

Parahyangan Catholic University Faculty of Social and Political Sciences Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN-PT NO: 3095/SK BAN-PT/akred/S/VIII/2019

Cooperation between UNICEF and The Government of Indonesia regarding the Inclusive Education for Disabled Children in Indonesia 2015-2021

Thesis

International Organization and Regime

By

Yosephine Michelle Rasari

6091801137

Bandung

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Thesis Validation

Name : Yosephine Michelle Rasari

Student ID : 6091801137

Title : Cooperation between UNICEF and The Government of Indonesia regarding the Inclusive Education for Disabled Children in Indonesia 2015-2021

Has been examined in the Final Examination On Wednesday, January 12th 2022 And thereby declared **GRADUATED**

The Board of Examiners Chairperson and member of

Examiners Sylvia Yazid, S.IP., MPPM., Ph.D:

Secretary

Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A, Ph.D:

Member

Mireille Marcia Karman, S.Sos., M.Litt:

With the acknowledgement of, Dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo, M.Si

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

Name: Yosephine Michelle Rasari

Student ID: 6091801137

Department: International Relations

Title: Cooperation between UNICEF and The Government of Indonesia regarding the Inclusive Education for Disabled Children in Indonesia

As a result, the thesis is the product of my work, and any other party has not previously proposed it to attain an academic degree. Any ideas and information gained from other parties are officially cited following the valid scientific writing method.

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Bandung, 22 April 2021

Yosephine Michelle Rasari

ABSTRACT

Name : Yosephine Michelle Rasari

Student ID: 6091801137

Title : Cooperation between UNICEF and The Government of Indonesia regarding

the Inclusive Education for Disabled Children in Indonesia 2015-2021

Inclusive education has been recognized in Indonesia to tackle the imbalance percentage between disabled and non-disabled children in receiving formal education. Indonesia recognizes the need to cooperate with other stakeholders within this ambitious goal. UNICEF has an aligned agenda and framework with Indonesia. Hence, this research aims to answer, "How did the Indonesian government and UNICEF cooperate in promoting inclusive education for disabled children in the context of the imbalance percentage between children with and without disabilities?" Both actors also aim to fulfil Sustainable Development Goal no.4, quality education. The two parties have been cooperating to tackle some challenges such as inconsistency of data collection, negative stigmas, struggles faced by teachers, and structural poverty. The first effort is the partnership between UNICEF, Indonesia, ROTA and FC Barcelona in increasing the quality of inclusive education, piloted in Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Keji. Then, with the support of the Australian government, the Indonesian government has adopted the Child Functioning Module created by UNICEF to collect more data about disabled students. These efforts are analyzed by correlating it with the international and national framework--inclusive education sector planning, UN CRPD, and RAN PD to understand the effectiveness.

Keywords: Inclusive Education, Disabled Children, Cooperation, UNICEF,

Indonesian Government

ABSTRAK

Nama : Yosephine Michelle Rasari

NPM : 6091801137

Judul : Kerjasama UNICEF dan Pemerintah Indonesia terkait Pendidikan Inklusif

untuk Anak Difabel di Indonesia 2015-2021

Pendidikan inklusif telah diakui di Indonesia, sebagai bagian dari penanggulangan ketimpangan persentase antara anak penyandang disabilitas dan non disabilitas dalam menerima pendidikan formal. Dengan tujuan ambisius ini, Indonesia menyadari perlunya bekerja sama dengan pemangku kepentingan lainnya. UNICEF memiliki agenda dan kerangka kerja yang selaras dengan Indonesia. Kedua aktor tersebut juga bertujuan untuk memenuhi Tujuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan no.4, pendidikan yang berkualitas. Oleh karena itu, kedua pihak telah bekerja sama untuk mengatasi beberapa tantangan seperti inkonsistensi pengumpulan data; stigma negatif; perjuangan yang dihadapi guru; dan kemiskinan struktural. Upaya pertama adalah kemitraan antara UNICEF, Indonesia, ROTA dan FC Barcelona dalam meningkatkan kualitas pendidikan inklusif, yang diujicobakan di Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Keji. Kemudian, pemerintah Indonesia dengan dukungan pemerintah Australia telah mengadopsi Child Functioning Module yang dibuat oleh UNICEF untuk mengumpulkan lebih banyak data tentang siswa penyandang disabilitas. Upaya-upaya tersebut dianalisis dengan mengaitkannya dengan kerangka internasional dan nasional yaitu perencanaan sektor pendidikan inklusif; CRPD PBB; dan RAN PD untuk memahami efektivitas program tersebut.

Kata Kunci : Pendidikan Inklusif, Anak Disabilitas, Kerjasama, UNICEF, Pemerintah Indonesia

PREFACE

Through His Grace, the writer could have a great process and finally present this thesis, with a title "Cooperation between UNICEF and The Government of Indonesia regarding the Inclusive Education for Disabled Children in Indonesia 2015-2021". This thesis has been written to complete the requirement of graduating from Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Parahyangan Catholic University. Moreover, this thesis is also the first step of pursuing the writer's dream to increase the quality of inclusive education in Indonesia.

