (although it may do) (Coleridge, 1993, p. 103).

Although there are disagreements on the use of the new language, it is undeniable that some positive changes have occurred. In the UK, the term 'special educational needs' in the Warnock Report changed the way teachers saw children that used to be considered 'hopeless'. It rescued some categories from the *ineducable* mire they might have lingered in (ibid, 14). This suggests that the process of changing language accompanied by changing attitudes is a slow process. The new labels will not easily lead people to treat disabled people more humanely but, as Oliver (1994) says, it increases the possibility.

In Indonesia, the new language (in English) does not seem to have had a significant impact on disabled people. Firstly, this is partly because the discussion of the change of language often takes place primarily amongst disabled people themselves. The mainstream community are not well informed about the new language and its meaning. Secondly, partly as a result of the first reason, the new language is not sufficiently accompanied by attempts to change the attitude of the government and society toward disabled people and the attitude of the disabled people themselves. In the

UK, if a person is labelled as a disabled person, it implies that particular benefits and support will be provided for them. In Indonesia, if a person is categorised as a disabled person, it is most likely that no support will be provided for them. Thirdly, the new language, whilst it might be viewed as more polite and less offensive, does not really empower disabled people, as it tends to be translations of different languages such as Sanskrit or English and may therefore fail to accurately reflect the import it may have in the original tongue in which the "new language" was formulated. Besides, there is a tendency for people to use a language which comes from the western countries without looking at the local context carefully. As a result, people might use the new language but the meaning is the same as the old one. This way, people might think that they have changed but actually the change is only at the surface or rhetorical level.

The creation of a new language of disability in Indonesia, which aims to empower disabled people, faces many challenges. Apart from the different interpretations of the new language, it is a challenge to translate into the same meaning over 300 local languages, most of which are still widely spoken. The complexity in creating, using and interpreting the old and new languages both in *Bahasa Indonesia* and the local languages, makes it difficult to draw a parallel between what happens in the West, especially in the UK, and in Indonesia with regard to the social construction of disability.

2.3.3. The discourse of rights and charity

One of the demands of the disability movement, which uses the social model in their approach, is that support provided for them should be based on rights and not charity. Charity-based provision is rejected because of

some problems attached to it. The first problem is the uncertainty and the limited coverage of the support as its resources depend on the generosity of people who make contributions in the form of funding and/or time. Secondly, in the UK, charity is rejected by the new disability movement because it is perceived as a way for individuals and society to avoid their obligations to remove social barriers and support needy members of the community (Shakespeare and Watson, 2000 and Swain et al., 2003). Thirdly, charity is patronising as it encourages people to see disabled people as helpless, unable to survive on their own, and in need of kind-hearted able-bodied people to support them (Red Disability 2004). Whilst a lot of good may be done in the name of charity, it also creates distance and inequality between the giver and receiver; what Nasa Begum (1990) calls 'the burden of gratitude'. Lastly, charity creates a culture of dependency (Hill cited in Morris, 1991, p. 105). This dependency is also created from the images of disability in the charity fund-raising activities where disabled people are portrayed in ways that seek an emotional reaction. The emotions, which would provoke people to give money, are those of pity and of guilt (ibid, pp. 105-106).

The negative impact of charity is clearly not unique to the UK. However, demanding rights by undermining charity would not be a sensible approach. In similar fashion that approach would also not work in Indonesia. First, given the social, economic and political situation in the country, government cannot be expected to fully replace the current provision by the charity organisations. Support provision based on rights discourse needs a sustained supply of financial resources and long-term commitment, which is more likely to be achieved if that role is played by the government, not by

individuals who volunteer their time, money and services. However, to have some resources in place, there are some approaches, such as persuasion, debates, media campaign and lobbies, that have to be adopted by policy makers, disabled activists, and members of central or local councils. Unfortunately, the environment and opportunities to support these do not strongly exist at the moment in Indonesia. Without resources available, the language of rights tends to be ineffective (Matshedisho, 2005, p.294).

Secondly, the discourse of charity, as well as duty and obligation, has been more dominant than the discourse of rights in Indonesia, where 80 per cent of the population claim to be Muslims. One of the five pillars in Islam is *zakat*, one of many forms of charity. In the Qur'an there are many verses mentioning the obligation to pay *zakat*. A specific example is Surah 51 Verse 19.

> And in their properties[16] there was the right of the *Sa'il* (the beggar who asks) and the *Mahrum* (the poor who does not ask others) (Translated by al-Hialli and Khan).

Besides *zakat*, there are some other forms of charity in Islam, namely, *sadaqah* and *waqf*. *Zakat* is obligatory to those who have sufficient wealth[17] and consists of several different types such as that of income, possessions, and *fitrah* (food given to the poor during end of fasting month, Ramadhan). *Sadaqah* is a charity in any form which is not obligatory but strongly recommended. *Waqf* (endowment) is given for something that has long-term

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[16] Some translate it as wealth or wealth and properties.

[17] Sufficiency is relative. It depends on each individual judgement. In practice, people who seem to be economically better off than others might feel that they are not entitled of paying *zakat*. On the other hand, those who are seen as poor might allocate part of their minimum income for *zakat*.

use by the community, such as giving land that will be used for the building of mosques, schools, hospitals and orphanages.

Because people give to charity for the pleasure of Allah and reward in the afterlife, gratitude after giving or receiving charity, is gratitude to Allah. The giver is grateful for being able to exercise his/her obligation and the receiver is grateful because Allah gives him/her *rezky*, something that she can enjoy through the giver. Nanji (2003) describes the way *sadaqa* is given in the Islamic way.

> Sadaqa is better given discreetly to those in need, rather than for the purpose of public acknowledgement (Q2: 271). The Quran is critical of those who give in order to appear generous; ostentatious public behaviour renders a charitable act self-serving, thereby negating or compromising its value (Q2: 264). The moral agency and value of sadaqa is undermined when it practised in a self-serving way or conceived in purely materialistic terms. According to the Quran, words of kindness and compassion are better than sadaqa coupled with insult (Q2: 263) (no page number).

Sadaqa is not necessarily in tangible forms, hence it can be carried out by anybody regardless of how poor or how disabled s/he may be. It can be in the form of time, energy, prayer, advice and even a smile. Syed (2000) explains it as follows.

> Prophet of Allah (SAS) said, 'your smile for your brother is Sadaqah. Your removal of stones, thorns or bones from the paths of people is Sadaqah. Your guidance of a person who is lost is Sadaqah' (Related by Bukhari from Ibn Hibban's Sahih) (no page number).

From the above description of the value of charity within the Islamic community, one critical issue is raised. If the teaching of Islam places a strong emphasis on charity then there should be no poverty in places where most of the population are Muslims. Poverty is, however, widespread in

many countries where Muslims are the dominant population. El-Daly (2002)

points out:

> At present, many Islamic countries, as well as countries with Muslim
> communities, face severe social and economic challenges and are
> desperate to depend on international foreign aid (sic). In many of these
> countries, the old traditions of giving have been lost, or have become
> stagnant due to the suppressive policies and regulations of
> governments, and perhaps most importantly, the lack of trust between
> citizens, government, and civil society. Institutionalized philanthropic
> systems that once characterized Islamic nations for centuries, such as
> the existence of different types of *awqaf* (endowments) that served
> diversified social development purposes, disappeared in many Islamic
> countries (no page number).

Another explanation of the poverty in many Islamic countries is that

individualism, consumerism and hedonism have become the new dominant

values of many Muslim lives, which give less space for charity. No

enforcement and poor distribution of the application of charity are two other

possible reasons. Although *zakat* is obligatory for Muslims, there is no

enforcement to ensure that they carry out their obligations. Indonesia, in a

way, can be seen as a secular country as the practice of religion is not strictly

regulated. It is up to the individual to decide whether s/he will pay *zakat* and

exercise other forms of charity, how much and to whom s/he wants to give it.

The role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and community leaders is limited

to the encouragement of charity giving. The most common way of giving

tangible forms of charity is by handing it directly to, for example, poor people

in the neighbourhood, to beggars, and those who are ill, or indirectly, for

example, through the local mosque, especially during Friday prayer and

other regular gatherings,. Some cities have BAZIS (Board of Islamic Zakat,

Infaq, and Sadaqah) to organise the collection and distribution of charity.

However, most people prefer to manage their charity personally. Some

modern Muslim theorists have advocated the integration of *zakat* as one element of an overall tax policy in Muslim countries to develop further the ideal social welfare state (Nanji, 2003).

With respect to institutionalised support for disabled people, charity managed by the Muslim community in Indonesia is mainly in the form of education. A number of special schools are organised by Islamic organisations. Some organisations also provide training and accommodation for disabled people, such as training in massage for people with visual impairment. However, the coverage of these organisations is limited. The majority of disabled people are mainly supported by their nuclear and/or extended families.

The discussion on the discourse of rights above does not suggest that it is not effective or that it misleads the disability movement. The language of rights is still useful as an important campaigning tool and has an important symbolic value (Drewett, 1999, p.127). It cannot be denied that the language of rights has been used at the international level, and recently at the national level, as a means to obtain equality and justice. However, the language of rights should be used carefully in a society where duty, obligation and charity are inseparable and more dominant. Rights-based support provision is something that should be carried out mainly by the government. Unfortunately, with the current economic and political situation in the country, it is unrealistic to expect that the demand for rights-based provision will be fulfilled at a satisfactory level. Charity, therefore, is unavoidable. It is not only because of the limitation of the government in supporting its citizens, but because charity has an important place in the

value system of the people. Charity is a duty that should be exercised by everybody whether s/he is poor or rich and whether s/he is disabled or not. Charity, therefore, is something that can be accepted and even encouraged. However, that would be achieved only if charity is practised in ways that are not patronising nor dependency creating. That would be achieved as well if people who believe in the value of charity put it into practice which seems not to be the case for many people. Demanding rights, therefore, could be the necessary language disabled people need to use in order for them to have the opportunity to exercise their duties as contributing members of any community, as participating citizens, and as good Muslims.

2.4. Conclusion

The very low school enrolment of disabled children in Indonesia raises the question as to whether the policies established and implemented to achieve the goal of Education for All are actually excluding them. Exclusion is not only in the form of segregated education but also exclusion from the system to the extent that disabled children do not attend school at all. With respect to segregation policy, there has been no substantial increase in the number of special schools. There has also been insufficient support to implement and develop further the policy of integrated education, which was established more than twenty years ago. These situations resulted in the low number of disabled children having access to education.

The new language of 'inclusion' has been used in recent years within the Ministry of National Education. The understanding of inclusion and how it is translated into policy, however, can be different from the case in developed countries. These differences are the result of the different contexts between

Indonesia and the developed countries with respect to the scarcity of resources, the change in language, and the different understanding of the discourse of rights and charity. There is one important question raised from this situation in relation to the main education agenda in Indonesia, namely, the completion of nine-year compulsory education for children aged 7-15 year which according to Presidential Instruction (*Instruksi Presiden*) no. 5/2006 should be achieved by the year 2008 (Indonesia, 2006) 7 years earlier than the time targeted by the United Nations. Whether the move toward 'inclusion' will contribute to the increased participation of all children in general and disabled children in particular is questionable considering the experience in the past with the integrated education policy. One way to get some understanding of this issue is by investigating the ways in which current policies are perceived and implemented by different education authorities at the central, provincial and district levels. In addition, how these policies influence the way in which teachers support their students in class will help us understand how and why certain policies can be implemented or fail.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

3.1. Introduction

This case study of 8 primary schools is in the Sub-district (*kecamatan*) of Jatiwulung. This *kecamatan* is located in Kabuaran, a rural district (*kabupaten*) in Java Island, Indonesia. It was in this *kecamatan* that, since 1999/2000, a try-out project on integrated education for children with learning difficulties, including disabled children, has been conducted by the Ministry of National Education (MONE). From time to time until 2001, I worked at different levels of involvement in this project. One of the challenges the project faced was that very little relevant information was available to start with. Educational policy with regard to disabled children is an unpopular issue as far as researchers and policy makers in Indonesia are concerned. In the mean time, a major political change, namely decentralisation, was taking place, resulting in uncertainty about how education provision would be delivered. In this context the project was carried out with a very limited budget.

3.2. Focus of the research

The focus of my research has been redirected several times. The initial topic was 'Educational policy for education provision for children with special needs in Indonesia'. It is a very broad topic, as it covers the discussion at all levels of government policy and school level. However, as the influence of the macro (central, provincial, and district) policies on the micro (school) policies is very strong, it is not possible to discuss one separately from the

others. Therefore, the focus of the research in terms of policy levels will incorporate both macro and micro factors.

The first concern in focusing my research relates to the problematic use of the terms referring to disabled children which are different in legislation, official documents and daily language. The confusion over which term needs to be used to clarify the focus of the study is due to the various meanings of each term given by various bodies of government reports and legislation (e.g. Warnock Report 1978; WHO, 1980; UPIAS, 1976; GR no. 27/1991; GR 4/1997). The different terms used in the official and semi official languages, as well as the daily language, used by officials within the Ministry of National Education all add to the confusion. The terms 'children with special needs', 'children with impairment', or 'children with learning difficulties' are often used interchangeably by people in the Ministry of Education in Indonesia, though only the term 'children with impairment'[18] is recognized in the legal system. The term 'children with impairment' is often translated as 'disabled children' in reports written in English (GoI-Australia, 1998). The term 'disabled children' or 'children with impairment' according to Government Regulation No. 72/1991 on Special Education covers only those who have physical and intellectual impairment and those who have emotional and behavioural challenges. It is not included in the regulation children who have different kinds of learning needs such those who have autistic spectrum disorders and dyslexia. Despite this regulation, in the recent years some special schools for children autistic spectrum disorders were established.

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[18] In the Government Regulation No. 72/1991 the Indonesian term used is *siswa penyandang kelainan*. The literal translation of this term is '*pupils with differences*'. However, because all categories of these children stated in that regulation relate to impairment, the translation used in this study is 'children with impairment'.

In practice, especially in rural areas, it is very rare to have professional assessment to determine whether a child is categorised as having impairment. Therefore, the same child can be seen as a disabled child, by some people and not by others. The term 'children with special educational needs' is used to include not only those who have a visible impairment, but also those who might have an invisible impairment and those who have difficulties in learning, regardless of the cause of the difficulties (Gol-Australia, 1998). The term 'learning difficulty' also refers to those who have difficulties in learning, regardless of the cause of the difficulty. This term has been officially used in some documents used in teacher training activities organised by the Ministry of Education since 1999. At school level, these three terms are not recognised as much as labels such as 'a slow learner', 'an idiot' or 'a naughty child'.

The focus of this study is on disabled children. In accordance with the social model of disability adopted in this study, the term 'disabled' children refers to any children who tend to be discriminated and excluded because of the differences they have. The differences the children have can be a result of impairment, specific learning needs, illness and other factors that hinder them in participating in the learning process. Included in this term will be children who are currently described as having special educational needs and / or children with difficulties in learning. The reasoning for this is that, if children 'with special needs' and those with 'learning difficulties' are assessed it is likely that they would be categorised as disabled children or those who should receive 'special education'. For example, some pupils who may be commonly considered as naughty might fall into a category of those

who have emotional and challenging behaviour or *tunalaras*. Those terms cannot be separated from the main aim of study which is to develop an in-depth understanding of why and how a number of children do not finish their primary schooling or do not attend school whatsoever.

One of the reasons for selecting 'disabled children' as the focus of this research is the very few studies conducted on this issue. Research in this area is not popular and is poorly funded. For many people, education for disabled children is perceived to be very expensive compared with that for other children (Hegarty, 1993). It is also perceived as complicated because the area of disability covers children with all kinds of impairment including those with intellectual disability. In a setting where resources are very limited, many of the authorities assume that it is not possible to provide education for all disabled children, as they have to prioritise for many more 'normal' children. Investing some funding for research in this area, therefore, is not seen as cost effective. By focusing on disabled children, it is expected that this research will encourage more studies to be carried out to develop policy strategies for more accessible education.

The second concern relates to whether the focus of the study will be on the current policy on special education or the policy on inclusion. On the one hand, by focusing on current policies in special education, there will be many policies related to the exclusion of disabled children that will be left out. This is due to the fact that in the Indonesian context, the education provision for disabled children is arranged under a special education policy. Thus, this will not help in understanding the broader picture. In contrast, the study of current special education policy will limit our understanding of how the

mainstream education policy fails to give access to a certain number of children, some of whom might have special educational needs, not caused by (visible) impairments. This understanding is crucial to the realisation of the policy on 'education for all', especially on the completion of a nine-year basic education. There is a similarity between this policy and the inclusion policy, in that all children, regardless of their differences, should be given access to education. However, although a project on inclusive education has been explored since 2002, focusing this study on inclusion policy would not be appropriate as no such policy formally exists in Indonesia.

The policy to achieve 'education for all', although it is mentioned in almost every policy related to access to education as a basic consideration, tends to be rhetorical. Many of the policies related to widening access to education do not give enough space in which to engage with the issue of diversity which is an essential aspect of inclusion. At the primary school level, increase of access to education tends to focus on the provision of non-formal education for those who could not complete their study. At the junior secondary school level, establishing new schools, classrooms, having afternoon classes and organising open junior secondary schools are the most common programmes to address the issue of access.

3.3. Epistemology of the study

The epistemology of this study is 'social constructionism'. Social constructionism 'refers to constructing knowledge about reality, not constructing reality itself' (Shadish cited in Patton, 2002, p. 96). It is assumed that human beings 'do not have direct access to a singular, stable, and fully knowable external reality' (Patton, 2002, p. 96). Neimeyer (1993)

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argues that 'all of our understandings are contextually embedded, interpersonally forged, and necessarily limited' (cited in Patton 2002, p. 96). Social constructionism rejects the positivist's belief that objectivity is a characteristic that resides in the individual scientist and that scientists are responsible for putting aside their biases and beliefs and seeing the world as it 'really' is. For social constructivists, the best hope of achieving objectivity is to 'triangulate across multiple fallible perspectives' (Trochim, 2002, p. 2). Using this approach, the question of objectivity is a topic of critical importance. Social constructionists make clear that official ideologies about objectivity and the scientific method are particularly questionable guides to how scientific knowledge is actually *made*. Just as for the rest of us, what scientists believe or say they do and what they really do have a very loose fit (Haraway, 2000). Kuhn argues that:

> '....tightly organized communities of specialists were the central forces in scientific development. Ideas that derived from brilliant individual scientific minds were actually shaped by and dependent on paradigms of knowledge that were socially constructed and enforced through group consensus' (cited in Patton, 2002, p. 99).

His analysis is controversial and subject to criticism but it has contributed to sceptical perspectives with regard to the nature of scientific truth. No truth or 'true meaning' about any aspect of existence is possible in an absolute sense (ibid, p. 100). The reality is either constructed or created by individuals. Under such an 'ontological position', there might be an infinite number of constructions, hence there are multiple realities (Merriam, 1998, pp. 83-84). Disability is a socially constructed concept as argued by the proponents of the social model of disability. The way disability is defined and perceived very much depends on factors such as shared values, customs,

the system of labelling, and the social rules, which might be different from one social context to another.

This study is interested in the experience and perceptions of different people involved in the policymaking and practice of education provision for disabled children/young people, within different units and levels of the educational system. Comparisons and interpretations of these multiple perspectives and how they are constructed will be critically analysed in order to understand the nature and extent of the education disabled children received.

3.4. Research objectives

This study is set within a social justice framework in which the right of disabled children to have access to education is of central importance. Therefore, the aims of the study are:

1. To examine the current policy and practice related to disabled children at different levels of the governmental system and their influence on policy making at the school level in supporting their pupils, including disabled children.

2. To explore and identify several possible policy changes needed to increase the access of disabled children to education.

3.5. Research questions

The main question of this research is how and why disabled children are excluded/included in the school system. To address these questions two sub-sets of questions were developed. The first sub-set is directed at central and local government at the provincial and district levels. The second sub-set is directed mainly to mainstream schools. Each main question has some

specific questions, in order to provide the more detailed information this study needs.

1. What policies, at the different levels of government institutions responsible for the education of disabled children, are currently in place?

    a. What do policy makers say about education provision for disabled children?

    b. What efforts have been made to improve the access of disabled children to education?

    c. What are the constraints on educational provision for disabled children?

2. To what extent have these policies influenced the way schools support disabled children?

    a. What do teachers and head teachers say about school policy relating to enrolment, the grading system, and pupil exclusions?

    b. What do mainstream teachers think about disabled children in their classes?

    c. How do teachers in special schools think about integrated or inclusive education?

3.6. Research design

Based on the research questions, a case study approach, using mainly qualitative methods, is seen as the most appropriate design. As a research strategy Yin characterises three conditions for a case study: the why and how research questions, the focus on contemporary events, and absence of control of behavioural events (Yin, 2004, p. 5).

Case study, especially a single case study, is often seen as a strategy that lacks rigour, the amount of data and their difficulties to manage, and offering little basis for generalisation (Yin, 2004; Merriam, 1988; Nisbet, 1978). However, despite the prejudice against case study research, researchers continue to use this method. With careful planning and a well-written report, case study has much to offer.

Case study examines the social context by looking at different perspectives. It recognises 'embeddedness of social truth and tries to address the issues raised from research questions' (Alderman, 1980, pp. 59-60). This makes a case study approach rich in data and strong in reality. As data are collected from various sources to catch their different perspectives, a case study report will be more accessible for a wider audience as the language used is expected to be 'less esoteric' (ibid). This is very important as this study aims to reach an audience beyond the academic community. Because the data from a case study is so rich, it gives an opportunity to its readers to 're-interpret the raw data collected' (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Another benefit of a case study is the possibility of identifying a pattern of influences from the data collected that is too infrequent to be discernible by the more traditional statistical analysis (ibid).

3.7. Unit of analysis of the study

In selecting the unit of analysis of the study, schools were not selected randomly but purposively. Two units of analysis consisting of four regular primary schools were purposively and conveniently selected. The selection is based on the assumption that one wants to discover, understand, gain

insight; therefore one needs to select a sample from which one can learn the most (ibid, p. 48).

The 8 schools selected are located in *kecamatan* where there has been an ongoing project on integrated education for children with impairment/learning difficulties. This project, funded by the Ministry of National Education, involved one school cluster, consisting of 8 mainstream primary schools (all used pseudonyms). Four of them have been selected as the school sample for this study. Four other schools, which are located at the same *kecamatan* (sub-district), namely Kecamatan Jatiwulung (pseudonym) and belong to different school clusters, were not involved in the project. Both groups were selected because they have or used to have pupils with learning difficulties or impairment in their schools and hence they are information rich and illuminative (Patton, 2002, p. 46).

At least three differences exist between the pilot and non-pilot schools. The first is that the former was given some training on integrated education, organised by the Office of Research and Development. It can be expected, therefore, that head teachers and teachers from these schools would have relatively more ideas on issues surrounding disabled pupils in mainstream schools. The second difference is that, in the pilot schools, one visiting teacher from a special school was assigned to support disabled pupils or other pupils classified as having special needs. Regardless of the number of disabled pupils in a school, a special school teacher visited them once a week for a few hours. The last difference is that the pilot schools were given a substantial amount of grant funding by the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education.

Amongst the schools in the same group, although they have similarities with regard to their involvement in the project, they also have some differences in terms of location, status of schools (public/private), and the number of pupils as seen in Table 1. All these sample schools, have six classes except SDM Batuputih, which has twelve classes. Six of them are located in different sites. None of them has a sufficient number of teachers. The number of teachers in a school with six classes should be at least eight teachers, consisting of six class teachers, one religious education teacher and one physical education teacher.

Of the eight schools, two schools are Islamic private schools. In these schools some of the teachers are from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and hence they have a religious education instead of a primary education background. Due to the shortage of teachers with the latter background, they teach not only religious education but also other subjects.

Table 1: The school sample

Name of schools	No. of pupils	No. of teachers public	Private	Status	location
Pilot School					
1. SD Tirtomadyo	137	6		Public	Urban
2. SD Kedungpring	64	7	1	Public	Rural
3. SD Karanglo	36	6		Public	Remote
4. SDM Batuputih	154	7		Private	Rural
Non-pilot School					
5. SD Karangan	74	4		Public	Rural
6. SD Watugunung	72	8		Public	Rural
7. SD Dukuhsekti	53	6		Public	Rural
8. SDM Banjaran	73	4	2	Private	Rural

Note: SD: public primary school
        SDM: Islamic private primary school

With respect to location, basically all schools are in rural areas. However, one school is located at the centre of Kecamatan Jatiwulung. This

means access to different kinds of public facilities, such as public transportation, market, and government offices, is much easier than is the case for the other schools. One school is considered to be located in a relatively remote area because of both distance from any major centre and inaccessibility.

Even though to a certain extent a comparison on the way in which disabled pupils were supported between the pilot schools and the non-pilot schools will be made, this study is more interested in examining a broader picture on issues related to the exclusion/inclusion of a certain group of children. This will not be optimally achieved by limiting the study into an evaluation of the integrated education project.

3.8. Generalisability of the study

Initially, as I worked at the Office of Research and Development in the Ministry of Education, I had an expectation that the study could be generalised to apply at the national level. However, the complexity of the issues related to the education provision for disabled children suggests that

> 'it no longer makes sense to think of generalisability as synonymous with the use of large samples and statistical procedures to ensure that the large samples accurately represent the population' (Donmoyer, 1990, p. 181).

Critics of the case study method disagree with that stance and believe that the study of a small number of cases can offer no grounds for establishing reliability or generality of findings. In addition, the intense exposure to the study of the case biases the findings. Some dismiss case study research as useful only as an exploratory tool (Soy, 1997). On the size of the sample, qualitative researchers, however, seem not to see that it is as

an essential issue. Patton (2003), for example, says that there are no rules for sample size of inquiry (p. 244). Further he says that:

> The validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researcher rather than with sample size (p. 245).

This is supported by Yin (2004) who argues that the goal of doing a case study is to expand and generalise theories (analytic generalisation) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalisation) (p. 11).

Bassey (2001), however, attempts to find a way to make case study statistically generalisable to a certain extent. He calls this kind of generalisation 'fuzzy generalization'. Unlike scientific generalization, where 'x in y circumstances results in z', fuzzy prediction suggests that 'x in y circumstances *may* result in z' (p. 6). A question arises from the latter statement, which is to what extent the z may occur. The term 'may' suggests that 'z may not occur' as well. This does not convince Hammersley (2001) who rejects 'fuzzy generalisation'. In scientific theories, he argues, claims about what *will* happen only in relation to cases that fall within the scope of their conditions, while in fuzzy generalisation, whether they would apply to other cases is uncertain (p. 220). Further he argues that even if educational research were to produce scientific laws, these would only tell us what *could* happen; users would have to draw on knowledge of the context, and on their practical experience, in order to decide wisely about whether to act on the basis of those predictions (p. 223).

It is not the intention of this study that the findings at the school level will be generalised at the national level considering the small sample size. Even though the characteristics of the sample schools have many similarities

with other schools, especially in rural areas, there is an important difference between sample schools and other schools that needs to be considered. The eight schools selected are located in a *kecamatan* (similar to a borough in the UK) where a project on integrated education has been taking place since 2000. These schools, as well as some people in the bureaucracy, therefore, have relatively 'more' knowledge, motivation, and support related to education for disabled children. Although having these three aspects does not necessarily guarantee the real changing of attitudes or support toward disabled children, at least they might have some ideas that will not be the case in schools where there is no similar project. With respect to the policy dynamic at the district and provincial levels, there is a possibility for this case to be theoretically generalised. After the decentralisation policy, local governments at the district and provincial levels have considerable autonomy in managing their public services, including education. Control from the central government is minimal, compared to the time before decentralisation. However, besides the differences in policy and practice at the different local governments, there are also some similarities. For example, despite the broad autonomy they have, there is still a very high dependency of the local government on the central government (Indriyanto, 2003, p. 3).

3.8. Location of the study

This study was conducted in Kecamatan Jatiwulung, one of the *kecamatan* in Kabupaten Kabuaran (pseudonym). There are nine villages in this *kecamatan* with forty-eight primary schools (Table 2). On average, there are five to six schools in every village. In some of these schools, the number of pupils is so small that the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office planned

to merge them in the next several years. This is not applied to schools in difficult areas such as SD Dukuhsekti, one of the sample schools with only 36 pupils, which is located in a mountainous area with no public transportation.

Table 2: Profile of Primary Schools in Kecamatan Jatiwulung February 2003

	Public under MONE	Public Islamic under MORA*	Private Islamic under MONE	Private Islamic under MORA*	Total
Number of schools	43	1	2	2	48
Number of pupils	4536	67	227	141	4971
Number of teachers	301	1	8	**	310
Teacher : pupils ratio	1:15	1:67	1:28	-	1:16

Note: * Public and private Islamic schools under Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) have higher proportion of Religious Education in their curriculum compared to schools under MONE.

**There are two possibilities for this empty column: the data are missing or there are no full-time teachers in these schools.

Kabupaten Kabuaran (pseudonym) is a rural district in one of the provinces in Java Island. Like most other *kecamatan* in Indonesia there is a Kecamatan Education Office, the task of which is to implement Kabupaten/Kota Education Office policies. This is carried out mainly by organising the work of school supervisors. The Kecamatan Office does not have the authority to allocate funding, recruit, place, and promote teachers.

Kabupaten Kabuaran consists of nearly 20 *kecamatan* and 150 villages with a population density of less than 500 inhabitants per kilometre square[19]. Almost all the people in *kabupaten* are of the Javanese ethnic group. They speak Javanese as their first language and Bahasa Indonesia as their

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[19] The exact number of *kecamatan*, villages, and population density will not be revealed to keep the identity of the study sample confidential.

second. The majority of the population work in the agricultural sector. Some areas in Kabupaten Kabuaran are characterised by difficulty in getting water during the dry season. Because of the infertile soil and limited size of sustainable land the people have, many have to go to other places, usually to the city, where they work as maids, small traders, and other blue-collar jobs. Some of them leave their children in their home with their parents who might be illiterate.

3.9. Methods of data collection

The main method used to generate data in this study was interviewing. This method is considered to be 'the most common and powerful way in which we can try to understand our fellow human beings' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p. 645). By interviewing teachers and other relevant people, researchers are allowed to know their perspectives. The assumption behind qualitative interviewing is that the perspective of others is 'meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit' (Patton, 2003, p. 341). Unlike a survey, 'interviewees can spontaneously express their perspectives' (Flick, 2000, p. 81). In the interview, further questions to clarify or to elaborate the initial response can be directly asked by the researcher. Interviews, however, are 'active interaction between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results and therefore they are 'not neutral tools of data gathering' (Denzin and Lincoln, op. cit., p. 646). Both interviewer and interviewee are active and involved in 'meaning-making work' (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995, p.4).

Semi-structured schedules for interviewing respondents individually or in a group were mainly used in this data collection (Appendix 5). This type of interview schedule gives some guidelines on what questions are to be asked, but at the same time, it gives the researcher the flexibility to develop the questions and gather more detailed data. Teachers and head teachers were interviewed individually or in a group. In addition to these, several other interviews were conducted with relevant officials in institutions where their jurisdictions are in the areas where the sample schools are located (Table 3).

Four open-ended interviews were also carried out with an academic from a Teacher Training College, a disabled activist, a researcher from MONE, and a member of staff in the Provincial Education Office. All of them have been involved in projects or work on special education at different levels and intensity. Of these interviews, one was not recorded because of technical failure. Another one was a spontaneous interview. This interview was with a researcher from the MONE who has been involved in many projects in special education. When I met him at the Ministry building I started asking him about some issues related to special education. Only later in the interview I asked his consent to use the information he gave for my thesis and he agreed.

To complement data generated from interviews, relevant documents were examined. These documents were mainly collected from the Ministry of Education, and Provincial and District Education Offices. At the school level there were basically no documents that could be collected, as many school policies are not in a written form.

