

## Public Space, Technology, and Humanity in Inclusion Education Policy Dynamics in Indonesia

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### Abstract

Discrimination in the education world is not only incidental under certain conditions. The injustice sometimes "deliberately" slips into policy products that are not accessible to all groups. Public space and humanity are important to formulating a humane and fair. Policy products that are ambiguous and insensitive to dynamic technological developments create uncertainty for policy executors in implementing policies in the field. This research dissects the products of inclusive education policies from time to time using the theory of power relations to find the dimensions of humanity, technology, and public space and capture the visible social impacts of the implementation of educational policies both in real space and virtual space. The findings of this research are: first, the existing policy products indirectly include elements of humanity in general, but on the other hand, they leave aside technological developments which are very dynamic. The two existing policy products do not provide input and evaluate the weaknesses and strengths of the implemented policies.

### Keywords

Public Space; Humanity; Educational Policy

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Problems in education are so dynamic along with the times. For this reason, education is expected to develop creative, efficient, and dynamic behavior and can produce quality output (Halik, 2017). This goal can be realized. One of the efforts that educational authorities can make is to design educational policies that are sensitive to the development in social dynamics of humanity and the massive development of technology, which is increasingly changing the role and existence of humans as technology users. Only educational policies that include elements and dimensions of technological developments in them will be left behind and abandoned by users of educational services.

Education policy is sometimes part of public policy. Educational practitioners accept this paradigm. Education here is considered the same as the aspirations of power or the political aspirations of authority (Tilaar and Nugroho, 2012). Policies and laws influence people's mindsets. In this context, if the education policy does not mandate the implementation of humane education that follows the community's needs, the management of education will argue that the state or especially the government has not issued policies related to this. This can be a logical reason to respond to criticism from society (Fikri, 2014).

Based on the current policies, it is necessary to reconstruct inclusive education policies in the future and in the progress of making policies on inclusive education (Fikri, 2014). Two dimensions have closely related to the existence and role of inclusive education in the era of globalization, namely localism, and globalism. It is only possible to build educational institutions to enter global life by improving the quality and institutions of our domestic education. Therefore, discussing the mission of higher education cannot be separated from an analysis of the local dimension and the development of its global dimension. To summarize, educational policies must be aligned between the human dimension and existing technological developments (Pomalingo, 2014).

In this research, the author followed Michel Foucault's theory of power. He stated that power was never separated from knowledge. Power and knowledge influenced each other. There was no power relationship without formation associated with the field of knowledge (Moko, 2003). Karl Max considered that power belonged only to the upper class. Power was dominated and monopolized by the bourgeoisie. This is also reinforced by Thomas Hobbes's view that power only belonged to an institution called the state. The state had absolute power to determine the life of its people (Hardiman, 2007). Otherwise, this is different from Foucault's view. He discussed the relationship between power and subject. Power was not a structure, nor an institution, nor the power possessed. According to Foucault, power was a name placed on a complex societal strategic network (Moko, 2003).

Foucault's view of knowledge and power provides reciprocity and discourse with an ideological function. Knowledge and power go hand in hand with power regimes that are historical and specific. Therefore, every society carries out its pattern of truth, which has regulation and normalization (Foucault, 1980). Power requires knowledge as dimensions to shape the social reality they describe. In this reality, power and knowledge have direct implications for each other, while the relationship between social actors always forms a knowledge arena (Foucault, 1977).

