

Social Practices of Students with Disabilities in Inclusive School: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Habitus, Capital, and Field

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ABSTRACT. Establishing inclusive education is essential to achieving equality and fairness, particularly for students with disabilities. The emergence of discrimination has challenged the implementation of social practices in an inclusive school to guarantee the participation of students with disabilities academically and socially. This study empirically examines the social practices of these students within an inclusive school setting through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice, focusing on the interplay of habitus, capital, and field. Qualitative methods, employing a case study approach, were utilized. The case study was conducted at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School in Malang, an inclusive school that has developed various innovative programs to optimize the education of students with disabilities. Data were gathered through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and documentary analysis. The findings indicate that: (1) The unique habitus of students with disabilities shaped by family background and life experiences significantly influences their adaptation and self-perception; (2) Students strategically utilize various forms of capital (social, cultural, and symbolic) to navigate and integrate into the school environment; and (3) The school as a field through policies, teacher and principal roles, and social structures plays a critical role in enabling or constraining participation and inclusion. The study concludes that the dynamic interaction between habitus, capital, and field profoundly shapes the ability of students with disabilities to form relationships and construct their identities in inclusive educational contexts. These findings underscore the need for comprehensive policy interventions, teacher professional development, and ongoing institutional support to create truly inclusive environments. Recommendations for future research include exploring the long-term sustainability of such models and their applicability across diverse socio-cultural settings.

Keywords: Inclusive School, Pierre Bourdieu, Social Practice, Students with Disabilities

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INTRODUCTION

Inclusive education is a fundamental pillar in achieving fairness and equality within the education system, ensuring that all learners, including those with disabilities, have equitable access to quality learning opportunities (Abidin et al., 2025; Husnaeni & Burga, 2024; Rokhimawan et al., 2025). It has been proven to promote positive attitudes, social integration, and improved academic outcomes for both students with and without disabilities (Okech et al., 2021). The conception of inclusive schooling emerged as a counter-response to the segregative education system that marginalized students with disabilities from mainstream environments (UNESCO, 1994). Inclusive

education is not merely about academic participation but also about fostering self-perception, peer interaction, and a sense of belonging (Amiama Ibarguren et al., 2017); (Deroncele-Acosta & Ellis, 2024). Despite its conceptual strength, implementing inclusion often presents challenges, particularly in developing genuine social interaction among students in diverse learning environments (Jacob et al., 2024; Kartiko et al., 2025; Taqiyah et al., 2025).

However, the implementation of inclusive education in Indonesia still faces significant obstacles. Stigmatization, discrimination, and marginalization of students with disabilities persist within inclusive school settings (Hehir et al., 2016); (Murtiasih et al., 2024). National data reveal that approximately 22.97 million Indonesians live with disabilities, yet the participation of children with disabilities in formal education remains low-36% of them are not enrolled in any educational institution (Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI, 2022); (UNICEF Indonesia, 2023). Although inclusive education policies such as Government Law No. 13 of 2020 have been introduced, a wide gap persists between policy and implementation (Purba & Mangunsong, 2020); (Riswari et al., 2022). Limited teacher competence, lack of confidence in handling special needs students (Ata et al., 2021), and minimal professional training remain barriers to realizing inclusive education goals (Ahsan Romadlon Junaidi & Romadlon Junaidi, 2019); (Kuyini et al., 2020); (Ainscow, 2020). These conditions illustrate that inclusion is not only a pedagogical issue but also a social and structural challenge requiring deeper investigation into how students with disabilities experience and negotiate inclusion in everyday school life.

To explore this complexity, the present study employs Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice-comprising habitus, capital, and field-to analyze how students with disabilities construct their social practices in inclusive settings (Imamah & Wahyudi, 2020). Previous studies have used Bourdieu's framework to understand aspects of inclusion but have done so partially. Imamah and Wahyudi (2020) revealed how habitus and capital shaped classroom interactions, while (Aisah et al., 2025; Ardianto, 2013) explored capital development among children with autism without considering the structural influence of the field. (Qomaria & Listyani, 2019) distinguished between extroverted and introverted students but did not examine the dynamic interplay among all three Bourdieusian dimensions. Consequently, the literature lacks a comprehensive, integrated analysis of how habitus, capital, and field interact simultaneously to form the lived experiences of students with disabilities within an inclusive school context (Reay & Reay, 2022).