3.11. Implementation of data collection

3.11.1. Gaining access

Before interviewing teachers and head teachers in schools, permission needs to be granted. As I work for the Ministry of Education, official access was easily gained. A letter from my superior in the Ministry with an attachment of a letter from the Institute of Education was sent to the Provincial and District Education Offices before I went to the location of the study. Before going to the schools a telephone call was made to a school supervisor to ensure that I would meet people whom I wanted to see on the days of my visit. A visit to District and Sub-district Education Offices was undertaken before visiting schools. In this visit, I discussed with a school supervisor the criteria of the sample and, based on this, eight primary schools and one special school were selected. No official letter was written to these schools. The school supervisor convinced me that it was not necessary to do so. As head teachers had not been told in advance about my visit to their schools, some of them were not in their offices when I arrived. Two of them were in the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office, and another one was out of town attending a funeral. I managed to revisit some of these schools except for three schools where I ended up only interviewing teachers.

Access to policymakers was not as easy as was access to schools. Time constraints were the most common reason. There were two senior officials that could not be interviewed for this reason, although appointments had been made. One of them was about to retire when I made the appointment. An interview that would have been conducted less than one

week before his retirement was cancelled simply because he forgot and he was in another city when I came to his office. Instead, I interviewed his replacement after I came back to Jakarta who, as it turned out, was quite easy to meet in the first data collection, but that was not the case in the second visit when I asked to interview him again. After several phone calls, I was finally told that this senior official suggested that I interview one of his staff who would represent him. At the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office, I managed to interview the most senior official. Unfortunately, the interview was interrupted by an urgent call for the interviewee. Although the interview was short (15 minutes), it is valuable, considering his position and the information he gave.

Although time constraints were an important reason why some policy makers were not interviewed or gave me very little time, I felt that some of them were reluctant to talk about the topic I wanted to raise because of their limited knowledge. My previous interaction with people in the Ministry suggests that many of them think that education for disabled children is not their area of responsibility. Therefore, they think that they are not the right persons to talk to. At least two potential interviewees said this, and suggested that I talk to one of their staff and to those in a particular unit responsible for special education. A member of staff, who previously worked with me on several occasions, refused to be interviewed simply because he felt I knew more about the issues under discussion than he did. Instead of answering my questions, he asked me about my studies in London.

Power relations between the researcher and the researched are another possible explanation of why some respondents could easily be

accessed and others could not. My position as a staff member of the Ministry of National Education, as a person who, to some degree, used to be involved in the project, and as a PhD student in a university abroad, contributed to gaining access to schools and people in the bureaucracy whom I knew before. This might be considered, according to Walford (1994) as 'researching down' (p. 2). This is when a researcher looks at those with less power. On the other hand, research on senior officials might be considered as 'researching up' as the researched tend to have more control and see researchers as less powerful (ibid). At the local government institutions, especially during the initial stage of decentralisation, that was characterised by euphoria of having more power, I felt that some people wanted to demonstrate that they were at the same or higher level as the people from the central government. One way to do this is by not making enough effort to meet people from the central government.

3.11.2. Individual and focus group interviews

Interviews were conducted once, mainly in the first data collection, which was carried out between March and April 2003. In the second data collection, most transcripts were given to the interviewees. No amendment was received, but when I visited the schools some teachers/head teachers gave some brief update information.

One important aspect in qualitative research that needs to be taken into account when doing the data collection is that it involves 'watching people in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language, their own terms' (Kirk and Miller, 1986, p.9). As a consequence, some changes were made in terms of methods of interview and the terminologies used. The initial

plan was to interview one or two teachers together and another one or two at a different time. However, most teachers felt more comfortable to talk together with other teachers and therefore, more focus group interviews were conducted than the individual ones. In one school, the head teacher was interviewed first and, one by one, the teachers of this school joined the interview so that at the end it became a focus group interview.

Table 3: Participants, number of focus group and individual interviews

Name	Teachers	Head teacher	FGI	Individual Interview
1. SD Jatiwulung	4	1	1	1
2. SD Kedungpring	4	1	1	1
3. SD Karanglo	3	1	1	1
4. SDM Batuputih	4	1	1	1
5. SD Karangan	5	1	1	1
6. SD Watugunung	4	0	1	1
7. SD Dukuhsekti	4	0	1	0
8. SDM Banjaran	7	0	1	0
9. SLB Tirtomadyo	3	1	1	1
10.Primary School Supervisor				1
11. Senior official at the Kecamatan Education Office				1
12. Senior official at the Kabupaten Education Office				1
13. Middle management official and a member of staff at the Kabupaten Education Office			1	
14. Middle management official at the Provincial Education Office				0
15. A member of staff at the Provincial Education Office				1
16. Senior officials at the Ministry of National Education				2
17. A disabled activist				1
18. An academic				1
Total	**38**	**6**	**9**	**16**

Note: SLB: Special School
        SD: Public Primary School
        SDI: Islamic Private Primary School

As shown in Table 3 individual interviews at the school level involved 5 head teachers and focus group interviews involved between 3-7 teachers in

each interview. The total number of teachers that participated in the interview was 38. In one non-pilot school the head teacher preferred to join the focus group interview instead of being interviewed individually. In two schools, head teachers joined the focus group interview with teachers after being interviewed separately. This could not be avoided as teachers and head teachers were in the same room. In another case, the interview with a head teacher, which was carried out several days after interviews with the teachers in his school, was occasionally interrupted by teachers.

Having focus group and individual interviews in data collection has some advantages and disadvantages. Compared to using questionnaires, these two methods enable the interviewer to obtain in-depth information, as there is the opportunity to ask for clarification and further questions. However, between the individual and focus group interview, there are some strengths and weaknesses that need to be discussed. Time efficiency and low cost are the most common advantages of having focus group interviews. Another fundamental advantage of focus groups is the possibility to observe the dynamics of group interaction (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Interaction between participants stimulates new ideas and thoughts. People are social creatures who interact with others. They are influenced by comments of others and make decisions after listening to the advice and counsel of people around them (Sink cited in Tyrel, 1998). With an individual interview this cannot be achieved. Focus group can be used for triangulation purposes. Obtaining data from multiple sources and using multiple methods, including focus group interview, are some of the ways to ensure the credibility of the findings (Miles and Huberman, 1984). During the focus

groups, interviewees or participants themselves can directly confirm information or ideas they have.

Besides the advantages of focus group interview in terms of time and cost efficiency, there are also some limitations. There were always a few individuals who dominated the discussion and some others who always kept quiet. It may have been that some individuals were reluctant to give information that might not be endorsed by other participants. There were also times when some people talked at the same time. This results in difficulties in transcribing the interview. In a focus group, the interviewer also has less control over the participants. This is likely to happen especially if the interviewer is not the main researcher so that s/he does not know the A to Z of the research content. As a result, there might be a lot of irrelevant information generated from the interview. This can also happen due to other factors. In this data collection, I knew many of the respondents before this study, and therefore, there were issues outside the interview focus that sometimes were casually talked about or discussed in the middle of interview. Another weakness of using the focus group is that it is not possible to probe an individual in the same way that one can probe in a one-to-one-interview (Tyrell, 1998). Being part of a focus group might make participants feel comfortable in responding to the questions, but at the same time can create reluctance amongst them, especially when detailed information about a particular circumstance that might be a sensitive issue to some of the interviewees is being asked for. Another concern relates to the data collected from a focus group, which might be 'less natural or less valid' than in an individual interview (Morgan, 2002, p. 151). This concern is based on

the claim that group dynamics are more complex than in one-to-one interviews. However, this claim is just as easy to argue if the opposite technique was used. Individual interviews can be more complex, such as in a case where an interviewee is someone that is difficult to understand or to be understood. On the other hand, the focus group interview can be simpler and contribute meaningful information. In this study, for example, by using the focus group interview, teachers could clarify amongst themselves on many issues I asked such as whether they had disabled children in their school.

In deciding whether to use a focus group or individual interview data collection, one should be aware that the responses to the same question being discussed in individual and focus group interviews might be different. It cannot simply be said, however, that results from one technique are superior to those from the other. Morgan (Ibid) gives an example of an interview with boys who are asked about the way the think about girls. The boys tend to be more considerate to the girls when they were interviewed individually than in a group. Therefore he argues that:

> Rather than claiming that one set of results is more valid than the other, it makes more sense to treat each method as more useful for some purpose and less useful for others. (pp. 151-152).

During the data collection, realising the weaknesses and strengths of the individual and focus group interview, I tended to have an informal conversation before and/or after the interview to further discuss the issues. It was expected that some of the information obtained in these informal conversations could be used to complement the data gathered through interviews.

In this study most interviews were tape-recorded. In order for me to concentrate on the participants' responses to my questions, field notes were rarely taken, especially during the focus group interview. However, the recorder did not work well in two interviews as I plugged the speaker in the wrong button. Fortunately, one of the interviews was carried out at the beginning of my visit and I still had time to show the interviewee the transcript, which I wrote based on the short field notes and my memory. He gave me time to do another interview. As he is a senior official in the provincial office, I took the opportunity in the second interview, to talk more about issues arising from the interviews in schools and *kabupaten* office. Another failed recording was found out when I returned to London. Instead of writing the whole transcript, I wrote points from the interview.

During the interviews, questions on the semi-structured schedules sometimes could not be asked directly. As expected, most teachers and head teachers in non-pilot schools were not familiar with the issues of education for disabled children. Some probing questions often needed to be asked. Sometimes I had to explain some of the terminologies used in the questions by giving some examples using the daily language. For example, instead of using the term 'disabled children' I used the term 'very naughty children' or 'slow learner.' I tended not to use terms that are familiar in the classification of students with special needs in western countries such as dyslexia, autism, or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). The reason is that these medical labels are not widely known by teachers, as there is no medical/psychological assessment applied to the children.

The nature and quality of responses from the participants questioned varied. Most participants in pilot schools answered the questions instantly and with no reluctance. In other schools, there was a tendency, for both teachers and head teachers to initially try to show that there were no disabled children in their schools. They might have thought that their responses were the answer that I wanted to hear. The popular Indonesian expression 'asal bapak senang' or 'as long as the boss is pleased' might be the explanation of this phenomenon. There might be a worry on the teachers' side that if the real information that might be unpleasant were given, it would degrade them. To get this information, I usually asked about the number of children repeating class or dropping out in recent years. Responses to this question usually led to information on whether or not schools had disabled children.

Interviews are an active interaction between the researcher and the researched. On the researched side, besides responding to the questions asked by the researcher, this interaction can be in the form of doing similar things to the researcher. Questions such as where and what I study were questions that were easy to answer. However, there were difficult questions, such as those related to technical aspects on how to deal with children with learning difficulties in class. The respondents sometimes also asked me to take the complaints they had to some officials in Jakarta, hoping that more support will be given to them.

To maintain a good relationship with my respondents I sometimes used the pronoun 'we' or 'us' rather than 'I', 'me', or 'you' during the interview. The use of these terms prevented my interviewees from feeling offended when responding to questions that might be seen as 'negative'. Questions, such as

'why with all the projects you have done, still only very few disabled get access to education' might make the interviewee, who felt that he/she had worked as hard as s/he could, feel uneasy. The use of the term 'we' or 'us' was also intended to equalise my position with policy makers being interviewed. In situations where the interviewee sees a researcher as less powerful, s/he sometimes is expected to be passive and mostly listen to them so that questions that should be asked might not be asked critically. In different cases, a researcher might be 'tested' to establish whether they have some knowledge on areas being studied (Gewirtz and Ozga, 1994, p. 186). The 'we' and 'us' language that I used helped me to have a discussion or conversation rather than a test.

3.12. Ethics of the research

There are several ethical issues faced by researchers using interview as method of data collection. Two of them, which are very relevant to this study, namely informed consent and confidentiality will be discussed in this section.

3.12.1. Obtaining informed consent

One of the rules of practice in research involving some participants is to make sure that they are fully aware of the purpose of the research (Bell, 2005). This was done initially by including the information in the letters sent to the institutions of the participants that would be interviewed. More detailed information was given before the actual interviews were undertaken. One of the aims of having informed consent is to avoid having participants face 'situations that cause stress or anxiety' (Robson, 2002, p. 65). This situation is minimised by ensuring the anonymity of the officials interviewed in this

study. The informed consent in this study, however, was not in a written form. Although the practice is recommended by institutions such as the British Psychological Society/BPS (2000) and the British Sociological Association/BSA (2002), 'informed consent is not a universal principle that is unproblematic to use in research investigations' (Burgess, 1989, p. 6). In the Indonesian context, asking participants to sign a consent letter is not a common practice. Participants might feel uneasy as the letter would suggest the formality and legality of the interaction between the researcher and participants. Instead of asking for written consent, in this study participants were asked for their consent orally. This, however, was not recorded in the interview transcript as it was requested before switching on the tape recorder. One individual participant refused to be interviewed.

3.12.2. Confidentiality

In social science research confidentiality is an important issue in relation to safeguarding the identity of the persons providing information. Researchers are always advised to disguise the location of their fieldwork, and the identity of people participating in the study. The presumption is that the privacy of research subjects has to be protected. However, this presumption has been challenged by participants in research who insist on "owning their own stories" (Patton, 2003, p. 411). There are some people who want their identities to be revealed in the study report for reasons such as sense of ownership and pride. This occurred in this study. When I informed them that I would keep their identities confidential, some people responded by saying that it did not matter if I put their real identities in my report. These included some head teachers. In most cases, they did not

make a similar statement and thus I felt that they agreed about the confidentiality of their identities. However, later I doubted whether it is possible to keep the identity of some respondents fully confidential. Some of the respondents were in very specific positions in the Ministry of Education, Provincial or Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office. With respect to those in the Ministry of Education, there were no similar positions in its organisational structure and therefore it will be very easy for some readers, especially those who work in the Ministry, to guess the real identity of the respondents. In the case of the identity of people at the Provincial and Kabupaten Education Offices, confidentiality might be possible as there are 31 other provinces and 381 districts. However, when the province and district of this study are described, for example, in terms of location and population, again some Indonesian readers will easily guess the real name of these places. The most I can do in seeking to ensure the confidentiality of these people is to refer to them only as a 'senior official'. Another way to ensure the confidentiality of the identity of those who participated in this study is to use pseudonyms instead of real names of location and schools, as can be seen in the earlier part of this chapter. I will also refer a respondent as a teacher, head teacher, or member of staff and will not put their names in any part of this thesis.

3.13. Data management and analysis

Analysing data is a challenging process in qualitative research. In qualitative research, once a researcher gets back from the data collection and starts processing and analysing data there are several possible outcomes. A researcher might feel overwhelmed with the large amount of data that she has but at the same time, she might find as well some missing

information. Making sense of massive and/or incomplete data gathered before, during, and after field data collection can be a very messy process. This involves reducing the volume of raw information, shifting trivia, identifying relevant patterns, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveals. Albeit there is guidance, there is no recipe. Each qualitative study is unique and therefore the analytical approach will also be unique in various aspects (Patton, 2002, pp. 432-433).

The main material to be analysed in this study is transcripts from both the individual and focus group interviews. Other materials include secondary data such as official and semi-official documents, information from newspapers and internet, field notes and/or research diary. Field notes were often written to complement the interviews. Conversations and interactions before and after interviews sometimes gave information that was relevant to the study. Field notes contain information and ideas that were gained from attending seminars, meetings, or tutorials with my supervisor. Relevant information and ideas also gained from very informal conversations or interaction with respondents, office colleagues, or student colleagues. Meanwhile, a research diary was mainly based on reflections from the research process. In practice, reflection was sometimes written as part of field notes as they were written at the same time.

This section will describe the process of data management and analysis that has been and will be carried out. The process of transcribing interviews, the procedure for classifying data, and the methods used to

enable me to make connections and make sense of the phenomena are amongst the issues that will be discussed in this section.

3.13.1. Data transcription

Most of the interviews were tape-recorded. These were transcribed in the language used during the interview, mostly in Bahasa Indonesia and sometimes in the mother tongue of the interviewers, Javanese language. There was one time that I tried to transcribe and directly translate the interview into English but the sense of the interview was missing by doing this.

Transcription was done very carefully to avoid missing information and some initial and partial analysis was already done during this process. This process was very time consuming. It often took more than six hours to finish a forty-five minute interview. It took even longer for focus group interviews as sometimes participants talked at the same time or some of them sat far from the tape recorder. These six or more hours actually might last one week or more, as I did not do it continuously. I also wrote some notes on the transcript if I found something interesting, which might be seen as part of the process of analysis. Not all parts of the interviews were transcribed. For different reasons, there are parts of the interviews that respondents did not want to be included in the transcript. There are also parts of conversations that I felt did not need to be transcribed. For example, when a member of staff brought tea or a snack for me, short informal conversations sometimes happened. At the time I made a statement to explain why there was a long pause in between the interview, such as when the interviewee tried to find a

document to give to me, or just to support his/her statements. There were times when I found this job exciting, but there were also times when I found it boring and tiring. Altogether there are sixteen individual interviews and nine focus group interviews.

Rather than a translation, an interpretation has been made on some transcripts. The different expressions between written and oral Bahasa Indonesia and mother tongue make it very difficult to translate interviews literally, because sometimes it will seem it has no meaning or is difficult to understand. In oral communication, it is often that respondents, as well as myself, repeat the same words several times in one sentence. Because of this, some redundant words are not in the English version although they are transcribed in the Indonesian or mother tongue version. Some sentences are incomplete because not only my respondents, but also myself, suddenly started new sentences because another idea came up. As well as in the transcription, in the English version I will put '.....' for the unfinished sentence. For sentences with missing words I put the word that probably would be said by the respondent and myself in bracket. Some repetitions might still be put in the English version but they will be placed in brackets. Slip of the tongue, including one participant who used wrong English words, is tolerated and the correct words will be used in the interpretation. For example, a respondent who sometimes used English said 'a bunch of gays' while he actually meant 'a bunch of guys'. As Bayliss (2000, p. 138) says, to maintain the dignity of the respondents, I decided to give the 'revised' transcripts to them.

3.13.2. Data analysis

The aim of analysis is to make sense of the data gathered in this study. Data analysis is an ongoing and iterative process (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Dey, 1993). Dey describes the process of data analysis through various facets namely describing, classifying, connecting, and producing an overall account (ibid). Although these facets are described sequentially, it is most likely that in practice, a researcher will move forward and backward from certain facets. Data analysis has various components, namely data collection, data reduction, data display, and conclusions. After data collection, data reduction which can be done through a coding process leads to ideas on what data should be displayed, such as in the form of matrix, but this might also lead to ideas of collecting some more data. As the matrix fills up, preliminary conclusions are drawn and verified. But this, again, might lead to the collection of more data or changes in the data display.

This study basically uses content analysis to make sense of the text derived from the individual and focus group interview as well as the relevant documents. The core meanings found through content analysis are often called patterns or themes (Patton, 2002, p. 453). In attempting to find patterns of responses from the primary and secondary data of this study, initial analysis had been done when the data were being transcribed. I put some notes and comments in some parts of the transcript. This helped me to categorise the data and gave me some ideas on what themes I could use in presenting the findings. I also compared some responses of one particular respondent to another as well as some relevant information from the

secondary data and put some notes if there was something interesting, such as contradictory and conflicting responses.

However, the massive data generated from interviews with teachers, head teachers, and other respondents, as well as secondary data, make organising and analysing it manually very time consuming and difficult to organise. Currently there is some computer software that can help with this task. However, I decided to process the data semi manually. I used the track changes facility on the word processor to sketch some initial ideas on how a certain data will be analysed. By doing so, the sketch will look relatively neat, and be saved in file, and can be changed when more ideas appear.

3.14. Conclusion

A case study method that is used in this research offers a relatively comprehensive look at the issues of education provision for disabled children in Indonesia. It also presents an opportunity for a more in-depth exploration of these issues within the sites that have been identified as relevant 'sampled areas'. Such an approach may enable the researcher to capture the different perspectives that may arise as a result of the investigation to acquire a better understanding of the ways and the reasons why a certain group of students are excluded/included. However, the different perspectives generated are limited mainly from those involved who are in policy making as well as those involved during the implementation process. Although important in their own right, this study will not include the perspectives of parents, disabled pupils, and disabled people. As disability-related issues, including those in

education, are very complex and sometimes contentious, it is, therefore, not possible to cover all the relevant perspectives within a single study.

In addition, this study will not attempt to directly examine different components of the teaching of disabled pupils in mainstream setting, such as learning methods, curriculum, assessment, and learning tools. Instead, this study is more concerned at looking at issues of disability from the social model perspective. Consequently, this study places a stronger emphasis on the ways people who are involved in the formulation and implementation perceive existing education policies. A specific area of concern is on the reason and the extent to which current policies and people perception may contribute to the failure or success in the way disabled children are supported.

In the next part of this thesis, I will analyse some of the main findings from my fieldwork. I shall discuss the policy of education provision for disabled children, and explore the extent to which such a policy exists in the Indonesian context.

Chapter 4: Existing policies on integration and inclusion and their dissemination

4.1. Introduction

Together with Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, this chapter will present and analyse the data collected from interviews with officials from the Ministry of National Education (MONE), Provincial Education Office, and District Education Office. The aim of the analysis is to make sense of the data collected for this study in order to obtain a better understanding of why and how disabled children are being excluded/included from the policy making perspectives. This chapter will be organised around themes that have been structured in accordance with the research questions that framed this study. The first section of this chapter will discuss the existing policies on education provision for disabled children. This section will focus on secondary data collected which mainly consist of pieces of legislation which are still valid as well as the ones which are no longer in use   The second section will be on how those policies were disseminated. Following this second section is a discussion on what the authorities have said about education provision for disabled pupils.

4.2. Existing legislation in education provision for disabled children

Since the proclamation of Indonesia's independence on 17th August 1945, the right of access to education for all citizens in Indonesia has been safeguarded. This entitlement is enshrined in the 1945 Constitution. Several pieces of legislation in the form of Laws, Government Regulations, Presidential Decrees, and Ministerial Decrees have been produced since

1945. However, as discussed in the earlier chapters, none of the legislation was established specifically to make sure that every disabled child would be educated in a school, either a special or a mainstream school. Law No. 2/1989 on the National Education System, which has been replaced with/by Law No. 20/2003, explicitly states that disabled children have the right to receive special education, which is basically in the form of special schools. This is confirmed by Government Regulation 72/1991 on Special Education, which is still valid today, which only administers the establishment of new special schools and oversees the provision of education for disabled children who are already enrolled in special schools. There is no article in this regulation establishing the right of disabled children to have access to education in mainstream schools. A possible reason for this situation was a general assumption that all policies related to education for disabled children, including the ones in mainstream schools, were considered to be part of special education. The following documents are amongst the written policies which regulate education provision for disabled children. The documents, which include Ministerial Decrees and Director General Circulars, are as follows:

1.   Ministerial Decree No 002/U/1986 on Integrated Education for Disabled Children

     This Decree regulates the organisation of integrated education (see Appendix 1)

2.   Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Circular No 0083/C2/I/89 on Guidance of Pupils' Admissions in Special School (SLB), Primary Special School (SDLB), Schools implementing

integrated education which were under the responsibility of the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education or *Surat Edaran Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah 0083/O/I/89 tentang Pedoman Penerimaan Siswa Baru di Sekolah Luar Biasa, dan Sekolah yang Melaksanakan Pendidikan Terpadu* (Depdikbud, 1989a)

3. Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Circular No 6718/C/I/89 on Expanding the Learning Opportunity for Disabled Children in Mainstream Schools or *Surat Edaran Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah No. 6718/C/I/89 tentang Pedoman Khusus Penerimaan Siswa Penyandang Cacat di Sekolah Umum* (Depdikbud, 1989b) (see Appendix 2).

    This Circular instructs Heads of Provincial Education Office to include not only children with visual impairment but also those with hearing, mild physical and mild intellectual impairment in the integrated education programmes.

4. Government Regulation No 72/1991 on Special Education or *Peraturan Pemerintah No 72/1991 tentang Pendidikan Luar Biasa* (Indonesia, 1991).

    This statute mainly consists of articles which regulate the way in which special schools are established and organised.

5. Ministerial Decree No. 0491/U/1992 on Special Education or *Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan No. 0491/U/1992 tentang Pendidikan Luar Biasa* (Depdikbud, 1992).

    This Decree states that special education is organised through

integrated education, special class, visiting special teacher, and / or other forms of support.

6. A letter from the Director of Primary Education No. 0267/C2/U/1994 to the Heads of Provincial Education Office on the Organisation of Integrated Education.

    The attachment of this letter states that integrated education is applied to pupils with different kinds of impairment but they should have normal or above average intelligence (cited in Agustiyawati, 2006).

Some of the above-mentioned decrees and circulars were established before Law 2/1989 was formulated. Some others (from 4 to 6) were legalised to follow-up the Law 2/1989. The times when all those written policy documents were produced the system of government was very much centralised. Therefore, the implementation of the legislation was mainly in the hands of the central government which, in this case, was the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC – currently Ministry of National Education or MONE) and which had representative offices in the regions. The role of the provincial and district governments was very limited. As described in the Introduction, only some components of education in primary schools, namely personnel and facilities, were the responsibility of the local government at the district level. This changed after the establishment of Law 22/1999. This Law placed on the *kabupaten/kota* governments the main responsibility for providing the resources, and for developing and, subsequently, implementing local policies and programmes. The implementation of this Law, however, was criticised as 'threatening national unity' (Suharyo, 2000, p. 17). For example, the separation of East Timor from Indonesia, conflict in Ambon and

Poso which resulted in thousands of Muslims and Christians deaths, at least for some people, are seen as a negative consequence of decentralisation (as well as democratisation). The very limited role of the local government was also another cause for concern and a source of criticism of the Law. These criticisms and concerns led to the establishment of Law 32/2004 on Local Government or *Undang-undang No. 32/2004 tentang Pemerintahan Daerah* (Indonesia, 2004), which gave more control to provincial government. Regardless of the previous or new Laws, for them to be implemented properly, other legal documents are usually required. Nevertheless, a study by the Habibie Centre found a different trend as the following statement reveals:

> Unfortunately, legal issues in the transition era (from centralisation to decentralisation) seem chaotic because old norms have been removed but the new ones do not exist yet. For example, the 1945 Constitution Amendment – which has broad changes – has not been followed up by changes in lower legislation. Ironically, there are 400 different legislations written under the colonial government, which are not relevant anymore to the current circumstances in this country, which have not been revised (Habibie_Centre, 2006, p. 8).

Although the statement above relates to the administration of decentralisation policy in general, its impact on how education provision is organised is inevitable as, currently, substantial aspects of education are administered by the local government. Furthermore, the statement above is also true with respect to the existence of legislation in education provision. In education, after the decentralisation Law no. 20/2003 concerning National Education System was established superseding Law No 2/1989. To be able to implement this new Law, some government regulations needed to be established. Nonetheless, four years after the establishment of this Law, it was only Government Regulation No. 19/2005 on the National Education

Standardisation or *Peraturan Pemerintah tentang Standar Pendidikan Nasional* (Indonesia, 2005) that was promulgated. Consequently, programmes implemented by the Ministry and the local authorities were based on both old and new legislation at the same time. With respect to

Table 4: Legislation on the education provision for disabled children before and after 2003

Higher legislations		
	Law Number 2/1989	Law Number 20/2003
Title of the Law In *Bahasa Indonesia*	*Pendidikan Luar Biasa*	*Pendidikan Khusus dan Pendidikan Layanan Khusus*
In English	Special Education	Special Education and Education with Special Arrangement
Target pupils of special education	Pupils with impairments	Pupils who have difficulties in learning due to emotional, mental, social impairment, and/or who are gifted and talented.
Target pupils of education with special arrangement	-	Pupils, who live in isolated or deprived areas, come from socially isolated community, live in natural and/or social disaster areas, and who are poor.
Lower legislations		
On special education	Government Regulation 72/1991	Still valid
On integrated education	Ministerial Decree No 002/U/1986 on Integrated Education for Disabled Children	Still valid
	Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Circular No 0267/C2/U.1994	Still valid
On inclusive education	Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Circular No 380/G.06/MN/2003	Still valid
	-	Government Regulation No 19/2005 on the National Education Standardisation Agency – teaching staff requirement in inclusive school (Article 41)

education provision for disabled children, the substantial change that occurred after decentralisation was mainly related to the organisation of special schools. As shown in the Introduction (see Figure 1), special schools (SLB) which used to be under the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), are placed under the purview of the provincial government. In addition, special primary schools (SDLB) come fully under the jurisdiction of the district government.

Actually, there is one Law which explicitly states that disabled children have equal opportunity to attend mainstream school. This legislation, Law No 23/2002 on Child Protection or *Undang-undang No. 23/2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak* (Indonesia, 2002), however, seems not to be widely known and therefore is not seriously considered in the development and implementation of educational policy. One possible explanation for not taking that law into account was because it was not the Ministry of National Education which sponsored or championed the legislation but probably the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Indonesia National Commission for Child Protection. It is quite a common phenomenon in Indonesia that certain legislation tends to 'belong' to the institution which initiates and formulates its contents and struggles to get it passed by the People's Representative Council (DPR). For example, the Law on National Education tends to belong to the Ministry of National Education, the Law on Child Protection to the Ministry of Social Welfare, and the Law on Disabled People to the Ministry of Social Affairs. This might explain why Law No. 20/2003 on the National Education System, which was established after the law on Child Protection,

does not recognise the rights of disabled children to be educated in mainstream schools.

With regard to the new Law on the National Education System there are some similarities and differences on the education provision for disabled children. Beside the similarity that both laws do not have any articles which explicitly give support to disabled children in mainstream school, there are some other similarities and differences that can be seen in Table 4. Some issues that may be raised from the above similarities and differences include the approach used in implementing the policy, the change of language, the coverage of special education, and the delay of further legislation. With respect to the approach used in implementing integrated and/or inclusive education policies, both Director General Circulars clearly used similar strategies. Both had suggested that each district appoint at least one integrative/inclusive school at each school-level (primary, junior secondary, general senior secondary and vocational senior secondary). This strategy proved to be ineffective as teachers and head teachers in non-appointed schools seemed to think that they were under no obligation to attempt to support disabled children in their schools.

Considering the unsuccessful implementation of integrated education, at least in terms of the number of schools and disabled children participating in the programme, it is very likely that inclusive education will have similar results unless lessons from the past are learnt. For example, the policy to limit integration only for disabled children 'who have the ability to follow the learning process, together with other normal children based on observation and assessment of relevant professionals' (MONE, 1986) effectively

excluded children with intellectual disability. The fact that many of these children were already in mainstream schools seemed not to be taken into account. Another example is the number of schools appointed as 'inclusive schools.' In the past, it seemed that there was an assumption that, once a written policy was produced and distributed, the local education office would automatically implement it. This was not the case. Data presented in Chapter 1, which showed that only 831 disabled pupils in 2001/02 were in 'integrated schools,' suggests that most schools did not implement integrated education.

With regard to the change of language which is reflected in the change of the title of the Law from *Pendidikan Luar Biasa* to *Pendidikan Khusus dan Pendidikan Layanan Khusus*, there are some possible explanations for the difference between the two. The people who were involved in formulating the Law might have thought that the change was needed in an attempt to remove or at least to minimise the stigma attached to special education. The phrase *luar biasa,* which can literally be translated in English as 'extraordinary,' like the word 'special' in 'special education' gave ironic meaning for disabled people/children. Instead of giving them honour and dignity, the word 'special' tends to emphasize their powerlessness (Corbett, 1996, p. 49). Although the English translation of *Pendidikan Khusus* is also special education, those involved in formulating the Law might have thought that the word *khusus* had a more neutral meaning than *luar biasa.*

Another possible explanation for the change of title relates to the coverage of special education. Politicians and government officials involved in the drafting of the legislation might have thought that the use of a more

neutral term *pendidikan khusus* was more appropriate because there were calls for pupils who are 'gifted' to be included in special education. Indeed, since the 1970s, proponents of 'gifted children' have attempted to gain governmental support for these children to be covered under special education. In the 1980s a strategic plan was developed and a pilot project involving some schools at all levels, mostly located in urban areas, was conducted. In the 1990s, another project, namely 'schools of excellence' was undertaken involving the 'best schools' in some areas. Most recently, an acceleration programme[20] was piloted in some schools (Direktorat PSLB, 2006). The proponents of those ideas were expecting that, by including this group of children in special education, more could be done for gifted/talented children. They argued that gifted children might have behavioural problems such as indiscipline and may underachieve if appropriate support is not provided (Widyastono, 2001).

