Policy Entrepreneur Analysis in Strengthening Access to Education for Persons with Disabilities

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Abstract. This article analyzes the implementation of the New Student Admission (PPDB) for the academic year 2023/2024 for the students with disabilities without limiting the variety of disabilities, however the fact is that there are still problems in various regions. A series of advocacy was carried out by the National Commission For Disability (KND) starting from hearings, debates, to negotiations with policy makers. The approach used is Kingdon's Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) analysis to capture the implementation of the PPDB. This research uses a qualitative method. Data was collected by interview method and analysis of related sources. This study found that the issue flow was brought up in dialogue, lobbying, and the policy flow was carried out in an effort to include policy proposals for implementing PPDB for children with disabilities that were more inclusive. This study concludes that the process of making school access policies for children with disabilities is influenced by the strength of policy entrepreneurs.

Keywords: policy enterpreneurs, education, disability, inclusion.

1 Introduction

Many national and international legal and policy frameworks acknowledge the commitment that people with disabilities have the right to an education. The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child [1], the World Declaration on Education for All[2], guarantee the realization of the right to education for people with disabilities. The 1990 World Declaration on Education for All stated that all people, including children, youth, and adults, should have access to educational opportunities that are suited to meet their basic learning needs [3], Salamanca Statement invites countries to act with a commitment to inclusive education[4]. Recent promises under "Make the Right Real" for Persons with Disabilities where the fifth goal is to extend early intervention and education for children with disabilities with the strategy "Disability Inclusive Development"[5]. The meaning of inclusive education is to guarantee everyone access to high-quality education without discrimination and an inclusive learning environment[6], [7]. The implementation of the inclusive education program does not provide special treatment or special rights for children with special needs, but provides equal rights and obligations with normal students in general[8].

In alignment with international obligations, Indonesia announced its commitment to Inclusive Education through Law No. 19 of 2011, which ratifies Articles 24 and 10 of the CRPD, affirming the Government's primary responsibility in ensuring the educational rights of individuals with disabilities[9]. Legislation No. 8 of 2016 regarding Individuals with Disabilities Articles 10 and 40 stipulate that the Government is mandated to organize and/or facilitate education for Persons with Disabilities across all pathways, types, and levels of education[10]. The Right to Inclusive Education strengthens the educational approach of justice and respect for differences as the foundation for realizing a non-discriminatory disability inclusive society[11].

A prevalent method for analyzing the dynamics of actors in pursuing an interest agenda is the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF)[12] approach composed in his publication named Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies. Kingdon elucidates that public policy arises from the convergence of three streams: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream within the agenda-setting process. The essence of the MSF framework is in the convergence of three streams under specific conditions or momentum inside the policy window. A policy window refers to opportunities that can highlight public issues to the public or politicians. If a public issue has garnered public concern or captured the attention of policymakers, it has transitioned into a recognition problem. During the initiation of this policy window, the function of policy entrepreneurs in orchestrating the convergence of the three streams is crucial.

The MSF framework serves as a perspective for understanding policy formulation amid ambiguity in decision-making. This supports Kingdon's claim that the MSF framework may capture ambiguity in policymaking. Despite its widespread recognition, the MSF framework is rarely used. [13]. This study seeks to analyze the emergence of a policy by examining the MSF framework.

The fulfillment of the right to access education in the implementation of the New Student Admission (PPDB) for Persons with Disabilities is the portrait of the MSF framework analysis in this research. In order to fulfill the requirements of children with disabilities, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology issued Circular Letter Number 7978/A5/HK.04.01/2023 about the Implementation of New Learner Admissions (PPDB) for the 2023–2024 Academic Year; however, it is insufficient to ensure the fulfillment of educational rights for individuals with disabilities. This is because there are still many problems that occur in basic education services such as discrimination when accessing education services, rejection of prospective students with disabilities on the grounds that schools are not ready to run inclusive schools, to physical buildings that are not yet accessible. Inclusive education is education for all children by taking into account and facilitating the teaching and learning process according to their needs in all educational pathways and levels[14], [15], [16].

This brief overview indicates that integrating public issues raised by interest groups into the government agenda is challenging. Actors must exert pressure and provide encouragement to ensure that public issues are prioritized by policymakers in the policy agenda. The MSF framework, popularized by Kingdon, will assist researchers in understanding the dynamics of promoting educational access for individuals with disabilities.

