The Facade of Inclusive Development for Young People with Disabilities in Urban and Suburban Areas of Central Java

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Abstract. The young population with productive capabilities, however, is not entirely able to be productive due to disabilities. The research indicates that young individuals in urban areas such as Demak Regency, Semarang Regency, Semarang City, and Boyolali Regency lead dynamic lives rather than static ones. A significant portion of these urban young individuals with disabilities strive independently to survive. They form groups, start home businesses, and even access government assistance facilities. Most of them come from families with lower to middle socio-economic backgrounds. Conversely, young individuals with disabilities in Semarang City come from middle to upper-class families. The research methodology adopts an advocacy approach, where researchers track disability cases in the four locations using the Central Java Poor Family Identification (BDT Keluarga Miskin Jawa Tengah), encompassing young individuals with disabilities in industrial and suburban areas.

Keywords: Disability, Inclusivity, Youth, Resilience, Work

1 Introduction

1.1 Person with disabilities' employment and its policy in Indonesia

People with disabilities are often viewed as individuals with physical, sensory or mental limitations. The International Classification of Functioning, Health, and Disabilities (ICF) defines disability under two broad terms: bodily structure and function and limitations in daily activities and restricted participation. In Article 14 Law Number 4 of 1997 concerning Disabled People, requires business owners with at least 100 employees to employ at least one person with disabilities. It means that Indonesian government has enacted regulations to ensure equal treatment of people with disabilities, but only a few companies appear to comply. The ICF survey found that only 25.6% of persons with disabilities in 14 Indonesian provinces were employed—at most as farmers and laborers, while the remaining 74.7% were still unemployed.

Eventually, in 2016, the Disability Law (UU) was enacted, which then recognizes the rights of individuals with disabilities and obliges the government to provide equal treatment to ablebodied individuals. The new legal products for individuals with disabilities have been acknowledged by various stakeholders for their more equitable approach, viewing disability concerns from a larger perspective that considers interactions within one's surroundings. Yet, we found that two years following the implementation of the Disability Law, people with disabilities have not been engaged in the government efforts—planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating— to enhance societal well-being, including economic, social,

political, and health spheres. The failure to include persons with disabilities in the development process is rooted in the stigmatization of this population by society and the government. The issues related to persons with disabilities in various development sectors in Indonesia in several dimensions, such as systemic, budget, legal, consciousness, data overlapping, and also social stigma dimensions.

1.2 Response to Disability Policy

Argument that most people with disabilities still live below the poverty line, is claimed by the data collected through BPS in 2008, though the government has policies to empower people with disabilities. Through Law No. 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, the government has established a policy framework to protect the rights of persons with disabilities including the right to life, the right to be free from stigma, the right to privacy, justice and legal protection, the right to education, wemployment, entrepreneurship and cooperatives, health, and so on.

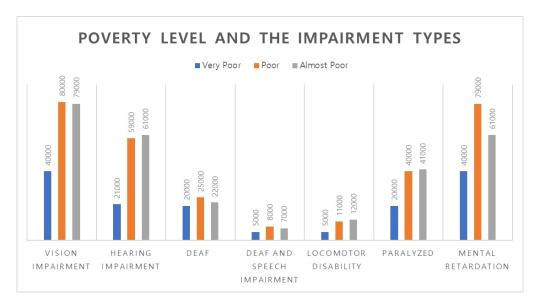


Figure 1. Poverty level and the impairment types. Source: PPLS 2008, BPS in Disability Newsletter, Indonesia Ministry of Health 2014

In a substantive sense, such poverty cannot be separated from the minimal absorption of people with disabilities in the labor market. Only 51.12% of people with disabilities are employed as workers in informal sectors, for instance are laborers (7.5%) and farmers (10.9%). Then, surprisingly, among those in the severe disability category, only 20.27% are working (LPEM FEB UI, 2016; Pusdatin Kemensos, 2012). The reason for the inability to access work for a person with disabilities is their low education level. Most people with disabilities (61%) have no education, followed by primary school graduates (27%) and secondary school graduates (6.6%), according to data from the Data Center of the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs in 2012. If we look deeper into the data, gaps still exist between men and women with disabilities in education and access to employment. There is a 165,118 difference between men and women with disabilities who are both employed. Furthermore, between disabled men and disabled women who both have an education, there is a difference of 165,227 people. This can be

concluded that persons with disabilities often experience poor work systems, wages, and career development which is different from Article 53 of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities.