One scholar, although he supported the inclusion of gifted children in special education, criticised the way in which these children were exclusively supported. When asked about the policy of inclusive education and class acceleration he responded as follows:

> Since 2000 when the Sub-Directorate of Special Education was upgraded into Directorate of Special Education, the target of special education had not only been special schools (but also mainstream schools). At that time the Director had been determined to start developing inclusive education in 2001. But what happened next? In 2002 I was asked to be involved in developing programme on class acceleration where bright pupils attended special classes. I felt confused. Inclusion programme had been initiated but at the same time an exclusive programme was developed. Although I am against

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[20] Schools participating in this programme would have one or more 'acceleration classes' which were attended only by pupils who certain IQ score. The pupils in those classes can finish their junior and senior secondary schools in two years instead of the normal three years and five years instead of six years for primary school pupils.

exclusivity, I accepted the job. My intention was to modify the programme so that it would not be as exclusive as it would be if I did not get involved in this project (A university scholar – 29/04/2003)

The above transcript suggests that officials of the Directorate of Special Education perceived inclusion and support for gifted children as two separate issues. They were seen as something that did not link to one another. The Directorate's officials seemed not to see inclusion and class acceleration as something that was actually contradictory. This was confirmed by a statement by a mid-management official of MONE who said: 'when we talked about class acceleration we did not talk about inclusion' (Mid-management official – 27 May 2005). This explains why schools involved in the integrated education programme were not involved in the acceleration programme[21].

Another issue that may arise from the above transcripts is the intention of that scholar to make the class acceleration policy less exclusive. To what extent he could influence the policy was not clear. It was likely that his involvement was limited only to give feedback to the people in charge of formulating and implementing the policy. That kind of involvement, unfortunately, might only have minimal influence in the way policy would be written and undertaken.

Meanwhile, delays to further legislation, especially in the form of government regulations, can be influenced by different factors. The first factor relates to the complexity of the issues in education in general, and education provision for disabled children in particular, as well as difficulties that may arise due to the size of the country. There are many issues that are

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[21] From time to time, the schools involved in programmes supporting gifted children, were schools considered to be the best schools in the area. This was not the case in the integrated education programme.

contentious and controversial which cannot simply be addressed in several meetings attended by MONE officials, members of the DPR and other relevant parties. The process of reaching an agreement became more difficult due to the diversity in professional backgrounds as well as in the understanding of education issues, amongst the MONE officials and members of the DPR. One of the possible explanations for this phenomenon is the fact that, previously, freedom of expression had been quite restricted in Indonesia. After the Habibie administration in 1998 began, there was a case of 'democratic reform euphoria' (Markin, 2004) which, amongst others, resulted in an increase number of political parties (from 3 to 48 in 1999 – of these only 21 had one or more seats in the MPR and the DPR). Although the number of political parties participating in the 2004 elections was not as many as in 1999 (24 – of this number, 17 had representatives in the MPR and the DPR), constant power struggles amongst these groups led to delays in the passing of government regulations. In most circumstances, it seemed that members of the DPR were not reconciled to the fact that legislation, like other forms of written policies, is basically a result of compromises (Ball, 2005, p. 44).

Another factor affecting the lengthy process in the DPR was the change of leadership at the MONE. After the establishment of Law 20/2003, a Committee for Education Reform was established to prepare the drafts of government regulations (GR). With respect to GR on special education and education with special arrangement, a draft had been produced in 2004. However, in 2005, a review by the newly elected members of the DPR and the appointed Minister of National Education resulted in the cancellation of

early drafts of some government regulations, including the one on special education and education with special arrangement. Ever since, different kinds of government regulation drafts have been written and reviewed[22]. These new drafts are currently on the Ministry's website for public consultation. The issue of when these drafts will finally be formalized remains uncertain. The fact that the elected President comes from a small and newly-formed political party adds to the complexity of the political process. As a result, four years after the Law 20/2003 was established, only one government regulation had been formulated.

Due to the absence of legislation that followed Law 23/2003 on the National Education System, it is not clear how the new legislation may be able to influence the development and implementation of current policies and programmes. What is likely to happen is that policy and programmes might be influenced more by the current trends of the relevant areas than the existing legislations. The Strategic Plan for National Education 2005-2009 developed by the MONE seems to be a good example of how current trends influence policy. Below is part of the strategic plan, which was intended to address issues of education equality and access:

> Expanding access to education for children aged 7-15, both male and female, who have not received formal or non-formal education. In addition, access expansion through integrated/inclusive education will be improved for children with special needs especially for areas where a segregated school is not available (Depdiknas, 2004, p. 49-50).

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[22] The new GR drafts which are currently on the MONE website are GR on Education Provision, GR on Education Finance, GR on Religious Education, GR on In-service Training, GR on Compulsory Education, GR on Teachers, and GR on Lecturers. Earlier the drafts were classified based on type of education such as GR on Primary Education, GR on Secondary Education, GR on Higher Education, and GR on Special Education and Education with Special Arrangement.

Furthermore, programmes to increase the equality in and access to education with respect to disabled children are as follows:

> Expanding access for 9-year compulsory education in special education and inclusive school; these policies of segregated and inclusive education are to increase access to education for children who have difficulties in learning due to their physical, emotional, mental, social differences, or those who are gifted or talented (ibid, p. 53).

It was only at the beginning of 2000 that UNESCO began to promote inclusive education for children with special needs in Indonesia. The use of the terms 'inclusive education' and 'children with special needs' in the strategic plan suggests that the current trends of language use were influential in formulating policy and programmes. These terms were not used in the previous Law No. 25/2000 on National Development Plan or *Undang-undang Program, Pembangunan Nasional 2000-2004* (Indonesia, 2000). In that document, it was only stated that programmes on basic and pre-school education were intended, amongst others, to 'increase education equality for marginalised children, including those who live in isolated and slum areas, who come from poor family background, and disabled children' (Depdiknas, 2000, p. 2).

Meanwhile, in programmes related to education equality and access, the term 'integrated education' was missing. This inconsistency seemed to indicate the confusion amongst the officials over the approach they wanted to promote. This confusion can further be detected in one of the mission statements of the Directorate of Special Education. The Directorate's stated mission was 'to broaden the opportunity for all children with special needs through segregation, integration and inclusion' (Direktorat PSLB, 2004). As

discussed earlier, whereas in integrated education disabled pupils are required to make a lot of effort to adjust within the mainstream school system, in inclusive education, it is the mainstream schools which are expected to accommodate the needs of the disabled pupils, even if this means making drastic changes. By insisting on using the term 'integrated education,' there was an impression that the MONE were not confident enough to promote inclusion and, by implication, disabled pupils were still expected to find their own way if they wanted to study in mainstream schools.

A further indication of confusion is evident in one of the guidance books on the organisation of integrated/inclusive education that was published in 2004 (MONE, 2004). The title of this guidance is 'Introduction of integrated education'. The content of the book, however, is about inclusive education. It is not clear whether the inconsistency between the title and the content of the book was simply due to a fatal typographical error or something that was done intentionally. What is clear is that this inconsistency and confusion might affect the ways in which the education office at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels and schools develop and implement their policies in the education for disabled children.

At the Provincial Education Office in the sample area, the way in which the terms integration, inclusion and segregation were used seemed rather different from the ones used by the MONE. This can be seen in a document on policy of the Provincial Educational Office Programmes 2003-2005. One of the policies of this office is stated as follows:

> Open the opportunity as much as possible to give access to disabled children who have not attended school, which are more than 1,000, using the following ways:

a. Together with the *Kabupaten/Kota* Education Office, open as many integrated schools as possible, from kindergarten to senior secondary school level,
b. Together with the *Kabupaten/Kota* Education Office, pioneer inclusive schools from kindergarten to senior secondary schools,
c. Establish Resource Centre which consists of qualified teachers who will assist mainstream school for the success of integrated and inclusive schools[23].

The first issue raised from the above statement is the use of integration as the more dominant approach utilised in the education for disabled children in mainstream schools. In this province, it seemed that having integrated education, which had been implemented to a certain extent on a regular basis, was seen as a realistic option. Inclusive education, although seen as a better approach for supporting disabled pupils, was not considered as the main policy because it was still in the try-out stage.

Secondly, it is questionable as to how far the provincial office could carry out the policy as mainstream schools are under the control of the district education office. This is especially true if the district office does not have any policy on education provision for disabled children in mainstream schools. During the interview with officials at the district education office in the sample area, I was informed that they did not have their own written policy on integration and/or inclusion. What they did was limited to working together with the MONE which had some pilot schools in a project on integrated education for pupils with learning difficulties in Kabupaten Kabuaran. This was perplexing as this district had been involved in the integrated education project since 2000 so that the issues of integration/ inclusion should not have been seen as something new. A possible

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[23] The quotation is based on the document of the Provincial Education Office entitled 'Conceptual programmes for the development of special schools 2003 – 2005'. To maintain unanimity of the respondent, the name of the province and the exact number of disabled pupils not attending schools are not mentioned.

explanation for the absence of any written policy on integration/inclusion in this district is that the understanding of the senior officials on integration/inclusion was very limited and different as compared to the understanding of the MONE's officials. This was partly due to the frequent change of leadership in this institution. Since the MONE's project on integrated education was begun in 1999 until 2005, there had been four people who had been appointed as Heads of the District Education Office.[24]

In sum, although there has been some legislation currently in place on education provision for disabled children, it has been insufficient. This insufficiency was not only with regard to the unavailability of more operational legislation, but also on the clarity of the message the existing legislation was trying to send. As a result of the insufficiency, policies and programmes on education provision for disabled children were developed and formulated based on officials' interpretation of previous legislation and the new Law, as well as the current international trends. How officials at the MONE, Provincial and District Education Offices interpreted the existing legislation can be seen from the way they translated it into policies and programmes. Analysis will start by discussing findings related to how legislation and other written policies were disseminated. The discussion of that aspect is important as, no matter how good the legislation may be, it will be meaningless if people are not aware of it. If legislation is not properly disseminated, it is very unlikely that further policies and programmes will be developed and implemented. Similarly, if legislation is not well written, unclear and inconsistent, no matter

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[24] Due to the poverty in this area, being an official in the district sample is not seen as prestigious. Those officials tend to move to other areas when there are opportunities for them. Two of the Heads of the District Office were moved to different areas and another one was replaced because of retirement.

how good the dissemination is, its implementation might not reach the intended targets or outcomes. The next section will discuss how the existing legislation on education provision for disabled children was disseminated and how education authorities, as well as teachers, understood it.

4.3. Dissemination of written policies on the education provision for disabled children

Once new legislation is published in the official gazette (*lembaran negara*), it is assumed that everybody knows about it. Additionally, the published legislation is considered to be valid and to bring with it consequences to those affected. This assumption can be regarded as acceptable at a practical level under certain inter-connecting conditions. First of all, there has to be a debate on issues that the legislation attempts to address. This debate should be accessible to members of the public. By having the debate accessible to the wider audience, people are made aware of the pros and cons of the prospective legislation. The situation in many parts of Indonesia, however, is very difficult in terms of technology and geography. Not all schools subscribe to newspapers, relevant magazines and other kinds of media. Many of them, especially primary schools, do not have any internet connection or even telephone lines. There is little critical assessment, if any, through public debate before an initiative is finally established as legislation. Therefore, it is unlikely that the relevance of such legislation as well as other kinds of policy is well understood by the people who should be directly affected by them. This is especially true in the case of service provision for disabled people/children, such as in the policy of integrated education. In addition to the absence of debate, there is a lack of

record-keeping when it comes to archiving written documents on policy. This is especially true in a society where oral culture is dominant, so much so that keeping policy documents is largely considered unnecessary and keeping written documents on policy is not a requirement. In this kind of society, people spend more time chatting or talking and spend less time on reading or writing. When they have questions, the tendency is to consult someone whom they think possesses the knowledge they seek, rather than to consult written references on the issue/s. This tendency can also be found amongst people in the bureaucracy when they deliver policy. They might have the legislation which usually consists only of the main ideas of a certain policy. Unfortunately, the explanation of why a policy has been formulated and the possible consequences accompanying that policy is not always made transparent in documents. Moreover, even if documents were produced, they might not be accessible or disseminated to the public.

The access to legislation becomes more difficult if the legislation is an old one. In the case of integrated education, the legislation that is still valid up till now is Ministerial Decree No. 002/O/1986 on Integrated Education. However, an interview with an official in the Provincial Education Office revealed that, even in this office, the Decree and other relevant documents were not available. At the school level, when asked whether teachers and headteachers knew about the existing written policy on integrated education, none of them mentioned about this decree or any other written policies. This is also the case in pilot schools. For the most part, teachers and headteachers said that they were not aware of any policy focusing on education provision for disabled children in mainstream schools. In some

conversations with some teachers and headteachers from the pilot schools, they mentioned that some schools were expecting to be appointed as integrated schools like theirs, in order for them to receive support from the authorities to help disabled pupils. That expectation suggests that by not being appointed as pilot schools in an integrated education project it seems to confirm that integration was still at the try-out stage. Therefore, teachers in the 'non integrated schools' thought that there was no obligation for them to implement integrated education. How could they implement such a programme if they had no information on the relevant policy?

The non-existence of a written policy was also the likely case at the district and central government levels especially in units that were not in charge of special education. The lack of knowledge of the officials on the current legislation and on issues related to education for disabled children can be partly explained by the false assumption of those responsible in mainstream education, that there was no obligation for them to be actively involved in addressing the issues of education provision for disabled children. As I have mentioned in my methodology chapter, a senior official and mid-level official did not want to be interviewed for that reason. At the district level, a senior official admitted that he had insufficient knowledge on education for disabled children. He admitted:

> I'm not in special education so I don't really know about it (education for disabled children)...
> That's all I can say...the others.... I never deal with it so I don't know what (to say) (A senior official - the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office 19/04/2003).

His statement was confirmed by two middle management officials at the same office (1/04/03). One of these officials used to be involved quite

intensively in the administration of the pilot project. Those officials seem to assume that education for disabled children was fully the responsibility of those in special education and therefore it was normal for those in mainstream education not to know the issues faced by those children. The response of a senior official at the MONE in charge of primary schools who refused to be interviewed as discussed earlier, confirms this assumption. A rather different response was given by a senior official at the provincial education office. When asked about the current situation of integrated education in the province, this official, who had been in his position for only a couple of months, responded as follows:

> Please contact my staff who is in charge of this programme. What I know about integrated education is that it is only placing disabled pupils in (mainstream) school. It gives them the opportunity to complete their compulsory nine-year education. It seems like that. I don't really know the target (A senior official - Provincial Education Office 17/04/2003).

The responses of the officials above clearly suggest a lack of care and high degree of disengagement from the actual purpose of the integrated education policy. The response of the latter official also suggests the simplicity of the approach used by him in exercising his jobs. As an authority, he seems to assume that it was fine to know only very little about his jobs as the detail will be taken care by his staff. Further, when asked about the role of his office, he explained:

> According to the current legislation, the role of this office is to regulate, facilitate, and (deliver) service for the public. However, because special schools are under the Provincial Education Office, this office also administers the implementation of special education. We have two rehabilitation centres in this province. When we regulate we always refer to the MONE policies. In addition to the 7 pilot schools for integrated education, we will have some schools that will be part of inclusive education project. These projects are the MONE project. We don't have projects that use the local government budget (ibid).

This official's response raises an important concern. It was questionable how he could effectively undertake his job as a middle management official, while he did not have clear ideas on the area he was in charge of. Another concern relates to the dependency of this office on the central government budget. If the local government continued not to allocate funding for disabled children's education, it would be very difficult for this office to make an effort to increase the number of disabled pupils educated in mainstream schools.

Meanwhile, with regard to the data on integrated education, a member of staff eventually gave me some records. According to one of the documents, 'integrated' schools were less than 3 percent of the total school population[25]. This number certainly did not reflect the real number of disabled pupils in mainstream schools. What was most likely happening was that most schools were not aware of the Provincial Education Office's policy in integrated education. Another possibility was that effort had been made by schools to request for support but for some reasons they did not receive it.

Besides giving me the document, the same member of staff also raised her concern on the Ministry pilot project which used a rather different approach from the one she usually used. Her statement was also concerned with the way policies were disseminated to schools. She expressed her uneasy feeling on that project as follows:

> The pilot project on integrated education carried out by the MONE is no better than the one we currently have. It makes our system chaotic. We already have the system where schools which have disabled pupils can ask for special education teachers to support them. We already have the regulation for that...Of course schools know about this regulation.... but I

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[25] The real number of 'integrated' schools and the school population are not revealed to maintain the anonymity of the interviewees.

don't now where the document of the regulation is at the moment. I moved office rooms several times so I lost some documents (Member of staff - Provincial Education Office 10/04/2003).

Her rejection of the pilot project which used a different approach to the one she used and her comment about the current policy and its implementation suggests the way she perceived the current policy on integrated education was uncontested and relatively straightforward (Larsen, 2001, p. 94). By this way of looking at the policy dynamic, it was assumed that school staff received and understood the policy document and therefore, it was expected that the policy was implemented properly. The basis for this assumption is very weak. The fact that there were only very few mainstream schools in this area involved and received support from the Provincial Education Office, indicated that most schools were not well-informed about the integrated education programme. Even if school staff were informed about the programme there was no guarantee that they had knowledge of issues relating to integrated education, such as how to deliver lessons in a class where a disabled child was enrolled.

The lack of understanding of policies related to education for disabled children in mainstream settings was also expressed by a senior official at the Sub-District Education Office in Kecamatan Jatiwulung. When asked about how he supported disabled pupils in his mainstream class, he responded as follows:

> I had been a teacher for 20 years. During those years I saw children with learning difficulties were victimised. This was due to lack of understanding on how to deal with those children. It's also because our ambition in having high school performance ...the indicator of the success of class teacher was the final examination scores. So what we did was drilling those which had the ... and we just left children with learning difficulties behind because they only wasted our time. When I came to this office, and learned about children with special needs, I did

istighfar. [26] If I knew about this in the past, I'm sure the victims of my policy were not as many as we had. When I had pupils with learning difficulties, I suggested the parents to send their children to special school. It was most unlikely that they did it. Eventually, they dropped out. It was not only one or two (Senior official - Sub-district Education Office 7/04/2003).

Although the statement of the official at the Sub-District Education Office did not directly address the issue of the non-existence of written policies, it is obvious that the way he treated his disabled pupils was mainly influenced by his lack of understanding of how to support them. The fact that he was only aware of the need to consider disabled pupils in mainstream schools when he was assigned in his current office which just happened to be the pilot site of the MONE project on integrated education, suggests that the policy on integrated education was not disseminated and imposed in his previous place of work.

The lack of information and knowledge of the current written policies can be explained in several ways. The ideas of a new policy to be developed often came from newly appointed officials with little experience in educational matters. Consequently, they did not have sufficient knowledge of previous policies and the dynamics of how and why these policies were developed, formulated and implemented. This led to a tendency where they were not prepared to professionally defend their initiatives. However, their initiatives might have been implemented despite the weak arguments. Debate was not encouraged to challenge the initiatives in order to avoid resistance and maintain stability.

The lack of debate cannot be separated from the Javanese culture which respects harmony (*rukun*) by avoiding conflict (Ekopriyono, 2003). The

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[26] *Istighfar* is an Islamic expression to ask forgiveness from Allah.

problem with the practice of avoiding conflict with respect to policy is the lack of space for criticism. Policy in this context is often seen in a straightforward way. People in authority tend to assume that the existing policy is the best way to address the intended issues and therefore schools have to implement it. With the lack of space for critiquing policy, people in positions of authority are not prepared to explore why a certain policy does not work. They tend to blame teachers for the schools' failure to carry out the policy and not, for example, their lack of support or the inappropriateness of the policy. There is also a tendency to silently drop the programme if there are critics from relevant parties. A conversation with a senior official in charge of mainstream junior secondary schools suggests that integrated education was not implemented rigorously, partly because authorities were discouraged by the protest of some parents of non-disabled pupils who did not agree with the presence of disabled pupils in their children's classes (Diary 23/03/2004).

The second reason for the lack of information and knowledge of current written policies relates to the dissemination of a policy once it had been legalised. What has happened in the past and possibly at the current time is that, after being published in the Official Gazette, a new policy was disseminated to the local authorities in several different ways. Firstly, the documents were sent through post or fax. Nowadays, some documents are accessible on the internet. Secondly, officials from local authorities were invited to come to a 'socialisation' meeting in Jakarta. Another way was for staff members of the Ministry of National Education to go to the regions and inform the local officials in a 'socialisation' meeting. It was expected that once the provincial authorities were aware of the new policies, they would inform

and organise socialisation meetings in their own areas. This way of disseminating policy has the risk of information being distorted. As a result there is a possibility that people at regional offices and district offices interpret or approach the same policy very differently. In the case of integrated education, people's understanding of this particular policy was worse as there was no substantial attempt to disseminate and implement this policy. By 2002 only very few mainstream schools were reported to have been involved in integrated education. The majority of the 30 provinces did not have schools which implemented the integrated education policy. Although some disabled students were in mainstream schools, no official support was provided for them. Integrated education policy has become a forgettable policy. Although the Ministerial Decree of 1986 is still valid, for most officials and teachers this policy does not exist.

Another explanation for the 'non-existence' of integrated education policy is the project-based approach that is commonly used in implementing policy. This approach is supposed to be carried out on a short term basis only. The success or failure of a project then determines its continuity. The project should be implemented on a broader scale on a regular basis when it is seen as successful. What happened in the case of the integrated education project carried out in the 1980s was that, once the project was terminated, there was no serious attempt made to implement the policy nationally. There was no awareness campaign that reached the school and community levels, and no substantial funding was allocated. It seems that many of the Ministry of Education officials were not convinced of the effectiveness of the project.

The lack of information on integration/inclusion was something that a MONE senior official in charge of special education was actually aware of. The Ministry previously used community campaigns as one of the means to inform and encourage people participation when there was a concern about the impact of economic crisis on student drop out at the end of 1990s. When asked about the possibility of having a similar community campaign to inform teachers and parents about the existence of the integration/inclusion policy in schools, he responded as follows:

> I'm familiar with the community campaign. When I was in my previous position, I was involved from the planning stage to the implementation of the community campaign on School Committee. It was a huge campaign that we did through television. I could do that. It was smooth. I just called and paid the production house. However, if I do the same thing to special education, it might become a boomerang. I can arrange for the campaign but I have to be very careful because once we do it there will be a large number of people demanding (mainstream) school (to accept and support disabled children).....There is an issue of readiness in providing school infrastructures and capacity to implement the programme. That's my concern. Public policy is not as easy as we thought (A MONE senior official - 30/04/2003).

His pessimism on the consequences of the campaign was due to the dilemma faced by the Ministry. On the one hand, campaigns will make people aware of the issues of integration/inclusion in education. On the other hand, this awareness will encourage people to demand for the rights of their disabled children to have access to mainstream education, something that the government is not prepared to do. The scale of the country makes it impossible to have all schools and related institutions ready to implement integration/inclusion policy at the same time. Even if the implementation of

this policy only means that every school, which has disabled pupils, will have one special education teacher, there will be a huge financial implication[27].

Disagreements about having community awareness campaigns did not mean that there was no attempt to inform the public about the current policies and initiatives. Currently the Directorate of Special Education has a website consisting of information on special education, inclusion, education for gifted/talented pupils, and adaptive education (for pupils with special needs). It is undeniable that the existence of this website is a one step forward for policy dissemination. Compared to the other units within the MONE, this website is also relatively easy to access and up dated. However, it is questionable whether this website would be accessed by schools, both special and mainstream. This is especially true in the case of sample schools. Internet access, either at school or home, is a luxury that most schools and teachers cannot afford.

It is also questionable how useful the website is with respect to its contents for teachers. Indeed, there is information on policies and programmes of the Directorate of Special Education, including the ones related to the inclusive education project. However, if a mainstream school teacher has some questions on why she needs to consider inclusive education in her teaching approach, very little information is available. In the news section, much information is irrelevant because it mainly contains general information, including food recipes, beauty therapy, and technology

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[27] After decentralisation, there was a negative growth in the number of civil servants being recruited. Most district governments did not allocate funding to recruit new teachers, even only to replace those who were retired. In 2002 the central government eventually funded 'contract teachers'. These teachers received lower salary than the regular ones and were recruited for two years only. In 2005 the central government agreed to allocate some funding for the recruitment of some of these teachers as civil servants.

(Direktorat PSLB 2006). Secondly, readers might have difficulty in accessing and/or understanding the more relevant information as it is not systematically written and well presented. If a teacher already has some understanding on the need to support all children, including disabled children, and wants to access information on how to do it, again very little information is available, such as where to go for advice or find the resources. In addition, some of this information is written in English, including the recommendation of an international symposium which was held in Bukittinggi in 2005 or information of a conference on 'mental retardation' which was held in Yogyakarta in 2005.

With the lack of knowledge on the existing legislation and policies on integrated/inclusive education, as well as inclusive education, which was partly as a result of poor dissemination, what officials said about education provision for disabled children will be discussed in the next part of this chapter. It is crucial to examine what Fulcher calls 'stated policy' as the way in which officials perceived the written policies and how they implemented them would consequently affect the way policies and programmes were delivered to and at the school level.

4.4. What did officials say about education provision for disabled children?

In the Literature Review I pointed out that there are three different approaches in education provision for disabled children, namely, segregation, integration and inclusion. Although these terms originally came from the West, in Indonesia, people in special education are quite familiar with them.

This is not the case for those in mainstream education who seem to know very little about the ideas in these three approaches.

The first main question of this study is related to how the authorities at the different levels of government institutions perceived the education policy for disabled children in mainstream schools. When asked about this issue, a MONE senior official raised concerns about the current situation as follows:

> In much legislation established by the MPR, they always mention about disadvantaged children, including disabled children. However, in practice people tend to think only of the provision for normal children rather than disabled children. We haven't elaborated what scheme we should have for the real equality between the normal and not normal children in compulsory education programme (A MONE senior official - 30/04/2003).

This excerpt from the interview transcript suggests that this senior official was quite aware of the fact that there was a gap between legislation and its implementation, which for him was due to people's ignorance. He further admitted that there was a lack of attempt by the Ministry to put the legislation into practice so as to achieve one of the main goals of education namely, equality. When asked whether MONE had an inclusion policy to address this situation, he explained his concept of inclusion.

> ...We currently have this (inclusive education project) and I want to develop it into policy, but it is still under study. There are three dimensions. Firstly, I think it's maintaining [special school], as we already have the asset. Although special schools have some weaknesses, we need to maintain them...
>
> The second effort is improvement, improvement of the quality, by improving the management. We need to train teachers. Currently, teachers and headteachers in special schools are old fashioned. Although they know already things like school based management, total quality management, etc., they don't implement it. Therefore, they need training ...
>
> The third one is what I call expansion. It's an expansion of access. There are two issues in access. The first one is that if we expand special schools there will be weaknesses and strengths. If we open many new special schools, there is a question of who will operate them and where

the funding comes from. Now (the establishment of new schools) should be more 'grass root proposal base'. We apply the matching grant model (A MONE senior official - 30/04/2003).

Maintaining the current special schools, establishing the new ones by using the matching grant, and training for special school staffs are the main components of policy that obviously support a segregated approach. There is no reference to the three dimensions that imply the inclusion of disabled children in mainstream schools. When asked specifically about educating disabled children in mainstream schools, he criticised the concept of integrated education as follows:

> ...the weakness of integrated education is that disabled children are forced to meet [the academic standard] of normal children. They are not treated in accordance with their needs in terms of curriculum, learning style, teachers [qualification], all the same... [they] are just attending mainstream school [with no support]. It's like building a tunnel only from one side. It will be very long to ... It should be from two sides to make it faster. This is the philosophy of inclusion. If we want inclusion, it is not enough by only integrating disabled children in mainstream school. We need an inclusive system. To do so the system needs to be adjusted (A MONE senior official - 30/04/2003).

However, when asked if there had been any serious attempt made to increase access to education for disabled children, he was reluctant to comment by saying:

> Well, previously I don't ... let's what happened in the past go (ibid).

In attempting to be polite he might have resisted being critical of his predecessors' policy. It is very likely that the main reason for his reluctance to talk about the 'previous' policy was the fact that he had been in his position for less than a month at the time of the interview. This was a very short period time for him to develop an understanding of the issues his unit was facing especially because his previous work and educational background had little to do with disability issues in general and educational provision for

disabled children in particular. It seems that he had tried to accept the new language of inclusion and was aware of the criticism of integration. However, the language of inclusion was very new and had not formally been used in many written policies. In fact, other policies seem to be in contradiction with his ideas of inclusion. For example, some priorities of the Directorate of Special Education mostly focus on special schools. With respect to education of disabled children in mainstream schools, one of the priorities of the Directorate 2005 was to 'try out an integrated education programme'. The aim and the models of the programme were as follows:

> (This programme aims to) resolve the problems faced by children with special needs in accessing education in rural and isolated areas. This is to provide support for school-age children with special needs from preschool, primary, junior and senior secondary school in try out schools developed in Indonesia. There are three models being developed.
>
> 1. Model 1
>
> Regular school with slow learners and children with learning difficulty as being developed in primary schools in Kecamatan Jatiwulung[28]
>
> 2. Model 2
>
> This second model is intended for children with special needs who have attended special school. These children then attend regular schools supported by special education teachers.
>
> 3. Model 3
>
> In this model regular schools explicitly inform the public, for example, through the pupil enrolment policy, that they will accept children with special needs (Direktorat PSLB, 2005).

There is an important issue that arises from this text which has been on the Directorate website since 2005 (which means that the senior official interviewed in 2003 had been in his position for two years already). This

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[28] The same *kecamatan* as the location of this study and therefore I change the name.

relates to the aim of integration. By stating that integration is intended 'to resolve the problems faced by children with special needs in accessing education in rural and isolated areas', it indicates very clearly that having disabled children in mainstream school is not based on philosophical considerations. Integration is applied not to exercise the rights of disabled children to be educated in the same setting as non-disabled children. Integration is seen as a state where disabled pupils are placed in mainstream schools. It is based only on geographical considerations. There are no special schools in most rural areas and even in many parts of urban areas, and none in isolated areas. Therefore, disabled children can only go to mainstream schools which for proponents of segregated education is not an ideal situation. For those proponents, integration or inclusion is adopted to substitute the support provided by special schools. Integration is applied because special schools 'have not reached all disabled children' (ibid). Integration/inclusion is seen as only one of the ways to increase the number of disabled children in school as stated in the same document:

> To complete the nine-year compulsory education is by increasing the
> access to education for children with special needs, for example, through
> the establishment of new schools, classrooms and inclusion programme
> (ibid).