2 Method

This research employs descriptive qualitative methodologies, which serve as a strategy to analyzing and understanding the importance of people or organizations in connection to human or social concerns [17]. Data were collected using three methods: observation, interview, and documentation. By comparing data from secondary sources, observations, and interviews, the triangulation method evaluated the data's validity. Flow data from the Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) was acquired from a single informant and subsequently verified with additional informants. Additionally, it was re-evaluated in conjunction with the outcomes of field observations and secondary data. Data analysis comprises three stages: data gathering, data condensation, and data display, followed by conclusion formulation and verification[18].

The research was conducted between July and September of 2023, for around three months. Purposive sampling and snowball procedures were used to choose the informants [17], with the Commissioner of the National Commission for Disability (KND) conducting the first interview. Furthermore, he recommended other informants to complement and sharpen the data. A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted to comprehensively assess the fulfillment of the right to education and to enhance access to schooling for children with disabilities in the PPDB. The Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was attended by the Deputy V of the Presidential Staff Office (KSP), the Assistant Deputy for Disability and Elderly Empowerment of the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (KemenkoPMK), the Secretary of the Directorate General of Early Childhood Education, Basic Education, and Secondary Education of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbud), the Chairperson of the Inclusive Madrasah Working Group of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, the Director of Wahana Inklusif Indonesia, and the Director of the NLR Indonesia Foundation. The meeting resulted in a joint commitment and coordination to accelerate the implementing regulations of Law No. 8 of 2016, a policy on Special Assistance Teachers (GPK), and short-term collaborative strategies to improve the PPDB system 2023. Furthermore, the data search was continued by conducting personal interviews with several informants.

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 Problem Stream: Hearing and Dialog

The problem stream alludes to the recognition of public issues that necessitate governmental intervention and efforts for resolution [19]. This issue emerges from public concerns and viewpoints that require definitive solutions[20].
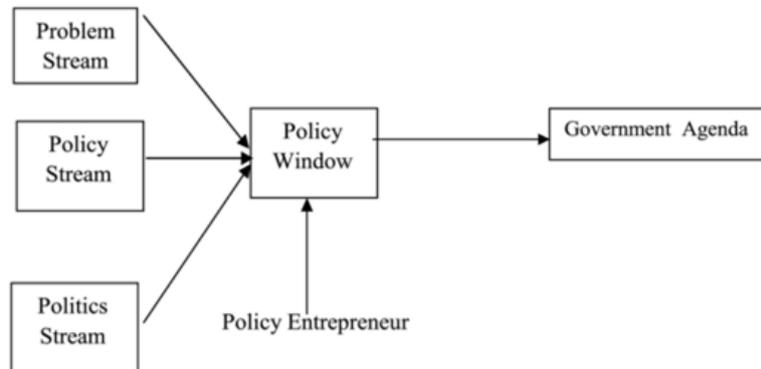
Fig.1. Meeting three streams in the policy window
Source: Kingdon, 1995

The National Commission for Disabilities (KND) conducted dialogues and hearings with several Disability Organizations, the Parents Forum of children with disabilities, the Central Java Education Office, the Ombudsman of Central Java Province, and the Disability Service Unit (ULD) of Solo City Education in discussing access to schooling for persons with disabilities in the 2023 New Student Admission (PPDB). The results of the discussion still found many problems in educational opportunities for kids with impairments such as school refusal due to the absence of special assistant teachers, inaccessible school buildings, school readiness and still a lot of stigma.

Data and facts from various sources still show that the gap in the fulfillment of the right to education for persons with disabilities still occurs. The gap in educational participation of groups with disabilities against non-disabled groups still occurs where the Gross Participation Rate (APK), School Participation Rate (APS), and Pure Participation Rate (APM) at all levels of education are greater for non-disabled groups than for disabled groups. Education Statistics 2022 (based on BPS-Statistic Indonesia data) states that the disability group has the lowest primary school enrollment rate (90.96%) compared to the non-disability group (97.91%), while the APK for early childhood education 3-6 years old for the disability group is 25.09% compared to 35.36% for the non-disability group. For the population aged 5 years and above, 17.64% of people with disabilities are not yet in school, only 4.31% are still in school, and 78.05% are no longer in school. A comparison of out-of-school rates between disabled and non-disabled people shows a significant gap (disabled 7-12 years old 8.43 compared to 0.52 for non-disabled, 13-15 years old 39.15 compared to 6.75, and 16-18 years old 56.17 compared to 22.31). The SM/equivalent APM is only 27.44 for the disabled compared to 62.19 for the non-disabled, while PT is 13.38 compared to 22.08 for the non-disabled[21].