The evidence of the policy response shows that disabled people are not only facing the gaps in policy practice for the physical and psychological context but also the formal social, economic, and political dimensions—marginalisation and discrimination. Hence, only some disability groups have survived the formal rules mentioned above. Such reflections on the vulnerability of persons with disabilities indicate the necessity for a critical perspective. The critical perspective aims to see the dynamics of the people with disabilities from various perspectives. By doing that, optimistically, the perspective will change the stigmatization of disabled persons as helpless and ultimately influence the flexibility of regional and national policies.

1.3 Local Workers with Disability Background

In this article we share the findings from four locations in Indonesia. Starting with Demak, in terms of government agencies, program implementation, especially on the issue of inclusive employment, still tends to be low and lacks communication. Furthermore, there are still a lot of problems from the culture, such as patriarchy which is obstructing women, especially women with disabilities to develop themself. Meanwhile, in Semarang, the issue of access to information gave rise to two key findings: there is a lack of information for persons with disabilities, and job fairs aimed at providing employment opportunities for young people with disabilities yet to exist. This is why young people with disabilities have shifted their interests to creative industries. Likewise, in Semarang Regency, the in-depth interviews reveal that coordination between communities of individuals with disabilities, impoverished youth, and the government has not been established. People with disabilities who are not part of communities or organizations often have no support networks and no direct contact with government agencies; they are dependent on their families to support their activities. In the Boyolali Regency, the lack of data on people with disabilities shows that the data collection has not been prioritized by the regency government. Moreover, parents there are not yet open to their children's disabilities. Many children are still hidden by their parents from the outside environment. In addition, early marriages have cut off access to school and work.

2 Research Method

To obtain a representation of informants from different locations, this study uses a bottom-up methodology to gather the perspectives, experiences, and reflections of research subjects on the topic. Four locations—Semarang Regency, Semarang City, Demak, and Boyolali Regency—are selected based on data from the 2015 Integrated Database (BDT) of Central Java Province. The BDT, managed by TNP2K, serves as a system for program planning and identification of potential social assistance recipients, including households, families, and individuals.

Four locations chosen for implementation reflect a concentration of recipients, particularly among impoverished individuals with disabilities, in large cities and urban areas. Semarang City has the highest number of urban poor people with disabilities, and the others—Demak Regency, Semarang Regency, and Boyolali Regency—also rank high on the list. Disability groups in these four regions, categorized differently based on location, have received a variety of assistance. The City of Semarang was provided with business support, in addition, the Demak Regency received livestock support, and the Boyolali Regency received employment support from a local company. The data was collected by in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussion (FGD).

3 Results and Analysis

3.1 Ulrich Beck's Social Dimension of Risk Society

A German sociologist Ulrich Beck[1] identifies "Risk Society" as a significant global shift from early modernity to late modernity. In the Risk Society, risk includes not only natural hazards, but also social risks, such as unemployment, illness, inadequate health insurance, limited access to education, and persistent poverty. Consequently, individuals are under pressure to reduce uncertain risk, achieve financial and psychological security, and pursue present and future security[2], [3]. Beck in his book also argues that the destiny of the individual in advanced modernity is the confrontation with persistent risks from birth to death.

Individualization can be justified by the "new structure", where solutions are not exclusively individual, and knowledge inherited from previous generations may not apply. Individualization as a new structure in the risk society requires individuals to be more reflective in dealing with impending uncertainties and risks[3]. In reflexive modernity theory, the individual can be described as the quasi-subject or a subject that must continuously change and actively respond to societal changes and accompanying risks. In other words, the individual becomes "a fictive decision maker and the author of himself and his biography" [3]. In line with the logic of risk, the relative volume of individual reflexivity is also influenced by differences in social class, both at the local, national, and global levels.