The use of the term 'inclusion' in this part of the text indicates the inconsistency of terminologies used by the Directorate of Special Education. Instead of inclusion, the Directorate's programmes as posted in its website, the term 'integration' is used. Why though? This is not clear, even after I have read what comes below. The use of the term 'children with special needs', is also inconsistent with other parts of the Directorate's documents. For

example, a section on identification of problems in special education provision uses the term 'disabled children' instead of 'children with special needs'. This inconsistency suggests some confusion in using the language for which there are several explanations. The first possible explanation is similar to the use of the term *pendidikan khusus* discussed earlier in this chapter which is the need to expand the special education coverage. In 1996 a foundation, Yayasan Pantara[29], which was intended to address issues concerning children with learning disabilities, was established with the support from the Ministry. The founder of the *Yayasan*, Atie Djojonegoro, was the wife of the Minister of Education and Culture at that time. During her husband's ministerial period, the Foundation exposed the higher officials at the Ministry to the term 'pupils with learning disability' defined as those who have 'normal' intellectual ability but experience difficulties in learning. In the process, other children without impairment, but who for many reasons had difficulties in learning, were also included in discussion on special education in general and integrated education in particular. Then, the terms 'children with difficulties' and 'children with special educational needs' were occasionally used in official documents such as in the Strategic Plan of Special Education developed by the Indonesia-Australian Task Force in 1998 (GoI-Australia, 1998).

Another explanation for the confusion in using the language is the fact that any written policies have to refer to the existing legislation which still uses the 'old language'. At the same time, there is a need to use the new

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[29] I was seconded to help the establishment of the *Yayasan* in 1995/1996. From 1996 to 1999, my involvement in the activities organised by the *Yayasan* and the Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education was on an occasional basis.

language in accordance with international trends. The Salamanca Statement and Framework for Action on Special Needs Education, which was adopted by the World Conference on Special Needs Education in 1994, was one of the international documents promoted by the UNESCO that influenced the way the language is used in Indonesia. This Statement was frequently referred to after the year 2000 when the Directorate of Special Education was established through Ministerial Decree 010/O/2000 or *Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional No. 010/O/2000 tentang Organisasi dan Tata Kerja Departemen Pendidikan Nasional* (Depdiknas, 2000).

Another issue raised from the three models is the concept of integrated education that seems to be more about placement than an educational approach based on philosophical reasons. It does not give any basis for 'all schools' to move toward integration/inclusion. It is up to the schools to choose whether they want to apply Model 1, 2, 3 or none of them. A middle management official who had been involved in the development and formulation of policy in special education called these models 'inclusive education ala Indonesia'. When asked about the programmes for gifted and/or talented students and school/class of excellence in relation to inclusive education, he responded by saying, that every time there was a discussion on those programmes, inclusive education was not mentioned. He knew that many scholars disagreed with his view but his position was based more on practical reasons. Considering the Indonesian situation, he argued that it was not possible to use and apply the concept of inclusive education in the way Western scholars define it. He further argued that, even in Western

countries, which were perceived to have been implementing inclusive education, special schools still existed (Field note 30/05/2005).

At the provincial and district levels, the policy and programmes were not necessarily consistent with the ones at the national level. As revealed earlier, there was no education policy established which specifically targeted disabled children, either by the provincial or district local government. A member of staff at the Provincial Education Office suggested that they basically implemented the existing policy on integrated education. She explained the way in which policy was implemented as follows:

> The main support this office provided for schools participated in integrated education programme is by assigning special education teacher to help disabled pupil/s in mainstream school. The procedure that the schools should follow in order to get that support is by writing a request letter to the Provincial Education Office (used to be MONE Provincial Office) with the attachment of a professional's letter, such a psychologist, which explains the result of the pupil's assessment. There won't be any problem for school to access them. They are currently anywhere. This office will then assign a special education teacher which is based in a special school. Attempt will be made if the location of the special school is far away from the mainstream school (Member of staff - Provincial Education Office 10/04/2003).

Some concerns can be raised from the above transcript. Firstly, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the above member of staff assumed that teachers were well-informed about the policy of integrated education which was not the case. Secondly, her claim that professionals, such as psychologists, could easily be accessed, suggested her denial of the diversity of school circumstances in her areas. It was very unlikely that school staff, especially those in rural areas, were familiar with medical professions other than general practitioners in their local health centre. Even if school staff had the knowledge of how to access the professionals, parents of disabled child

might not. And if they had the knowledge, they possibly could not afford to pay for the service. Thirdly, her assumption that district local government would arrange for a special education teacher to be assigned in 'integrated school' clearly simplified the complexity of the arrangement of special education teacher's placement. Lack of knowledge amongst officials at the district level, limited number of special education teachers, geographical constraints, and unavailability of funding were amongst other things responsible for the complexity of assigning a special education teacher in a mainstream school.

The assumption that, at the district level, the local government, through its District Education Office, would make the arrangements for the implementation of integrated education was wrong, was confirmed by the fact that there was no policy in place. This was also reinforced by the fact that the Head of the Education Office knew nothing or very little about the issues of education for disabled children as discussed earlier in this chapter. What the District Education Office did with respect to education for disabled children can be seen from the extract of an interview with two middle managers of the Office:

> Although we have these 7 schools involved in the pilot project on integrated education, it is difficult to replicate the ideas of integrated education in other schools. We are still not clear how to manage it. Mainstream teachers have received no training and visiting special education teachers are not available. There are schools in areas which are too far from special schools. And there will be shortage of teachers in special school if many of them have to be visiting teachers (Two middle management officials - Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office 1/4/2003).

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The above transcript suggests the reliance on special education teachers in carrying out integrated education. It was obvious that the assignment of some special education teachers to visit the pilot schools once every week gave an impression that, without them, having disabled pupils in mainstream schools was not possible[30]. Further, when asked about whether there were ways for mainstream teachers to get support for dealing with their disabled pupils, the two officials responded as follow:

> We have the KKG or Teachers' Groups[31]. In the KKG meeting which is conducted fortnightly on Saturday, teachers discuss about how they support pupils in their schools. However, only in pilot areas where they also talk about integrated education. Usually, a teacher from a special school comes as a resource person (ibid).

Their response that only teachers in pilot schools talked about integration implies that the idea of supporting disabled children in mainstream schools was not disseminated. Unfortunately, their claim that a special education teacher usually attended the meetings was not confirmed by teachers in sample schools. This confirmed that not enough efforts had been made to make sure that support for disabled pupils at least in the pilot schools would be sustainable.

4.5. Conclusion

Although the language of integration has been used in policy documents since the 1980s, the dominant approach used in education

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[30] In the integrated education project three special education teachers were assigned to help disabled pupils and their teachers. These teachers visited every school once every week and spent about three hours in each visit.

[31] One teachers' group or KKG (Kelompok Kerja Guru) usually consists of teachers from around 7 schools. There are also headteachers' groups namely KKKS (Kelompok Kerja Kepala Sekolah) and school supervisor groups namely KKPS (Kelompok Kerja Pengawas Sekolah).

provision for disabled children was mainly segregation. Law 20/2003 and Law 2/1989 on the National Education System and other relevant government regulations, that do not explicitly mention support for disabled children in mainstream schools, were amongst the reasons for not providing such support. Some policy documents on integrated education in the form of Ministerial Decrees and Director General of Primary and Secondary Circulars did exist but they were not strong enough to boost disabled children's participation in mainstream schools. The insufficiency and inconsistency of legislation and other written policies as well as the understanding of the MONE officials that segregated, integrated and inclusive education were more a static condition rather than an ongoing process, gave a confusing message on how to address the issues of disabled pupils' education. This confusing message, however, was received only by those who were informed about the existing legislation. The fact that the existing legislation was not effectively disseminated meant that many officials were not even aware of the need to educate disabled children in mainstream settings. Therefore, few or no programmes were developed and implemented. Even in districts where the pilot project on integrated education was carried out, no policy and programme with regard to disabled pupils had been established.

How mainstream schools supported disabled pupils in a situation where legislation and other regulations on integrated education were not recognised, and where policies and programmes were not developed by both the MONE and local education office at the provincial and district levels will be discussed in the next chapters.

Chapter 5: Support to disabled pupils in mainstream schools

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will present and analyse findings from the interviews with teachers and headteachers of the sample schools. Discussion is intended to make sense of how they treated disabled children in their classes in a situation where there were basically no policy provisions in place concerning education for disabled children. Some aspects of the way in which schools implement such policy elements as enrolment, promotion, and permanent exclusion, which will partly determine the kinds of support given to disabled children, will also be considered. Before turning to a discussion on how teachers support disabled pupils, a brief description of the profile of the sample schools will be presented to provide some insights into the context of the schools.

5.2. Sample school profile

In terms of school buildings, generally all children aged 7-12 have easy access to primary schools in their neighbourhood. Since 1984, when the six-year compulsory education was enacted, there has been at least one primary school in every village. At the sample location of this study, one village could have two or three primary schools. The sizes of the schools were small. All sample schools, except one private school, had six classes and a relatively small number of pupils as shown in Table 5. In this situation, all children, including disabled children, in the neighbourhood could be accepted.

Table 5 also shows that the percentage of 'disabled pupils' varied amongst schools. This study did not use a strict definition to classify disabled

pupils and hence it was possible that one pupil might be considered to have

a disability by one school but not by the other schools. Even for one school,

Table 5: Sample school profile

School	No. of pupils	No of 'disabled pupils'		No. of class teachers	No. of Art and PE teachers	No. of RE teachers	No. of private teachers	Total no. of teachers	Pupils/ teacher ratio
		Nom*	%						
Pilot schools									
SD Jatiwulung	137	28	20	4	0	2		8	23
SD Kedungpring	64	10	16	4	1	1	1	7	9
SD Tirtomadyo	36	4	11	3	1	1		5	7
SDI Batuputih	154	19	12	4	0	8**		12	13
Non-pilot schools									
SD Karangan	97	4	4	6	1	1		8	12
SD Watugunung	72	2	3	5	0	1		6	12
SD Dukuhsekti	53	7	13	5	0	1		6	9
SDI Banjaran	73	2	3	4	0	3**	2	9	8

Note:
* Nom = Nominal
** Six and one of the Religious Education (RE) teachers in SDI Batuputih and SDI Banjaran respectively were not assigned to teach religious education but other lessons.
All schools except SDI Batuputih had 6 classes. This school had 12 classes. Six of them were in a different location.

data could vary. For example, the headteacher of SD Tirtomadyo initially

claimed to have 21 pupils with learning difficulties, which constituted nearly

60% of the total pupil population. Of that number, those considered as having

severe difficulties were only four pupils or 11 per cent of the total pupil

population. Because of the loose definition of disabled pupils, it could not be

said for certain that the pilot schools had more disabled pupils than the non-

pilot ones. What was more certain was that there were most likely some

pupils who might not benefit from their school experience.

5.2.1. Number of teachers

With respect to teachers, there are two issues that will be briefly

discussed, namely insufficiency of their number and their qualifications and

training. According to many teachers and headteachers, as well as some officials in Kecamatan Jatiwulung, in a typical school, ideally there would be nine teachers consisting of six academic content teachers, one art and physical education (PE) teacher, one religious education (RE) teacher, and one headteacher. Table 5 reveals the insufficient number of teachers in all sample schools although all headteachers were also involved in teaching. The insufficiency was worse in schools where there were some teachers who lived far away from where they worked. The extreme example was found in SD Tirtomadyo. One teacher had to travel about five hours a day to and from her school. For her wellbeing, the headteacher of this school allowed her not to come to school once every week (Conversation with headteacher of SD Tirtomadyo (09/04/2003).

There were several approaches adopted by the schools to overcome the shortage of teachers. The first one was taken by two of the sample schools which decided to hire teachers who received a very small honorarium, allocated from the school budget, even though they worked full-time. It was so small that teachers in SD Kedungpring, for example, said that it was only enough to buy 'a bar of soap' (10/04/2003).

Secondly, in some schools, such as SD Dukuhsekti and SD Tirtomadyo, some of the teachers taught two classes. They were usually Grade 1 and 2 teachers and taught only from 7am to 9:30 or 10am while those in higher grades were there until noon or 1pm. None of the sample schools had a multi-grade class, a class where children from different grades were taught in the same classroom. This, however, did not mean that the

classes were not diverse. All classes in the sample schools tended to have mixed-ability and mixed-aged groups of pupils.

Thirdly, two Islamic schools, SDI Banjaran and SDI Batuputih, assigned religious education teachers to teach some lessons in addition to religious education lessons. Unlike other sample schools, the Islamic schools had teachers who were placed there by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As these teachers were not trained to teach subjects other than religious education, according to the headteacher of SDI Batuputih, they were less skilful than those who were qualified as primary school teachers (Headteacher – SD Batuputih 12/04/2003).

Table 5 also shows that the pupil-teacher ratio ranged between 7 and 23 pupils per teacher, which is quite a small number in comparison to many primary schools in urban areas where one teacher can teach up to forty pupils. Although many classes only consisted of very few pupils, schools were not encouraged to have multi-grade classes to resolve the problem of teacher insufficiency. What was planned at the time of data collection was merging some schools which were located close to each other (School supervisor – 23/03/03). This merging, however, would not be applied to SD Tirtomadyo which was located in a relatively remote area albeit this school had only 36 pupils.

5.2.2. Teachers/headteachers' qualifications and training

Most teachers in the sample schools had a Diploma II qualification (two years in higher education) which they took mainly during the crash programme run in the 1990s. The programme was carried out after the Government increased the requirements for teachers' qualifications from

having Teacher Training School (*Sekolah Pendidikan Guru* or SPG – equivalent to senior secondary school for students aged 16-18) certificate to Diploma II certificate (two years in higher education) in 1990/1991 academic year (Kompas 25 September 2002). Very few teachers had a certificate from Teacher Training Colleges (four years in higher education at *Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan* - IKIP). Those teachers taught in SD Kedungpring, SDI Banjaran and one was at SD Karangan. This higher level of education, however, did not imply that the holders would receive higher financial recognition. The two teachers holding the IKIP certificate in SD Kedungpring and SDI Banjaran were not civil servants and therefore only received a small monthly honorarium. They hoped in the future there would be an opportunity for them to be recruited as civil servants. It was expected that their years of dedication as low-paid teachers would be taken into account in the civil servant recruitment process.

All teachers said that they occasionally received training on certain subjects especially through the teachers' forum of which they members[32]. With respect to support for disabled pupils in their classes, only those who were in pilot schools were invited to attend the relevant training. There was no positive response when some teachers in one of the non-pilot schools, SD Karangan, requested to have some training on how to support disabled children in their classes.

There were five headteachers that were interviewed during data collection. All of them had Diploma II certificates. None of them, except the

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[32]Members of *kelompok kerja guru* (KKG) or teachers' forum met once every two weeks. The forum in the sample area consisted of teachers from seven primary schools. Headteachers' forum was called *kelompok kerja kepala sekolah* (KKKS).

one in SDI Batuputih, attended headship training before they were assigned to their positions. The training was provided only after they were in the positions. Again, training on how to support disabled pupils in mainstream schools only involved headteachers from pilot schools.

5.2.3. School facilities and learning materials

The typical primary schools in a rural area would have six classrooms, one staff room, and a toilet. Of the sample schools in this study only one school, SDI Batuputih, had twelve classes. Half of these classes were located in a different part of the village. The four pilot schools, however, had more 'luxurious' facilities. By using the grant from the Ministry of National Education they were able to build sport facilities and purchase sport kits. Some schools also refurbished their toilets, built a special unit, and an entrance door. All schools did not have a proper library. Books were put in a certain place with no systematic or organised ways of shelving, borrowing and recording them. The collection was mostly textbooks which pupils borrowed and shared amongst themselves. The last time sample schools received textbooks was 1998. This means that at the time of data collection, it had been 4 years since the sample schools received any new textbooks. As many of the existing ones had been damaged, pupils could only borrow and share them at school.

With respect to funding, even before decentralisation, the *kabupaten/kota* local government was in charge of providing it for school operational costs. The amount of funding, however, was so small that teachers in SD Jatiwulung said it was only enough to buy chalk. The common way for schools to generate money to fund the operational cost was by

applying a monthly fee to all pupils. The amount of the fee ranged between Rp 4000 (SDI Batuputih – around £0.22) and Rp 10,000 (SD Jatiwulung – around £0.56). Usually pupils from poor backgrounds were exempt from paying the fee. The increase in price of oil in the early 20th century allowed the central government to allocate some more funding for school operational costs. Since 2005 schools have been allocated Rp 27,000 (around £1.5) for each pupil per month using that extra income in a programme called *Bantuan Operational Sekolah* (BOS) or School Operational Assistance (Kompas 7 September 2005). Although it was expected that schools would not apply any fees to pupils after the allocation of this funding, there was no guarantee that they would not be asked to pay a different kind of fee. One of the reasons in the context of sample schools for this study, was that the funding could not be used to pay honoraria for teachers, both the civil servant and the non-civil servant ones.

5.2.4. Teaching arrangements

There was no intention in this study to examine the teaching-learning process in the sample schools. It is, however, necessary to briefly present a description of the arrangement of this process, in order to give some idea of how teaching was organised. First is how headteachers organised the teaching. On this issue, all sample schools had some class teachers in charge of Grade 1, 2 and 3. Some of them, such as in SD Watugunung and SD Tirtomadyo, had to teach two classes. In the higher grades (4, 5 and/or 6), teachers taught some specific subjects, such as maths, language and science. Religious education and physical education teachers were in charge of teaching those subjects in all grades, including Grade 1, 2 and 3.

There was tendency for teachers to use one teaching plan for all pupils. Teachers tended to treat pupils as a single group with similar ability although that was certainly not the case. All pupils sat on their chairs facing their teachers who lectured them and gave the same teaching materials to all pupils regardless of their differences. An individualised approach to education was not widely recognised and implemented.

Theoretically, pupils were promoted to higher grades if they passed a minimal standard of academic achievement. In practice, some pupils were promoted using the 'adjusted test score for humanity reason' (Teachers – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003). They did that to prevent pupils from staying at the same grades for many years as that would lead them to drop-out. In their new classes, however, it was very difficult for those pupils to participate as teachers would give materials they could not follow.

The description of the sample schools' profile presented above suggests   that many of the problems faced by the sample schools affected not only disabled pupils but also other pupils. The impact of factors such as insufficient number of teachers, lack of training, and scarcity of resources on the exclusion of disabled pupils, however, was most likely to be worse than for non-disabled pupils. As discussed earlier in the Introduction chapter, this was mainly due to the stigma attached to disabled children.

5.3. School policy in supporting disabled children

One of the main questions being asked to teachers and headteachers during interviews was whether they have written policies pertaining to support for disabled pupils. When asked whether mainstream schools had written policies on supporting disabled pupils, all teachers and headteachers in both

pilot and non-pilot schools gave similar answers, namely that no such policy existed in their schools. In pilot schools, although teachers had been trained, disabled pupils had a visiting special education teacher, and schools received a financial subsidy, but there was no written policy. They relied more on oral communication to inform people that their schools supported disabled children. Oral culture together with the small size of schools and the close neighbourhood seems to make school staff feel that it was not necessary to have a written policy.

Another possible explanation for the non-existence of written policies at the school level was partly because there was no policy at the *kabupaten/kota* level that could be used as a basis for the establishment of the policy at the school level. Therefore, if the consequences of the policy were to have, for example, financial resources, there was no guarantee that they would be allocated. As presented earlier, no policy related to education provision for disabled children in mainstream schools was in place at the *kabupaten/kota* level. This means that there would be no resources allocated in this area.

As a result of the absence of written policies at the *kabupaten* level, no programme was implemented and no resources were allocated in mainstream schools, apart from those involved in the integrated education project. This would certainly affect the way in which teachers dealt with disabled pupils. I will now turn the discussion in the next part of this chapter to teachers' responses to questions related to how disabled pupils were supported in their schools. Before presenting and analysing the main findings related to that, school enrolment policy will be briefly discussed. This

discussion is essential to obtain an understanding of why and how disabled children were included or excluded from the school system in their first year of schooling.

5.3.1. School enrolment policy and teachers' acceptance of disabled children

The policy of accepting all children in the neighbourhood was in line with the national policy which constitutes part of the effort to achieve the 'education for all' national goal. The main selection criterion for primary school enrolment was age but other selection criteria were applied to junior, senior secondary schools, and higher education. At these levels, academic achievement was the main factor considered. Unlike in primary school, at the junior secondary school level, there was additional guidance established by the Provincial Education Office with respect to the enrolment of disabled pupils. One of the articles in the Implementation Guidance developed by the Provincial Education Office states the following:

> If a pupil who has an impairment enrols in a private/public junior secondary school, the school has the obligation to accept this pupil as long as she meets all requirements. The school then will be appointed as an integrated school with a separate letter (*Dinas Pendidikan Propinsi*, 2002).

This policy raises several different issues. Firstly, one of the requirements for any primary school graduates to be accepted in junior secondary school was academic achievement[33]. Consequently, disabled pupils, especially those with learning difficulties, were most likely not to be

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[33] Before 2002, junior secondary school selection basically used the average national exams score as the main consideration. In 2002 the national exam was abolished. However, academic achievement, which is based on local exam test results, is still the main selection criterion. To increase access to junior secondary schools, the government develop and implement open junior secondary schools and a non-formal education programme namely Package B for those who for any reasons do not attend the regular ones.

accepted in junior secondary schools which had more applicants than the places available. According to the Head of the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office, access to junior secondary schools was sufficient. As long as a child was 'willing' to continue her study she would be accepted in one of the existing junior secondary schools (17/04/2003). What he did not mention was that, for some groups of pupils, especially those with learning difficulties, it was most likely that they would not be accepted by the school of their choice. It was most likely that the only choice for them was to attend private junior secondary school which usually charged high school fees but had few facilities[34].

Secondly, by referring only to junior secondary schools, the text could be interpreted to mean that schools at the other levels, including primary schools, had no obligation to accept disabled children. This might explain why no additional resources for primary schools to support disabled pupils were available on a regular basis.

The third issue raised in the text is the aim of integrated education which is to increase access in rural and isolated areas. This aim might be based on an assumption that all disabled children would attend special schools rather than mainstream schools if these schools are available in their areas. However, this assumption is problematic. Firstly, not all cities have special schools. Even if they have one, the school might be located far away from where disabled children live or it might educate only children with some types of impairment. For example, in the sample area of this study the

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[34] Unlike in Western countries, in Indonesia, most private junior and senior secondary schools are considered the second choices. Many of them are poorly resourced. Teachers in these schools are seconded or private teachers. Some others are teachers in state schools.

special school accepted children with all kinds of impairment, except autism. In addition, the statement, as discussed earlier, is concerned much more with placement, and not the rights of disabled children to be educated together with their peers.

As mentioned earlier, no school in the sample for this study ever rejected any children. This was the case for both schools involved in the integrated education project and those which were not. The difference between the two groups was that having the status of being pilot schools seems to have given such schools extra motivation to accept disabled children as was the case at SD Kedungpring. The headteacher of this school repeatedly said that he never rejected any children.

> We accept all children enrolling to this school. We never reject any children regardless of their condition. When I was promoted as a headteacher, this school had been appointed as an integrated school. I have talked about this with parents of the pupils. They want the integration programme to be continued. They even want us to identify any children who haven't attended any schools. The agreement we have with the School Committee is that we will never reject any children, although they have difficulties, either mental or physical difficulties. We will accept them (Headteacher - SD Kedungpring 10/03/2002).

Having a zero rejection admission policy, however, did not mean that teachers accepted disabled pupils without any reservations. In all schools teachers expressed their concerns with regard to the presence of disabled pupils in their classes. The first concern relates to the school's popularity as revealed during the focus group discussion.

> I have a concern about children with learning difficulties in this school but I would prefer to have them here. Their presence should not be seen as a problem. They are our responsibility. However, we have a burden because our school rank becomes very low. This school used to be a beacon school. It was when we didn't have children like what we have in recent years. At that time, we were invited to participate in RRI and

TVRI[35] programmes because we won the competition of the citizenship education and boy/girl scouts. (The rank of the school) started to decrease when we had no headteacher from 1985 to 1992. We also used to have a sufficient number of teachers. (Teachers - SD Kedungpring 10/03/2002).

Similar to league tables in the UK, every year there are official tables at the *kabupaten/kota* level containing the average academic achievement based on the test scores taken by sixth grade pupils. Although at the primary school level, these tables are not nationally published, teachers as well as parents know which schools have the higher academic achievements. The probability of pupils who graduate from these schools to be accepted in junior secondary schools of their choice, will be higher than those who graduated from schools with lower academic achievement. Some schools with higher academic achievement could be included in the Government programmes on School of Excellence (*Sekolah Unggul*). Because of the prestige, parents tend to send their children to these schools. This status further results in these schools receiving more applicants than the spaces available and therefore, these schools have to select pupils based on some criteria. Parents in poor rural areas, however, seemed not to follow this tendency. This was partly due to their financial situation and practicalities of choosing the nearest school for their children.

Other teachers in another pilot school, whilst welcoming disabled pupils in their school, admitted that they experienced difficulties in dealing with them. The following is what the headteacher said about the school enrolment policy for disabled pupils:

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[35] RRI is the state radio network of Indonesia. TVRI is the public television station of Indonesia.

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This school never rejects disabled children. Really. Actually, there was only one disabled child registering to this school, which was Badu. We directly enrolled him when he applied. For two years we tried to educate him in accordance to his needs. However, we had difficulties in doing so. He liked to disturb other pupils. He sometimes hugged female pupils. He liked to walk around during the class. One time he went to another class which was having a math lesson. Of course the class was distracted. Whenever a car passed by the school he tended to run after it. His teacher had to run after him. That's why we built the entrance door that can be locked. Once he entered the school areas the door would be locked. His behaviour damaged the school environment (Headteacher - SDI Batuputih 12/04/2003).

In the first data collection (April 2003) because of concerns over the impact of his behaviour on the school environment, Badu was finally sent to a special school. Despite the fact that he was in a special school, the headteacher still considered him as her pupil. She was hoping that his time in the special school would only be temporary. In the second data collection in April 2005, she informed me that after having had discussions with the special education teacher, she felt that it would be better for Badu to be fully registered in the special school and not in her school. She eventually had to delete his name from the school register.

Badu's permanent exclusion was ironic considering that his presence enabled this school to be appointed as one of the pilot schools, therefore teacher training and financial subsidy were provided. One of the teachers in this school admitted the benefit of Badu's presence by saying the following:

I told the other pupils that they had to thank Badu. Because of him we could build sport facilities, repair the staff toilet and buy school uniforms for all pupils[36]. We could not afford to do all those things if Badu was not here (Teacher A – SDI Batuputih 12/04/2003).

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[36] In the second year of the project, each pilot school received Rp10 million or approximately £700 from the Directorate of Special Education. The amount of this grant was substantial for many primary schools located in a rural area. The grant was actually intended for special schools only. An approach had been made to the Directorate by one of the teachers of a special school involved in the integrated education project who suggested them that they also allocate a part of the grant to the pilot schools.

There are two concerns arising from the expulsion of Badu. If the use of the grant was more related to the fulfilment of Badu's personal needs would there be a possibility that his expulsion could have been prevented? Of the Rp10 million amount of grant only some was allocated for something that had direct connection with Badu's needs, which was to install the school entrance door. Another concern relates to the role of the special education teacher. There might have been a possibility as well that the expulsion might not have happened if the special education teacher had not convinced the headteacher that Badu would be better off in a special school. If he did not come up with this suggestion there might have been a possibility for the teachers to find other ways to support Badu. The willingness of the teachers and headteacher of this school to accept children with special educational needs was proven by the acceptance of 7 children who used to live rough on the street which I found out in my second data collection. These children were sent by a person who organised a *pondok pesantren*[37] in the neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, teachers' acceptance of disabled pupils in a non-pilot school, SD Dukuhsekti, was very different. One of the teachers honestly admitted his objection to their presence by saying:

> In my opinion, children who have learning difficulties should attend a special school. There is a special school quite close to here. If these children want to study in this school, their parents cannot expect us to enable them to read and write. It's very difficult for teachers to teach them. It's difficult (Grade 2 teacher - SD Dukuhsekti 16/04/2003).

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[37] *Pondok pesantren* is a residential institution where children and young people learn about Islam. Many of *pondok pesantren* have their own Madrassa or Islamic School, but not the one in the sample area. The students of this *pondok* went to schools in surrounding areas. The organiser of this *pondok* had the same religious affiliation with the organiser of the school.

For this teacher, accepting disabled children in his school was the only choice. If it was not against the law and due to pity, they might refuse access to disabled children. Their suggestion to parents not to expect much of their children implies that the presence of disabled children in their school was basically problematic. His expression about the difficulties in teaching disabled children also suggests that his rejection of disabled children was based on his attitude that he felt he had no skills in dealing with them. Besides the issue of illegality to reject disabled children if they have reached the age of 7, the fact that most sample schools had many classes with very few pupils made it impossible for them not to accept disabled children on the basis of class size. In addition, teachers, parents and children were part of the same local community who personally knew each other and sometimes had family connections. It is, therefore, socially unacceptable to reject any children, including disabled children.

The idea that disabled pupils would be better off in a special school was also the view of a teacher in SD Watugunung, a non-pilot school, who had a pupil with learning difficulties in her class, as reflected in the following transcript:

> When his father collected the term report, I suggested to him to consider sending his son to a special school. I explained to him that his son could not follow the lesson. In a special school he would be taught individually. He would be trained in skills that would be useful for his future. However, his father refused. The school is faraway. He could not drop off and pick up his son everyday. It seems also that he felt ashamed (A Grade 1 and 2 teacher – SD Watugunung 14/04/2003).

A similar response was given by teachers in SD Jatiwulung, one of the pilot schools. When asked about the possibility of having disabled children enrolling in this school, they responded as follows:

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Whenever a disabled child enrols in this school we always accepted her. However, it would be better if she attends a special school. We are not always capable of supporting disabled pupils. We don't have enough resources for that. But again, from time to time we never reject disabled children. Only the fact that they need special support is something that we knew very recently (Teachers – SD Jatiwulung 16/04/2003).

Another pilot school which was located in a relatively remote area, SD Tirtomadyo, also had openness in accepting disabled children but for a different reason. When asked about disabled children enrolment the headteacher of the school responded by saying 'It is our obligation to accept her because this school has been appointed as an integrated school.' His response implied that if a school was not appointed as an 'integrated school,' it was acceptable not to accept disabled children. To clarify his response I asked him whether he would have the same view if he was assigned in another school. He replied as the following:

We will have to have discussions with the school committee, including parents. If we accept her without giving notice ….unless there is an instruction that integrated education policy has to be implemented in all schools and if the school has been capable of supporting her (Headteacher – SD Tirtomadyo 9/04/2003).

The last sentence of the transcript above confirmed the headteacher of SD Tirtomadyo's earlier statement which explained that the reason for accepting disabled children in his school was because of the label of 'integrated school.' He seemed not to realise that the policy of integrated education has been legalised since 1974 and should have been applied to all schools. In addition, his reluctance might be affected by the knowledge and experience he obtained from his involvement in the integrated education project. He might realise that there were serious changes, especially in teacher training that needed to be carried out and extra resources, including having a visiting special education teacher, in order to improve disabled

pupils' participation in learning. As a person who had been teaching and had become headteacher for many years, he understood that it would be most unlikely that resources would be provided in his 'new' school. The presence of a special education teacher might make teachers feel incapable of supporting their pupils alone.

Teachers in another school, a private non-pilot school, also had similar views but a different way of expressing the presence of disabled pupils in their school. Below is the extract of their views:

> We never rejected any children registering at this school. When a disabled child enrolled, we tried to teach him for a term. We taught him as much as we could. We had disabled children several times, the son of X, the brother of Y, and the brother of Z. Although these children could not even write the letter of '1', we did not ask them to move to another school. We let them stay. Their parents entrusted their children to this school. They said "Please let my child to be in this school". They also paid the school fees. So we let these children stay with us... until several years, and eventually these children dropped out (Teachers - SDI Banjaran 17/04/2003).

Basically, the way disabled pupils were treated in SDI Banjaran was more or less the same as at some of the other schools such as SD Dukuhsekti. Teachers let them stay in their school but nothing or very little was being done to help them to participate in class activities. They basically excluded them by disregarding and ignoring them in the learning process. From the point of view of teachers, it seems that letting disabled pupils into the school was the only thing they could do as there was no way for them to insist that parents send their disabled child to a special school.