This study seeks to fill that gap by providing an integrated, context-specific exploration of social practices among students with disabilities in an inclusive school in Indonesia. Conducted at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang-an inclusive reference school implementing an innovative “without shadow teacher” system-this research investigates how students with disabilities negotiate their positions, identities, and interactions within the school field. Specifically, it aims to (1) identify the unique habitus shaped by students' family backgrounds and life experiences, (2) analyze the types of capital (social, cultural, and symbolic) they mobilize to adapt, and (3) map the school field dynamics that influence participation and inclusion. The novelty of this study lies in its holistic application of Bourdieu's triadic model to uncover the micro-mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, demonstrating how institutional structures and individual agency intersect to shape students' social experiences. By extending Bourdieu's theory into the context of Indonesian inclusive education, this research provides both theoretical advancement and practical insights for strengthening inclusive school practices and policies.

METHOD

This research utilized qualitative approach with a case study model. Qualitative model was used to deeply understand the social phenomena, particularly social practices among students with disabilities in an inclusive school environment. The case study was used to explore a specific context in the Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang as a research location. An intrinsic case study was performed, and the main research object was a specific case (social practice in

Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang), so the dynamics could be unveiled profoundly. It allowed the researcher to acquire a holistic and contextual dataset.

The research subjects were selected through a purposive sampling method, and they were selected based on particular criteria. There were 12 informants, consisting of 5 students with disabilities, 3 non-disabled students who interacted with the previous group of students, 3 teachers, and the principal of the school. All of them were involved in an inclusive education process. Students with disabilities were the primary subjects of this research, as their experiences and needs based on various disabilities would be disclosed. The non-disabled students who interacted with students with disabilities were included to observe the dynamic of social interaction and relationship among the students of an inclusive school. The three teachers were selected as key informants because they were the educators most directly and consistently involved in implementing inclusive teaching practices and facilitating social and academic interactions involving students with disabilities. Although the number of teachers is fewer than the number of students with disabilities, these teachers including both subject teachers and special assistance teachers were responsible for whole-class and small-group instruction, and were therefore able to provide rich, contextualized data on classroom interactions and inclusive pedagogy. Finally, the school principal was interviewed to gain broader perspective on school-level policies, support systems, and the overall implementation of inclusive education.

The data was comprised through participatory observation, in-depth interview, and literature review. Participatory observation was performed to observe the social practices directly by blending in with the students, whether they are students with disabilities or non-disabled students, during their learning process at school. The researcher observed some behaviors and social practices interactions from the research subjects. The next stage was to conduct in-depth interviews to strengthen the data from the observation results. These interviews were conducted with subject teachers and special assisting teachers. After that, interviews with subject teachers and special guidance teachers were conducted to explore the subjects' perceptions, experiences, and views on social practices in the school environment. Some literature reviews were also useful as a complement to research. Researchers collected documents such as school records, inclusive education policies, and student activity reports.

Data analysis was carried out using Miles and Huberman's data analysis model, consisting of three stages: data reduction, data presentation, conclusions, and verification (Saldana, 2014). Data from observations of students with disabilities, self-reflection journals, and interviews with teachers were transcribed carefully and in detail. The collected data was reduced by categorizing based on emerging themes, such as interaction patterns, supporting factors, and barriers in social practices. The reduced data was presented in the form of descriptive narratives to facilitate data interpretation. Researchers analyzed the data thoroughly to answer the problem formulation and relate it to relevant theories. To ensure the validity of the data, the researcher used source triangulation (comparing data from students, teachers, and documents) and method triangulation (combining the results of observations, interviews, and document studies). The results of the analysis were then formulated into conclusions to answer the research problem.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Result

Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang is the first secondary education institution to implement an inclusive education system in the central area of Malang City. This school has integrated students with special needs with regular students in the same learning environment, under the principles of inclusive education. This policy is in line with the Regulation of the Minister of Education of the Republic of Indonesia Number 70 of 2009 concerning inclusive education, which requires every school to provide equal opportunities for all students. The number of students at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang as of 2025 is 338 students. Of this number, there

have been 30 students with various disabilities such as Autism, Slow Learners, Speech Disorders, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), and Down Syndrome.