The writer aspires to understand about the solution of education inequality and discrimination towards disabled children. This research focuses on how the Indonesian government cooperate with UNICEF in seizing a better quality of education, especially from inclusive education. This education encloses both children with and without disabilities in the same environment to study. It is also expected to widen the recognition of inclusive education and the ability of disabled children.

The writer would like to express her gratitude to all parties, especially to her thesis supervisor, Yulius Purwadi Hermawan, Drs, M.A., Ph.D. for his guidance and patience through the process of the completion. As this writing is still far from perfection, the writer welcomes any critiques and feedbacks for the improvement of it.

Bandung, 20th December 2021

Yosephine Michelle Rasari

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To Him, the Almighty, who gives me strength and patience through all the process. As He said ""For I know the plans I have for you," declares the LORD, "plans to prosper you and not to harm you, plans to give you hope and a future.""—Jeremiah 29:11

To my guardian angel, Dad and my real guardian, Mom, thank you for always guide, support, and believe in me, no matter how many struggles, tears, laugh in these past years.

To Mas Pur, who gives his free time for his students, including me. I don't know how to express my gratitude to you. Perhaps, it is such an unfortunate situation that we, your students, can't have a direct consultation with you. However, I really hope that you recognize how your guidance always encourage us to have a great process within the making of this thesis. Thank you, Mas Pur, wish you all the best luck and happiness through all your journeys.

To Mba Ratih and Mba Indri, thank you for letting me be one of your research assistants. I am very grateful to learn tons of things, the experiences have shaped me to strive for a better writing, research and analysis.

To Mba Syl and Mba Mirei, thank you for giving me inputs and feedbacks for my revision.

To my best friend, Sheren Aurelia, who never exhaust in listening to all my stories since we were younger until I graduate, and even many years in the future. Thank you for being here in my roller coaster life, I would never ask for a better best friend.

To the best gang ever, Ci Angel, Ci Rosa, Ci Ajes, Ci Loren, Ci CV, Adit, Cus, Theo, Jordan, Maxi, Natsum. Me, as the youngest in the group, I am beyond grateful to have you all as my big sisters and brothers. Thank you for giving me advice about the 101 how to be an undergraduate student.

To Pada Dimana, I never imagine how my college life without you girls, it would have been such a nightmare. Thank you for letting me be a cry baby for these 3 and a half years, thank you for always be there when things got broken and things got better.

To my beautiful and smart cousin, Elizabeth Aidy, who understands how we as women and the only child of the family could be the greatest version of ourselves in the society.

To my AIESEC friends especially Pim and Thae Hsu, even though our meeting is as short as my height, but our friendship will remain as the longest river in Ninh Binh. Your encouragement in my rock bottom will always be remembered and make me who I am today.

To my other family members, my inhumane little brothers, Chiko, Mocha, Loco. Even though I do not understand a single thing about what you guys said but I know you love your big sister to the fullest.

To Mba Larti and Mas Khotman, for these eleven years, you are already part of my family. Thank you for always taking care of me since I was in primary school until I finish my undergraduate studies.

To Kasih Balik, INTI HMPSIHI, and HMPSIHI, we have been through hardships, professional experiences, and even good days, but I truly cherish all the moments. It has shaped my mentality through this process of making this thesis so, thank you very much.

To my mentors and tutors, Kak Aisyah Sabrina, my Indonesia Mengglobal mentor; Kak Sandy Nasution, my Scholarship supervisor from Djarum Beasiswa Plus; my IELTS tutor, Ms. Vellyana Dermawan; I am beyond thankful to have you in such a short period of time.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Inclusive education has been acknowledged worldwide since 1990, when the Education for All Conference conducted. The basic principle of inclusive education is that everyone could receive education without viewing and even discriminating once difference including people with disabilities. According to Freiberg, children who have disabilities have the right to be in the same room as children without disabilities. The reason is that disabled children could optimize their fullest potential despite their disabilities.¹

The international organization has taken the responsibility to protect children, especially those who are disabled. This priority has started since the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989 which was held by the United Nations (UN).² Until 2015, there have been 196 countries in total that already ratified the convention. Indonesia itself has already ratified this agreement in 1990. This convention is a real form of the world's commitment to protect the rights and well-being of children.³ The rights that should have been fulfilled from this convention are health, nutrition, education, and protection from any kind of violence.⁴ Therefore, children with disabilities are also an

¹ "Pendidikan Inklusi." Dinas Pendidikan Sumatera Barat, March 11, 2014. https://disdik.sumbarprov.go.id/halaman-utama/pendidikan-inklusi.html/.

² "Convention on the Rights of the Child," UNICEF, accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention.

³ "Frequently Asked Questions on the Convention on the Rights of the Child," UNICEF, accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/frequently-asked-questions.