Exclusion occurred in a variety of ways, deliberate or incidental, even by simply ignoring the pupils they were excluded. Exclusion by ignoring the pupils was not something peculiar only to these two schools. How other

schools excluded disabled pupils, including ignoring them, will be further presented and analysed in the next section of this chapter.

5.3.2. Support given to disabled pupils by teachers

As presented earlier, no child had ever been rejected in any of the sample schools. Teachers, however, have some reservations about the presence of disabled pupils when they found out that they have difficulties in following lessons. Although they would prefer that pupils who have learning difficulties study in special schools, in most cases they had to let those pupils remain in their mainstream classes. How teachers treated pupils after they were aware that some pupils were having various learning difficulties is the focus of this section.

The following are responses from teachers at SD Kedungpring, one of the pilot schools when asked about how they supported disabled pupils in their class.

> I have five children (of seven children) in my class who have learning difficulties. One of them cannot read and write. Sometimes I hold his hand to help him with his writing, but he said 'Sir I'm nervous if you hold my hand. Please don't hold my hand'. So I removed my hand. But whenever I asked him to write, he couldn't do it. If there were tests, he would say 'No, I don't want to take it'. It happened twice. It was not only me having that kind of experience with him, other teachers as well. It would be easier to teach a big class with normal children rather than a small class with children who have special needs (Teacher 1 – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

> Yanto can read and write, but he has challenging behaviour. Whenever I advise or warn him, he challenges me by staring at me (Teacher 2 – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

> There is one pupil with low vision in this school. Last time, there was an optometrist coming to this area and assessed her. He couldn't detect what happens to her eyes, so he asked her to go to the eye hospital in the city. However, her parents did not have money to go there. Although this school agreed to contribute 50% of the expenses, her parents still couldn't afford it (Teacher 3 – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

The interview transcript of the three teachers above suggests that teachers gave different kinds of support for pupils with different difficulties in learning. Whether these supports had helped disabled pupils is questionable. Teacher 1 talked more on the technical support given to help a pupil with intellectual disability to be able to write. No additional resources were in place for the school to help this pupil. There were no learning support materials, except the old textbooks that had to be shared with other students, and no remedial teaching being provided. As most of the pupils in this school came from poor farmer families, it could not be expected that their parents would pay for private tuition to help their children improve skills in writing.

The support given by Teacher 2 to a pupil with challenging behaviour was in the form of advice or warning. Fixed term and permanent exclusion as well as corporal punishment are not commonly practised at the primary school level especially in schools where the school size is very small and the exclusion of a child will not achieve anything but for the child to drop out. In fact, only in one school (SD Watugunung) teachers admitted to having permanently excluded a pupil with learning difficulties in 1981. This tendency might be due to the fact that members of staff and pupils and their parents in the sample schools lived in relatively close neighbourhoods and possibly had family connections. Teachers knew very well what damage could occur if a pupil was expelled from school. Therefore, although they knew that how they dealt with a pupil with challenging behaviour was not effective enough, asking her not to come to school was not on their agenda.

The third form of support planned to be given to a pupil with visual impairment was in the form of financial contribution. This was actually beyond

the school's capacity. The school budget for operational costs that came from Government funding and parental contribution[38] was very limited. Although the plan was agreed by the school committee, there was an issue of fairness to other children. By using the budget to support a disabled pupil, the allocation for school operational costs would be substantially reduced. At the same time, this contribution suggests that a charity approach was dominating the way support was provided to that disabled pupil.

Similar financial support was given to a pupil who came from a poor background in SD Karangan. He was exempted from paying monthly fees when he was in primary school. When he enrolled in junior secondary school, his primary school teachers were the ones who paid the school fees. Unfortunately, he was expelled because he stole gold from his neighbour, something, that according to his teachers he never did when he was in primary school (Teachers - SD Karangan 15/04/2003).

At the time of data collection, SD Karangan had a pupil with challenging behaviour. Teachers described her as follows.

> Currently we have a pupil who has challenging behaviour. She stole money from other pupils and a teacher. We did not expel her because she could follow the lessons. What we did was to guide and direct (*membina*) her. This year she is in Grade 5. I really worry about her future especially because she is a girl. The stealing happened when she was in Grade 1 until Grade 4. We are happy because nowadays there is no more report of her stealing (Teachers - SD Karangan 15/04/2003).

By saying that the pupil was not expelled because she could follow lessons implies that those pupils who could not follow them could be

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[38] All sample schools charged pupils a monthly fee, something that most teachers felt necessary due to the very small budget allocated by the government. The situation might be different in 2005 and 2006 when the government allocated the oil subsidy for school operational costs. The schools receiving this subsidy were required not to charge pupils any fees.

expelled. As mentioned earlier, this school had permanently excluded a pupil

with learning difficulties and challenging behaviour more than 20 years ago.

Below is the explanation given by his teachers on why they expelled him.

> Back in 1981, we expelled a pupil. He couldn't follow the lessons. His behaviour was also sometimes out of control. He repeated the class two or three times. We suggested that his mother send her son to a special school, in a town centre. Perhaps because she couldn't afford it, she didn't do it. When he knew that he would not go to school, he ran amok (Teachers - SD Karangan 15/04/2003).

Although the permanent exclusion took place many years ago, it is

appropriate to present this information here because teachers in this school

still held the same view. During the focus group, teachers explained why they

had to exclude a pupil by saying:

> We might permanently exclude Leo if he cannot follow the lesson. He becomes a burden to his teacher. He also disturbs other pupils, hits them, grabs their pencils ... It's difficult (Teachers - SD Karangan 15/04/2003).

The above transcript suggests the possibility of permanently excluding

Leo, one of the pupils in Grade 1 who had learning difficulties and

challenging behaviour. When I asked Leo's teacher how she handled her

class, she expressed her desperation in dealing with him. Sometimes she

had to call a senior teacher or the headteacher to deal with Leo when he was

out of control (Field note 15/04/2003).

With respect to Leo and other pupils with learning difficulties, teachers

in SD Karangan put the blame on genetic factors. They repeatedly expressed

their view during the focus group as well as during informal conversations.

The following is an extract of what they said.

> It's genetic, although we know that attention, environment and nutrition also have some contribution. If parents are smart, their children will be smart as well. I know this because I used to teach their parents. They used to study in this school. The parents of a pupil who used to be the

second best in this school were also smart (Teachers - SD Karangan 15/04/2003)

It is obvious from the transcript above that teachers perceived difficulties experienced by some pupils as their individual problems. It was likely that this prejudice would rule out inappropriate support provided by school as the factor that probably had actually contributed to the difficulties experienced by those pupils. This prejudice could be very damaging for these pupils. Teachers would have very low expectations especially in terms of academic achievement even before making any efforts. When efforts had been made and pupils did not achieve, the blame would easily be put on them. There was very little or even no space for reflection that the reason why some pupils were not learning was because they did not receive appropriate support from teachers. The perception that genetics was the main factor affecting pupils was not confirmed by teachers of other schools. The description of teachers in other sample schools suggested that disabled pupils could come from parents with varied backgrounds. Understandably, most of them came from farmer families, but some of them were children of parents who had relatively respected professions in the community such as a headteacher, teachers and the police.

Confusion and desperation on how to support disabled pupils were also expressed by teachers in SDI Banjaran. Below are some of the teachers' responses when asked about attempts they made to help disabled pupils in their school.

> Teachers were asked to help him by staying close to him. However, it didn't work. He still couldn't write. I held his hand to help him writing, but then every time he had to do it himself he couldn't do. I felt bored. I was desperate. Eventually, I just let him alone. I didn't really care whether he could follow the lessons. He couldn't even write his name or number 1 to

3. We didn't know the appropriate teaching methods for him (Grade 4 teacher -SDI Banjaran 17/4/2003).

Further, teachers explained about a pupil who dropped out from this school after being in Grade 1 for four years. They defended their decision not to promote Bejo:

> Bejo couldn't do anything. He couldn't write. He only sketched...Pupils can be promoted if they cannot write well but can read. We used to have a pupil who could read and write but slow in maths. We promoted this pupil and he eventually completed his study. Pupils can be promoted as long as they can read and write no matter how slow it is. Consequently, we have to have them stay longer in school. In the case of Bejo, he was not only unable to read and write but was also naughty. He often disturbed other pupils. Because of his naughtiness teachers tended to ...let him go from this school. It's usually like that. We were not allowed to exclude him, but if he was at the same grade (for long time) the teacher became very bored teaching him.... (Teachers - SDI Banjaran 17/4/2003)

Besides teachers' lack of knowledge and skills, from the transcript above it can be seen that the promotion system placed teachers in a difficult position. On the one hand, if they did not promote a disabled pupil who did not achieve the minimal academic standard, the possibility for that child to drop out was very high. On the other hand, if they promoted the child, it was most likely that she could not participate in the learning process as she would not be able to understand the teaching materials given by teachers.

Desperation and lack of motivation were also experienced by a teacher in SD Dukuhsekti. A teacher of a disabled pupil explained how he dealt with her:

> I have a pupil named Putri who repeated the class last year. I used different kinds of teaching methods I knew but they didn't really work. I couldn't pay attention to her all the time. I have 18 pupils in my class. It's not fair for other pupils. Teachers will be happy when children learn something, but if a pupil cannot learn teachers will get bored and a headache (Grade 2 teacher – SD Dukuhsekti 16/04/2003).

Unlike in SD Dukuhsekti where the teacher had a pupil with learning difficulties, a teacher of SD Kedungpring had a frustrating time in dealing with some of his pupils who had challenging behaviour. He described how he lost control over their behaviour:

> In Grade 4 there are pupils who don't pay attention to me when I am teaching. Sometimes when I explain to the class, one of them draws a picture. I'm desperate. The others have challenging behaviour. They often fight. They do it again and again although I get angry with them. There was one time that I just let them fight. I even said 'Go on have a fight. (I want to know) which one will win.' There was a time when I offered them Rp 5000 (around 30 pence) if they didn't fight for a week. It was last week. I'm desperate. I don't know what else I could do. (Grade 4 teacher - SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

Clearly from some transcripts above, it can be concluded that most teachers in some of the sample schools were basically willing to help disabled pupils in their learning, but their willingness was not supported by sufficient knowledge and skills on how to do it. Teachers did not know what they should do to help disabled pupils. In this situation, they got frustrated and desperate easily which subsequently led to the negative attitude towards disabled pupils. In some other schools, especially pilot schools, some knowledge the teachers obtained from their involvement seemed to contribute to the way in which they dealt with their pupils. A remedial programme was something that was mentioned by teachers as one of the ways to help disabled pupils.

One of the schools was SD Jatiwulung. The headteacher of this school emphasised the importance of giving extra lessons as can be seen in the transcript below:

> It is important for pupils in Grade 1 to be able to read and write before being promoted to Grade 2. To make sure that they can read and write, a Grade 1 teacher sometimes has to give an extra lesson to some pupils. When I was a teacher, the headteacher taught me that. My wife and I

used to give an extra lesson as well. The current teacher in this school is also willing to give an extra lesson to pupils who do not achieve well (Headteacher - SD Jatiwulung 16/04/2003).

His view on the need of some pupils for an extra lesson to enable them to read and write was consistent with the way in which Grade 1 teacher supported her pupils with learning difficulties as seen in the transcript below:

> After the class is over, I teach the five pupils who have difficulty in reading and writing. One of them repeated the class last year. Initially, some of them cried, so then I talked to their parents and explained about what we do. As a result, there is an improvement in their ability to read and write. Only one pupil still misses some letters if I dictate them to him (Grade 1 teacher - SD Jatiwulung 9/04/2003).

In another pilot school, SDI Batuputih, the headteacher claimed that they also gave extra lessons to a disabled pupil. She explained:

> Extra hours for disabled pupils are carried out but not on a regular basis. It depends on the consideration of each teacher. The individual teaching has been carried out by the special education teacher. Some pupils seem to progress as a result of his teaching (Headteacher – SDI Batuputih 14/04/2003).

Besides that extra tuition, in each pilot school some disabled pupils had a visiting special education teacher who was with them once every week. This individual's teaching could take place in the teachers' room or in the pupils' classrooms. In SD Jatiwulung, having individual support in teachers' rooms was seen as inconvenient. The headteacher, together with the school committee, thus decided to allocate part of the grant provided by the Directorate of Special Education to build a special unit.

The idea of having a special unit designed to be a place to give extra lessons for disabled pupils was something that the headteacher of SD Tirtomadyo disagreed with. Below is his response on that issue.

> We will give an extra lesson if necessary, not only to disabled pupils but also other pupils who need it. However, it is very important for all children to study in the same setting. Special unit, therefore, is not necessary. When the special education teacher visits this school, he always joins the class and never pulls disabled pupils out from the class (Headteacher – SD Tirtomadyo 9/04/2003).

Further, he also explained that what he did in relation to disabled pupils was something that he has been doing since he became a teacher in 1973. He recalled:

> I remember vividly that I had this boy who was very naughty, often stole something, and couldn't do anything in the class. I taught him for three years. It was successful although it was not perfect. Only when I came to this school which has been involved in the integrated education project did I learn the terminologies of the things I did (Headteacher – SD Tirtomadyo 9/04/2003)

The fact that he made an effort to support disabled pupils even before he was involved in the pilot project was something that seemed to be the experience of other teachers as well. For example, as quoted earlier the headteacher of SD Jatiwulung gave extra lessons to his pupils who needed them many years before he was involved in the project. A different kind of support was also given to one disabled pupil in SD Tirtomadyo by one of the teachers and her neighbours. This pupil, who often got ill, lived with her very old grandmother and was rarely visited by her parents. Because they were so poor the neighbours gave them the daily basic needs regularly. This was organised by one of the teachers of SD Tirtomadyo (Teachers – SD Tirtomadyo 9/04/2003).

Besides extra lessons organised by schools, it was quite common for some pupils to have private extra tuition either given by their teachers or private teachers. This was also the case for one disabled pupil in SD Kedungpring. The pupil's teacher explained about the extra tuition she used to give her:

> I used to give an extra tuition for a pupil with learning difficulty. Her father is a policeman. She came to my place twice, only twice. I didn't know why, perhaps because it's too far. Well, it's only half kilometre. Perhaps

she was lazy or something. Actually, I mind if she came every day (Grade 1 teacher - SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

Some possible reasons might explain why the pupil only came twice. Firstly, the pupil's parents might not be able to afford the extra fee. Her father, who was a policeman, like other people in the civil service, must have to struggle financially to meet their daily needs[39]. Secondly, by saying that she would not like having her pupil every day suggested that, for some reason, she was reluctant to spend her time teaching her. Her lack of enthusiasm would certainly discourage the pupil and her parents to continue with the extra tuition.

Teachers of SD Watugunung, a non-pilot school, however, admitted to not giving support in the form of an extra hour lesson as well as extra attention to a pupil with learning difficulty as evident in the following extract. Teachers gave several reasons including:

> If we have to give attention to this particular pupil, other pupils will not progress as much as they should. It's difficult to manage. If we gave him half an hour after class, he couldn't concentrate because other pupils have been going home (Teachers - SD Watugunung 14/04/2003).

By using the word 'if' teachers in SD Watugunung clearly did not provide the kind of support they actually thought might help pupils with difficulties. Teachers justified their lack of willingness to support pupils with learning difficulties by blaming their lack of concentration and using other pupils' interest as their excuses. Pupils with learning difficulties were seen as a problem which could hinder other pupils' progress if they were given extra support. On the one hand, this situation can be seen as a dilemma faced by

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[39] Extra hours given for pupils at the school premises are usually to be funded by schools. One of the school sources is from the monthly tuition fees which in the sample schools ranged between Rp 5000 – Rp 10,000.

teachers. On the other hand, it can be seen as an indication of insufficient skills the teachers have in dealing with pupil diversity. They tend to treat pupils as having the same ability. As a result, it is not only those with learning difficulties who are not appropriately supported but also those with higher ability. An example of that phenomenon was found in SD Jatiwulung as shown in the following statement:

> Those pupils need special attention because they have special needs. If we have them in the same class with other pupils, we often face difficulties. If we give them special attention many times, other pupils will be ignored and vice versa. For example, this pupil with challenging behaviour, every time I gave him assignment, he always did it very quickly and correctly. But then, he will disturb other pupils by grabbing and playing with their pencils. He keeps moving. I have tried to give him additional work, but he complained because he thought that he was being punished. He keeps asking and he always wants to sit next to his teacher (Teachers - SD Jatiwulung 9/04/2003).

The negative attitude of teachers towards pupils with learning difficulties and their confusion in dealing with pupil diversity were partly influenced by the lack of knowledge and skills on how to support them. As mentioned earlier, teachers in some schools, including the pilot schools, had tried different kinds of approaches but were not successful. A Grade 1 teacher, who also taught Grade 2, in SD Watugunung felt frustrated after unsuccessfully trying some approaches to help two pupils with learning difficulties in her class. She expressed her desperation in the transcript below:

> I tried many things to help Rina but they didn't work. I don't know how to support her. It's difficult.

> Everyday as much as possible I encourage Dwi to write and read like other children. I guide him. There was one time when I asked him to play with me, but he didn't want to. I asked him whether he didn't like me. He didn't answer. Sometimes, I feel ....Recently during a school meeting I asked to be a class teacher in Grade 3, but it was not agreed. Another teacher said the Grade 1 class would be out of control if I didn't teach

them. But I feel that I couldn't achieve anything with respect to these pupils (Grade 1 and 2 teacher SD Watugunung 14/04/2003).

The way in which the teacher encouraged Dwi, however, seems to be ineffective. In my visit to SD Watugunung I had a chance to stay for about one and a half hours in Dwi and Rina's class and observed the way the teacher interacted with her pupils. Although observation was not one of the research methods I used in this research, being in this class gave me some idea of what a teacher meant by support. Following is my field note after the observation:

> Both Rina and Dwi were placed in the last row of the class. They sat in different chairs but close to each other. During my stay in that class I saw these pupils, like other pupils, sat on their chairs most of the time. Sometimes they looked around and talked to each other or to their classmates. Rina held her pen but seemed not to write anything, while Dwi wrote something in his book occasionally. At that time the teacher gave a Bahasa Indonesia lesson. She wrote down many of the materials on the blackboard and pupils did the same on their books. Twice the teacher approached Dwi and Rina once. What she said to both of them was "Come on Dwi/Rina, please write!" Like when she spoke in front of the class, her voice was rather soft. During the lesson, the teacher went to another class (Grade 2) twice. While she did that, the Grade 1 pupils, except Dwi and Rina, copied what she wrote earlier on the blackboard (Field note 15/04/2003).

Another form of support, which was not effective as well, was given to Dwi that became evident during the focus group interview with other teachers.

> Once we gave Dwi a scholarship to motivate him to study. Using this scholarship, we bought him new shoes, school uniform .... As a result, he was willing to learn writing and when asked by teacher he would answer. Unfortunately, that was only temporary. Now he doesn't want to study again (Teachers - SD Watugunung 14/04/2003).

The aim of giving a scholarship to this pupil, who happened to be poor, was to improve his motivation. A possible explanation for why this attempt was not successful was partly because the scholarship was only a one-off action while giving motivation is an ongoing process involving different approaches. Meanwhile, in the case of Rina, teachers clearly felt pessimistic

about her chance to progress. In conversation after the interview her teacher said:

> From her face we can see that she is like......idiot. Unlike Dwi who I think will be able to write if he makes effort, I don't think that Rina will be able to do that (Field note 14/04/2003).

A focus group with the other teachers in the same school suggests similar views. Below is an extract of the interview:

> I think Rina's condition is because of her parents' early marriage. They got married because her mother got pregnant. (If she was a plant), her seed was too young. As a result, the quality (of the tree) was not good. Economically, she is fine. Physically, she is taller than other pupils. She has complete set of textbooks, but in class she just sleeps and sometimes snores. The School Supervisor suggested us to give an extra attention to Rina as well as Dwi by giving an extra lesson but it didn't work (Teachers – SD Watugunung 14/04/2003).

In the second data collection, I found out that Rina was not promoted to Grade 2 and eventually dropped out. Her teacher said that she had persuaded Rina to attend school again but she was not successful. At home Rina spent most of her time playing with and taking care of her younger sibling (Field note 10/05/2005). The fact that when still in school Rina was never absent and seemed to enjoy interacting with her friends suggests that one of the reasons why she chose not to attend school was because she could not be in the same class anymore with her friends.

From the findings presented in this chapter, it has become increasingly clear that support provided for disabled pupils in mainstream schools was minimal. Being in a mainstream setting for many disabled children was the only choice. It was not only because the school was close to the place they lived, but also due to the stigma attached to special schools and the extra costs they had to spend. Support for these pupils relied mainly on individual teachers' commitment, creativity and generosity. Whether teachers in the

sample schools had those qualities, however, was questionable. Teacher's commitment can be indicated by the willingness of a teacher to make an extra effort by giving time and energy to help her pupils who have difficulties in participating in learning. Many of the teachers certainly seemed to demonstrate some indicators of commitment. Many of them tried to help disabled pupils but later on they gave up as they did not see the expected results of their efforts. Teachers' commitment can also be indicated from their work ethos. On this issue, Bjork (2005) observes:

> Teachers are paid to deliver their lessons, attend staff meetings, and act as good Pancasila[40] citizens; they are not expected to devote their non-teaching time to instruction-related activities. Unscheduled minutes before, after, and during the school day are regarded as free time, not as opportunities to enhance the quality of lessons (p. 89).

Bjork's analysis might explain why in many of the schools I visited during the data collection, many teachers were easily accessible. Although I told them that I was willing to wait for them to finish their class, most of them decided to leave the class and joined the focus group interview. This also partly explained why most teachers, like many other civil servants, could easily manage their time to take on a second job. Outside school, a teacher can become a private tuition instructor, bus driver, farmer, vendor, business person, or any other profession. The free use of non-teaching time also gives flexibility for teachers to be involved in social life within and outside school. Chatting amongst teachers on topics not necessarily related to their teaching during the school hours is not uncommon. In addition, in rural areas, it is quite common to have teachers as community leaders who are expected to actively participate in community activities.

Teachers' commitment is also affected by the fact that, as civil servants, their position is very secure. No matter how under performing a teacher is, there is

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[40] Pancasila or the Five Principles is the philosophical foundation of the State of Indonesia.

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no way that she will be demoted or dismissed except for very few strong reasons[41]. They will also get an automatic promotion once in four years. The introduction of a credit point system in 1990s which gives an opportunity for teachers to get promoted faster if they can give evidence that they can produce such outcomes as books, journal articles, conference attendance certificate, seems to attract only very few teachers.

With respect to efforts the teachers made to support disabled pupils, from what they described during the interviews, they seemed to be ineffective. Lack of knowledge and skills in teaching pupils with different backgrounds and abilities were the main reason it was very difficult for them to find ways of supporting disabled pupils in their classes. Although they were aware of the need to develop different ways of increasing disabled pupils' learning, lack of access to information and other resources did not help. Good teaching practice requires teachers to be creative. To be creative teachers need to be inspired and one way to get the inspiration and engage in discussion is by reading relevant written materials such as books, technical guidance, journals, newsletters, and audio visual software. Unfortunately, most of these were not easily accessible.

The current Directorate of Special Education has taken a step forward in having a website, but its presentation is not attractive enough to read and contains much irrelevant information. For example, the earlier editions of its newsletter seemed to be scanned from the printed versions which were very blurred. In addition, even if teachers in the sample schools knew about this

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[41] An example of reason for a male civil servant to be demoted or dismissed is by having a second wife without permission from the first one.

website, it was most likely that they would not open it as there was no telephone/internet

With respect to generosity, it basically depends on the goodwill of teachers in exercising their duty as good human beings. This is partly motivated by the teaching of Islam, a religion of most of the population in the sample area. Teachers and/or parents of other pupils might be willing to occasionally or regularly give a certain form of contribution to support disabled children and might consider these contributions as part of *zakat* or *sedekah* (Islamic forms of charity) that they should exercise. The headteacher of one of the Islamic schools described her willingness to accept the five street children in her school as part of a Muslim obligation called '*amal*' or doing a good deed (SDS Batuputih - 10/03/2005). However, although most of the teachers in sample schools were Muslims, generosity was not always demonstrated in their attitude towards disabled pupils. Ignorance and avoidance, instead of giving more time and consideration were often the common ways of dealing with disabled pupils. This suggests that relying solely on individual goodwill in supporting disabled pupils is not good enough. External encouragement, financial support, guidance from the authorities, and law enforcement are crucial to complement the generosity of teachers, but seem to be missing especially in non-pilot schools.

The reliance solely on teachers' commitment, creativity and generosity strongly indicates the use of charity rather than rights-based approach to the teaching of disabled pupils. Apart from funding and training provided by the Ministry to the schools involved in the integrated education project, no other forms of support were in place. There was no learning support assistance, no

guidance to implement curriculum and assessment differently, and no additional learning resources available to help teachers support disabled pupils. Being part of the project seems to give teachers in pilot schools some understanding of the issues surrounding disabled children which, to some extent, did change their attitude towards disabled pupils. However, findings from the focus groups suggest that support for disabled pupils was still far from 'ideal'. Although teachers seem to accept disabled pupils in their classes, the insufficient knowledge and skills, and the absence of support from the authorities limit their attempts to improve disabled pupils' participation and achievement. In non-pilot schools support to disabled pupils was worse. Teachers did not recognise the presence of disabled pupils and their needs and therefore made little or no effort to support them. I maintain that lack of information is the initial factor contributing to teachers' attitude toward disabled pupils and how these pupils were being supported in non-pilot schools and, to a certain extent, in pilot-schools as well.

5.4. Conclusion

This study has highlighted that support for disabled pupils in mainstream schools was minimal. Although some teachers were aware of the need to support disabled pupils in their classes, they knew very little about how to do it. The difficulties the teachers faced in dealing with disabled pupils made many of them feel desperate and frustrated. The desperation and frustration subsequently led to the ignoring of disabled pupils. There were many factors that contributed to the minimal support given by to disabled pupils by teachers in the sample areas. These factors included insufficient numbers of teachers, lack of knowledge and skills of teachers in dealing with

diversity, lack of textbooks and other learning materials. Because those factors obviously also had detrimental impacts on other pupils, it was difficult for schools to decide how the available budget, especially in the case of pilot schools, which was provided for 'inclusion or integration' of disabled pupils should be spent. Non-pilot schools, which did not receive any extra funding, relied mainly on parental contribution to supplement the minimal funding allocated by the government. This made it more difficult for schools to allocate part of their income to support disabled pupils. Demand to spend the contribution as part of a means of fulfilling the rights of disabled pupils would not be possible as that might be seen as unfair by parents of non-disabled pupils. Again, generosity of other parents would determine whether there would be some allocation that would be intended only for disabled pupils.

Teachers' performance in supporting disabled pupils did not stand by itself but influenced by many interconnecting factors. As discussed earlier in the school setting, those factors could include insufficient number of teachers, which in turn produces the high workload, minimal opportunity for training, and inaccessibility of information on how to support disabled pupils were some of the factors that contributed to teachers' poor performance. Many of these schools factors were out of teachers' and headteachers' control. They were determined by how the *Kabupaten/Kota* Education Office as well as the MONE developed and implemented policies which support pupils, including disabled pupils. Findings in relation to the way in which the District Education Office supported teachers will be presented and analysed in the next chapter.

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Chapter 6: Making sense of the exclusion of disabled children in mainstream schools

6.1. Introduction

From the data presented in the earlier chapters, it can be argued that the way in which disabled pupils are excluded from mainstream schools is strongly influenced by two main factors. The first one relates to the existence of policy documents on education provision for disabled children which were inconsistent, confusing, and not properly disseminated. The second one related to the support they received from their teachers in the classroom, which seems to be minimal.

In this chapter, to understand more comprehensively how the exclusion of disabled pupils took place, further analysis of the findings will be undertaken by integrating part of the analysis that has been presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Further data obtained from the fieldwork will be used to complement the analysis. Findings on support provided for teachers (by school supervisors, the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office and special school teachers) and organisational structures will be two main themes to be analysed.

6.2. How the existing policies and mainstream school teachers excluded disabled pupils

Figure 4 shows how the existing written policies did not benefit disabled children. The first possible explanation for this is the fact that these policies were not disseminated properly, no further policies were formulated, programmes were not developed, guidance was not accessible and resources were not in place, especially in non-pilot schools, that was clearly

the case. In these schools, teachers had a negative attitude towards disabled

pupils. Teachers perceived disabled pupils as something that they could not

deal with. The possibility of these pupils repeating the class, or be disrupted,

Figure 4: The exclusion of disabled pupils from mainstream schools

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                                                          ┌──────────────┐
                                                          │ Disabled     │
                                                          │ pupils       │
                                                          │ were more    │
                                            ┌───────────┐ │ appropriat   │
                                            │ Implemen- │→│ ely          │
                                            │ tation    │ │ supported    │
                              ┌───────────┐ └───────────┘ └──────────────┘
                              │ Resources │
                              │ available │       ┌──────────────┐
            ┌──────────────┐  └───────────┘       │ Potential    │
            │ Follow-up     │            ┌──────────┐│ disruption  │
            │ policies      │            │ Non-imple-││ and / or    │
            │ and programmes│            │ mentation ││ exclusion   │
            │ being developed│           └──────────┘│ of disabled │
            └──────────────┘                         └──────────────┘
                           ┌──────────────┐
┌─────────────┐           │ Resources     │
│ Disseminated │          │ unavail-      │
└─────────────┘          │ able          │
            ┌──────────────┐
┌──────────┐│ No follow-up │
│Legislation││ policies and │        ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│and written││ programmes   │        │ Disabled     │   │ Disabled     │
│policy     │└──────────────┘        │ children relied│ │ pupils were  │
└──────────┘                         │ on teachers' │   │ more likely  │
                                     │ commitment,  │→  │ to repeat the│
            ┌──────────────┐         │ generosity,  │   │ class, drop- │
            │ Not          │         │ and creativity│  │ out, be      │
            │ disseminated │────────→└──────────────┘   │ disruptive,  │
            └──────────────┘                            │ and be       │
                                                        │ excluded     │
                                                        └──────────────┘
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and eventually dropping out was, therefore, very high. If disabled pupils

were promoted to the higher grades and finally graduated from primary

school, they might have learned only very little as teachers did not take into

account their individual needs. For teachers, promoting disabled pupils was

the only choice to keep them in school especially if the pupils were repeating

the class before.[42] It would be considered exceptional for a disabled pupil to

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[42] The common norm in class promotion for many schools is that a pupil is not allowed to repeat the same class more than once. If a pupil could not reach the minimum standard after two years at the same grade, there are some possibilities that might happen. Firstly, some schools might permanently exclude that pupil. Secondly, some schools might promote that pupil to a higher grade although he does not reach the standard. Thirdly, there are also some schools which prefer the pupil to stay at the same grade for more than two years.

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be taught by a teacher who was willing to try as much as possible to help her and who felt that helping disabled pupils was part of her obligation as a good human being and hence tried to do it sincerely. Expecting teachers to support their disabled pupils only based on their kindness, which might be caused by their feeling of pity, indicated the charity-based approach the official had. This also indicated attempts to avoid responsibility on the part of the authorities. Their excuse might be that they have so many 'non-disabled children' to deal with that there is not enough time and resources to allocate for disabled children. In this situation, there is a tendency that, whenever people talk about the failures of the education system, not only those related to disabled pupils but also other pupils, the blame tends to be put on teachers.

Figure 4 also shows that, despite having some knowledge on written policies, there was no guarantee that authorities would automatically develop further policies and programmes. As discussed in Chapter 4, some policy documents showed inconsistency and therefore sent confusing messages both to officials within the local authorities and teachers in schools.