Wherever there is power, there must also be resistance. In this case, resistance is not merely defined as a resisting force, but that resistance arises from within the power itself. Resistance can be interpreted as contrariness, defiance, or rejection in existing discourse. Foucault transformed power which was conventionally understood as something that oppressed, and in its development, it forms knowledge and eventually becomes discourse. (Foucault, 1980) Suppose we use Foucault's thought in educational discourse. In that case, it can be illustrated that Foucault offers a theoretical and methodological basis for studying education, which is part of the humanities, focusing on the relationship between power and knowledge. The subject becomes the object of knowledge, while knowledge and power contribute to each other in developing existing discourse (Ritzer, 2010). Compared with the political theory of Deborah Norden (Deborah, 2011), because Higher Education is

part of the elements of Civil Society, in dealing with existing power, at least two models deal with power; First, the competitive model is healthy. It is intended to control the authorities' policies through legal norms and mechanisms. Second, the collective model of Higher Education and the authorities have a special "closeness," so there is a reluctance to criticize all existing policies. This model is only "*sami'na waato'na*" and follows the existing rulers (Hamdan, 2015).

This study also uses the policy implementation theory developed by Brian W. Hogwood and Lewis A. Gunn in addition to Foucault's theory. According to the philosophy employed in policy implementation, a "top-down approach" is used to implement a policy flawlessly (Hogwood and Gunn 1984). Van Meter and Van Horn's theories are also included. It raises the question of why some policy implementations succeed while others fail. According to them, the policy's performance and formulation impact how well a policy is implemented (Abdul Wahab, 1997). This theory is used to analyze the failure and success of a policy implemented in Higher Education, the factors that influence it, and how the practice of implementing it.

## 2. METHODS

This qualitative descriptive (exploratory) literature research is based on participatory objective observation of a social phenomenon. In this case, the researcher compiled or made a clearer picture while the data was collected and its parts were tested (Tanzeh, 2009). The data in this research is qualitative data conducted through in-depth interviews that seek to reveal and optimize the role of competent parties in providing information. Qualitative research is assumed to be interpretive research (Creswell, 2010). This follows Taylor and Bogdan's argument that "qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data: people's written or spoken words and observable behavior" (Nazir, 1999).

One characteristic that underlies qualitative research is that the world in general, reality, situations, and events that occur as objects of study of human behavior and phenomena must be approached and viewed through a humanistic approach. At the same time, the analysis is closer to using descriptive analysis. The descriptive analysis here shows that much of the data collected is in words. The unit of analysis in this study is the Canalization of Public Space, Technology, and Humanity in Indonesia's Dynamics of Inclusive Education Policy.

Policy analysis does not merely analyze data and information that appears. Still, it also pays attention to all aspects related to the policy-making process, from analyzing the problem, gathering information, and determining alternative policies to delivering these alternatives to policymakers (Masdin, 2019). The policy analysis study approach can be divided into qualitative and quantitative methodologies. (Suryadi 1994:84) In writing this study, the researcher used interactive data analysis methods, including data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying as suggested by Miles and Huberman (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014).

## 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Public Policy as Educational Policy

Education policy is sometimes part of public policy. Educational practitioners accept this paradigm. Education policy here is no different from the aspirations of power or the political aspirations of the rulers (Tilaar and Nugroho, 2012). Legal policies influence people's mindsets. In this context, if education does not implement tertiary institutions that follow the community's needs, the tertiary institutions will also argue that the state, especially the government, has not issued policies related to this (Fikri, 2014).

In Harold Laswell and Abraham Kaplan's view, public policy is "a projected program of goals, values, and practices." They explained that public policy was a projected program with specific targets

and goals using certain practices or strategies (Laswell and Kaplan, 1970). They were strategies in taking action or not taking action that the state authorities (government) want to do or do not want to do, such as "Whatever government chooses to do or not to do." The choice to take action in the dynamics of the state is, of course to weigh the pros and cons of the actions it takes (Diye, 1981).

Public policy results from political dynamics managed by public institutions (government) funded by public finances. In this case, the community is the main financial supporter, taken collectively through several government regulations such as taxes or other levies (Nugroho, 2013). Public policy is managed and developed by the authorities of a country which is influenced by social conditions, culture, and actors outside the authorities (Winarno, 2005). In this case, the state is a formal legal, political entity with four supporting pillars to show its existence (Nugroho, 2009). The first is the component of the people as the pillars of citizens. In the state order, the people have rights and obligations as citizens. Citizenship rights include political, legal, economic, social, cultural, communitarian, and biological rights.