⁴ "What Is the Convention on the Rights of the Child?," UNICEF, accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/what-is-the-convention.

entity that has been included in the name of "children" by this convention and their rights should also be fulfilled.

The government of Indonesia and international organizations, especially UNICEF, have been cooperating to achieve inclusive education towards children with disabilities. Whereas, the government of Indonesia by cooperating with UNICEF has aimed to achieve Sustainable Development Goals number 4 (SDG-4)--"Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all"---. By all means to increase the quality of Indonesia's education system and to be more inclusive towards the children. But in fact, children with disabilities who are also included as citizens and children of Indonesia have still been marginalized.

In a matter of fact, children with disabilities are vulnerable towards discrimination, and any kinds of violence --verbal and physical--. They also got a minimum access to appropriate inclusive education. These factors have not been in line with the rights that should have been received by all children without exception. As an international organization which focused on children's lives, UNICEF has paid attention towards this issue by making a movement namely #ThisAbility. The purpose of this movement is to increase access towards disabled children so that these children could get the full rights of education, protection, and psychosocial support. Other than UNICEF who has a direct program for children with disabilities and a convention for children's rights, there is also a convention that has specifically addressed disabilities.

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https://www.unicef.org/eap/what-we-do/children-with-disabilities.

⁵ "THE STATE OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN 2013 Children with Disabilities," UNICEF (2013).

⁶ "Children with Disabilities," UNICEF East Asia and Pacific, April 1, 2021,

It is called the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) which was held in 2006, under The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA).⁷ The convention has also focused on children with disabilities, which is discussed in the article 7. It has emphasized the fulfillment of children's human rights and justice that should have been fulfilled as equal as other children.⁸ Luckily, Indonesia has also ratified this convention with the exact date on November 20th, 2011.⁹

There have been several programs and conventions which have already been allocated to achieve Inclusive education for children. Even international organizations have been completing each other's goals. UNICEF--specified towards children--, and UNESCO-- specified towards education-- do not stand still. They have been hand in hand to cooperate especially towards children and education to provide an inclusive education for children with disabilities.¹⁰

1.2 Research Problem Identification

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⁷ "Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) Enable," United Nations (United Nations), accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities.html.

⁸ "Article 7 – Children with Disabilities Enable," United Nations (United Nations), accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/article-7-children-with-disabilities.html.

⁹ "Indonesia Ratified the CRPD," International Disability Alliance, accessed April 7, 2021, https://www.internationaldisabilityalliance.org/blog/indonesia-ratifies-

 $[\]label{lem:condition} $$\operatorname{crpd\#:}$$\sim: text=The\% 20 ratification\% 20 of\% 20 the\% 20 Convention, (OP)\% 20 has\% 20 63\% 20 ratifications. \& amp; text=Cape\% 20 Verde\% 20 ratified\% 20 the\% 20 CRPD\% 20 on\% 20 10\% 20 October\% 20 20 11.$

¹⁰ Highlights From The UNICEF and IIEP Technical Round Table on Disability-Inclusive Education Sector Planning § (2019),

https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000372193/PDF/372193eng.pdf.multi.

1.2.1 Research Problem Description

Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Rights of Children from UNICEF and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) from UN DESA. By this means, the government of Indonesia has already committed to achieve SDG number 4 especially towards children with disabilities by cooperating with UNICEF. The government, chiefly the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), emphasizes its mission to fulfill this goal which is to ensure an inclusive and equitable education to all people. On the other hand, UNICEF has also underlined its commitment to Indonesia that "no one left behind" within the realization of SDG 4. These were the real proofs of both Indonesia and UNICEF's assurance towards children with disabilities especially in achieving inclusive education. However, the data collected by UNICEF (2018), showed that the number of children who have never got or discontinued their formal education remained high. While in 2019, the government of Indonesia still has difficulties to collect the data. Moreover, the number of children without and with disabilities were lopsided.

Even though there have been many international organizations that want to help the Indonesian Government and promote disabled children's rights, the outcomes are still in contrast. The government has realized how hard it is to achieve this goal and

¹¹ Syarief Oebaidillah, "Kemendikbud-UNICEF Luncurkan Laporan Garis Acuan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan," Media Indonesia (mediaindonesia.com, November 6, 2018),

 $https://m.media indonesia.com/amp/amp_detail/196142-kemendikbud-unicef-luncurkan-laporan-garis-acuan-pembangunan-berkelanjutan.\\$

¹² "Children with DISABILITIES and Education," January 20, 2020,

https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/documents/children-disabilites-and-education.