The second possible explanation relates to the absence of any understanding of the written policies due to lack of public debate before and after their establishment. The lack of public debate has resulted in the officials being unaware of the downsides of the policies. Therefore, when the policies were criticised by teachers, academics, or members of the public, the officials did not know how to respond.

Thirdly, as discussed in Chapter 4, it seemed that officials within the central government assumed that, after legislation was formalised, it would be automatically implemented by local authorities as well as teachers in

schools. Findings of this study showed that some government officials at all levels, as well as school teachers, did not know about the existence of the policies pertaining to educational provision for disabled children in mainstream schools. Even if they had an understanding of those policies, their implementation was undermined by complicated issues such as lack of funding and changes in political leadership.

The fourth possible explanation has to do with difficulties in measuring success of integration or inclusion because of the contradictory and conflicting perceptions of the officials, both in central and local government, about that policy. This would discourage authorities from following up and developing programmes based on the existing written policies. From my interaction with officials at the Ministry of National Education, and at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* education office, I have developed an impression that, whenever they talked about integrated education, they tended to think about children with severe impairments in mainstream settings. Because of the severity of the impairment, these officials might think that those children would not be able to cope with the mainstream school environment and therefore, would be better off if they were in special schools. As a result, there has been no substantial attempt made to integrate/include even children with mild and moderate impairments despite the fact that many of them were already in mainstream schools. The absence of such an attempt rules out the possible benefits that other children with 'not so severe impairment' might enjoy if an integrated education programme is undertaken. This led to these children, who are most likely enrolled in

mainstream schools and who also need extra support, not being able to participate more fully and more meaningfully in the learning process.

When further policies and programmes were developed, there were instances when policies were then implemented. As shown in Figure 4, the first instance was that the programmes were not implemented simply because resources were not made available. "Resources" refers to such elements as a sufficient number of teachers, accessible school buildings, design of curriculum, opportunities for teacher training, and accessibility of information relevant to the issues of integrated/inclusive education.

The second instance was that additional resources were available and programmes were implemented. However, there was no guarantee that implementation of the programmes would automatically increase the participation of disabled pupils. For example, as discussed in Chapter 4, an attachment of Director of Primary Education's letter No. 0267/C2/U/1994, states that integrated education is only applied to disabled pupils with 'normal' or above average intelligence (Depdikbud cited in Agustiyawati, 2006). This policy statement certainly denies the fact that disabled children who are classified as not having 'normal IQ' also have the right to be educated in mainstream schools. The statement further fails to acknowledge the fact that the many pupils who are commonly considered as 'dull', 'slow learners' or 'idiots' are already in those schools and have the right to be supported like any other pupil. In addition, at the school level, teachers might face other policies which are in conflict with integration/inclusion. The policy of class/school of excellence and acceleration programmes which provided extra support for pupils with high academic achievement is an example of a

policy that is contradictory. Although it is justifiable to support gifted and talented pupils, having them in separate classes creates segregation, elitism and further inequality.

The third instance was when resources were available but programmes were not appropriately designed and/or implemented. Programmes would not be implemented if resources were not allocated for something directly connected with disabled pupils. Findings of this study showed that much of the first financial subsidy received by the pilot schools was spent on items that benefitted the general population of pupils and staff. They did not allocate the subsidy exclusively for the benefit of disabled pupils, for example, purchasing a reclining chair for a pupil with physical impairment, or a pair of spectacles for a pupil with low vision, or to pay for extra tuition or over time for teachers who were asked to give remedial programmes for pupils with learning difficulties and those with challenging behaviour. As previously indicated, the situation where schools received insufficient funding from the government and a small contribution from parents put teachers in a dilemma. Another factor was the lack of clarity on what the money should be spent for. The fact that the funding was initially allocated only for special schools which participated in organising sporting events amongst disabled pupils (Special school teachers – SLB Jatiwulung 07/03/03), explained why pilot schools used some of the funding to build or purchase sporting facilities and not to directly support disabled pupils. As a result support that should be received by disabled pupils was not provided. For example, in SD Tirtomadyo, there was a pupil with physical impairment who would be supported if her school provided her with an adjustable chair. The same

Figure 5: Factors affecting teachers' support to disabled pupils
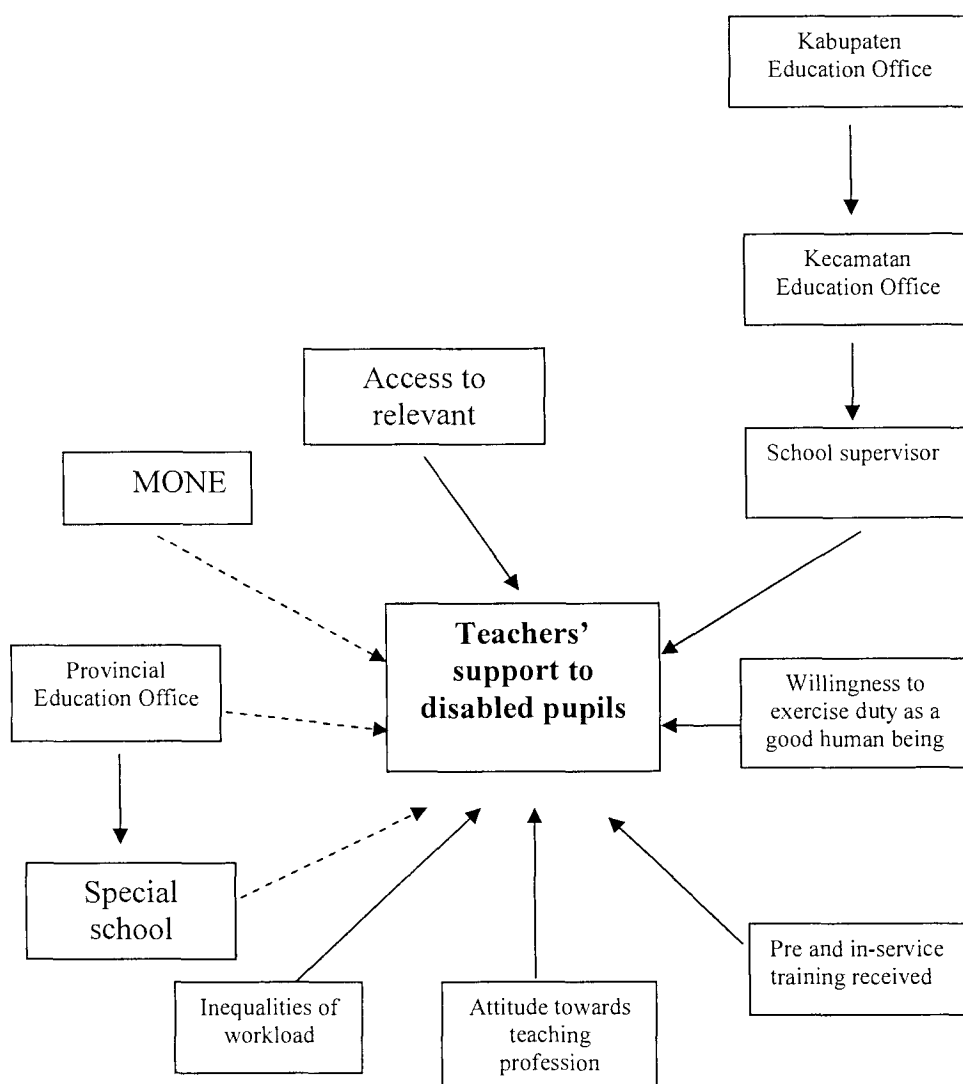
school also had a pupil who had never been asked to write on the blackboard because she was too short. For her, having a wooden step would enable her to write on the blackboard. In SD Karanglo, there was a pupil with mild hearing impairment. He was not given a hearing aid until a donation was given by a middle management official of Ministry of National Education. In this situation, the kind of support received by disabled pupils was mainly support which was provided by teachers in their classes. How these pupils were supported by teachers, however, could not be seen in isolation as it

was influenced by a combination of factors (Figure 5). As presented in Chapter 5, these factors include insufficient numbers of teachers which resulted in unequal workloads, low teachers' income that forced them to have more than one job and lack of access to relevant information on how to support disabled pupils were amongst the factors contributing to teachers' performance. Another factor determining teachers' support relates to the secure nature of their profession. As discussed earlier, teaching is a very secure profession as is the case for all civil servants in this country. Their jobs are guaranteed for life and therefore assessment of their performance in class does not challenge them to find ways to do more than the minimum. Full-time civil service teachers are not put under as much pressure as those who work on a temporary basis.

Besides these factors, the way in which teachers were supported by authorities such as the Ministry of National Education, provincial education office or *kabupaten/kota* education office also influenced their performance. The next section of this chapter will present and analyse findings from the fieldwork on these issues. Although emphasis will be placed on the role of the school supervisor, the role of Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office and special school teachers in making sure that teachers did their best in their job will also be analysed.

6.3. Support given by school supervisor

What happened until very recently is that whenever people talk about the failure of education, the blame tends to be placed on teachers. Teachers are criticised for not being knowledgeable enough in the subject they teach and for not being skilful enough in applying different teaching methods which

subsequently contribute to the low education quality (Pikiran Rakyat 24 March 2006, Kompas 2 March 2007). The fact that teachers are not sufficiently supported in doing their jobs by the relevant authorities is something that is rarely discussed. Among the relevant authorities in charge of supporting teachers are school supervisors. The school supervisor is the closest resource-person the teachers and head teachers go to for 'solutions' when they have questions, issues, or concerns. The school supervisor is a facilitator between authorities and teachers. The role of school supervisors is crucial in a context where oral culture is more dominant than written culture and where information on educational policies is not always easily accessible to teachers.

In the organisational structure, the primary school supervisor, who also supervises kindergarten, reports to the Head of the Kecamatan Education Office. This office has several functions or tasks which school supervisors basically have to carry out. According to the Decree of the Head of Kabupaten Local Government[43] regarding the Job Description of the Kabupaten Education Office, the functions of the Kecamatan Education Office with regard to primary school supervisors are as follows:

a. Provide administrative and technical guidance to teachers of kindergartens, primary schools, and make attempts to implement compulsory education.
b. Coordinate special schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools;
c. Monitor, evaluate and report relevant activities or projects.

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[43] Detail number of the decree is not provided to maintain the anonymity of the *kabupaten/ kota.*

How the school supervisor in the sample areas carried out his job is described by Pak Joko, one of the two school supervisors in Kecamatan Jatiwulung,

> My target is visiting one school everyday. I always arrive in schools before the classes start so that I can get a comprehensive picture of the school and the teachers. I will be in a class watching the teaching/learning process. By doing so, I know exactly how teachers deliver their lessons. After that I will invite teachers and headteachers to have a meeting (School supervisor – 09/03/2003).

The transcript above suggests that the tasks of the school supervisor are mainly technical in relation to the teaching/learning process. However, he also repeatedly said during the interview that the role of the school supervisor was to make sure that administrative work was done properly and that teachers were disciplined. His view on how he implemented his job with respect to administrative work was confirmed by teachers. In terms of the teaching/learning process, particularly as it relates to disabled pupils, responses given by teachers from both pilot and non-pilot schools were similar. These responses, however, did not fully confirm what the school supervisor said earlier. Following are some teachers' responses that suggest the pattern of support received by teachers.

> The school supervisor often monitors us although it might not be once in every month. However, he uses most of his time to check the school administration and there was no time for other things (Teachers – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003).

> He suggested giving individual lessons, an extra lesson to the pupil with learning difficulty. It doesn't work. He still doesn't want to do it (read and write) (Teacher – SD Watugunung 14/04/03).

> He just gave advice such as how to use a certain teaching method for a pupil who has difficulty in reading. He suggested that I use letters... That's the only suggestion he gave me. No other suggestions (Teachers – SD Dukuhsekti 16/04/2003).

> I told the school supervisor about my pupil who had repeated the class. I was afraid that if I didn't promote this child, she would drop out. If I gave

a test score in accordance with her achievement, she wouldn't be promoted. I gave her a remedial programme every day but it was not successful. I asked the school supervisor for advice, but his response was just a suggestion for me to continue with the remedial programme. We did that everyday, but no result. Eventually, I gave the adjusted test score for humanity reasons (Teachers – SD Kedungpring 10/04/2003)

Last time during a teacher meeting in this school cluster he gave us some guidance such as on how to improve pupil discipline. He also encouraged us to seriously support disabled pupils (Teachers - SDM Batuputih 12/04/2003).

When we told the school supervisor about the need to have more teachers, he just gave us advice. He only asked us to do our duty as much as we could. He basically gives us moral support (Teachers – SD Karangan 8/04/2003).

We requested to the school supervisor to assign another member of staff to this school to support pupils with learning difficulties but he couldn't help us (Teachers - SDM Batuputih 12/04/2003).

The transcripts above suggest that the school supervisor gave suggestions, advice and guidance in response to teachers' concerns on how to support their disabled pupils. However, teachers seem to see his advice as not meaningful enough to address the issues they had and yet, in a way, his advice was useful as some teachers perceived the advice as a form of moral support.

There are at least three issues regarding the ineffectiveness of the school supervisor in supporting teachers which emerged from the teachers' feedback. The first issue relates to the supervisor's workload. In the sample area, the school supervisor interviewed was in charge of 24 primary schools and 20 kindergartens. So, even if the school supervisor was knowledgeable and skilful enough to give advice to teachers, his workload was so huge that it did not give him enough time and energy to make sure that his advice was useful and taken into account by teachers. The second issue was the fact that the school supervisor and even his superior, the Head of the Kecamatan

Jatiwulung Education Office, had very limited authority in managing the available resources. For example, there was limitation on the part of the school supervisor in addressing issues such as the shortage of teachers. In total, Kecamatan Jatiwulung needed at least 24 more teachers (Head of Kecamatan Education Office – 17/04/2003). A possible solution to resolve the problem of teacher shortage was to regroup some small schools which were located close to each other. However, this could not be carried out by the Kecamatan Education Office because of the limited authority they had. Thus in SD Tirtomadyo, they could not reassign also to a closer school the teacher who had to commute five hours a day to and from work. The third issue relates to the way in which he addressed the issues faced by school teachers. It is obvious from teachers' accounts that they were not satisfied with the school supervisor's responses. It seems that they regarded the responses as basically unhelpful in terms of effectively dealing with their concerns. With respect to the way in which he addressed the issues raised at the school level, the transcript below illustrates how he did it.

> What happens in a school, if, for example, a teacher is not good at discipline, is that the headteacher tends to feel uneasy to directly remind her. This is due to close personal relationship they have as a result of daily interaction. If I receive that kind of report I will not address the issue directly to the particular teacher but to other teachers first (School supervisor 9/04/2003).

The tendency to avoid conflict and maintain harmony (*rukun*) could be the explanation as to why the headteacher and the school supervisor were reluctant to directly confront the teacher who did not do her job properly. The state of *rukun,* which is highly valued by the Javanese society, is not without its dilemmas. With respect to commitment, there are some factors that make *rukun* a complex issue. One of them relates to the fact that the teaching

profession, like many other civil service professions, is a secure job. As long as a civil servant can openly demonstrate their loyalty to the government, for instance by always attending official ceremonies, not confronting or criticising those in control, and implementing the national curriculum, it is most likely that she will be in her job until her retirement. According to Bjork (2005) this situation is partly influenced by the country's priority in maintaining national unity.

Another possible explanation for the ineffectiveness of the approach used by the school supervisor is that his skills and knowledge were basically the same as the teachers and headteachers. This situation did not give him enough confidence to offer advice to teachers in dealing with their issues. According to the school supervisor, who had been in his position for 8 years, he had no special training to be a supervisor. The experience that he had before his current position was seven years as a headteacher and six years as a Head of Kecamatan Education Office. He had a baccalaureate in education which involved three years in higher education. The training he received on how to support disabled pupils in the mainstream setting was similar to that received by teachers and headteachers from the pilot schools. There was no training that gave him ideas on how to help disabled children by making the most of the existing support system which involved different institutions.

Concerns over the under-performance of school supervisors are not new. Dharmaningtyas (2002) observes:

> Since the new order government, I have been suggesting to abolish the institution of school supervisors. They do not contribute to teacher profession and education innovation, especially those taking place in private schools. This happens because the way in which school

supervisors work are only based on the implementation and technical guidance. They are not open to teachers' creativity and education innovation apart from the ones stated in the guidance. The demand for this abolishment is in line with autonomy given to teachers. How could schools and teachers exercise their autonomy if they are continuously under control? People who are under control all the time tend to be passive because they are afraid to make mistakes.

Due to the issues presented above, a key/major question arises. Was it realistic to expect a school supervisor to be a resource person in relation to any issues faced by schools? It is almost certain that the answer would be 'no'. Even if a school supervisor was an experienced and highly qualified person, the complexity of issues surrounding disabled children's learning, the limited authority and the workload he had, expecting him to be able to make sure that all disabled pupils in his jurisdiction participate in their learning, would make it very difficult. This is also because he was only part of a support system. The most he could do was give moral support as suggested by some teachers (SD Karangan 8/04/2003). As a facilitator, the willingness of the school supervisor to listen was important, in order to give hope to teachers that their voice would be heard by the higher authorities.

6.4. Support by the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office

In the Kabupaten Kabuaran's organisational structure, the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Offices is one of the twelve offices under the head of Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office. These offices are not autonomous. Their tasks are basically to implement policies and programmes established by the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office. They have no authority to allocate funding, recruit and place teachers, and appoint headteachers. Their role is more on administrative aspects such as compiling data from schools on pupils, teachers, and facilities, and informing schools about the

existing or new policies. If schools have concerns on those aspects, the most the Kecamatan Education Office can do through its school supervisors, is to listen to the teachers and inform the Kabupaten Education Office of their concerns.

With regard to the education of disabled children in mainstream schools, since there was no written policy established by the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office, no policy needed to be implemented despite the fact that many disabled children had been attending mainstream schools. As one of the mainstream school clusters in this *kecamatan* was part of the integrated education project, however, officials did seem to be aware of the need to disseminate to other schools the ideas of supporting disabled children. On these matters, the head of the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office claimed:

> The only thing we could do was give motivation – through regular meeting such as KKG (teacher working group), head teachers meeting or school visit. In those meetings I asked them whether they had pupils in Grade 3 who cannot read and write. I asked them about the pupils with learning difficulties in their schools. We talked about how they support them. I reminded them not to ignore these children like I used to do when I was a teacher. Apart from motivating them, we do not have any meaningful programme to support children with learning difficulties (Head of Kecamatan Education Office - 17/04/2003).

From his statement above, it was not clear how often and informative he communicated the importance of providing access to disabled pupils in mainstream schools. The effectiveness of his effort to influence the attitude of mainstream school teachers was also questionable. From the way in which teachers in non-pilot schools ignored and excluded disabled pupils (Chapter 5), it was obvious that his efforts had little influence on teachers' motivation, especially in the non-pilot schools. This also suggests that informing

mainstream teachers on the need to accept and support disabled pupils is not sufficient to change the way in which teachers perceive their disabled pupils which subsequently had little or no impact on increasing disabled pupils' participation in learning. This, amongst other reasons, was because the information he shared might not be communicated effectively and therefore did not attract teachers to learn more about how to do it. His responses to schools, as there was no legal document backing them up, can be considered by teachers more as *himbauan* (a suggestion) than instruction.

6.5. Support by special school teachers

The assignment of special education teachers in mainstream schools has been a substantial part of the implementation of the integrated education programme based on the Ministerial Decree No 002/U/1986. On the role of the special education teachers, mainstream school teachers expressed their opinion as follows:

SD Jatiwulung
We have a special school teacher visiting this school every Tuesday. We usually consult with him about the 28 pupils with learning difficulties we have. To some of them he gives individual teaching. These pupils might be from Grade III, IV, V or other classes. It's only once a week. His presence is   useful. He gives extra motivation to pupils. We actually need the special education teacher on a daily basis. To help those pupils we also give them an extra lesson after school hours. (Headteacher – 16/04/2003).

SD Kedungpring
When the special education teacher comes, she pulls out two disabled pupils. Each receives a short tutorial. Although we have some other pupils with special needs, only two are supported by the special education teacher because she can only be here on Friday. She actually thinks that those two pupils need to attend a special school as she does not really know what she should do for them within the limited time she has. However, their parents do not want to. Perhaps they feel ashamed. They said that whatever happened, they wanted their daughters to be in this school (Teachers – 10/04/2003).

SD Tirtomadyo
In this school a special education teacher comes once a week for some hours only. He teaches the class which has pupils with learning difficulties. While he is teaching, the class teacher is also there. He will select two classes and spend only an hour in each class. The subject that he teaches will be in accordance with the class schedule, so it can be maths or language. What he teaches is basically the same but at lower level of difficulties. He also gives feedback to teachers (Headteacher – 10/04/2003).

SDS Batuputih
Every Tuesday a special education teacher comes to this school for two hours only. He visits three mainstream schools in a day. He will choose which class he will teach. It can be Grade I for this week, Grade II for next week etc. I understand his situation, hence I can't ask more from him (Headteacher – 10/04/2003).

The transcripts above show that special schoolteachers had limited time in supporting disabled pupils in all the pilot schools. It shows that an average of two hours per week for each school was certainly insufficient. The support was not only insufficient in terms of the number of hours but also in terms of competence. In SLB Mojo, most special education teachers had a qualification to teach pupils with a particular impairment. Visiting mainstream schools which had some pupils with different impairments or difficulties was a real challenge for special teachers of SLB Mojo. Due to those limitations, it could be said that support given by special school teachers was minimal. However, their minimal support could be seen by mainstream school teachers as more meaningful than that received from their school supervisor. They perceived special school teachers as superior because they had more relevant qualifications. They were seen as better persons than the school supervisor to talk to about the issues of their disabled pupils.

The assumption that these special education teachers are more skilful and knowledgeable than those in mainstream schools and the school supervisor in supporting disabled children does make sense in some ways.

For example, a special teacher who teaches pupils with visual impairment how to read and write in Braille certainly had skills which mainstream school teachers do not. Assigning some special education teachers has been implemented to a certain degree in some schools outside the pilot schools. As presented in the introductory chapter, of the very few disabled pupils being integrated into mainstream schools, most of them had visual impairment. To support these pupils the education office at the provincial level assigned some qualified special education teachers. This was not the case in the integrated education project in Kecamatan Jatiwulung. In the pilot schools the two special education teachers being interviewed who were qualified in teaching pupils with hearing impairment, were assigned to help all disabled pupils with different kinds of needs in their classes.

Beside the issue of limited time and qualification of special school teachers, SLB Mojo had to face the problem of insufficient numbers of teachers. According to Government Regulation No. 72/1991 on Special Education, special schools have to categorise themselves as kindergarten, primary, junior secondary, and/or senior secondary special schools. The curriculum used for all levels is basically the same as the ones for mainstream schools but with some necessary adjustments. One of the implications of this policy is that there is a need to have teachers who are qualified to teach different subjects. One of the Jatiwulung Special School teachers raised his concern:

> By having junior secondary special school (SLTPLB) and senior secondary special school there is a need for teachers to master various subjects taught at those levels. Teachers in this school have special education qualification with some specialisation in A (teaching pupils with visual impairment), B (hearing impairment), C (intellectual disability), D (physical impairment), and E (challenging behaviour). We should

attend training which will give us the knowledge in subjects such as English, sports, science, etc. (Teacher A – SLB Jatiwulung 17/03/2003).

At the kindergarten and primary school levels this situation was not an issue because similar to that of mainstream schools, special education teachers tended to teach all subjects in a certain class. At the junior and senior secondary mainstream schools, teachers with relevant qualification should be the ones who teach a particular subject. However, to have teachers with these qualifications in SLB Mojo was unrealistic. The main reason for this was the fact that this school only had 40 pupils from kindergarten to senior secondary levels. With this number, it would not be sensible to hire some more teachers in addition to the teachers they currently had. At the time of data collection, this school had twelve government teachers in special education, one RE teacher, three private teachers, and one administrative staff. None of the teachers was qualified to teach maths, science, English and other subjects at the junior and senior secondary school levels. This school addressed this issue by assigning the existing teachers to teach specialist subjects. Moreover, having three teachers to visit the pilot schools twice a week to support disabled pupils certainly made the situation in the special school worse. In summary, it could be said that support for disabled pupils in SLB Mojo was minimal

The issue of teacher shortage in SLB Mojo put the sustainability of their visits in mainstream schools at risk. In addition, there was no substantial financial benefit the special education teachers gained from being involved in this project. Although the project organiser allocated some funding for their

transportation, the amount was too little for the time and energy they spent doing this work (Teachers – SLB Mojo 17/03/2003).

At the *kabupaten* level, the issue of teacher shortage in special schools was much more serious. A survey involving special education teachers found out that there were 596 disabled children aged between 7 and 15 who did not attend schools (Teacher A – SLB Mojo 17/03/2003). With the current three special schools in Kabupaten Kabuaran and the existing teachers, it was not possible to accept all of them. A teacher at SLB Mojo came up with an idea, namely to recruit the special education teachers, who currently were still unemployed (ibid). He also suggested as follows:

> In implementing integrated education, we need to utilise special education teachers who are currently teaching in mainstream schools. When they applied for the teaching job last time they used their D2 certificate. I have the data on those teachers.

> After regrouping of some primary schools, there will be some school building and facilities that will not be used. It will be better if those facilities can be used for special schools to give access to disabled children who are currently not attending schools (Teacher A - SLB Mojo 17/03/2003).

What is interesting about his ideas is the fact that he suggested more special schools and not 'integrated/inclusive schools' for these 596 disabled children. This suggests his contradictory perception on the idea of having disabled pupils in the mainstream schools. This perception was confirmed by another teacher of SLB Mojo who said that:

> In my opinion, although we have integrated schools, we still need special schools. Not all disabled pupils can be educated in mainstream schools. Those with severe disabilities need to attend special schools. Some disabled pupils might be in special schools for a temporary time only. For example, a child with hearing impairment needs to be in a special school first in order for her to have basic skills in langauge unless there is a special teacher that can teach her these skills assigned in the mainstream school (Teacher B - SLB Mojo 17/03/2003).

Her ideas above, which were supported by mainstream teachers as discussed in Chapter 5, seemed to reflect the difficult situation the special education teachers had in supporting disabled children. Given the difficulty she experienced in being part of the integrated education project, her idea that a special school was a better place to study for disabled children was unavoidable.

6.6. Issues on the organisational structures

As presented earlier in Chapter 1, prior to 1999 when the country had been much more centralised, administration of some components in primary schools had been decentralised and controlled by the *kabupaten/kota* local government. The components under the management of *kabupaten/kota* local government consisted of personnel, finance, school facilities and equipment. Since 1999, theoretically, the administration of all components of education, not only primary but also secondary education, has been under the control of local government at the *kabupaten/kota* level. Technical aspects such as the implementation of curriculum and assessment, that used to be the responsibility of central government, are now controlled by the local government at the *kabupaten/kota* level. This trend is different in the case of education for disabled children. As presented in the Introduction (Figure 2), some special schools in Indonesia are under the *kabupaten/kota* local government and some others are under the education office at the provincial level. Public primary special schools (SDLB), which enrol only disabled children aged 7-12, are under the control of the local government at the *kabupaten/kota* level. This was the case even before 1999. Meanwhile, special schools for disabled children aged 5-18 (SLB) are currently under the

responsibility of the education office at the provincial level. These schools could be public or private. The public special schools, which were initially designed as national and provincial feeder or model special schools, are fully funded by the government. Meanwhile, private special schools are established by private charity or religious foundations. In these schools, most teachers are seconded and paid by the government.

The condition where two different units are in charge of providing education for disabled children raises some issues related to who is responsible for the education of disabled children. One might say that it is the responsibility of all institutions to serve disabled children. For example, when asked about the different positions of special schools, an middle management official in charge of primary and special schools in the Kabupaten/Kota Education Office responded as follows.

> Although special schools (SLB) are under the Provincial Education Office, we treat them the same as we treat primary schools. The way we think about it is that basically the children studying in those schools are children from this area, so they are our children too. Therefore, whenever we have a budget intended for primary schools, we always allocate some for special schools too. For example, a milk subsidy organised by a non governmental organisation, is also given to children in special schools (An middle management official - Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office 17/04/2003).

The above allocation, however, seemed to apply only on a temporary basis and only if the funding mainly did not come from the *kabupaten/kota* office. For example, as quoted above, the milk provided for primary school pupils was funded by a foreign NGO. In the case of funding for operational costs of the schools, it was almost certain that it was not allocated by the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office, except for SDLB (primary special school) which was institutionally under that office. The story might be

different in *kabupaten/kota* which were considered rich, such as some cities in Riau and East Kalimantan. This was not possible in Kabupaten Kabuaran which was considered to be the poorest amongst the *kabupaten* from the same province.[44] The response of that official seemed to be given to show that he had empathy towards disabled pupils who were in special schools.

A completely different response, however, was given by his superior, a senior official of the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office.

> For your information, (the staff of that special school) just tried to get subsidy. I really don't understand why people can live in that way. I'm wondering whether they want to dedicate themselves (to disabled children) or just want to make a living. I don't understand. They are very aggressive in looking for funding. I don't know whether they use it for the interest of the children or for their own benefit. I didn't check. 'Their sin is theirs. If they do good things, the rewards are theirs'. That's my stance (A senior official – Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office 19/04/2003).

Teachers of SLB Tirtomadyo were most likely to disagree with that judgment although they would not deny that they kept exploring possibilities for more funding and resources. They might call it assertive rather than aggressive. It was one of the teachers in this special school who made an attempt to approach the Directorate of Special Education to not only provide a grant for special schools throughout Indonesia, but also for schools involved in the integrated education project. In addition, some other attempts to get more resources can be seen from the following transcript.

> We have a very good relationship with staff in public junior high school in this area. Some facilities and resources are sometimes lent or given to us such as chalk, unused tables and stationery (Teachers - SLB Tirtomadyo 17/03/2003).

The same teacher was also persuading the local authorities to use the unused primary school facilities. He maintained:

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[44] The name of the province is not disclosed to ensure the anonymity.

It will be a very good idea if the school building that won't be used after the regrouping of some primary schools can be used for filial special schools. It's a pity if we just let the buildings and their furniture remain unused while at the same time this special school needs those facilities (Teachers – SLB Mojo 17/03/2003).

The rearrangement will be quite simple if SLB Mojo was under the education office at *kabupaten/kota* level because the facilities will still be under its control. As SLB Mojo is under the direction of the education office at the provincial level, the paper work related to control, accountability and maintenance will be rather complex which can create tensions amongst the members of staff.

The tensions around the management of resources to support disabled pupils will also likely involve the school supervisor. This tension occurred during the try out project of integrated education. The school supervisor felt uneasy with the way in which the grant was delivered and used. He criticised the management of the project as follows:

Regarding the grant for pilot schools, it would be better if I was informed about it. It's not a matter of the money, but I have concerns regarding the use of the grant. I don't know why those schools used the grant to build sport facilities and to build or repair other school facilities. Why didn't they use it for something directly related to pupils with learning difficulties? Only one school which used it to build a resource unit that would be useful as a place for disabled pupil to be taught by a special education teacher. If I was informed about this grant I might be able to give some inputs (School Supervisor – 9/04/2003).

When I discussed the situation with the person in charge of the Inclusive Education Project, he said the current procedure of the project requires that officials at the local levels be well informed and involved in the decision making process. For example, a decision was made as to which schools were to be included in the project, based on the inputs from the officials at the *kabupaten/kota* and provincial levels (Field note - 17/04/2005).