The second is the territory as sovereignty owned by a country. The boundaries of a country's territory are limited to the nations' agreed-upon territories. Currently, the boundaries of virtual nations with future developments are not only boundaries that can be seen with the naked eye. They are starting to be developed. With the development of existing technology, data on territorial boundaries in virtual space will be collected. The third is the component of government institutions, namely executive, legislative, or judicial. This government institution in the world of politics has two separate relationships with one another and, at the same time, becomes part of the other.

The fourth is the public policy component. Every modern state is ensured to have a constitution, collective agreements, laws and regulations, and policy decisions as rules for living together. This public policy is urgent because it serves as a benchmark for citizens in carrying out social, economic, and state processes to fulfill their daily needs. From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the interaction between the state and citizens is regulated in public policy, including state governance (Nugroho, 2009).

In the view of Peter F Drucker, the state has full power in controlling and driving a country's development rate. "The developing countries are not underdeveloped. They are undermanaged." In his view, controlling is part of state power. The deepest part is managing and leading, as can be seen in the figure below:

Leading is controlling the direction of the desired goal. Governments, wherever they are, essentially can control only and or manage (control and value creation) through public policies made and developed by a country (Nugroho, 2009). This pattern is also a means and framework for implementing government functions. With these characteristics, public policy can be defined as a picture of the direction and content of implementing government functions. Therefore, a responsive government is necessary for realizing a country's vision, mission, and goals (Hamdi, 2014).

Substantively, according to Theodore J. Lowi, public policy can be divided into several groups or typologies, as cited by Anderson. He stated that public policy is divided into three types, namely, distributive policies, redistributive policies, and regulatory policies (Anderson, 1994). Distributive policies are often referred to as allocative policies. This policy is directly related to infrastructure (needs), provision of goods and services for citizens, and fulfillment of goods and services, which are the obligations of the state to its citizens, both individually and collectively (groups) of social organizations (Hamdi 2014). In another sense, the allocative policy can also be interpreted as determining burdens and benefits to citizens. In this case, it can be exemplified as the obligation to pay taxes, set tax rates, and the taxation period.

Redistributive policies are policies related to the flow of goods from groups of citizens to other groups. This policy philosophy is marked by the view that the government must provide all citizens with equal opportunities, including business opportunities. This policy encourages the authorities to be able to apply equity to guarantee justice for all its citizens. The embodiment of redistributive policies is the realization of programs or policies that focus on groups of citizens who are financially low. A simple example is the social safety net and affirmative action programs (Hamdi, 2014). Regulatory policies are policies that regulate restrictions or prohibitions on the behavior of individuals or groups of people.

### ***Democratic Politics in Public Policy***

Politicians use every effort to gain and maintain power as long as possible in the power struggle. In this understanding, politics is a power struggle (Budiarjo, 2007). This kind of political understanding

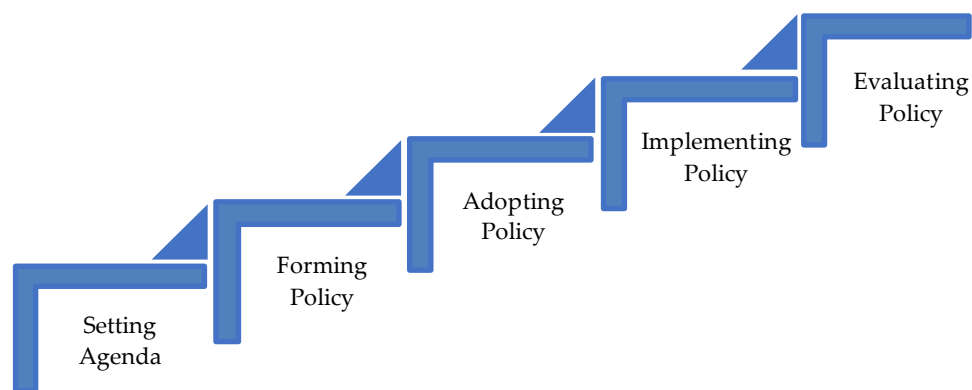
must be understood as an unhealthy democratic political competition that justifies any means to achieve the expected goals. It can also be understood as a healthy, honest, and open political process if it complies with existing regulations and laws (Nugroho, 2013).