Table 1. Education Statistic, 2022 (Researchers' processed data)

Description	Non-disability	Disabilities
Gross Enrollment Rate (Early Childhood Education 3-6 years)	35,36%	25,09%
Net Enrollment Rate (Elementary School/equivalent)	97,91%	90,96%

Net Enrollment Rate (Secondary School/ Equivalent)	62,19%	27,44%
Net Enrollment Rate (Higher Education)	22,08%	13,38%

The literacy rate (AMH) of 15 years and above for the non-disabled population is 96.82% while for the disabled population it is only 79.97%. Furthermore, the majority of people with disabilities have a primary school education (70.85%), while the non-disabled population has a junior high school education (63.64%). The average years of schooling (RLS) for people with disabilities is only 5.32 years or equivalent to grade 5, while non-disabled people reach 9.18 years or equivalent to grade 9. The Annual Record (CATAHU) of the Disability Formation identifies a number of regulations that are not yet in line in ensuring the opening of an inclusive education system for persons with disabilities and the policy direction of expanding educational opportunities through an inclusive education system needs to be supported by increasing the capacity of educational institutions and education personnel[22].

The outcomes of a coordination meeting with stakeholders, including the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbud), Ministry for Human Development and Culture (KemenkoPMK), Ministry of Religious Affairs, National Commission for Disability, and organizations representing disabled individuals, revealed numerous challenges concerning the implementation of inclusive education in Indonesia. The evaluation survey of PPDB 2022 for the disability affirmation pathway still shows rejection from schools and communities. This is due to the absence of public education regarding the concept of inclusion and the lack of accessible facilities and infrastructure in schools.

Tabel 2. PPDB Evaluation Survey in 2022 (Researchers' processed data)

Provincial/City Office	Reason for Rejection
Kalimantan Barat	Teachers do not understand how to handle people with disabilities
Pekanbaru	No facilities and infrastructure
Kepulauan Riau	No special assistant teacher (GPK)
Tarakan	School facilities are not ready
Kalimantan Timur	Teachers with a special education background are few
Bandar Lampung	Inaccessible school buildings

To garner significant attention from policymakers, perceived issues must be consistently portrayed as urgent over an extended period and vocally emphasized by specific groups[23]. Public policy issues arise when several actors evaluate the significance of the demand for change across various circumstances and contexts[24]. The actors involved see that there is a gap in the regions where there is still rejection in the implementation of PPDB. The dialog that is carried out is one way to create a framing so that the issues of the group that pushes can be fulfilled by policymakers as an important issue[25].

3.2 Policy Stream: Acceleration of Regulation

Policy stream refers to the process of advocating for ideas as suggested policies[26]. The players engaged in policy formulation will utilize the information acquired as a factor in shaping the policy agenda[27].

The government has sought to improve access and education services for persons with disabilities, both inclusive and special, through various policies and programs. The transformation of "Merdeka Belajar" education (such as Moving Teachers, Moving Schools, Merdeka Curriculum, Merdeka Campus) opens space for access and participation of Persons with Disabilities in the National Education System. Child-centered learning and differentiated learning are at least positive steps to accommodate the educational needs of persons with disabilities. Strengthening the capacity of Special Mentor Teachers (GPK) has so far been carried out to more than 4,500 teachers throughout Indonesia.

One of the difficulties is the significant disparity in educational opportunities between children with disabilities and children without disabilities, based on the results of monitoring from the National Commission for Disability (KND) in 2022/2023 found problems related to inclusive education such as school rejection of children with disabilities, no special assistant teacher (GPK), discrimination in accessing education, not understanding class teachers in handling people with disabilities.

KND advocates for the expedited issuance of implementing regulations pursuant to Law No. 8 of 2016 on Reasonable Accommodation (AYL) for students with disabilities, aimed at facilitating inclusive education across early childhood, basic, secondary, and higher education, thereby ensuring the establishment of an inclusive educational system at all levels.

The idea of the National Commission for Disability has led to the alignment of policy makers. The success of legislative advocacy as the main channel to influence the birth of pro-disability policies.[28].

3.3 Political Stream: Lobby and Networking

The importance of these political streams is that they contribute significantly to providing network access to policymakers in order for the agenda to be accepted[26]. At this juncture, political will may serve as a decisive component, since the discretion of political actors influences the prioritization of problems on the agenda and their subsequent management[29].

The National Commission for Disabilities (KND) started a political stream by approaching relevant Ministries/Institutions in encouraging access to school for Persons with Disabilities. Approaches to Ministries/Institutions were carried out intensely to oversee the implementation of the 2023 New Learner Admission (PPDB), especially the affirmation pathway for persons with disabilities. KND also invites Disabled People's Organizations including Wahana Inklusif Indonesia Foundation and Indonesian Association of Persons with Disabilities (PPDI) in active participation in submitting proposals related to the educational rights of persons with disabilities.