In summary, due to the current organisational structure, the way in which the provincial education office (including special schools for 7-18 years of age) and the MONE supported disabled pupils in mainstream schools was not on a direct and regular basis. Therefore, in Figure 5 the relation between those institutions is shown as a dashed line. Teachers in pilot schools would expect that once the project had been terminated they could only rely on the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office for support on a regular basis. This could be very difficult for teachers especially if the Kabupaten Kabuaran Education Office does not have the intention to continue the programmes and allocate the necessary resources. Data gathered from teachers clearly suggests that various forms of ongoing assistance, especially the visit of special education teachers, was needed by mainstream schools to support their disabled pupils.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the way in which disabled pupils are excluded from the mainstream school system. Data collected from the fieldwork strongly indicated that the exclusion of disabled children was a result of interconnecting factors and involved not only factors which had direct connection with the teaching/learning process in their classrooms. Amongst the factors were improper dissemination of integrated education policy, teacher shortage and teachers' lack of knowledge and skills in addressing the issues of pupil diversity.

With respect to the dissemination and implementation of the integrated education policy, findings from the fieldwork strongly indicate that officials and teachers, especially in non-pilot schools, were not aware of the policy.

As a result, further policies and programmes were not developed and implemented. Subsequently, different kinds of support, such as sufficient resources and meaningful advice, that enabled teachers to help disabled pupils in their classes, were not in place. The lack of attempt in implementing the integrated education policy was partly due to the authorities' understanding that, to be educated in mainstream schools was not seen as something to which disabled children were entitled. Their right to obtain education was fulfilled only by establishing at least one primary school in every village. The condition where integrated education was applied only for disabled pupils with 'normal' or above average intelligence certainly excluded those who were struggling in their cognitive aspects. Exclusion to children with other impairments might happen as well. Lack of knowledge amongst teachers to identify disabled children and their learning needs could end up children with other impairment to be wrongly judged as having intellectual disability. Whether disabled pupils could access the curriculum and participate in the learning process depended on the mainstream teachers' generosity, creativity and commitment. Teachers with these qualities, unfortunately, seemed not to be ubiquitous. In addition, an important teacher-related factor is that the teacher training programmes they go through does not give them enough confidence to deal with the diversity in their classes. Even in the pilot schools, where some training had been given, teachers often felt frustrated and desperate when trying to support disabled pupils in their classes.

The lack of awareness of the need and knowledge to support disabled pupils in mainstream schools was mainly influenced by the little attempt

made by the local education office to implement the integrated education policy. This was indicated by the absence of support provided by the authorities for mainstream school teachers. Even in the pilot schools, support from the school supervisor and the head of the Kecamatan Jatiwulung Education Office was minimal, due to their lack of knowledge and skills, high workloads and their limitation in managing the available resources. In the mean time, support received from the special school teachers was also limited because of the insufficiency of their qualifications as well as the very short time they could allocate to visiting each school. Being involved as pilot schools where integrated education programmes were carried out and, to a certain degree, additional resources were made available, did not guarantee the removal of exclusionary practices.

In Chapters 4 to 6 I presented and analysed the findings of this study. From the analysis of those findings, a question emerges. This question is 'what next?' The understanding on why and how disabled children are excluded from the mainstream school as well as from the education system is certainly very useful in making sense of the current situation. Just understanding alone will, however, not make a sufficient contribution to the wellbeing of disabled children if it is not accompanied by some alternatives that can change the current situation and move it towards inclusion. How to increase the participation of those children in mainstream schools in a situation where issues surrounding the inclusion are very complex will be discussed as a way to begin to address that question in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1. Introduction

The main concern underpinning this study was the very low number of disabled children attending schools, especially in mainstream schools. Why and how disabled children are excluded from the education system, particularly from mainstream schools, are the main research questions of this study. This chapter will begin with a section on summary of the findings and analysis presented in Chapter 4 to Chapter 6. This will be followed by a section which will discuss some recommendations focusing on policy reform and implementation strategies. The limitations of the research will also be highlighted in this section which is then followed by identifying some further research and development. The chapter closes with a section on the conclusions of this study.

7.2. Summary of the findings

How the three different categories of policies (written, stated and enacted) (Fulcher, 1994) on education provision for disabled children were not always in existence, clear and consistent is one of the most important findings revealed by this study. In attempting to address the first research question which is on the existence of written policies at different levels of government, the basic answer is that there are some rudimentary legislative and administrative provisions. For example, there is Government Regulation no. 72/1991 on Special Education and some other lower legislation, such as the ones in the form of ministerial decrees and circulars. Unfortunately, although the first legislation on integrated education was established in 1986

(Ministerial Decree 002/U/1986), the existing higher legislation, including Law no. 2/1989 on the National Education System and the new one which is Law no. 23/2003 have no explicit statement ensuring that disabled children will have access to education in mainstream schools. The only legislation explicitly stating the right of disabled children to attend any schools, including mainstream schools, as enshrined in Law No. 23/2002 on Child Protection, seems not to have been taken into serious consideration. It is understandable, therefore, that at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels, the rights of disabled children to study in mainstream schools was not in any legislation established by the local government at those levels.

There are at least three main issues which explain why the Ministerial Decree on Integrated Education, which is still valid, and some related written policies have not made a substantial impact on affecting an increase number of disabled children in mainstream schools. The first issue relates to the content of the decree itself. This decree clearly allows only disabled children who have normal or above average intelligence to be integrated into mainstream schools. This requirement certainly excludes a large number of children who, for several reasons, could not follow the curriculum so that they were commonly known as 'dull', 'slow' or 'idiot' and therefore were not covered in the integrated education programme. The second issue relates to the way in which policies are disseminated. Findings of this study show that poor dissemination left teachers and officials at the local and even ministerial level unaware of the integrated education policy. The third issue relates to the ignorance of officials about the rights of disabled children to obtain education. The number of disabled children, which was assumed to be very

small, was used by officials to justify their decision not to seriously consider them in the education policy development. This issue also relates to the absence of guidelines and ongoing support from the authorities to teachers. Even when teachers were aware of the need to address disabled pupils' needs, the lack of guidelines and meaningful advice made them unable to support these pupils.

With respect to the recent initiative on education provision for disabled children, findings of this study indicate that, together with segregated and integrated education, inclusive education is perceived as a static condition, not as a process. The three forms of education provision, segregated, integrated and inclusive education, are not seen as approaches which are based on different philosophical views. This has resulted in a confusing message to teachers. On the one hand, the initiative of inclusive education, which has been internationally promoted by UNESCO, occurred partly because there are weaknesses in the other two approaches. On the other hand, by allowing schools to be 'segregated' or 'integrated' schools, it sends a message that it is fine not to make efforts to accommodate the needs of some pupils or even to exclude them. The current 'inclusive education' policy which provides only for disabled 'pupils with average or above average intelligence' to attend mainstream schools, only suggests that there is no principal difference between this initiative and the integrated education policy.

The second research question is how the current education policies influence the way in which mainstream schools support their disabled pupils. From interviews with teachers and headteachers, it was clear that the factors affecting the quality of support to disabled pupils basically also affects other

pupils. Lack of information on the integrated education policy, teacher shortage, limited number of textbooks and inadequate learning facilities contributed to the minimal support provided for all pupils, including disabled pupils. Lack of knowledge and skills in dealing with disabled pupils that led to the frustration and desperation of teachers made the exclusion of these pupils inevitable. There was lack of competence in addressing pupil diversity in teaching practice so that all pupils could access the curriculum. The school supervisor to whom teachers went for answers or solutions if they had issues in their schools or classrooms also had limited knowledge on how to support disabled pupils. The school supervisor could only spend very little time with teachers due to his very high workload. He gave mainly moral support to teachers, something that was insufficient to meet the needs of teachers. Authorities provided no extra resources to schools, except the pilot schools involved in the project which received a number of training sessions and a financial subsidy. Therefore, disabled pupils relied mostly on teachers' generosity, creativity and commitment. Unfortunately there seems to be few teachers who had those qualities, despite the goodwill they showed to support disabled pupils in their classes.

7.3. Recommendations

Chapters 4 to 6 have attempted to demonstrate how and why disabled children are excluded from mainstream schools and the education system. Having the understanding of disabled children's exclusion, however, is not sufficient enough if some ideas on how mainstream schools and the education system should move towards inclusion are not offered. Developing policy recommendations based on this study which are academic

as well as practical is therefore crucial. This is challenging due to the complex nature of issues surrounding disability in general and inclusive education in particular as well as the diversity of the country.

The recommendations will focus on three aspects. The first will be on legislation. This will consist of recommending changes to policy documents at the national, provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels. The second aspect is on the implementation strategies. It is important to have some ideas on how to implement the suggested policy. The third aspect will suggest further research that needs to be carried out to address the issues of access to education for all children, particularly disabled children.

7.3.1. Policy reform

The policy agenda on 'education for all' is a good start to link the need to recognise the right of disabled children to access education and the attempt to effect the commitment to the compulsory education policy which is intended to ensure that children complete the nine-year compulsory basic education, which is targeted to be achieved by 2008. To make sure that disabled children and other marginalised children will be taken into account seriously in the development of educational policies and programmes there is a need for the high level legislation to explicitly state their rights to attend mainstream schools. Although resistance will be inevitable, there will not be excuses for the authorities to ignore the presence of disabled children and their need to be supported in mainstream schools as much as they have been in the past. This legislation will give a strong legal basis for the proponents of inclusion in their continuous struggle to change the charity-based provision to a rights-based provision for disabled children. To move

towards this rights-based provision requires good intentions and serious commitments to the principals of justice and equal opportunity on the part of the political and administrative leadership.

In formulating the legislation there should be a clear message that disabled children have the right to be supported in mainstream schools. This is important because it will make sure that in any policies that are developed to achieve the 'education for all' goal or the completion of the nine-year basic education will also take into account disabled and other marginalised children more seriously. Secondly, when the term 'inclusive education' is used, it is important to have a clear definition of what is meant by the term and the principles and values underlying the term. Inclusive education is not an ideal condition which is static. It is a means to an end which involves an ongoing struggle for change (Barton, 2003). Unclear definitions will lead to counter-productive outcomes. Clarity is crucial for several reasons. Firstly, it is important to avoid having the current understanding which assumes that inclusive education is a static condition rather than an ongoing process to increase participation of all children in learning. It is therefore, the ethos of inclusive education can be applied by all schools, not only schools which have been provided with 'sufficient' resources only. Moving towards inclusive education is not an option amongst other options which schools can choose. The second reason is to change the current misconception on the target of inclusive education which is understood as being only for disabled children. It is about increasing participation in learning for all children. When inclusive education is adopted, ongoing efforts to remove all kinds of barriers to learning for all children have to be made, so that the practice of exclusion

through segregated education approaches is removed or at least reduced. By having clear statements in legislation on the rights of disabled children to be educated in mainstream schools, teachers and authorities will have no way of avoiding making efforts to include disabled children, and other marginalised children, to learn together with their peers in mainstream schools.

The need to have clarity also applies to written policies following up the higher form of legislation. It is also important to have consistency between those written policies. Having a legal assurance in the high level of legislation that disabled children have the right to be supported in mainstream schools will be insufficient if there is no consistency of message in the lower legislation. If the decision is to promote inclusive education then it is not possible to also promote segregated and integrated education which is a feature of the current situation. To achieve clarity and consistency, there is a need to thoroughly and criticically examine the current legislation, policies and programmes established to achieve the goal of 'education for all' in general and to support disabled children in particular.

The process of removing barriers, however, will be very challenging. No matter how clear the message legislation sends out, it will not always be easy for teachers and policy makers to move towards inclusion. They have to juggle different agendas and issues in their schools, such as with the selection policy in school admissions, pupils with challenging behaviour, and the scarcity of resources.

7.3.2. Implementation strategies

The fear of not being able to deal with the consequences of having explicit statements in legislation and other written policies on the right of

disabled children to attend mainstream schools is something that should be urgently addressed by developing careful implementation strategies. Recommendations on some aspects of policy implementation will be the focus of this section.

Coverage of policy implementation

As suggested earlier, segregated, integrated and inclusive education cannot be seen as a static condition but more as a process based on different assumptions and values. There are different implications arising from seeing these approaches as something still and as a process. When integrated or inclusive education is seen as a static condition, the strategy that tends to be used to increase the number of disabled children attending mainstream setting is by having pilot projects which involve a limited number of schools. These schools are designed as models for other schools. In fact, as presented in Chapter 3, four of the sample schools of this study were part of this kind of pilot projects. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, some pilot school interventions took in the form of teacher training, allocation of extra facilities and extra funding. It is expected that when the project is seen as successful, other schools will replicate this type of model. This strategy will not be effective in promoting effective support provision for disabled children in mainstream schools. This is because, firstly, the government will not be able to make the same intervention in all schools similar to the ones in pilot schools. Secondly, what is likely to happen in pilot schools once the project has ended is the termination of the extra support previously provided. These schools, therefore, will then have the same challenges other schools have and, without extra help, they might not be able to offer support to disabled

pupils. Hence, it is very difficult to expect these schools to function as models for other schools.

Due to the reasons above, it will be important to introduce the concept of inclusive education nationwide without going to the piloting stage. However, this strategy will not necessarily be easy and moving towards inclusive education is not straightforward. Disagreements, confusion, contestations, reluctance and resistance of parents, teachers, and authorities are something that will occur, especially in the initial stages of policy implementation. Although people might feel uncomfortable, this situation is better than pretending that there is no problem with the current exclusion of disabled children in education. One thing that needs to be emphasised is that, in an attempt to move towards inclusive education, schools should be allowed to make their own initiatives with the intention to removing barriers to learning. It is not possible for schools to wait for government to develop initiatives and produce guidelines which can meet the needs of schools. 'Mistakes' that might happen from developing and implementing those initiatives should not be treated in such a way that discourage schools to develop other initiatives.

Raising awareness

Negative attitudes towards disabled people/children are the biggest barrier to inclusion. A raising-awareness campaign directed at the community at large and more particularly the school community is crucial to change people's attitudes. For this campaign to be effective, it is important to consider how disability is defined and how disabled people and parents of disabled children can play a key role in the planning and implementation

stages. This is because negative attitudes are often developed through ignorance and low level of interaction with disabled people. In order not to start from zero, learning from any relevant experience from other nations which have some similarities with Indonesia might be necessary.

In the attempts to raise awareness, it would be very important to use language that is acceptable and empowering. The language of rights, for example, is very significant in promoting inclusion. The use of rights language, however, does not necessarily need to remove the language of charity. As discussed in the Literature Review, the concept of charity in Islam, the religion of most Indonesians, is somewhat different from that in the West. In Islam, charity is one of the main obligations of all Muslims, including disabled Muslims. The fact that many Muslims do not exercise their obligation, particularly in relation to disabled people, is something that needs to be dealt with. To do so, involvement of religious leaders and scholars, including those who have disabilities, is important to give some understanding on how to perceive and to treat disabled people. On this matter, it is worth quoting Bazna and Hatab (2005) who looked at the Islamic position on disability from its main source, Qur'an. Following is their conclusion:

> In general, we find that the concept of disability, in the conventional sense, is not found in the Qur'an. As a matter of a fact, our search for the word *disabled* and its derivates did not return any results. Rather, we find that the Qur'an concentrates on the notion of *disadvantage* that is created by society and imposed on those individuals who might not possess the social, economic, or physical attributes that people happen to value at a certain time and place. Since this disadvantage is created by society, it isn't surprising that the Qur'an places the responsibility of rectifying this inequity on the shoulder of society by its constant exhortation to Muslims to recognize the plight of the disadvantaged and to improve their condition and status (p. 26).

In a society where religious teaching is practiced as part of people's lifestyle, having religious leaders and scholars engage in addressing the issues of exclusion/inclusion of disabled people in general, and disabled children in school in particular, is essential. It is the moral duty of the religious leaders and scholars to remind their *jamaah* (members of Islamic groups) about the ignorance they have towards disabled people/children and to encourage them to change their negative attitudes.

Policy dissemination

Although legislation and other written policies pertaining to disabled children are available, it will only have impact if it reaches the target audience and therefore dissemination of this legislation has to be undertaken properly. Previously, as presented in Chapter 4, the Ministry of National Education invited officials from the regions to a 'socialisation' meeting where they were informed about the new legislation or initiatives. This seems not to be an effective strategy as there is no guarantee that information obtained during the socialisation will reach wider audiences, especially teachers. Thus, different ways of dissemination need to be utilised. For example, the Ministry of National Education website should contain more information on policies, including policies on the educational provision for disabled children as part of the 'education for all' policy. The website should also give links to relevant websites, within and outside the Ministry, which provide guidelines and more detailed information. Therefore, integrating the websites run by units within the Ministry is essential to enable users to easily access the information they need. Links from outside the Ministry are necessary. For example, the EENET (Enabling Education Network) Asia will be helpful for teachers as its

newsletters, which have been translated into Indonesian language, provide information on inclusive education, focusing on the southern contexts. More information on the development of inclusive education in majority world contexts is available on the EENET website, whose office is based in Manchester (EENET, 2007).

Accessing information through the Internet, however, can not be done by all teachers as access to this facility is not in place in many schools. In this case, it is the responsibility of the education office at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels to provide information in hard copy and send it to schools through its school supervisors. It is not possible for the Ministry of National Education to do this kind of dissemination, as it is not part of its duties. Since the implementation of the decentralisation policy in 1999, it is mainly the responsibility of the *kabupaten/kota* local government to make sure that schools receive the support they need. Intervention of the central government is limited to policy at the national level, the running of projects funded by the Ministry, and other programmes funded by the central government. For the latter, what the central government does is to allow schools to use part of the funding allocated for school operational costs to pay for the use of the Internet either in schools (if they have the telephone lines) or in Internet cafés.

A teachers' magazine published by a teachers' union or PGRI (*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia*), to which many schools subscribe, is another media outlet that can be used to disseminate information. The presentation of the magazine, however, needs to be improved to make it more eye-catching and readable. The findings of this study reveal that

teachers are desperate for different kinds of practical advice on how to support their pupils, including disabled pupils. Articles written by fellow teachers on how to address the issues they face in their classrooms and a question and answer column are some of the suggested materials that need to be included in the magazine.

Developing guidelines

Having clear and consistent legislation and other written policies is crucial but there is no guarantee that they will be implemented unless relevant guidelines are produced and the necessary support provided. Teachers, who will play the leading role in inclusive education, need appropriate guidelines to which they can refer. In developing the guidelines, there is no need to start from scratch. There is good information available on the Internet, especially on such sites as the EENET and UNESCO websites, information which can be used as initial materials in developing guidelines. On the former website, an example of the work that can be adopted is a model developed by a headteacher in one of the primary schools in Zambia. The headteacher, Paul Mumba, used the child-to-child approach in an attempt to move towards inclusion in his school. This approach led him to develop the twinning method. In this method, disabled pupils and non-disabled pupils are paired to work together and support each other (EENET, 1999).

Another source of information that can be used in developing guidelines is TALC (teaching-aid at low cost). The teaching materials produced by this charity are intended to support those living in areas where resources are scarce. The books published by TALC such as 'I can do it

too' and 'Disabled village children' are copyright-free and can be translated/ interpreted by any institutions (TALC, 2007).

Materials for guidelines can also come from initiatives that have been developed in Indonesia. A project called Creating Learning Community for Children (CLCC) that has been developed since 1999 by the Ministry of National Education, UNICEF and UNESCO is one example (Ahmad, 2006). This model, which basically attempts to develop child-friendly schools, is also recommended by Shaeffer (2005) and Karangwa (2007). They see that the child-friendly school model has the same vision as inclusive education. Projects on pupils' active learning, such as the one popularly known as ALPS (Active Learning through Professional Support) or CBSA (*Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif*) that was conducted between 1988 and 1995 (Malcolm et al., 2001), are other initiatives that can be revisited and further developed. The need to look at the previous and current initiatives is important in order for teachers and officials not to feel overwhelmed. They need to know that elements of inclusive education are not completely new. For example, zero rejection in school admission policy and teachers' willingness to prevent pupils from dropping-out, are some of the elements of inclusive education that have been applied by most primary schools.

With respect to who should be responsible for developing guidelines, again it is important to have units in charge of supporting mainstream schools instead of the unit in charge of special education to be the main player in developing the guidelines. At the Ministry of National Education, the units

involved can be the Teacher Development Centres (P4TK)[45] for Kindergarten and Special Education, the Centre for Curriculum Development, the Directorate of Primary Education and other relevant units. This does not mean that only the members of staff of those units will be the ones to develop the guidelines. Freelancers, academics from universities and teachers who have the capability to develop relevant guidelines can also carry out the tasks. It needs to be emphasised that local government at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels, in line with the decentralisation policy, also has the space to develop guidelines that are relevant to the situation in their regions.

The role of school supervisors

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, it is not possible to have school supervisors as resource persons to whom teachers can go for advice, so, instead of being in that unrealistic role, the school supervisors should act as facilitators between schools and the support system. For example, due to the lack of communication technology in schools, it should be the role of the school supervisors to provide and distribute hard copies of the information available at the *kabupaten/kota* education office as well as on the relevant websites. In addition, instead of visiting schools everyday, it might be more effective if they came to the teacher and/or headteacher group meetings which are conducted fortnightly, distribute the relevant information from the support system they obtain, and engage in discussion with teachers. This forum can be used as part of teachers' self-training. Training organised by the education office or units within the Ministry of National Education might

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[45] There are some teacher development centres or P4TK (*Pusat Pengembangan dan Pemberdayaan Pendidik dan Tenaga Kependidikan*) in Indonesia. Each has different specialisation such as maths, art, language, and kindergarten and special education.

seem to be more professional, but due to the large number of teachers the country has (more than 2.4 million people) (MONE, 2005) it is very unlikely that teachers will have the opportunity to attend such training.

Some possible alternatives to tackle the limited resources

One of the most challenging elements in providing ongoing support relates to the fact that most schools in Indonesia are located in rural areas where resources are scarce. Below are some possible alternatives to address the scarcity of resources.

Teacher shortage

To resolve the problem of teacher shortage, merging nearby schools is one possible solution. The low teacher/pupils ratio in the sample area (on average one teacher for 12 pupils) is likely to reflect a fairly common trend, especially in rural areas such as in the USAID survey location for managing Basic Education Project (USAID, 2003). Another justification supporting the idea of school regrouping is distance. Schools which are located close to each other (often at the same compound) would be more cost effective if they are under the same management.

School merging is not always possible especially in remote areas. Schools in these areas need to consider having multi-grade classes where one teacher teaches more than one grade at the same time and in the same classroom. One of the consequences of this policy is that teachers are required to have skills in dealing with pupil diversity more than their fellow teachers in single-grade schools.

The role of special schools

One of the reservations against supporting disabled children studying in mainstream schools is the perception that the facilities and other resources needed can be very costly. In a way, this might be true. However, by utilising the resources already available in the nearby special schools, cost can minimised. Special schools can even play a role as a resource centre for the nearby mainstream schools. Included in this proposal is the deployment of special education teachers in mainstream schools because of the skills they have. Ideally, it is the practice of good teaching of the mainstream school teachers that will be the key to ensuring the participation in learning of all pupils. However, the fact that some disabled pupils need extra support makes the presence of special education teachers necessary especially in the initial implementation stages.

The challenge of this approach is the possibility that many special education teachers have some reservations about the ideas of inclusion because they feel threatened and are afraid of losing their influence. It is likely to happen that these teachers will promote segregation directly or indirectly during their interaction with disabled pupils, their parents and teachers in mainstream schools. For example, as happened in one of the sample schools of this study, special education teachers might think that some disabled pupils attending mainstream schools will be better off studying in special schools. Another challenge is the fact that many special schools have very minimal resources, such as limited number teachers and their qualifications, inadequate learning materials and lack of school equipments

to support their pupils. Therefore, it will be difficult for them to share the resources they have with disabled pupils in mainstream schools.

7.3.3. Limitations of the research

This research is definitely not exhaustive. Moving towards inclusive education is complex and requires changes at all levels of the education system and society (French and Swain, 2004). For disabled children, to be part of the society in general and mainstream schools in particular, there are issues related to different components of support which involve members of the community and the education system which have not been addressed in this study. Without examining these components, an optimum understanding of the problems related to disabled pupils' exclusion/inclusion will not be possible. One of those components is the perspective of disabled people and children on how they feel about the support that has been and should be provided and how they struggle within the existing provision. Their voice is not part of the concerns pursued in this study.

With regard to the sample of this study, although many findings of this thesis are likely to be the case in areas outside the sample area, there are also findings that are likely to be different from the situation in other areas. For example, the sample area for this study is located in a rural area which has a relatively homogeneous community (Javanese, farmers, poor, Islam). Schools located in urban areas have different environments in terms of socio-economic status of the people in the neighbourhood, competitiveness, wider gaps between the poor and the rich, high parental aspirations, more diverse ethnic groups and religions, and the availability of information technology,

which all make the issues faced by schools and authorities different from the ones faced by rural schools.

Another issue regarding the sample area is the fact that only primary schools were examined. Issues of exclusion and inclusion are not the same in different levels of schooling. Although there are some similarities, there are also some substantial differences. For example, in junior secondary schools, unlike in primary schools where there is basically a zero-rejection policy in pupil admissions, academic attainment becomes the main consideration that determines whether pupils can attend a school of their choice.

For the optimal support of disabled children, it will not be sufficient if support is only provided by educational institutions, such as the Ministry of National Education, education offices at the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels and schools. However, the ways in which other institutions contribute to the inclusion or exclusion of disabled children has not been a primary focus of this study. At the national level, how policies from the relevant ministries such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Public Works link to one another and how they put into practice whatever their mandate may be, is only very briefly touched on in this study. How those policies influence the way in which policies at the autonomous local government level, the provincial and *kabupaten/kota* levels are developed, formulated and implemented is a research topic that needs to be seriously and urgently addressed.

7.3.4. Further research and development

For a more comprehensive understanding of the issues of inclusion and exclusion of disabled children and more operational policy recommendations to be developed, a number of further research projects need to be carried out. The followings are some suggestions that are based on the findings, as well as the limitations, of this study.

Perceptions of disabled people, disabled children and their parents

To make sure that policy on support for disabled children will be in accordance with their needs, it is crucial to have research on how disabled people and disabled children perceive the way in which education is being provided, given their particular concerns and what they feel needs to be changed. This research should reflect the voices of disabled people and disabled children, which are hardly represented in the existing policies. One way to do so is by having disabled people directly participating in the research. Ballard (1999) emphasises that disabled people's participation should not be limited only as consultants or being part of researches which are undertaken predominantly by non-disabled people. It should involve offering funding and resources for the disability groups. Otherwise, their voice might be 'heard but then ignored' (Bishop cited in Ballard, 1999, p. 173). The active and meaningful participation of disabled people in research, however, will not be easy for at least two reasons. The first reason is qualifications. Qualification relates to the skill and knowledge disabled people have which will determine the quality of their research. The second reason is representativeness. On this issue, the participation of disabled people in the research process will not be simple as currently, there is not a broad

umbrella organisation of disabled people which is influential in Indonesia. Most organisations are impairment-led and therefore there is a tendency that they compete with one another for resources and influences.

Some of the areas that need to be examined include how disabled people/children perceive their experience of schooling, how organisations of/for disabled people represent their voice in the development and implementation of educational policy, and what parents of disabled children think about sending their children to mainstream or special schools.

Education provision for disabled children in mainstream primary schools in urban areas

All the eight sample schools in this study are located in rural areas. Although many issues discussed in this study apply to schools located in other areas, such as the issue of dissemination, support from the school supervisor and teacher shortage, there are some issues that are different. Primary schools in urban areas, where it is common to have 40 pupils in one class who come from more heterogeneous social economic, religion and ethnic backgrounds, obviously have some differences in the way in which disabled children are excluded or included. Parental aspiration is another aspect that is likely to be different between those who live in urban and rural areas. Understanding of those issues is important, especially in the development and implementation of policies at the national and regional levels.

Education provision for disabled pupils in junior secondary mainstream schools

The philosophical values underpinning inclusive education need to be the values every school should have, regardless of status (private/public),

location (rural/urban) and level of schooling (preschool/primary/secondary/ higher education). However, as part of the nine-year compulsory basic education, where all primary school graduates are expected to enrol at the junior secondary level, extra attention in promoting inclusive education needs to be given to these schools As mentioned earlier, this agenda is targeted to be achieved by the year 2008. Research on education provision for disabled pupils in junior secondary schools is essential in order to gain a better understanding of why and how disabled pupils are excluded at that level of schooling. Amongst other components that need to be investigated include pupil admission policy, school finance and assessment policy.

Research on the national curriculum

This study strongly suggests that one main factor affecting the exclusion of disabled children is the lack of skills amongst teachers, especially skills relating to how to deal with pupil diversity. One of the factors that influenced their teaching practice could be the national curriculum that might not require teachers to pay enough attention to meet individual pupil needs. A study to investigate to what extent the previous and existing curricula respond to the diverse learning needs of pupils is important. The previous curriculum also has to be investigated to find out whether the change of the curriculum from time to time has had any positive impact on the way in which pupils, including disabled pupils, have been supported. Some areas that need to be included in this research are the system by which pupils are grouped (i.e. mixed-ability or same-age grouping). A study of the promotion system is important to address the dilemma faced by teachers at the end of the school year. Findings of this study show that it was

always difficult for teachers to decide whether a disabled pupil or other pupils with very low attainment and/or challenging behaviour would be promoted or not. Research into the latter area is also important because understanding different kinds of grouping and in what situation those groupings are appropriately applied in classes will be useful in addressing pupil differences.

Financing the education provision for disabled children in mainstream schools

One of the main worries most officials and teachers have in adopting the ideas of inclusive education is the cost. Although the biggest barrier to inclusion is people' attitude, which is often not solely related to financial cost, research on this aspect is important as part of information that is needed in the planning stage of the implementation of policy in inclusive education. Opponents of inclusive education might expect that the research will show that the education of disabled children in special schools will be less expensive. The basis of such comparison is, however, weak because comparing the cost of special education and inclusive education is problematic. Firstly, there are costs that cannot be assigned a quantitative value, such as the cost of social exclusion on individual disabled children's lives. Secondly, it is most likely that having segregated provision will be much more costly, as many new special schools have to be established to accommodate disabled children who currently are out of school or in mainstream schools but not receiving adequate support. This is because there are only about 0.1 percent of pupils currently receiving special education of the estimated 2 per cent of the total pupil population that need it.

Meanwhile, by adopting inclusive education all mainstream schools can participate in their own ways and with the resources they have.

The challenges facing the Indonesian system of education provision and practice in order for it to become more inclusive are formidable. There is a need for a more informed understanding of the varied barriers to participation for all pupils including disabled individuals. This will ultimately necessitate a critical reappraisal of policy provision and practice relating to teacher training in order for newly qualified teachers as well as those who are already in the work force to be more informed and adequately prepared to teach to diversity.

7.4. Conclusions

As I have written in the Introduction, the reason I am interested in the topic of this study is my concern that very few disabled children receive support. In the process of understanding why and how those children are excluded, many issues emerged, especially at the stage of writing the literature review and analysing the findings from the fieldwork. Those issues are often very complicated as they involve many interconnecting factors which can be conflicting and contradictory to each other. Unravelling the causes and the ways in which exclusion of disabled children takes place, is therefore not easy, especially for a researcher who does not have intense interaction with disabled people/children and does not have direct involvement in the education provision for disabled children.

The first conclusion of this study is that disabled children are not only excluded from the mainstream schools but also from the education system as a whole. They are excluded because of the absence of explicit statements in

legislation that would ensure the right of disabled children to be educated in mainstream schools is exercised. The exclusion from the education system takes place because despite having segregation as the main feature in the provision of education for disabled children, there are not enough special schools available for these children. Meanwhile, poor dissemination of the existing policy also plays a very important role in the low participation of disabled pupils attending mainstream schools. This low participation is also affected by a regulation which subsequently excludes a large number of pupils because only those who are seen to have average or above intelligence can be supported. The recent initiative on inclusive education, unfortunately, also has the same position. In addition, the understanding that inclusive education as well as segregated and integrated education is a static condition rather than a process makes matters worse. The realisation of the goal to meet the 2008 target to provide nine-year basic education for all thus becomes problematic.