3.2 A Transition Perspective in Youth Studies

Bourdieu argues that the concept of youth is meaningless. Young people, however, are constrained by power dynamics and discourse contestation. There are different perspectives on the study of youth, but young people are generally considered to be developing entities.

According to Law Number 40 of 2009, youths are individuals aged 16-30 years. They are defined by combining factors related to age, biological, psychological, and social development. Adulthood is seen as the final phase and the stage of maturity that encompasses biological, psychological, and social dimensions [4]. For example, Parker and Nilan's in Pathways to Youth Inclusive Workforce: Preliminary Studies of Four Regional Cities in Central Java[4] research found that in Indonesia, marriage and parenthood remain the most important indicators of successful transition to adulthood.

In youth studies, young people's transition from education to work is often associated with Beck's[1] notion of a risk society characterized by protracted, fragmented, and uncertain conditions. The blend of youth transition and community theory not only moves the context of youth transition from first modernity to late modernity but also influences how risk of transition is constructed. The risk society not only affects contextual changes, but also leads to imprecise outcomes[1]. Beck[1] interprets Risk Society as 'choice biography'. In youth studies, choice biography is understood as the freedom of young people to choose their future paths in late modernity.

3.3 Resiliencies and Vulnerabilities

This narrative of unhealthy environmental conditions, creating a dichotomy between individual qualities and environmental conditions[5], [6], exacerbates prejudice against marginalized groups, including those with disabilities [7]. This discourse stems from policies and legal initiatives aimed at addressing vulnerability in youth cohorts, which are often limited to a framework that is overly conclusive in determining deserving beneficiaries. The problem that

often arises within a sociopolitical purview devoid of subjectivity is the emergence of policies and legislation that fail to provide a clear definition of vulnerable groups [8]. This is concerning because policy and legal products have practical implications that are inherently vulnerable [9]. Additionally, for vulnerable youth, biased policy can contribute to additional future vulnerabilities.

The scope of program design for youth with disabilities, as Pak A said, often places them as the object of policy, not the subject of policy. According to another employee, the authority to integrate job vacancies for people with disabilities is not fully under the authority of the government. Again, what the government can do is routinely create training. On the other side, although companies have understood the inclusive regulations for people with disabilities, they still doubt the competence of these disabilities. Mbak E, vision impairments from Semarang City, said the exact same thing which is the trust to employ a person with disabilities.

Additionally, the socialization approach employed by *Balai Latihan Kerja* (BLK) is outdated, causing young people to rely on networks instead of BLK for job information (Mbak KH, Boyolali Youth, 2018). Furthermore, the registration process for training is overly bureaucratic.

Another contentious issue is the intended goal of policies and legal initiatives aimed at supporting vulnerable groups. Dunn et al.[10] highlight the shortcomings of policies that aim to reduce the incidence of vulnerable groups among youth or adults but do not consider social factors such as poverty and unemployment as key determinants of vulnerability. These policies, described as "potentially infinitely applicable", lack clear and precise objectives. In line with this, Hasler[9] describes policies targeting vulnerability as a concept intrinsically linked to social work that serves marginalized groups with disabilities in decision-making, relegating them to the status of objects rather than subjects of policy. Policy implementation goals can sometimes prove ineffective and misguided due to the reactions of those affected, as noted by Pak P, a local government official responsible for employment. Pak P said that the policy implementation objectives could often be ineffective and misguided due to the responses of policy recipients.

In addition, coordinating budget, human resources, and logistics still pose challenges. According to Mbak J, from Semarang City Government Employees (2018), training activities with 1,200 participants can cost up to \$70,000. Ms. R, also from the Semarang City government (2018), encountered coordination issues between agencies when requesting data on individuals with disabilities from the authorized entity because of different bureaucratic management. For instance, Mbak G, an employee of the Semarang Regency Government (2018), encountered HR limitations caused by the separation of departments and the composition of employees, many of whom were approaching retirement age.