Every policy has an end goal. In this context, the ultimate goal of a policy is expected to have a good impact on society. However, in the context of benefits, public policies have different implications for various groups of people. Public policy initiators enjoy the greatest benefits of public policy — the initiator designs who gets what, when, and how (Hamdi 2014). Actors outside the government are not automatically involved in public policy. But this adjusts the stages that have been reached in the democratic process of a country. Each location has a different intensity in involving the three components of policy making (Munadi and Barnawi, 2011).

The policy formulation process in a democratic country has at least goes through three fundamental stages in forming a policy product. Democracy is divided into three stages (Priyono, 1996).

- a. Initial stage. This stage shows that the government's power is absolute. It also shows that policies are started by the government, by the government, and for the people. It also shows that the domination of the authority is very strong that citizens are only considered as objects of a policy. They are not included in any process related to them.
- b. Participatory Stage. This stage leads to a democratic system in a country. However, the pattern still tends to be from the top (rulers) down (the people). In this second stage, there is already a role and contribution outside the government, but the policy is still initiated by the authorities and at the will of the authorities.
- c. Emancipative Stage. This third stage stems from the anxiety of the grassroots from the people, by the people, and for the people. In this stage, the policy formulation process begins with the social reality that develops in society. Therefore, in this stage, the people are fully involved in formulating the policies.

The process of formulating public policy goes through several series of activities that are interrelated between one activity and another. These processes include the preparation of the policy agenda, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, and evaluation. The method of policy formulation can be seen in the following figure (Dun, 2002).



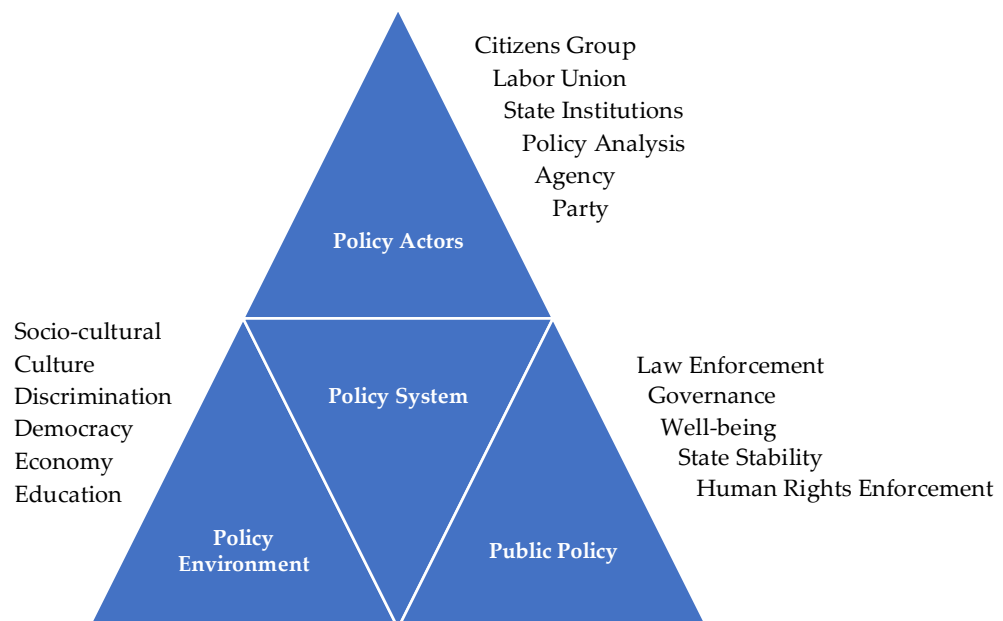
**Figure 1.** Stages of the Policy-making Process