The above conclusions strongly suggest that promoting inclusive education based on the social model of disability is very challenging. Therefore, without changing the current policy on education provision for disabled children, changing the way in which officials and teachers perceive disabled children will be much slower. Criticising their perception as if the Indonesian context is the same as that in developed countries where the concepts of inclusive education were first developed could be 'paralysing.'[46] I argue that, while changing people's conception of the right of disabled children to be educated in mainstream schools in their neighbourhoods is a

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[46] This term was expressed by Len Barton, during an informal meeting of Inclusive Education Research Students at the Institute of Education, University of London, on the 2 June 2007.

formidable task, high priority should also be given to encouraging every school to attempt as much as possible, with support from the education authorities, to increase disabled children's participation in learning together with their non-disabled peers.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ministerial Decree no. 002/U/1986 on Integrated Education for Disabled Children

Selected articles

Article 1
    a. Integrated education is a model of education provision for disabled children which enable them to learn together with normal children in mainstream institution and follow its curriculum.
    b. A disabled child is a child who has physical or mental impairment which consist of visual, hearing, intellectual, physical impairment and challenging behaviour which restrict her physical, mental and / or social development so that she cannot follow education properly.

Article 3
    Aims of integrated education
    a. to give the opportunity to disabled children to optimally develop their potential,
    b. to give the opportunity to disabled children to study with normal children.

Article 4
    a. curriculum used for disabled children is the same curriculum used for other children
    b. teaching learning process is carried out by taking into consideration the individual differences and special needs so that disabled children can develop properly
    c. integrated education is carried out by special education teacher
    d. evaluation of disabled children's achievement is carried out by class teacher and subject matters teacher in accordance with the school regulation

Article 5
Disabled children who participate in integrated education are **those who have the ability to follow lesson with other normal children which is determined** based on observation and assessment by relevant professionals (my emphasis),

SALINAN

MENTERI PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

KEPUTUSAN
MENTERI PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
REPUBLIK INDONESIA

No. 002/U/1986

tentang

PENDIDIKAN TERPADU BAGI ANAK CACAT

MENTERI PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN

Menimbang :
   a. bahwa tiap-tiap warga Negara berhak mendapatkan pendidikan dan pengajaran, termasuk anak cacat;
   b. bahwa sejak tahun 1979, berdasarkan Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan tanggal 28 September 1979 No. 0222/o/1979 telah dirintis suatu bentuk pelayanan pendidikan anak cacat melalui Pendidikan terpadu di sekolah yaitu di Propinsi Jawa Barat, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Jawa Timur dan DKI Jakarta;
   c. bahwa program perintisan Pendidikan Terpadu untuk anak cacat telah dilaksanakan, dinilai dan dinyatakan berhasil;
   d. bahwa berhubung dengan hal-hal tersebut pada butir 1, b dan c, dipandang perlu menetapkan pengaturan Pendidikan Terpadu bagi anak cacat di seluruh wilayah Republik Indonesia.

Mengingat:
   a. Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, pasal 31,
   b. Ketetapan Majelis Permusyawaratan RakyatRepublik Indonesia Nomor II/MPR/1981;
   c. Undang-undang Nomor 12 Tahun 1954 jo. Undang-undang Nomor 4 Tahun 1950;
   d. Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 65 Tahun 1951;
   e. Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia:
      1. Nomor 44 Tahun 1974;
      2. Nomor 15 Tahun 1984;
      3. Nomor 134/M Tahun 1985;
   f. Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan:
      1. tanggal 2 September 1978 No. 0295/O/1978;
      2. tanggal 28 September 1979 No. 0222/O/1979;
      3. tanggal 11 September 1980 No. 0222b/O/1980;
      4. tanggal 14 Maret   1983 No. 0173/O/1983;

g. Keputusan Bersama Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Menteri Agama, Menteri Sosial, dan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 0818/P/1984, Nomor 64 1984, Nomor 43/HUK/KEP/VII/1984, Nomor 45 Tahun 1984.

MEMUTUSKAN

Menetapkan: KEPUTUSAN MENTERI PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN TENTANG PENDIDIKAN TERPADU BAGI ANAK CACAT.

BAB I
UMUM
Pasal 1

Dalam keputusan ini yang dimaksud dengan :
a. Pendidikan Terpadu ialah model penyelenggaraan program pendidikan bagi anak cact yang diselenggarakan bersama anak normal di lembaga pendidikan umum dengan menggunakan kurikulum yang berlaku di lembaga pendidikan yang bersangkutan.
b. Anak cacat ialah anak yang mempunyai kelainan jasmani dan atau rohani yang terdiri dari cacatnetra, cacatrungu, cacatgrahita, cacatdaksa, cacatlaras, dan oleh karenanya dapat mengganggu pertumbuhan dan perkembangannya baik jasmani, rohani dan atau social sehingga tidak dapat mengikuti pendidikan dengan wajar.
c. Sekolah ialah Lembaga Pendidikan yang menyelenggarakan program pendidikan.
d. Guru Pembimbing Khusus ialah guru khusus yang bertugas di sekolah umum, memberikan bimbingan dan pelayanan kepada anak cacat yang mengalami kesulitan dalam mengikuti pendidikan di sekolah yang menyelenggarakan program Pendidikan Terpadu.

BAB II
DASAR, TUJUAN DAN KURIKULUM

Pasal 2

Dasar penyelenggaraan program Pendidikan Terpadu adalah Pancasila dan Undang-Undang Dasar 1945.

Pasal 3

Tujuan Pendidikan Terpadu adalah:
a. memberikan kesempatan bagi anak cacat untuk mengikuti dan mengembangkan kemampuan yang dimiliki seoptimal mungkin.

b. memberikan kesempatan bagi anak cacat untuk mengikuti pendidikan bersama anak normal.

Pasal 4

a. Kurikulum yang digunakan pada sekolah yang menyelenggarakan program Pendidikan Terpadu adalah kurikulum yang berlaku pada sekolah yang bersangkutan.
b. Proses belajar mengajat dilaksanakan dengan memperhatikan perbedaan kemampuan individu dan kebutuhan khusus, sehingga anak cacat dapat berkembang secara wajar.
c. Pelaksanaan program pelayanan khusus dilakukan oleh Guru Pembimbing Khusus.
d. Penilaian hasil belajar anak cacat dalam Pendidikan Terpadu dilaksanakan oleh guru kelas dan guru mata pelajaran sesuai ketentuan yang berlaku pada sekolah yang bersangkutan.
e. Bimbingan dan penyuluhan termasuk bimbingan karier berperan dalam membina pengenalan diri, kepribadian, penyesuaian sosial, serta merancang masa depan untuk mandiri sesuai dengan kemampuan anak.

BAB III
PENGELOLAAN PENDIDIKAN

Pasal 5

Anak cacat yang mengikuti program Pendidikan Terpadu, adalah merkea yang mempunyai kemampuan mengikuti pendidikan dengan anak normal di lembaga pendidikan berdasarkan pengamatan dan pemeriksaan oleh tenaga ahli yang relevan.

Pasal 6

Kualifikasi guru Pembimbing Khusus yang bertugas di lembaga pendidikan yang menyelenggarakan Pendidikan Terpadu serendah-rendahnya lulusan Sekolah Guru Pendidikan Luar Biasa atau yang sederajat atau yang sejenis.

Pasal 7

Pelayanan bagi anak cacat yang mengkuti program Pendidikan Terpadu dilaksanakan oleh instanti yang sesuai.

Pasal 8

Kegiatan proses belajar mengajar pada Pendidikan Terpadu memanfaatkan sarana dan prasarana yang ada pada lembaga tersebut.

BAB IV

PENUTUP

Pasal 9

Hal-hal lain yang belum diatur dalam keputusan ini akan diatur lebih lanjut dalam ketentuan tersendiri.

Pasal 10

Keputusan ini mulai berlaku pada tanggal ditetapkan.

Ditetapkan di Jakarta
pada tanggal 4 Januari 1986

MENTERI PENDIDIKAN DAN
KEBUDAYAAN

PROF. DR. FUAD HASSAN

Appendix 2: Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Circular No. 6718/C/I/89 on the Expansion of Learning Opportunity for disabled Children in Mainstream Schools

Selected extract

This Circular instructs the heads of provincial education office to acknowledge the fact that not only children with visual impairment but also those with hearing, mild physical and mild intellectual impairment who are currently studying in mainstream schools with or without support of a special education teacher. This instruction, however, does not have point that explicitly mentions the need for the provincial office to encourage disabled children with the impairment previously mentioned to study in mainstream schools. What stated in the letter is the general guidance or instruction to 'keep making attempt in developing, giving direction and control the administrative and educative aspects (of integrated education),' (6ai)

Note: The copy of this circular was posted by Mitra Netra, a non-government organisation of people with visual impairment. Available at Hukum/edarandepdikbud.htm. Last accessed date 16 February 2004.

DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN

DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENDIDIKAN DASAR DAN MENENGAH

EDARAN

No. 6718/C/I/89

Perihal : Perluasan Kesempatan Belajar   Jakarta, 15 Juli 1989
        Bagi Anak Berkelainan di Sekolah Umum

Kepada Yth.
KEPALA KANTOR WILAYAH
DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
SELURUH INDONESIA

1. Dengan Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan tanggal 4 Januari 1986 Nomor 001/0/1986 tentang Sekolah Dasar Luar Biasa, dan Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan tanggal 4 Januari 1986 Nomor 002/0/1986 tentang Pendidikan Terpadu, telah ditetapkan 2 (dua) satuan pendidikan luar biasa di samping sekolah Luar Biasa (SLB) yang sebelumnya sudah kita kenal dalam sistem pendidikan nasional di Indonesia.
2. Bentuk layanan pendidikan terpadu bagi anak berkelainan, khususnya murid tunanetra, telah dikembangkan di propinsi DKI Jakarta, Jawa Barat, D.I. Yogyakarta dan Jawa Timur, serta beberapa Propinsi lainnya pada SD, SMP dan SMA.
3. Kenyataan menunjukkan bahwa bukan hanya anak tunanetra yang belajar bersama anak biasa di sekolah umum, tetapi adapula anak tunarungu, anak tunadaksa ringan, anak tunagrahita ringan telah diterima di sekolah umum baik dengan bimbingan Guru Pembimbing Khusus (GPK) ataupun tidak. Di Sekolah Pelaksana Pendidikan Terpadu bagi anak tunanetra disediakan GPK oleh Departemen Pendidikan dan kebudayaan dalam hal ini Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Propinsi (my emphasis),
4. Dengan keputusan Direktur Jendral Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Departemen Pendidikan dan kebudayaan tanggal 31 Januari 1987 Nomor 015/C/Kep/I/87 telah ditetapkan pedoman penerimaan Murid/Siswa Baru pada Sekolah/Kursus di lingkungan pembinaan Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan dasar dan Menengah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

5. Dengan Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan dasar dan Menengah Nomor 0083/C2/I 89 tanggal 21 Januari 1989 telah ditetapkan Pedoman Penerimaan Murid/Siswa pada SLB, SDLB, Sekolah Penyelenggara Pendidikan Terpadu dalam lingkungan Pembinaan Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan tahun ajaran 1989/1990

6. Memperhatikan hal-hal tersebut di atas dan mengingat pula, bahwa perluasan lokasi kelembagaan pendidikan luar biasa seperti SLB dab SDLB masih terbatas, serta di lain pihak menghendaki pemberian kesempatan belajar baik di lembaga pendidikan luar biasa maupun sekolah umum perlu diperluas, maka dengan ini kami sampaikan petunjuk khusus penerimaan murid/siswa tuna/berkelainan pada sekolah umum sebagai berikut:

   a. Bagi wilayah yang mudah melaksanakan sistem pendidikan terpadu, kami minta supaya:

      i. tetap melakukan usaha pengembangan, pembinaan dan pengawasan dalam bidang administratif dan edukatif.

      ii. berusaha menyalurkan calon murid berkelainan (tunanetra, anak kurang awas/low vision, anak lamban belajar, tunadaksa) yang sudah tamat belajar di SD terpadu, SMP terpadu ke tingkat/jenjang pendidikan setingkat di atasnya dengan mempertimbangkan kemampuan fisik, emosi, intelek serta aspek sosial untuk mengikuti pelajaran di sekolah umum.

   b. Bagi murid/siswa yang berasal dari SLB dan SDLB yang berkeinginan melanjutkan pelajaran ke SLB dan SLA Umum hendaknya diberi kesempatan dengan mempertimbangkan kemampuan fisik, emosi, intelek dan aspek sosial untuk mengikuti pelajaran.

   c. Untuk membantu kelancaran belajar murid/siswa berkelainan di sekolah pelaksana sistem pendidikan terpadu perlu diusahakan pemberian bantuan guru pembimbing Khusus dan atau menugasi guru SLB dan SDLB sesuai dengan jenis kelainan murid/siswa yang memerlukannya.

   d. Kami minta dengan hormat suapaya saudara mempersiapkan program pengembangan Sekolah Pelaksana Sistem Pendidikan Terpadu dengan memperkirakan:

      1. Lokasi calon murid berkelainan

      2. SD, SMP, dan SMA yang akan ditunjuk sebagai sekolah pelaksana sistem pendidikan terpadu.

      3. Jumlah GPK dan atau jumlah guru SLB dan SDLB yang perlu ditunjuk, termasuk jumlah GPK baru yang diperlukan, dengan ketentuan bahwa setiap GPK adalah pegawai pada suatu satuan pendidikan luar biasa yang ada baik negeri maupun swasta yang ditugasi sebagai GPK pada suatu sekolah Pelaksanan Sistem Pendidikan Terpadu.

   e. Dalam hal pelaksanaan kebijaksanaan khusus pengaturannya diserahkan kepada kantor wilayah departemen PEndidikan dan

KEbudayaan Propinsi, agar segala sesuatunya dapat berjalan dengan baik.

f. Sebagai bahan masukan, kepada Kantor wilayah yang sudah melaksanakan atau sedang merencanakan pelaksanaan Pendidikan Terpadu agar menyampaikan Informasi datanya kepada Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah.

Demikianlah, agar dapat dilaksanakan sebagaimana mestinya, atas perhatian saudara, kami ucapkan terima kasih.

Direktur Jenderal
Pendidikan dasar dan Menengah,

PROF. DR. HASAN WALINONO
NIP. 130162839

TEMBUSAN YTH:
1. Menetri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, sebagai laporan,
2. Sekretaris Jenderal Depdikbud
3. Inspektur Jenderal Depdikbud,
4. Kepala Balitbang dikbud depdikbud,
5. Semua Direktur dalam lingkungan Ditjen dikdasmen,
6. Semua Gubernur Kepala Daerah Tingkat I,
7. Dewan Nasional Indonesia untuk Kesejahteraan Sosial.

Appendix 3: A letter from the Director of Primary Education regarding the organisation of integrated education (No. 0267/C2/U.1994)

Extract

In this letter, Director of Primary Education asks heads of provincial education office to appoint at least one primary school, one junior secondary school and one senior secondary school to be part of the integrated education programme.

The regions are also encouraged to have more than one school in each level as an integrated school.

To implement the programme the provincial education office is expected to assign special education teachers who are not busy in their schools.

DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN
DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENDIDIKAN DASAR DAN MENENGAH
DIREKTORAT PENDIDIKAN DASAR
Jl. Hanglekir II Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Telp. 7220949 – 7221580

Nomor   : 0267/C2/C.1994   Tanggal, 30 Maret 1994
Lampiran : 1 (satu) berkas
Perihal   : Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Terpadu

Kepada
Yth.   : Saudara Kepala Kanwil Depdikbud Propinsi
            u.p. Kepala Bidang Pendidikan Dasar/
                 Pendidikan Dasar dan Guru
                 di Seluruh Indonesia

Dalam rangka perluasan kesempatan belajar bagi anak
penyandang cacat pada Sekolah Umum sebagai realisasi
pelaksanaan Surat Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan dan
Kebudayaan Nomor 002/U/1986 tanggal 4 Januari 1986 perihal
Pendidikan Terpadu dan Surat Edaran Direktur Jenderal
Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah Nomor 6718/C/I/89 tanggal 15
Juli 1989 perihal Perluasan Kesempatan belajar bagi anak
berkelainan di sekolah umum telah diselenggarakan
perintisan dan penyebarluasan pendidikan terpadu melalui
Proyek Peningkatan Pembinaan Pendidikan Dasar (P4D) pada
Kantor Wilayah Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan
Propinsi seluruh Indonesia sejak tahun Pertama Pelita V.
Namun demikian kenyataan di lapangan usaha perintisan dan
penyebarluasan pendidikan terpadu tersebut banyak kendala
yang dialami baik yang menyangkut pengangkatan guru,
pengadaan sarana dan prasarana serta kesejahteraan gurunya,
sehingga perkembangan pendidikan tersebut tidak berjalan
seperti yang diharapkan.

Sehubungan dengan hal di atas, Direktorat Pendidikan Dasar
menyelenggarakan Rapat Koordinasi dengan Kepala Bidang
Pendidikan Dasar/Pendidikan Dasar dan Guru seluruh
Indonesia pada tanggal 1 - 5 Februari 1994 di Wisma
Pamentas Jakarta, yang salah satu rekomendasinya adalah
Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Terpadu sebagaimana
terlampir.
Selanjutnya sebagai tindak lanjut rekomendasi Rapat
Koordinasi dimaksud, dengan hormat kami mohon Saudara
bekerja sama dengan Kepala Bidang Pendidikan Menengah Umum,
agar:

1. Pada tahun ajaran 1994/1995 tiap-tiap Kantor Wilayah
   Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Propinsi menunjuk
   sekolah umum di wilayah pembinaannya untuk melaksanakan
   pendidikan terpadu bagi anak penyandang cacat, dengan
   ketentuan setiap propinsi minimal 1 (satu) Sekolah Dasar
   (SD), 1 (satu) Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) atau
   Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (SLTP), dan 1 (satu)
   Sekolah Menegah Atas (SMA) atau Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat
   Atas (SLTA).

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2. SD, SMP/SLTP, dan SMA/SLTA yang ditunjuk di atas adalah bukan sekolah umum penyelenggara pendidikan terpadu yang sudah ada saat ini. Hal tersebut dimaksudkan untuk meningkatkan jumlah sekolah terpadu dan perluasan pelayanan pendidikan bagi anak penyandang cacat usia sekolah.

3. Bagi daerah yang ingin mengembangkan lebih dari 1 SD, 1 SMP/SLTP, dan 1 SMA/SLTA sangat diharapkan untuk dapat mewujudkannya.

4. Untuk memenuhi kebutuhan tenaga pendidik pada sekolah terpadu dimaksud, supaya ditugaskan guru-guru SLB/SDLB yang tidak terlalu sibuk untuk menjadi guru kunjung/guru pembimbing khusus pada sekolah terpadu.

Demikianlah atas perhatian Saudara, kami mengucapkan terima kasih.

A.n. Direktur Jenderal
Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah
Direktur Pendidikan Dasar

Djauzak Ahmad
NIP. 130159351

Tembusan kepada Yth. :
1. Bapak Dirjen Dikdasmen sebagai laporan;
2. Saudara Ka.Kanwil Depdikbud Propinsi seluruh Indonesia.

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Appendix 4: A letter from Director General of Primary and Secondary Education to the Heads of Education Office at the *Kabupaten/Kota* level regarding inclusive education (No. 380/G.06/MN/2003)

This letter which is intended to heads of *kabupaten/ kota* education office suggesting that inclusive education is one of the models of educational provision to achieve the national goal of education for all which includes children with special educational needs.

In this letter all *kabupaten/kota* are requested to have at least one primary school, one junior secondary school, one general secondary school and one vocational secondary school as inclusive schools. It is stated that the role of the Ministry of National Education is facilitating mainstream teacher training, giving block grant, and providing guidance on the organisation of inclusive education.

DEPARTEMEN PENDIDIKAN NASIONAL

DIREKTORAT JENDERAL PENDIDIKAN DASAR DAN MENENGAH

Jalan. R.S Fatmawati, Cipete, Jakarta 12420, Kode Pos 12010

Telepon (021) 7693266, 7693262, Faks. 7657062, 7693260

Nomor   : 380/G.06/MN/2003   20 Januari 2003

Lampiran   : 1 (satu) berkas

Perihal   : Pendidikan Inklusi

Yang terhormat

Kepala   Dinas   Pendidikan/Dinas   Pendidikan   dan   Kebudayaan
Kabupaten/Kota

Seluruh Indonesia

Dengan hormat, kami informasikan bahwa dalam rangka memusatkan wajib belajar pendidikan dasar dan memberikan kesempatan pendidikan bagi semua (*Education for All*) termasuk anak-anak dengan kebutuhan pendidikan khusus, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional melalui Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah mengupayakan berbagai model penyelenggaraan pendidikan, salah satu diantaranya adalah pendidikan inklusi.

Pendidikan inklusi adalah pendidikan yang mengikutsertakan anak-anak yang memiliki kebutuhan khusus (anak luar biasa) untuk belajar bersama-sama dengan anak sebayanya di sekolah umum.

Untuk menyelenggarakan dan mengembangkan pendidikan inklusi dimaksud kami mohon kesediaan Saudara untuk menentukan, memfasilitasi, dan membina sekolah perintis pendidikan inklusi di wilayah binaan Saudara di setiap kabupaten/kota sekurang-kurangnya 4 (empat) sekolah yang terdiri atas:

1 (satu) Sekolah Dasar (SD)
1 (satu) Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (SLTP)

1 (satu) Sekolah Menengah Umum (SMU)
1 (satu) Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK)

Selanjutnya data sekolah-sekolah diatas mohon dikirim kepada kami cq. Direktorat Pendidikan Luar Biasa Jln. RS. Fatmawati, Cipete, Jakarta Selatan dalam waktu yang tidak terlalu lama. Agar sekolah perintis pendidikan inklusi dimaksud dapat menyelenggarakan pendidikan seperti yang diharapkan secara bertahap kami akan memfasilitasi bantuan pelatihan bagi guru umum, *block grant*, dan pedoman bagi penyelenggaraan pendidikan inklusi. Kami berharap upaya ini sudah dapat terealisasi mulai pada penerimaan siswa baru tahun pelajaran 2003/2004 mendatang.

Atas perhatian dan kerjasama Saudara kami ucapkan terima kasih.

Direktur Jenderal

Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah

Dr. Ir. Indra Djati Sidi
NIP. 130672115

Tembusan:
1. Bapak Mendiknas, sebagai laporan
2. Kepala Dinas Pendidikan Provinsi Seluruh Indonesia

Semi-structure Interview Schedule
Respondent: Teacher in mainstream primary school

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. School:
4. Class teacher in grade:
5. Number of students in your classroom:
6. How long have you been a teacher?
7. What is your educational background?
8. Did you receive further training for this post? If yes, please specify?
9. Are there any students in your class who are defined as having learning difficulties?
10. How many?
11. What kind of difficulty do they have? Please specify.
12. What are some of the difficulties involved in teaching children with different needs? Please specify.
13. Do you prefer the child/children with learning difficulties to be in your class? Please elaborate.
14. Are you aware of the current policy with regard to children with learning difficulties in general and disabled children in particular in mainstream school?
15. What do you think about disabled students studying in mainstream schools?
16. Do you have support from the head teacher?
17. Do you have support from the school supervisor?
18. Is there anything else that you want to add?

Semi-structure Interview Schedule
Respondent: Head teacher in mainstream primary school

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. School:
4. Number of students in your school:
5. How long have you been a head teacher?
6. What is your educational background?
7. Did you receive any further training for this post? If yes, please specify?
8. Do you also teach in class?
9. What grade do you teach?
10. Are there any students in your school who are viewed as having learning difficulties?
11. How many?
12. What kind of difficulty do they have? Please specify.
13. What are some of the difficulties involved in teaching children with different needs? Please specify.
14. Has the school ever refused to accept a disabled child? If yes, why?
15. Are you aware of the current policy with regard to children with learning difficulties in general and disabled children in particular in mainstream schools?
16. What do you think about disabled students studying in mainstream schools?
17. What relationship do you have with the special school?
18. Is there any support from the school supervisor, local government and/or central government for students with learning difficulties in your school? Please specify.
19. Is there anything else that you want to add?

Semi-structure Interview Schedule
Respondent: Teacher in special school

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. School:
4. Class teacher in grade:
5. How long have you been a teacher?
6. What is your educational background?
7. Did you receive any training for this post? If yes, please specify.
8. Number of students in class:
9. Where do they come from?
10. How does this school recruit new students?
11. What are the fees involved?
12. Has this school ever refused access to a disabled child? If yes, how many and why?
13. What kind of impairment do your students in your class have? Please specify.
14. Is there any disabled child in this area who refused to study in this school? If yes, why?
15. Do you have any students who used to study in mainstream school? If yes, were they excluded from their former schools? Why?
16. What are some specific difficulties involved in teaching children with different needs?
17. What relationship do you have with mainstream schools in your area?
18. What do you think about the purpose of this school is?
19. In what ways do you see government policies supporting teachers' work in this school?
20. What do you think about the future of special schools?
21. What do you think about disabled children studying in mainstream schools?
22. Is there anything else that you want to add?

Semi-structure Interview Schedule
Respondent: Head teacher in special school

1. Name:
2. Gender:
3. School:
4. How long have you been a head teacher?
5. What is your educational background?
6. Did you receive any training for this post? If yes, please specify.
7. How many teachers do you have? Please specify?
8. Number of students in your school:
9. What are fees involved?
10. Where does the funding for this school comes from? Please specify.
11. Where do the students come from?
12. How does this school recruit new students?
13. What kind of impairment do students in your school have? Please specify.
14. Are there any disabled children in this area who refused to attend this school? If yes, why?
15. Have you ever refused access to disabled children in your school?
16. Do you have any students who used to study in mainstream school? If yes, were they excluded from their former schools? Why?
17. What are some specific difficulties involved in teaching children with different needs?
18. What relationship do you have with mainstream schools in your area?
19. What do you think about the purpose of this school?
20. In what ways do you see government policies supporting teachers' work in this school?
21. What do you think about the future of special schools?
22. What do you think about disabled children studying in mainstream schools?
23. Is there anything else that you want to add that you haven't said?

Semi-structure Interview Schedule

Respondent
1. School Supervisor
2. Head of Educational Office at the District (*kabupaten/kota*) level
3. Head of Primary Education Section, Educational Office at the District (*kabupaten/kota*) level
4. Head of Educational Office at the Provincial level
5. Head of Primary Education Section, Educational Office at the Provincial level
6. Director of Special Education, MONE
7. Director of Primary Education, MONE

1. Name:

2. How long have you been in your position:

3. What is your educational background?

4. What are the main tasks of your organisation in relation to education for children with learning difficulties in general and disabled children in particular?

5. What is the support needed for these tasks?

6. To what extent is there adequate support for these tasks?

7. How do you view the role of head teachers in engaging with diversity?

8. How do you view the role of teachers in engaging with diversity?

9. Has the local government produced a policy with regard to education provision and practice?

10. Has the local government produced a policy with regard to education for disabled children? If yes, how are you implementing the policy?

11. What are some of the difficulties involved in implementing the policy?

12. Is there anything else that you want to add that you haven't said?

Appendix 6: Letters requesting to access to the sample areas

The first letter is from Director of Research Centre, Ministry of National Education to Head of Provincial Education Office informing about the study and requesting to interview Head of Provincial Education Office and Head of Primary and Special School Division.

The second letter is for Head of Kabupaten Kabuaran Local Government informing about the study and requesting to access to a number of schools in Kecamatan Jatiwulung.

Note: The name of the province, *kabupaten* and the sample location is deleted to maintain the confidentiality of the research participants.

Nomor : 09 ... / I.92 / R2 / 2003 .   21 Maret 2003
Hal : Pengumpulan Data
Lampiran : 1 lembar

Kepada Yth. : Kepala Dinas Pendidikan
                Propinsi ███████████████
                di ████████

Dengan hormat, perkenankan kami memberitahukan bahwa salah seorang staf Pusat Penelitian Kebijakan Balitbang Depdiknas, yaitu Sdr. Nanik Suwaryani, saat ini sedang mengikuti program S3 di Institute of Education University of London. Topik studi untuk thesis yang bersangkutan adalah "School Policy on Children with Special Educational Needs" atau "Kebijakan Sekolah untuk Anak-anak dengan Kebutuhan Pendidikan Khusus". Untuk studi ini pengumpulan data akan dilakukan di Dinas Pendidikan Propinsi ███ dan Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten ███████

Di Dinas Pendidikan Propinsi ███ pengumpulan data dilakukan untuk mengetahui kebijakan di tingkat propinsi tentang anak-anak dengan kesulitan belajar pada umumnya dan anak-anak penyandang cacat khususnya. Wawancara akan dilakukan dengan Kepala Dinas Pendidikan dan Kepala Sub Dinas SD dan SLB. Kegiatan ini akan dilakukan antara tanggal 26 sampai dengan 29 Maret 2003. Sedang di Kabupaten ██████ ████ kegiatan akan dilakukan sejak tanggal 27 Maret sampai dengan 19 April 2003.

Bersama ini kami lampirkan surat dari Intitute of Education University of London.

Atas perhatian dan bantuan Saudara, kami ucapkan terima kasih.

                                        A.n. Kepala Pusat,
                                        Kepala Bidang Pendidikan Luar
                                        Sekolah dan Olahraga

                                        Drs. Aji Suksmo
                                        NIP 131 286 948

Tembusan:
1. Gubernur Kepala Daerah Propinsi ███
2. Kepala Dinas Pendidikan Kab. ███████
3. Ka Balitbang Depdiknas

Nomor   : 1994 / I02.4 / F2 / 1200 3   21 Maret 2003
Hal   : Pengumpulan Data
Lampiran : 1 lembar

Kepada Yth. : Bupati Kepala Daerah Kabupaten █████████
              di █████████

Dengan hormat, perkenankan kami memberitahukan bahwa salah seorang staf Pusat Penelitian Kebijakan Balitbang Depdiknas, yaitu Sdr. Nanik Suwaryani, saat ini sedang mengikuti program S3 di Institute of Education University of London. Topik studi untuk thesis yang bersangkutan adalah "School Policy on Children with Special Educational Needs" atau kebijakan sekolah untuk anak-anak dengan kebutuhan pendidikan khusus" yang meliputi anak-anak dengan kesulitan belajar pada umumnya dan anak-anak penyandang cacat pada khususnya. Untuk studi ini pengumpulan data akan dilakukan di Kabupaten █████████ dan Dinas Pendidikan Propinsi ████.

Sampel dari studi ini adalah di 8 SD/MI dan 1 SLB di Kecamatan █████████ 4 SD di antaranya adalah SD-SD di █████████ yang selama ini terlibat dalam ujicoba Pendidikan Terpadu. Pengumpulan data akan dilakukan dengan metode interview terhadap kepala sekolah dan guru-guru di sekolah-sekolah tersebut. Selain itu interview juga akan dilakukan terhadap Kepala Dinas Pendidikan Kabupaten, Kepala Sub Dinas SD, Korcam █████████ dan seorang Pengawas SD. Kegiatan ini akan dilakukan dari tanggal 27 Maret sampai dengan 19 April 2003.

Sehubungan dengan itu, kami mohon bantuannya untuk menijinkan dan menginformasikan tentang kegiatan ini ke pihak-pihak yang terkait.

Bersama ini kami lampirkan surat dari Intitute of Education University of London.

Atas perhatian dan kerjasama Saudara, kami ucapkan terima kasih.

                                    A.n. Kepala Pusat,
                                    Kepala Bidang Pendidikan Luar
                                    Sekolah dan Olahraga

                                    Drs. Aji Suksano
                                    NIP 131 286 948

Tembusan:
1. Ka Balitbang Depdiknas
2. Kepala Dinas Pendidikan Propinsi ████
3. Kepala Dinas Pendidikan Kab █████████