Interestingly, this study shows that both youth with disabilities and marginalized youth groups experience vulnerability due to policy implementation: while policies regulating unemployment protection exist on paper, such as facilitating the application process, implementation practices often deviate from the established rules. Mas S, a 19-year-old youth working as a free coolie in Demak, confirms this reality. He lamented the persistent practice of nepotism, such as the role of "insiders" who greatly influence the acceptance of prospective employees into a company. This echoes the Semarang City Government's statement that monitoring hiring in private companies is a common problem faced by governments worldwide. Some companies only take note of the hiring of persons with disabilities, but lack practical knowledge about the rest (Mbak D, Semarang Regency Government, 2018).

Rather than continuing to depend on the government, this study highlights the crucial role of individual resilience in coping with work-related vulnerabilities. Several discussion participants noted that many training programs for people with disabilities often overlook the particular needs of each disability. According to experts, when neither the government nor the private sector can ensure opportunities to enter the labor market, a lack of creativity in government program design and a failure to work with disabled peers and NGOs results in resistance to "creative" development among persons with disabilities. As Mbak E—a youth with visual impairment in Semarang City—explained, she eventually chose entrepreneurship due to its flexibility and lower requirements.

3.4 Youth Resilience on Vulnerabilities

Resilience usually carries positive and heroic connotations and is often used to describe heroic or excessive actions in how individuals or groups deal with problems[11]. This psychological perspective is more closely related to resilience, which is defined as the ability of individuals to adapt positively to difficult and risky situations that are traumatic for individuals and groups [12]. This section will categorize resilience into three components, macro, meso, and micro level.

Macro Level: Social Ecological Resilience

Ungar[13] notes that resilience is not solely an individual concern, but rather encompasses the social environment and the intricate processes involved in the emergence of both risk and resilience. It is critical to first engage in a social-ecological interpretive mapping, given the close proximity of resilience to a variety of social risk factors. The crucial issue of social-ecological resilience in vulnerable youth requires attention. In Indonesian culture, parents and family play a vital role in shaping aspirations for young individuals, particularly those with disabilities, in the future.

"I am uncertain where I will be employed, whether it be within or outside Demak. After graduation, my goal is to become an accountant, similar to my major, but it is unlikely that my parents will approve of my working in an area that is far away." (Ms. A, Demak youth, 2018).

What Ms. A said is common in Indonesia, reflecting a widespread sentiment in Indonesia where parents are the main ones who shape their children's vision of the future. An ecological approach is relevant as a primary perspective for examining how the environment surrounding youth shapes their character, problems, and patterns of resilience.

Harwick et al. in Widhyharto[4] also advocate for this ecological approach, with particular emphasis on the transition from youth to adulthood, especially for youth with disabilities. Youth with disabilities are at higher risk compared to their able-bodied peers due to their self-concept being influenced by stigma and exclusion. The ecological approach layer, as shown in the diagram, includes three layers: micro, meso, and macro.

According to Lyon and Parkins in Widhyharto[4], a social-ecological resilience theory approach is required to objectively identify and map the risks that contribute to the emergence of resilience for vulnerable individuals and groups, taking account of the influence of contextual factors. Researchers in this field have shown how parents can play a critical role in the narrative of "disability" for children with disabilities. This factor has significant implications for their future growth and development.

"If I were to allow my child to work now, it would seem that I lack the heart to release my child. I'm uncertain how I would handle the situation if my child worked and was unpopular with their peers. I believe that my child may not be capable of engaging in excessive activities." (Mother of Ms. TN (Mental retardation), Boyolali, 2018).

However, as noted by Paton and Johnson in Widhyharto[4], the psychological dimension is one of the key factors that determine the strength of resilience. In this case, individual capacity is translated as the main source of strength in dealing with difficult situations and strategies in adapting.

Endress[14] identifies four sociological perspectives for analyzing resilience. The first, normative neutrality, is a positivistic approach that establishes specific standards for measurement across regions using a uniform model. This perspective pertains to various development discourses in the global order, including welfare, well-being, health, and security. The analysis of time limits is the basis of the temporality perspective. Resilience is not observable absolutely from a structuralist perspective, rather it utilizes a constitutive historical approach indicating that resilience can occur spontaneously without conscious recognition by individuals or groups. The processual perspective, or perspectivity, views resilience as a continuous process that can be lengthy and not a one-time occurrence. The power perspective views resilience as a form of resistance to institutionalized power practices. The temporality perspective focuses on time constraints in analysis. Fourth, the perspective of power sees resilience as a form of resistance against institutionalized power practices by both institutions and political products.