Since 2011, Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang has consistently developed various empowerment programs for students with disabilities. Some developed programs in this school include: special students without shadows, My Friend is My Mentor, Innovative Waqf for inclusive education, and the “BenangMu” learning model. Due to its commitment and various innovations in 2015, the school was selected as a reference school for implementing inclusive education by the Malang City Education and Culture Office. This school has these pillars as its vision: an Islamic, innovative, and humanist school. Humanism is a form of siding with students with disabilities. This research uses the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu’s social practice theory, which is divided into three types of theoretical perspectives: habitus, capital, and field.

The Form of Habitus in Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities in the Muhammadiyah 2 Malang Junior High School demonstrated various interaction patterns. One of the influencing factors was that the types of disabilities in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang were varied, such as: Autism, Slow Learners, Speech Disorders, ADHD, And Down Syndrome. Some students in the Slow Learner category were able to interact almost equally with regular students, so they projected high self- confidence in communicating with other friends. There was almost no difference with non- disabled students. In contrast, students with severe disabilities experienced barriers in communicating, especially with new people. Students with disabilities in this category demonstrated individual behavior and tended to have friendship networks only with fellow disabled friends.

Classroom observations and interviews with teachers revealed that most students with disabilities participated actively by asking and answering questions. However, their responses were often irrelevant to the material being taught, indicating differences in the intellectual level of students with disabilities compared to non-disabled students. Despite having intellectual limitations, students with disabilities continue to exhibit a high level of curiosity in the learning process. Meanwhile, some students with disabilities had a passion for certain fields. One student disability, for example, mastered multiple musical instruments, guitar, bass, drums, and keyboard. Even exceeding the abilities of non-disabled students.



Figure 1 Learning Activities by Disabled and Non-Disabled Students in SMP Muhammadiyah 2 Malang (Fun Cooking Class)

Source: Documentation by Researcher

The habitus formation of students with disabilities at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang in adjusting to the inclusive school environment required a different timing. Students with severe disabilities (e.g., Down Syndrome, ADHD, Autism) required months to adjust. Parental

involvement also significantly influenced this process, some parents provided strong support, while others, due to work constraints, were less engaged. Special Assisting Teacher admitted,

“Some parents do not have time to take their child to therapy or communicate with teachers.

Although this case was merely a small part, the majority of parents at this school displayed a high level of concern, both through regular communication with teachers and by providing additional therapy for students with disabilities.” (Interview with a Special Assisting Teacher, dated 17 March 2025).

Special assisting teachers also found various efforts by parents to support their children in adapting to the school environment, such as giving sedatives to ease their adaptation process during assessments. Nevertheless, this practice has been prohibited by the school because it only had short-term effects.

Schools have an important role in shaping the habitus of students with disabilities. Special Assisting Teachers (GPK) in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang performed a thorough assessment of the students and their guardians during the school admission period to understand communication pattern and their family dynamics. Based on data from document observations, shows that students with disabilities who receive good communication support at home tend to adapt more easily in the school environment. Not all parents actively supported the full participation of students with disabilities. Some busy parents were inclined to pay less attention to the needs of students with disabilities.

The adjustment of students with disabilities in the Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang cannot be separated from the attitudes of non-disabled students. In general, non-disabled students could accept the presence of disabled students in an inclusive school environment. Communication barriers are one of the factors that influence the level of intimacy in social interactions. However, after five years (2011-2016) of implementing inclusive schools at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang, there have never been any cases of rejection of students with disabilities. Based on classroom observations all non-disabled students projected empathy towards students with disabilities, by assisting when students with disabilities experience difficulties in both learning activities and daily activities at school, such as clearing tables, tying ties and shoelaces, buttoning clothes, and other activities.