¹³ "Ayo, Dukung Percepatan Pendataan Siswa Penyandang Disabilitas Di Sekolah Inklusif," Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, accessed April 15, 2021,

https://www.kemdikbud.go.id/main/blog/2019/11/ayo-dukung-percepatan-pendataan-siswa-penyandang-disabilitas-di-sekolah-inklusif.

given much effort, they have been still struggling for a long time. For example, In 2003, Indonesia asked for help from an international organization namely Helen Keller International (HKI) to implement a program called Opportunities for Vulnerable Children (OVC). With the main purpose to learn how to apply inclusive education towards disabled children in Indonesia. But HKI finds some hurdles such as a lack of policies in the local government for inclusive education, lack of teachers for special needs, and lack of knowledge within the community, not only inclusive education, but also disabilities. In these days, UNICEF has also helped Indonesia to achieve inclusive education, and one of the efforts is to give training towards teachers about how to apply this kind of education in Indonesia. For example, this program has been implemented in Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, by cooperating with the Indonesian government. The teacher was trained to identify kinds of disabilities and know the obstacles of the education system. In the second of the education system.

Even if there are lots of attempts at cooperation between Indonesian government and international organizations, as already stated in the first paragraph, there are still lots of children with disabilities who have never or discontinued their studies. Data from SUSENAS *--survei sosial ekonomi nasional* or national socio-economic survey-showed that there were 3 from 10 children with disabilities who have never been

¹⁴ Pakpahan, Saiman, and Rizka K. Sari. "Implementasi Program Opportunities for Vulnerable Children (Ovc) Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Inklusif Bagi Anak Disabilitas Di Indonesia Oleh Helen Keller International (Hki) Tahun 2010 2013." *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Riau*, vol. 3, no. 2, Oct. 2016.

¹⁵ Emily Tang, "UNICEF USA BrandVoice: Inclusive Learning Opens Doors For Students With Disabilities In Indonesia," Forbes (Forbes Magazine, December 8, 2020), https://www.forbes.com/sites/unicefusa/2020/12/08/inclusive-learning-opens-doors-for-students-with-disabilities-in-indonesia/?sh=132cdbe6599d.

attending school. Also, there were 140.000 from 993.000 disabled children who discontinued their studies. Moreover, data from UNICEF showed that it is not only the amount of these students but also the infrastructure which is inadequate. For example, there are a quarter of special needs schools which do not have any special toilets for disabled children.¹⁶

1.2.2 Research Scope

This writing will mainly discuss the issue within Indonesia as the country that the writer chose. The actor will be focused on the government of Indonesia and for the international organization it will be UNICEF as the organization who focused on the rights and well being of children. The form of these two actors' relations is cooperation which means the program has supposedly started due to the consensus of these actors to achieve one purpose. The purpose that these actors wanted to achieve is inclusive education. This kind of education is also specified to only disabled children, who are in the age of 7-18 years old. With the range of years from 2015, since the establishment of sustainable development goals until 2021.

1.2.3 Research Question

The anomaly within this issue has been emerging as a research question, questioning the high efforts coming from actors that resulted in an ineffective outcome.

¹⁶ ibid. Children with DISABILITIES and Education

In fact, the number of disabled children who have not got any or discontinued their inclusive education is still considered as really high. Thus the research question from the writer is "How did the Indonesian government and UNICEF cooperate in promoting inclusive education for disabled children in the context of the imbalance percentage between children with and without disabilities?"

1.3 Purpose and Contribution of Research

1.3.1 The Purpose of Research

This research aimed to describe the cooperation between UNICEF and the government of Indonesia in promoting inclusive education for disabled children in the context of the imbalance percentage between children with and without disabilities.

1.3.2 Contribution of Research

This research hopefully will contribute to increasing the public awareness towards the existence of disabled children, particularly in regard to the importance of inclusive education for them. This could also be a reference for other scholars to continue this research or perhaps make a project for this issue. Moreover, this research is expected to encourage the Indonesian government to prioritize inclusive education for all children in Indonesia, especially disabled children. Not only the government, the writer aimed to invite the international organization, especially UNICEF, to give their best efforts to guide the government of Indonesia in inclusive education.

1.4 Literature Review

There are many scholars to share concern on inclusive education or disabled children or both. First journal article is entitled "Interventions Supporting Development of Young Children With Disabilities at Environmental Risk in Indonesia: A Scoping Review", which was written by Indra Kiling. It has discussed the intervention of other actors aside from the Indonesian Government towards disabled children. It has also mentioned the environmental risks of disabled children such as violence, abuse, and limited access to programs. Realizing the environmental risks towards children with disabilities, this article journal has argued the early intervention program that was successfully conducted in developed countries. The writer of that article journal has analyzed the possibility of this early intervention by also correlating it with the efforts coming from Indonesian government and NGOs. But it has been proven, the role of those actors was shifted to other issues due to other priorities such as physical health.¹⁷

The second journal article is more similar to this research, with the title of "The Cooperation between UNICEF and Indonesia on Achieving Basic Education to All regarding the MDG Number 2". It has similarities in the kind of relations between UNICEF and the Indonesian Government. The target is also the same which is to achieve a better education for children in Indonesia. The journal article has been also mentioning the program from the two actors and also their results. Therefore, it has been analyzing the efforts of the Indonesian Government and UNICEF to all children in Indonesia. To support the argument of the importance of working together with

¹⁷ Indra Kiling et al., "Interventions Supporting Development of Young Children with Disabilities at Environmental Risk in Indonesia: A SCOPING Review," *SAGE Journals* 8, no. 1 (2018), https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018754935.