"My parents initially forbade me from leaving the house or using a cane due to the taunts of the people around me. 2010 I started dropping out in the 2nd semester, the main problem here that I want to tell is that some blind people lack self-confidence, and the main influence can be from home and the surrounding environment. Parents who restrict their children's outside experiences may inadvertently hinder their child's ability to live independently." (Ms. Ek, Vision impairments, Semarang City, 2018).

Ms. Ek represents just one example of the main challenges faced by youth with disabilities. Resilience, from a processual perspective, is a long-term phenomenon that takes considerable time as individuals respond to various situations.

From a sociological perspective, collective consciousness can serve as a means of forging connections between individuals to overcome challenging circumstances [15]. Estevao et al.[11] summarize the limitations of using the reflective dimension to analyze resilience. This can encompass a range of aspects, including the collective agency dimension of resilience, learning processes and creation, (distribution) and management of resources, and a focus on resilience outcomes.

A supportive social environment is crucial for facilitating the ambitions of youths, and this can be considered an aspect of social-ecological resilience. In this scenario, parents play a significant role in shaping their children's future aspirations. Expanding on this idea, Luhmann[16] proposes that the concept of 'strategic risk distribution' is relevant to resilience and can be analyzed by assessing the ability of individuals and groups to manage risk management strategies in a more resilient manner. Risk is probably associated with the most intimate institutional spaces, such as the family.

Meso Level: Internal Integration and External Adaptation

Masten and Obradovic[17] identified two coping models for resilience in the meso domain: internal integration and external adaptation. Both models exhibit individual competence and capacity as the agency. Therefore, resilience at the meso level, resulting from the interplay of individual traits and environmental or external conditions, and influenced by internal adaptation mechanisms, should be studied more closely.

This subsection will divide the empirical field narrative analysis into two sections: internal integration and external adaptation. The dominant field narratives regarding internal integration are based on the individual's ability to globalize his or her values, which center on living life with passion. These values may emerge from introspection within a nurturing family environment or from personal contemplation and other beliefs.

"For me, independence is of utmost importance. Rather than continually receiving assistance, education is a more favorable option. However, those with certain disabilities still require assistance." (Ms. Sa, Locomotor Disability Youth, Semarang City, 2018).

The process of internalizing values into oneself, as done by disabled youths, involves resilience through individual reflection resulting in resilient values that aid them in their daily lives. Youth without disabilities typically strive to integrate their life goals.

Secondly, the external adaptation perspective can be employed to investigate resilience.

"During my college years, I nearly fell victim to kidnapping several times, which was a frightening experience. It was reported that predators on Facebook often target visually impaired people. At that time, I encountered a motorcycle taxi driver who almost assaulted me after inviting me into a room. It is not uncommon for people who are considered trustworthy to abuse their power. This experience taught me to be more vigilant." (Ms. E, Vision Impairments Youth, Semarang City, 2018).

Traumatic events tend to cultivate a sense of self-resilience that produces caution. In contrast, positive experiences generally foster good resilience for the future.

"I attended junior high school in Jogja where I met my wife who also has vision impairments. After graduating, I gained employment as a massage therapist. All the students at my school were visually impaired and we were taught using braille. My hometown was Solo, and when I moved back there, the environment was all positive." (Mr. W, vision impairments, Boyolali, 2018).

Micro Level: Passive Resilience dan Active Resilience

Murray[18] posits that there are two models of resilience for young people: passive coping strategies and active resilience strategies. The latter are often employed when facing issues arising from peers and the social environment. In line with this, Lesko[19] suggests that individuals navigate and negotiate their way through problems to survive. In this subsection, two levels of resilience strategies are analyzed, namely passive coping and active resilience. Passive resilience is a result of unfavorable circumstances, both internally and externally, which halts the resilience process at the point of internal integration. Such resilience often stems from the desire for self-improvement.

