

INTISARI

Studi tentang Penyandang disabilitas dan Inklusivitas sering kali terjebak pada analisis kebijakan formal, namun luput melihat mekanisme eksklusi yang beroperasi melalui norma budaya dan dominasi sosial yang halus serta agensi sebagai entitas politis yang jarang diakui. Penelitian ini mengisi kesenjangan tersebut dengan menginvestigasi paradoks narasi inklusif di Yogyakarta, di mana praktik ableisme tidak hadir melalui mekanisme koersif, melainkan terselubung dalam tindakan yang halus, sopan, dan paternalistik. Tesis ini bertujuan membedah konstruksi kebudayaan atas tubuh disabilitas dengan menganalisis bagaimana ableisme dilegitimasi di tengah narasi Inklusivitas, serta bagaimana penyandang disabilitas meresponsnya melalui agensi dan strategi mikro-politik. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnografi yang melibatkan 13 partisipan penyandang disabilitas fisik. Pengumpulan data dilakukan pada November 2024 hingga minggu pertama bulan Mei 2025 melalui observasi partisipan dan wawancara mendalam (life history). Secara teoretis, tesis ini menjembatani ketegangan antara determinisme struktur Pierre Bourdieu dan agensi taktis James C. Scott untuk menganalisis dialektika antara dominasi kultural dan resistensi partisipan. Temuan penelitian mengidentifikasi tiga wajah ableisme yang menopang kekerasan simbolik di Yogyakarta: (1) Ableisme Sosial, berupa mikro-agresi yang dinormalisasi oleh budaya paternalistik dan etika kesopanan (bantuan yang tidak diminta); (2) Ableisme Struktural, di mana fasilitas publik hadir sekadar simbol (*dassolen*) yang gagal secara fungsional dan membahayakan; serta (3) Ableisme Representasional, berupa praktik tokenisme yang mereduksi partisipan menjadi objek legitimasi kebijakan tanpa pelibatan substantif. Sebagai respons, partisipan tidak bertindak pasif melainkan menerapkan strategi resistif dialektis. Dalam dimensi sosial, partisipan mengakumulasi modal budaya dan menunjukkan otonomi tubuh. Dalam dimensi struktural, resistensi mewujudkan melalui penciptaan peta kognitif (*cognitive maps*) dan modifikasi kendaraan sebagai agensi material yang menciptakan *crip spacetime*. Dalam dimensi representasional, resistensi hadir melalui penolakan selektif terhadap kegiatan seremonial formal. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa resistensi terhadap ableisme di Yogyakarta menghadapi ambivalensi kritis, demi memperoleh rekognisi, partisipan terpaksa mengadopsi logika produktivitas yang justru berisiko mereproduksi hierarki nilai yang ada. Oleh karena itu, diperlukan transisi mendesak dari inklusi yang bersifat performatif menuju keadilan sosial yang substantif.

Kata kunci: Ableisme, habitus, agensi, mikro politik, penyandang disabilitas

ABSTRACT

Studies on persons with disabilities and inclusivity often get caught up in formal policy analysis, but fail to see the mechanisms of exclusion that operate through cultural norms and subtle social domination, as well as agency as a political entity that is rarely recognised. This research fills this gap by investigating the paradox of inclusive narratives in Yogyakarta, where ableism is not present through coercive mechanisms, but is rather concealed in subtle, polite, and paternalistic actions. This thesis aims to dissect the cultural construction of disabled bodies by analysing how ableism is legitimised amid narratives of inclusivity, and how persons with disabilities respond to it through agency and micro-political strategies. This study uses qualitative methods with an ethnographic approach involving 13 participants with physical disabilities. Data collection was conducted from November 2024 to the first week of May 2025 through participant observation and in-depth interviews (life history). Theoretically, this thesis bridges the tension between Pierre Bourdieu's structural determinism and James C. Scott's tactical agency to analyse the dialectic between cultural domination and participant resistance. The research findings identify three faces of ableism that support symbolic violence in Yogyakarta: (1) Social Ableism, in the form of microaggressions normalised by paternalistic culture and ethics of politeness (unsolicited assistance); (2) Structural Ableism, where public facilities exist merely as symbols (*dassolen*) that are functionally inadequate and dangerous; and (3) Representational Ableism, in the form of tokenism that reduces participants to objects of policy legitimisation without substantive involvement. In response, participants do not act passively but apply dialectical resistance strategies. In the social dimension, participants accumulate cultural capital and demonstrate bodily autonomy. In the structural dimension, resistance manifests through the creation of cognitive maps and the modification of vehicles as material agencies that create *crip* spacetime. In the representational dimension, resistance is present through selective rejection of formal ceremonial activities. This study concludes that resistance to ableism in Yogyakarta faces critical ambivalence; in order to gain recognition, participants are forced to adopt a logic of productivity that risks reproducing existing value hierarchies. Therefore, an urgent transition from performative inclusion to substantive social justice is needed.

Keywords: Ableism, *habitus*, agency, micro politics, persons with disabilities