UNICEF as an international organization, it uses International Organization theory from Weiss and Wilkinson.¹⁸

Considering not only the Indonesian government or UNICEF data and programs but also other countries or international organization's programs, it could give a new perspective for this research. The next article journal named "Opportunities for Vulnerable Children (OVC) implementation program towards the inclusive education system for disabled children in Indonesia by Helen Keller International on 2010-2013" ¹⁹. Within that journal article, it is clearly seen that the government of Indonesia has already acknowledged the importance of inclusive education for disabled children by asking HKI to help them. Using this journal, it can help the writer to also analyze other international organizations' efforts and its results. It could also be compared with the efforts coming from UNICEF.

Then, as stated above, other countries' data and programs could not be less important. In fact, it could give a recommendation to increase Indonesia's inclusive education especially to disabled children. The article journal used for analyzing other countries' efforts is "Inclusive Education in Asia: Insights from Some Country Case Studies". The writer believes it can be compared to other countries especially in Asia due to the similar eastern culture and values. Also, the journal article has also analyzed

¹⁸ Ellissa Priyanka and Dudy Heryadi, "Kerja Sama UNICEF Dengan Indonesia Dalam Mencapai Pendidikan Dasar Untuk Semua Sebagai Tujuan Dua MDGs," *Padjadjaran Journal of International Relations* 2, no. 1 (2020): p. 68, https://doi.org/10.24198/padjir.v2i1.26179.

¹⁹ Pakpahan, Saiman, and Rizka K. Sari. "Implementasi Program Opportunities for Vulnerable Children (Ovc) Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan Inklusif Bagi Anak Disabilitas Di Indonesia Oleh Helen Keller International (Hki) Tahun 2010 2013." *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Riau*, vol. 3, no. 2, Oct. 2016.

the similarities and differences of each countries' factors that lead to the percentage of their countries' inclusive education.

In conclusion, this research is different from any other article journals. Nevertheless, these article journals could help the writer to analyze from different perspectives and arguments which lead to the same purpose, increasing the effectiveness of education in Indonesia. This research is especially focused on inclusive education for disabled children. Moreover, this writing uses the word "cooperation" to define the relations between actors in achieving the same goal, not "intervention" which has a meaning to define how the actor acts towards this issue. Finally, the argument also supported with not only these sources but also a theory called neoliberalism institutionalist from Neo Keohane in the next section.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

As mentioned above, inclusive education is when all children deserve to be treated fairly in the education system. In reality, not all children could get the access to this kind of education system, and it leads to the imbalance percentage of students with and without disabilities in accessing education. Therefore, promoting inclusive education is deemed necessary. The inclusive education sector planning from UNESCO, UNICEF and IIEP, there are two major sectors that should be prioritized, those are service delivery and enabling environment. In service delivery, there are three indicators which define the possibility effort and the possibility outcome. First, supply, that includes trained teachers, infrastructure such as facilities for both children with and without disabilities and learning material which should support disabled children of

perceiving their education. Second, quality, by increasing the relevance of curriculum, continuous student learning assessment, and most importantly learning support for disabled children. Third, demand, it includes attitudes of educational members, parents, communities, and other students; costs; and benefits.

Furthermore, in an enabling environment, external parties are also included in achieving inclusive education. There are four factors that should be managed to support the process of inclusive education which are laws and policies; data and evidence; leadership and mgmt; and finance.²⁰

To support the process of achieving inclusive education sector planning, actors, or stakeholders to pursue the remaining goals are needed. This research, as already mentioned before, focused on the efforts of the government of Indonesia and its cooperation with UNICEF. The cooperation of UNICEF and the Indonesian government and the outcomes for inclusive education, could be analyzed wider and deeper using International Relations theory. To analyze this issue, theory is much needed to understand and explain about how an occurrence happens. Based on Anfara and Mertz, scholars use various perspectives to apply theoretical framework in qualitative research. Seeing the purpose of the theoretical framework, the writer also uses the same utility which is to do qualitative research. The paradigm namely Liberalism has been used in this research and using the specification of perspective called neoliberalism. Then the writer also uses the specification concept of

²⁰ Ibid. Highlights From The UNICEF and IIEP Technical Round Table on Disability-Inclusive Education Sector Planning § (2019)

²¹ Collins, Christopher S., and Carrie M. Stockton. "The Central Role of Theory in Qualitative Research." International Journal of Qualitative Methods 17, no. 1 (2018): 160940691879747. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406918797475.

neoliberalism institutionalism such as formal intergovernmental organization, and convention from Viotti and Kauppi along with cooperation From Dunne, Kurki, and Smith.