Form of Capital for Students with Disabilities

Based on research findings at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang, the types of existing capital were: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital. Economic Capital, the economic background of students with disabilities at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang was very diverse, ranging from parents who work as state officials (police/military), prosecutors, entrepreneurs, teachers, housewives, to the unemployed. Of the 30 disabled students, more than 25% came from underprivileged families. Social Capital, the majority of disabled students at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang had a close circle of friends with fellow disabled students. Some students also developed relationships with non-disabled students, although these were fewer in number. The dynamics of social interaction are widespread, and there are even emotional relationships that develop between fellow disabled students, including feelings of mutual liking (falling in love) between them. Cultural-symbolic capital, Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang has disabled students with very superior skills and knowledge.

“We believe that every student at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang, including students with disabilities, has unique potential that needs to be developed. Islamic values and an inclusive school culture are the main foundations in encouraging them to excel. For instance, Abrar was able to memorize 10 chapters of Al- Qur'an only by listening to them, Evan was very passionate about playing musical instruments, Faza was talented in dancing and modeling, and Ilyas (an alumnus) won an international badminton competition. They were all supported by the school, which appreciates the diverse talents of its students. We

grant regular awards, such as a champion cup or non-material appreciation, to motivate them in developing themselves." (Interview with a Special Assisting Teacher, dated 17 March 2025)

According to the interview about diverse students' skillset, the academic constraints do not hinder students with disabilities from excelling in other fields. Furthermore, awards are given as an appreciation for self-development in many aspects during their study at school.

To encourage their potential, the school facilitates every student' needs. In 2025, the school purchased musical instruments for all students, both with disabilities and non-disabled ones. An entitlement towards student' achievement is also attested through a certificate of appreciation, as a motivation to elevate their confidence so that they feel appreciated and supported in developing their talents. The school grants awards to almost all students with disabilities who have certain achievements. This appreciation system helps build a positive image of students with disabilities from the perspective of the school community.

The journey towards inclusiveness at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang has encountered various challenges. At the beginning of the appointment of inclusive schools, students with disabilities often experienced marginalization through rejection and neglect. Thus, stigma and discrimination should be eradicated to guarantee human rights (UNICEF Indonesia, 2023). As awareness of the importance of inclusive education increases, the stigma is gradually disappearing. Recently, students with disabilities have been able to work side by side with other students on an equal basis in various school activities.

The Role of School as a Field in Shaping Social Practices

In an inclusive school environment, education as a field becomes an arena for social interactions, power structures, and cultural production that shape the social practices of students with disabilities. Based on the researcher's findings, social interactions at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang were not dominated by non-disabled students, but rather upheld the value of equality. Analysis of the social hierarchy structure proves that all students are positioned equally in the social system in the classroom. This system allows students with disabilities to have equal opportunities to lead and participate fully, albeit in different forms. The School Principal emphasized, "*We do not tolerate any form of discrimination. Every student, regardless of their condition, has the same right to participate in all school activities*" (Interview with a School Principal, dated 17 March 2025).

The school environment shapes social practices among students with disabilities in inclusive school environments. Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang has implemented a policy that has emphasized equal access to education for all students, including students with special needs. This policy has included the allocation of resources for students with disabilities, both in the form of infrastructure that supports student mobility and teaching staff who have competence in inclusive education. A Special Assisting Teacher (GPK) explained, "*We not only provide ramps and accessible toilets but also ensure that learning materials can be adapted to individual student needs*" (Interview with a Special Assisting Teacher, dated 17 March 2025).

Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang designed a comprehensive program to advance the teachers' quality through competency enhancement training of special assisting teachers. The program aims to strengthen teachers' pedagogical capacity to respond to the specific needs of students with disabilities. Special assisting teacher acted as an academic facilitator and mediator who bridged social relations between students with disabilities and other actors at school. A subject teacher shared, "*This training helped me understand different teaching strategies to ensure no student is left behind*" (Interview with a subject teacher, dated 17 March 2025).

Moreover, the school administered a specific additional allowance for special assisting teachers to motivate them to maintain better performance. This special funding allocation

demonstrates the school's financial commitment to creating a responsive learning environment.