"Initially, accepting my disability was a difficult process, which took about 4 to 5 years to reach my current state." However, as my main objective is to become self-sufficient, I understand that while I may be tempted to resist certain things, it is often more beneficial to remain silent rather than add further complications (Mr. S. 2018. Locomotor Disability. Demak).

The examples below are what is called active resilience. Active resilience story starts from the desire to do something.

"Oh I have been working all the time, I once worked in Jakarta, I worked sanding wood, I was invited by a friend after I left school, I worked there for 5 years because I felt tired of working at that place, I returned to Demak and got married at the age of 22, after that I worked as a construction worker following my father for 4 years. After that, I started to become a parking lot attendant because I was invited by another deaf friend (Mr. S, Hearing Impairment, Demak, 2018).

The mobilization of resources plays a significant role in both the active and passive examples mentioned above. Estevao et al.[11] highlight two essential dimensions of the resilience process. The first dimension involves the mobilization of resources, where four resources can support the resilience process: economic resources (financial resilience), social resources (family, networks, groups, communal identity), cultural resources (struggle ethos, traditional values, beliefs, etc.), and environmental resources (availability of basic resources such as water, food, etc.). Effective utilization of these resources can enhance the resilience process according to the first dimension. The second dimension of risk management involves controlling the timing, location, and context of vulnerability. The degree of risk that arises in the societal settings of individuals and groups can have an impact on the resilience process, which is further shaped by economic conditions, politics, and cultural systems.

4 Conclusion

This research suggests that the transition of poor and vulnerable youth into the workforce is influenced by various social, gender, spatial, and cultural factors. Understanding the complexity of relational and intersectional relationships with social and cultural structures in society is crucial, as is examining life course aspects to understand the transition to the world of work for poor and vulnerable youth, who face unique obstacles and challenges at each stage of life. The ongoing state of poor and vulnerable youth should be viewed as a continuation of social reproduction from previous generations.

Findings from the four regencies reveal how class, gender, and spatial inequality, as well as integration with local culture and personal histories, are intertwined in the transition of disadvantaged and vulnerable youth into the world of work. For example, class, gender, and spatial elements are significantly related to the unequal distribution of capital, both economic and non-economic, among poor and vulnerable youth. In the four regencies, young people's transition to adulthood is marked by fragmentation, insecurity, and risk.

The study's findings reveal that the transition of disadvantaged and impoverished youth into the workforce is impacted by macro-level power structures, mainly in the market (corporations), local government, and civil society. These power relationships are inherently unbalanced, placing youth in a subordinate position. Although youth possess emancipatory potential, it is mostly horizontal. In contrast, local governments, expected to fulfill a mediating role, are frequently hindered by "classic" internal issues. In another scenario, excessively dominant

power within a company may result in arbitrary treatment that hinders efforts toward inclusive employment.

5 Recommendation

5.1 Recommendation about the Coordination

- Coordination of services as a form of one-way contribution that is pursued through the collegial commitment of the inclusive labor forum by conducting intensive meetings as an effort to bind various actors and issues together.
- Business assistance program for the vulnerable poor is not a one-way grant, but reciprocity that encourages entry points for productivity.
- Those who can be productive are then given incentives in the form of regulatory packages to capital to realize their productivity in the hope of ensuring its sustainability.

5.2 Recommendation about Accessibility

- The infrastructure aspect focuses on preparing facilities and social settings that are adaptable to the needs of individuals with disabilities.
- The information aspect, young people have another method of sharing information, commonly referred to as "gethok tular.".
- Creation to an inclusion-sensitive curriculum
- It is crucial to develop a training curriculum, particularly vulnerable poor youth.
- Entrepreneurship must be encouraged because it promises economic sustainability and fulfillment of well-being

5.3 Recommendation about Perception

- Recognizing the perception of disability, and to develop a communal awareness that facilitates a shared understanding.
- Establishing unambiguous definitions and comprehension of the terms "poor" and "vulnerable" within the specific empirical context.
- Encourage egalitarian thought by offering both men and women equal opportunities to tackle a range of social issues.

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