The liberalism paradigm has criticized realism with a different opinion about human nature in the anarchy world system. According to Dunne and Kurki, anarchy is the opposite of hierarchy when the world does not have the highest authority to maintain the order of all actors. Therefore, in the anarchy world system there is no centralized authority that is higher than states. Realists argued that states will always be the enemy of each other's countries therefore states will be always deemed insecure. But liberalists have opposed that argument, realists have generalized every human as a state who are greedy and evil within their self-interest. Liberalists also believe that humans could cooperate regardless of the self-interest to achieve peace and harmony within anarchy. To maintain peace, institutions are needed for the state actors and non-state actors to interact within the issue.

Based on Robert Keohane from Viotti and Kauppi book, he introduced a broad term of institution in the 1980s. He argued that "institution" is a constant and connected formal or informal rules, norms, and perspectives that set the behaviour, activity and expectations of the actors. Keohane has described the following meanings of international institutions into three types which are Formal Intergovernmental or Crossnational, Nongovernmental Organizations, International Regimes, Conventions.

First, Formal Intergovernmental or Cross-national, Nongovernmental Organizations is an institution which is formed as bureaucratic organizations and have their exact mission and rules. The institution that the writer specifically uses dominantly

is an international governmental organization. The most familiar and the biggest international organization in the world is the United Nations which has the multipurpose and specific functional agency about certain issues.²² For example, one of the functional agencies that the writer will specifically talk about from the United Nation is UNICEF which focuses on the rights and wellbeing of children within the world scope.²³

Second, International Regimes are institutionalized rules agreed by the states in the institution. Third, a Convention is an informal institution which forms implicit understandings and rules towards its members.²⁴ International institutions have their own functions that should be fulfilled by the member states. This refers to norms, rules and the decision-making process which always exist in every international institution. Therefore, all member states who agreed to join in the chosen institution should comply with the norms, rules and the decision-making process of its institution.²⁵

The definition of International Institutions and the function towards states lead us to a perspective called neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has completely agreed with the idea of international cooperation from the liberalism paradigm. Moreover, they also agree that this cooperation could be achieved by international institutions. However, this perspective also tried to complement some of the liberalism paradigm. Robert

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²² Timothy Dunne, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith, International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). pg. 102

²³ "About UNICEF," UNICEF, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.unicef.org/about-unicef.

²⁴ Mark V. Kauppi and Paul R. Viotti, International Relations Theory (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Camp; Littlefield, 2020).

²⁵ Marco Amici and Denita Cepiku, "Roles, Types, and Definitions of International Organizations," *Performance Management in International Organizations*, 2020, pp. 7-40, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39472-1_2.

Keohane's argument, a cooperation in the international institutions is not necessarily the wants of states to cooperate with other actors. On the contrary, it is based on the purpose, wants and needs of the states, following the agreement of the international organization that they chose. Then, with various overlapping conflicts and the similar issues that have been perceived by the states, at last the cooperation between countries and international institutions could be done. As a result of achieving a peaceful and harmonious world, the cooperation is based on common interest.²⁶ However, there are barrier that affect the ineffectiveness of common interest cooperation, some of the examples are the distrust in beneficial agreement due to the greater risk for states and self-interest.²⁷

Due to the specified explanation on the role of international institutions, neoliberalism is also known as neoliberal institutionalism. This theory has agreed with the concept of structural realism that has contrasted with liberalism in which the state is the central and rational actor. Neoliberal institutionalism argues that as the rational actor, states have their specified goals that they want to achieve. But at the same time, like liberalism, neoliberalist against the idea of realism that the state is the only actor in the world. There are other actors who also played a big role, which are the non-state actors like international governmental organization, non-governmental organization, groups and individuals. It is believed that both state and non-state actors have an important role in world politics. The functions of international institutions are believed

²⁶ Ibid. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity pg 114

²⁷ Ibid. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity pg 118-119

²⁸ Ibid. International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity pg 115

by neoliberalists to be beneficial for states. States could pursue things that they could not do if they chose to work it all alone. Each state wanted to pursue their selfishness of interest. But then due to the common or similar issue that they have, institutions could become a positive vessel to achieve mutual beneficial outcomes.²⁹

One of the concepts that has been very important, and the writer stated several times in both liberalism and neoliberalism is cooperation. Cooperation as the relations between UNICEF and Indonesia, is the main highlight of answering the outcomes in this writing. Cooperation, with reference to the Cambridge dictionary, has its meaning of working together with a company or country or organization to achieve a purpose. It is different from intervention which has a meaning, having an intention to involve so that the chosen conflict could get improved or prevented. This writing will mainly discuss cooperation, not the intervention of international organizations, due to the same purpose of both UNICEF and Indonesian government which is to achieve SDG number 4 quality education especially towards inclusive education for disabled children.

Sustainable Development Goals are the United Nations' ambitions to achieve prosperity and to protect the planet.³² In this writing, the focus is on SDG number 4 or quality education which promotes an inclusive and lifelong education and learning opportunities to everyone in the world. Specifically, target point 4.5 people with disabilities are recognized in this SDG in which their wants and needs of education and

²⁹ Ibid. International Relations Theory pg 147-150

³⁰ "Cooperation," Cambridge Dictionary, accessed April 20, 2021, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/cooperation.