The School Principal added,

“This allowance is our form of appreciation for the extraordinary dedication shown by the special assisting teachers” (Interview with a School Principal, dated 17 March 2025).

Since 2024, this school has developed “Innovative Waqf”, an inclusive education financing model through a waqf scheme. The activities were comprised of donating used cooking oil, musical equipment, learning media for disabled students, and so on. The development of endowments for the learning needs of students with disabilities is a form of symbolic capital for students with disabilities.



Figure 2. Collecting the Used Cooking Oil by Disabled and Non-Disabled Students

Source: Documentation by Researcher

Discussion

The Form of Habitus of Students with Disabilities

Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1990) defines habitus as a mental and cognitive structure that shapes individual actions in society. In the context of inclusive schools, the habitus of students with disabilities is formed from the interaction of students with their social, family, and cultural environment. The results of the study showed that there was diverse behavior and habits of students with disabilities at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang that occurred in interacting, participating in learning, and adapting to school regulations.

One of the influencing factors is that the types of special needs in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang are distinguished. Students with mild disabilities can interact well, while students with severe disabilities experience difficulties in communicating, especially with new people or acquaintances. It indicates that habitus in students with disabilities is influenced by the level of boundaries and support received from the surrounding environment. Aligned with Murti's argument (Murti, 2024), students with disabilities feel more comfortable socializing with fellow students with disabilities in an inclusive environment, because students feel more accepted and understood. However, some disabled students have succeeded in building positive relationships with non-disabled students, especially through collaborative activities such as group work or extracurricular activities that allowed them to work together.

Disabled students at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang have advantages in certain fields, even exceeding the abilities of non-disabled students. This advantage shows that the habitus is influenced by their cultural capital, for instance, the musical skills. Habitus results from skills that become practical actions, which are then translated into a natural ability and developed in a particular social environment (Fatmawati, 2020).

The habitus formation of disabled students at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang in adaptation requires a variation of times. Each student has a different style of adapting according to their disability category. The role of parents is another factor that influences the habitus of students with disabilities. The special assisting teachers revealed that parents sought various ways

to help their children adapt to the school environment, such as undergoing therapy. The school recommends behavioral therapy and adjustments to students' lifestyles, including sleep patterns, eating patterns, cell phone usage habits, and so on. This is very important to assist students with disabilities in shaping their personalities.

The adaptation of disabled students at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang cannot be separated from the attitudes of non-disabled students. In general, non-disabled students can accept the presence of students with disabilities in an inclusive school environment. There have never been any cases of rejection of students with disabilities during the five years of implementing an inclusive school at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang. All non-disabled students demonstrate their empathy towards students with disabilities. Furthermore, it displays a stronger process of internalizing inclusive values at school. Inclusive habits are also beginning to form within the community of non-disabled students, thus reflecting the school's success in instilling the values of inclusiveness. The school without shadow teacher program explains the reality of acceptance of students with disabilities. While other schools expect each child to have a shadow teacher, the school avoids a specific shadow teacher. In this school, regular students act as mentors and same-age psychologists for students with disabilities to foster an inclusive culture quickly and empathy among students.

The Capital Form of Students with Disabilities

Capital is formed through habitus. It is a collection of resources (both material and non-material) owned by individuals or certain groups to accomplish a specific goal, and it determines one's position in the social structure (Martono, 2018). This capital is composed through a long-term development and internalization process. Thus, it is strongly correlated with habitus. According to the research findings in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang, types of capital are: economic capital, social capital, and cultural-symbolic capital.

The economic background, which is included in economic capital, of students with disabilities ranges from several levels. Most parents of students with disabilities have decent work, yet some of them could be categorized as economically deprived communities. Parents from a stable economic level tend to register their children to participate in therapy sessions. However, some parents do not have awareness and demonstrate their responsibilities to involve their children in suitable therapies, and fight for equal rights and opportunities for students with disabilities. According to Jannah (Wahyudi & Huda, 2019); (Miftakhul, 2020), lack of knowledge and restricted financial conditions were why the parents did not understand the procedure to care, assist, and fulfill the needs of students with disabilities. Parents play a central role in supporting the growth, development, and protection of children with disabilities, particularly in their education (Sumarsono et al., 2016); (Sumarsono et al., 2019).