In the initial phase of policy formulation, preparing the policy agenda (agenda setting) is the initial stage of groping for public anxiety and problems (problem definition). The problem definition here is a person's technique in parsing things (how people think about them) and considering things related to the existing problem. The human role here is urgent regarding being a policy actor in perception and participation (Madani, 2011). The role of humans in formulating policies in the form of community participation has two meanings. The first is community participation as a goal. This form of participation will shackle, distort, and eliminate the right of citizens to opinion in the policies taken. The second participation is interpreted as a tool. Participation is considered a tool. Community participation in policy formulation is necessary and becomes the main capital in determining public policy products

(Handayani, 2008).

According to Huntington, in the world of politics, public participation in formulating public policies regarding education is related to community activities in influencing government decision-making, or in changing existing public policies, and replacing or terminating public officials, or it could also be in the context of replacing or changing organization of the political system and mechanism of national politics (Huntington and Nelson, 1994). In this case, the policy agenda is a serious concern because this policy agenda is the starting point for a policy process to begin, and a public policy product is formed. According to Rakhmad, the inclusion of issues on the policy agenda is influenced by several factors, namely the development of a democratic government system, community participation, government attitudes, and the reality of local government (Huntinton, 2009)

While the policy system itself at the process level has at least three basic elements in implementing existing policies, including policy actors, policy environment, and public policy. Policy actors in the policy system are defined as both subjects and objects in the policy system, such as citizen groups, labor unions, political parties, and government agencies. The second policy system is the policy environment. The policy environment is the specific context in which events can affect and impact the implementation of dialectical policies, in which the elements of subjectivity and objectivity are inseparable in practice (Fattah, 2013). The three elements of this policy system can be illustrated in the figure below (Dun, 2002).



**Figure 2.** Three Elements of a Policy System

The three elements of the existing policy system or all institutional patterns within the policy system influence each other and reciprocate. Public policies that refer to this policy system can be manifested into various areas of government action, starting from the economic, legal, social, welfare, and political sectors, including also being able to enter the education sector from various levels of education, such as Elementary, Secondary, and Higher Education.

At the last stage of a policy, there is a public policy evaluation stage to assess the level of performance of an approach that is being or has been implemented. If the policy's implementation and objectives are related to each other, this policy is categorized as successful. Therefore, a final stage is needed, namely conducting a policy evaluation to find out how a policy objective has been achieved. There is no definite time limit when a policy must be evaluated, but the policy must have been implemented and running for a relatively long time (Hanjarwati and Aminah, 2014).

### ***Justice, Technology, and Humanity in Inclusive Education Policy in Indonesia***

Justice and education are part of the thinking in the national education system. Education is an effort of the State authorities in the context of the struggle for social improvement and transformation, as well as a guarantee for all citizens to access the world of education. The compulsory education policy in the Compulsory Education Law, namely the National Education System law, is the State's responsibility regarding social justice in the framework of social improvement through education.

Justice in the state system is not only limited to one primary item or basic goods, but justice can also be interpreted in terms of morals and materials. According to Walzer (1983), as Nanang Fattah said, justice had a historical character. Currently, the idea of justice has historicity and characteristics in translating it, such as in the form of reflection on social change and changes in the economic conditions of society. In this case, at least social justice can be mapped into three main lines: individualism-liberal, individualism-market, and democracy-social (Fattah, 2013).

In the Indonesian context, social justice in the field of education policy can be traced from the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which stated that the main goal in the early days of the Indonesian nation's independence was to educate the life of the nation which was the obligation of the government of the Republic of Indonesia. This is a fundamental right granted by citizens regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, culture, or religion. The government's push through the constitution and followed by policies that support it is the nation's endeavor to prepare a generation that is superior, independent, and has characteristics that follow the noble values of Pancasila.