^{31 &}quot;Intervention." Cambridge Dictionary. Accessed April 19, 2021.

https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/intervention.

³² "United Nations Sustainable Development – 17 Goals to Transform Our World." United Nations. United Nations. Accessed April 19, 2021. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/.

vocational training should be fulfilled. Moreover, not only the access to education but also the education facilities that are safe, nonviolent, and effective for disability are also mentioned in the target point 4.a. These are the proof that the goals for quality education are not limited, and disabilities people are included.³³

Inclusive education is one of the key points that is explicitly stated in the SDG 4 and has been mentioned in the first paragraph. According to UNICEF and UNESCO there are 4 types of education approaches. First, integration is the approach that allows people with disabilities to be in the same schools, but they should get used to the mainstream. Second, segregation which separates students with and without disabilities in a different environment, with the purpose that the students with disabilities could get a particular education that suits them. Third, an exclusion education approach, which does not allow the disabled students to access any kind of education. Last but not least is inclusive education which became the aim of SDG 4. The meaning of inclusive in the "inclusive education" is that every student could get the access and participate in the process of learning. In order that, people with disabilities could be in the same room of getting an education with other children without disabilities.³⁴

According to International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF) developed by World Health Organizations, disabilities are the impairment of the human body or mind, difficulties of interacting towards their surroundings or participation restrictions, and to do certain activities or activity limitations. The three

³³ "Goal 4 | Department of Economic and Social Affairs." United Nations. United Nations. Accessed April 19, 2021. https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal4.

³⁴ Ibid. "Highlights From The UNICEF and IIEP Technical Round Table on Disability-Inclusive Education Sector Planning"

dimensions have their own meaning, first is impairment which defines the absence of a particular person's body structure or mental functions. Then participation restrictions are when disabled people could not get any access to work, socializing, recreational activities, and perceiving health care.

"Disability is an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. It denotes the negative aspects of the interaction between a person's health condition(s) and that individual's contextual factors (environmental and personal factors)."³⁵

There are several types of disabilities based on the definition of ICF, which are disabilities in vision, movement, thinking, remembering, learning, communicating, hearing, mental health, and social relationships.³⁶

To specify the age range of people with disabilities, the writer has chosen children as the main targets of this issue. The definition from UNICEF, especially stated in the Conventions on the Rights of Child article 1, Children are all human beings with the age of below or until 18 years old. Even in the article 2, it is explicitly stated that the rights of every child without exception, including disabled children should have been fulfilled. Therefore, children with disabilities could get their rights of basic needs and one of them is related to education.³⁷

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³⁵ "ICF: The Overview." Accessed April 22, 2021.

https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/icd/icfoverview finalforwho10sept.pdf.

³⁶ PREVIEW "Disability and Health Overview," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, September 16, 2020),

 $https://www.cdc.gov/ncbddd/disabilityandhealth/disability.html \#:\sim:text=According \% 20 to \% 20 the \% 20 World \% 20 Health \% 20 Organization \% 2C \% 20 disability \% 20 has \% 20 three \% 20 dimensions \% 3A \& text=Impairment \% 20 in \% 20 a \% 20 person's \% 20 body, \% 2C \% 20 walking \% 2C \% 20 or \% 20 problem \% 20 solving.$

³⁷ "Convention on the Rights of the Child Text," UNICEF, accessed April 20, 2021,

https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-

text#:~:text=Article%201,child%2C%20majority%20is%20attained%20earlier.

For the actors who will be dominantly discussed for fulfilling the inclusive education for disabled children are the government of Indonesia and UNICEF. As an international organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, shortened as UNICEF, has its mandate to protect children around the world. At first on 11 December 1946, UNICEF was formed to help and provide food and healthcare for mothers and children that got affected by world war 2. But the function has been expanded since there are lots of needs of mothers and children that also should be fulfilled. UNICEF has been cooperating with Indonesia since 1948 when the organization helped to provide food in Lombok. Then the cooperation has continued until these recent days with the same goal as the government of Indonesia which is to help children get their chance to live their lives.

The role of Indonesian Government-- national and local-- is also important to be discussed, and more importantly the goal of inclusive education has already been acknowledged by the government since August 11, 2004. It is stated in Article 6, paragraph 6 UU RI No. 4 of 1997 on people with disabilities, that children with disabilities have the right to access formal education in their society. Therefore, both the Indonesian government and UNICEF have the same goal of providing and even increasing the inclusive education access, system, infrastructure and also the environment. With the same goal of UNICEF and Indonesia, the two actors have been cooperating to fulfill those wants and needs until now. This research will look into programs and activities undertaken by both parties within the cooperation framework.