Challenges to accessing education for children with disabilities include self-stigma, community stigma, lack of access to information and parental readiness, equal access, limited facilities and infrastructure to support learning, lack of understanding of school residents and the knowledge

and skills of educators. This was conveyed by Dina from the Netherland Leprosy Relief (NRL) Indonesia Foundation:

> *"NLR Indonesia has made various efforts including forming and strengthening parent forums, data collection, inclusive education campaigns and increasing the capacity of educators. However, the most important thing is the need for collaboration between various parties to achieve equal inclusive education for all, including children with disabilities".*

In line with the statement above, monitoring the implementation of the New Learner Admission (PPDB) in 2022 for the disability affirmation pathway still occurs a lot of resistance from schools and the community. This was conveyed by David as the Working Group on Regulation and Governance of the Ministry of Education and Culture as follows:

> *"the lack of public education related to the concept of inclusion and the lack of accessible facilities and infrastructure in schools and the results of the 2022 PPDB evaluation in 17 provinces, only 9% of local governments pay attention to disabilities and the limitation of various disabilities due to limited educators and infrastructure. The draft Ministerial Regulation on Appropriate Accommodation (AYL) and Disability Service Unit (ULD) is also in process, which is expected to be a solution to how schools handle children with disabilities and the provision of GPK in schools. Cooperation with other institutions is also developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture with Development Partners, where the target of inclusive schools is targeted to increase by 0.2% by 2023".*

To comprehend why certain issues are effectively recognized by policymakers, Kingdon's model examines the political system through three independent decision-making streams: the problem stream, the solutions stream, and the politics stream, which occasionally converge to create a "window of opportunity" (policy windows) [29].

3.4 Opening Policy Window by Policy Enterprenuers

Policy entrepreneurs in this series use various activities to promote ideas related to how to identify a problem, utilize networks within a policy circle, create terms in a debated policy issue and build an advocacy coalition. According to Kingdon's idea, if the policy entrepreneur opens the meeting to reveal policy windows, an issue could be added to the agenda[26].

As a form of State responsibility, the Government has issued Presidential Regulation Number 68 of 2020 and Law 8 of 2016 concerning the establishment of the National Commission for Disabilities as evidence that policy entrepreneurs in encouraging the acceleration of access rights to schooling for people with disabilities. Regarding the Ministry of Education and Culture Circular Letter Number 7978/A5/HK.04.01/2023 on the Execution of PPDB for the 2023/2024 Academic Year, one of the points is that the selection of PPDB pathways through the affirmation pathway is opened first for prospective students who are unable and prospective students with disabilities without limiting the variety of disabilities. The affirmation pathway is aimed at new prospective students with disabilities who are included in the priority affirmation pathway. Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 1 of 2021, concerning the Acceptance of New Learners in Kindergartens, Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools, Senior High Schools, and Vocational High Schools, Article 21 specifies that the affirmation pathway mentioned in Article

12 paragraph (2) letter b is designated for prospective new students from economically disadvantaged families and individuals with disabilities.

The new learner admission (PPDB) registration pathway for Learners with Special Needs (PDBK) or Persons with Disabilities through the affirmation pathway (15%) of school capacity includes students from poor families. Selection in the Affirmative Learner Admission (PPDB) pathway can be done through a special admission pathway and a different grace period. If the acceptance of Special Needs Learners (PDBK) in a school has been fulfilled (there are schools using quotas), then the placement of learners in other schools is the authority of the region concerned.

4 Conclusion

This research concludes that the policy advocacy process for educational access for individuals with disabilities in the New Student Admission (PPDB) is shaped by the influence of policy entrepreneurs. The Multiple Stream Framework (MSF) analysis reveals a concurrent flow from policy stream, political stream, the problem stream, and policy entrepreneurs. The efforts of the National Commission for Disabilities together with the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture and the NLR Indonesia Foundation have succeeded in strengthening and jointly committing to accelerate the derivative regulations of Law Number 8 of 2016 concerning Persons with Disabilities, policies on Special Assistance Teachers, short-term collaborative strategies to improve the new student admission system (PPDB), socialization and education of the right to access education with families, support to local governments, and joint monitoring strategies from the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture, National Commission for Disabilities, Ombudsman RI, Presidential Staff Office, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Home Affairs, and Disabled People's Organizations/Community Organizations.

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