The basic foundation of inclusive education policies in Indonesia can be traced from various existing policy products, including Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System. Some provisions guarantee the right to education for children with special needs and persons with disabilities (Fattah, 2013). Moreover, the Law on Persons with Disabilities also contains articles 5 and 6, which guarantee the rights of persons with disabilities to education (Fikri, 2019). In Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, article 51 also stated that children with physical and mental disabilities are given equal opportunities and accessibility to obtain ordinary and special education.

Many children, especially those with disabilities, are not allowed to attend public school, despite recommendations from several countries worldwide (Handi, 2018). The national law that forms the basis is Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution that education is the right of all citizens without exception, Law no. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, Law no. 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, Law no. 4 of 1997 concerning Persons with Disabilities, Government Regulation No. 19 of 2005 concerning National Education Standards, Circular of the Director General of Elementary and Primary Education Ministry of National Education No.380/C.66/MN/2003, the Bandung Declaration on 8-14 August 2004 concerning Indonesia towards inclusive education, the Declaration Bukit Tinggi of 2005 concerning Education for All, Additionally, the Inclusive Education for Students with Disabilities and Potential Intelligence and Special Talents Regulation No. 70 of 2009 issued by the Minister of National Education (Affandi, 2010).

Examining existing inclusion policies that refer to education standards according to Government Regulation Number 23 of 2013 concerning National Education Standards, Article 1, paragraph 5-7 (pp.10-11) stated that National Education Standards include content standards, process standards, graduate competency standards, educator and education standards, infrastructure standards, management standards, financing standards, and education assessment standards (Sofwan, 2018). This means that policies regarding inclusive education must be distinct from macro policies regarding general education management. The large scope used in the implementation of inclusive education remains under the auspices of existing educational policy products.

In addition, one of the policy products related to inclusive education contained in the Minister of Education Regulation No. 70 of 2009, the human dimension is already visible in this regulation, judging

from the considerations for the emergence of this MER, including; First, that students who have physical, emotional, mental, social disabilities, and have potential intelligence and special talents need to get educational services according to their needs and human rights; Second, that special education for students who have disabilities and students who have potential intelligence and special talents can be held inclusively.

Minister of Education Regulation No. 70 of 2009 emphasized that the presence of inclusive education is a system of providing education that provides opportunities for all students who have disabilities and have potential intelligence and special talents to attend education or learn in an educational environment together with students in general. Article 1 emphasized that this policy wants to eliminate educational discrimination. It has yet to provide space for children with special needs to socialize and develop their talents and potential through formal education.

The policy of the Minister of Education Regulation No. 70 of 2009 consists of fifteen articles that regulate, in general, the implementation of inclusive education throughout Indonesia, this policy has included elements of justice and humanity as one of the ideal elements of a product policy, but some things are missing from the policy. This is regarding the increasingly massive development of technology, which is not a consideration in issuing policies or developing inclusive schools in the future. So a derivative policy that explains in detail the position of technology in the development of schools or inclusive educational institutions in the future is needed.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The inclusive education policy is an alternative to educational deadlocks for children with disabilities, which currently have very few educational institutions that focus on and are concerned with their needs. Aside from being an alternative, inclusive education institution, it is also transformed into a humanitarian mission that brings people closer and humanizes while prioritizing the needs and potential of children with disabilities. The inclusion policy is designed to make schools heterogeneous, and it is hoped that they can answer all individual requirements in terms of education in the same social context.

Policy products that are ambiguous and insensitive to dynamic technological developments create uncertainty for policy executors in implementing policies in the field. The existing inclusion policy products indirectly include elements of humanity in general. However, on the other hand, it ignores technological developments that are very dynamic. The two existing policy products need to provide opportunities for the public to provide input and evaluate the weaknesses and strengths of the implemented policies. The space for community participation in the implementation of a policy product is very limited. Hence, the policy product only stops at performance and ignores the principle of benefit to society and the educational environment.

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