1.6 Research Method and Data Collection

1.6.1 Research Method

The research method that the writer uses is qualitative research, based on Piergiorgio Corbetta's "Social Research: Theory, Methods, and Techniques" by using this method, the result will not be neutral. It is because qualitative research uses emphatic identification to understand the subjects. Therefore, the result will be rich and deep. In this research, the independent variables that become the focus of the author are the Indonesian government and UNICEF, while the dependent variables are the inclusive education system and the number of disabled children who get or not getting education. Using a qualitative method, the writer could analyze the anomaly that is first only specified to numbers or the percentage of children with and without disabilities. To use this method, this research will try to examine the two variables using some data collection technique.³⁸

1.6.2 Data Collection Technique

According to Corbetta, there are three types of data gathering techniques which are direct observation, in-depth interviews and the use of documents. This research uses document collection methods, especially institutional documents which are the official documents that are considered credible.³⁹ The document used is the result of direct research from UNICEF which has been widely documented and published. Also, the

³⁸ Piergiorgio Corbetta, *Social Research: Theory, Methods and Techniques* (London: Sage, 2011), https://www.academia.edu/41774702/Corbetta Social Research.

³⁹ "The Use of Documents," Social Research: Theory, Methods and Techniques, n.d., pp. 287-308, https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209922.n11.

writer searched the data from the Indonesian government, especially the Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Women and Child Protection and SUSENAS (national socio-economic survey). In addition, the author also chooses internet-based methods to access books and online journals such as liberalism theory from several international relations theories book, a journal which specifically explains about inclusive education and children with disabilities in Indonesia. Other than those literatures, the writer also uses news articles as supporting evidence of the issue.

1.7 Research Structure

This research will be divided into five chapters which will be first focused on the role of UNICEF and the focus of sustainable development goals. Moreover, not only UNICEF as the main actor but also the government of Indonesia and their effort for achieving inclusive education. After researching each actor and their own efforts, the writer will also analyze the process of both actors pursuing the same goal together.

Chapter 1, introduction which consists of background, problem identification, purpose and contribution of research, literature review, theoretical framework, research method and data collection, and research structure. In background, the writer explains the wider aspects of UNICEF, the conventions which are related to disabilities and children, several efforts of the Indonesian government including ratifying the conventions, and some issues which are related to children with disabilities. Meanwhile, in the problem identification the issues are defined in deeper explanations while also stating the root cause of the problem. In purpose and utility of research, the writer stated the aim of this research is to answer the anomaly or research question from

problem identification. Also, the writer has been expecting that this research could be insightful and purposeful for scholars, UNICEF and Indonesian Government in the near future. Then in the literature review, the writer uses journals to further the analysis of the research. In the theoretical framework, not only using the specific theory of liberalism, but the writer also tries to explain all concepts that often mention in other chapters. In the research method and data collection, it is mentioning all types of methods and all mediums to collect the data for analyzing the issue. Lastly, the research structure mentions the contents of this research.

In Chapter 2, we analyze the first main actor and their goals, UNICEF, and Sustainable Development Goals number 4. In this chapter, there is an explanation about who UNICEF is, when and where it was formed, what they do, why they are having and wanting to achieve some goals and how to achieve those goals. The first paragraph is to define UNICEF as an international organization that was formed by the United Nations with also the history of it. Then in the next paragraph is the program of UNICEF with the specification of education. Also, in the point of education, it defines Sustainable Development Goals number 4 or quality education. Finally, define the programs about inclusive education for disabled children from other countries and compare it with the UNICEF program in Indonesia.

Chapter 3, the next actor that is going to be discussed is the government of Indonesia. First it is mentioning the government who specifically takes care of children with disabilities and the government who takes care of inclusive education. The writer chooses the Ministry of Women and Child Protection. the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Religion Affairs and the Ministry of Ministry of National

Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia who understand the specific issue. It also mentions the program led by those ministries cooperating in Indonesia. Not only the national government but also the local government roles and programs from various cities that will be discussed in this chapter. The main highlight will be on analyzing the data of disabled students from all over Indonesia, the factors of why it is happening and how they tackle the problems.

Chapter 4, it argues about the cooperation between the two actors, UNICEF and the Indonesian Government. In this chapter, it analyzes the collaboration program of these two actors and also the results. This chapter argues about what causes the imbalance percentage of students with and without disabilities in Indonesia and correlate it with the efforts of the two actors. Therefore, the main argument is in this chapter to answer the anomaly or research question.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion of the research which is to answer the anomaly of the issue. But other than answering the anomaly, there will be some recommendations that could be applied in the near future to achieve SDG number 4 especially towards disabled children.

1.8 Timeline

month	June				July				Augu	st			Septe	ember			Octo	ber			Nove	mber			Dece	mber		
week	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
chapter II																												
chapter II revision																												
chapter III																												
chapter III revision																												
chapter IV																												
chapter IV revision																												
chapter V																												
chapter V revision																												
final revision																												
final draft																												
defence preparation																												
thesis defence																												
thesis revision																												
thesis submission																												