Social Capital: The majority of students with disabilities in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang are involved in a close circle of similar friends. This pattern displays that they are more comfortable interacting with friends who have a similar life experience. Some students also befriend non-disabled students, although the number is likely lower. Motivation and support from peers are required for them to be more comfortable and to be capable of socializing in an inclusive school environment (Angga Huky et al., 2024; Geng et al., 2019; Isnaeni et al., 2025). The school absolutely reinforces the development of students with disabilities by implementing some policies that promote understanding without avoiding additional responsibilities. If they make mistakes, they will receive educational consequences, so the students understand the boundaries of accepted behavior.

Cultural-symbolic capital, the cultural-symbolic capital is the most important aspect due to its power in influencing the whole types of capital. The influence has started since a person is born; as these cultures are inherently existing within the surrounding environment, the person would be affected whether they are aware or unaware. The Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang

has students with disabilities who retain eminent skills and knowledge. Academic constraints do not hinder them from obtaining some achievements in other aspects.

The school facilitates every student's needs to support their self-potential development. Meanwhile, awards are given as appreciation to motivate students' development in many aspects at school, enhance students' confidence, so that students with disabilities feel acknowledged and encouraged to advance their passion. The system realization helps build a positive image of students with disabilities.

The results prove that economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capitals are crucial in determining the social practice of students with disabilities in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang. Economic support and friendship help them adapt more effectively. Recognition of their skills also strengthens their cultural capital. In addition, changes in the

attitudes of the school community have increased symbolic capital, reduced stigma, and created a more inclusive environment (Aziz et al., 2025; Balqis et al., 2025). According to Deroncele's findings (Deroncele-Acosta & Ellis, 2024), interactive activities and collaborative projects can foster empathy and strengthen bonds between both disabled and non-disabled students to reduce stigma and discrimination against disabled students. Therefore, a sustainable, inclusive education strategy is required to ensure that all students, both disabled and non-disabled, can thrive optimally in a supportive environment.

The Role of School as Field in Shaping Social Practices

According to Bourdieu, a field is a competitive social space where various interactions, transactions, and social events occur (Fatmawati, 2020). In an inclusive school environment, the educational field becomes an arena for social interactions, power structures, and cultural production that shape the social practices of students with disabilities.

Social interaction at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang is not dominated by merely non-disabled students, but upholds the value of equality. In other words, social relation structure in the classroom is not determined by the hierarchy of skills or majorities-minorities dynamic, but the value of equality internalized through pedagogic activities. The role of teachers is significant as a dominant agent in the education field. Teachers, in this context, act as cultural arbitrers who actively shape power relations through education about the way to interact with students with disabilities. This practice reproduces symbolic capital as in the norm of equality, which becomes a doxa in the inclusive education field. The mechanism is aligned with Bourdieu's concept of productive symbolic violence, which is used to deconstruct traditional hierarchy (Purnomo & Solikhah, 2021; Putri, 2020).

All students are equally positioned in a social system of the classroom. It allows students with disabilities to lead and participate in various activities, even though they perform differently. According to Bourdieu's perspective (Bourdieu, 1990), it displays social and symbolic capital recognition of students with disabilities, which is not subordinated by dominant capital, such as in cultural capital. Social practice results from capital redistribution and social values reposition, where various types of disabilities do not restrict access to symbolic participation in the classroom communities.

School field substantially shapes social interaction among students with disabilities in an inclusive school environment. It revolves around inclusive education policies, social engineering, psycho-social support, and learning adjustment, which ensure harmonious interaction among these students with their non-disabled peers. Inclusive education should be able to connect and facilitate social interaction between both groups of students (Dulisanti, 2015). Special assisting teacher is expected to bridge this interaction as a academic facilitator and social mediator (Enes et al., 2024; Masitah et al., 2024; Rohmadi et al., 2024). They ensure that every student, both those with disabilities and non-disabled students, obtain optimum learning experiences. It aims to create an adaptive environment towards the needs of students with disabilities while maintaining an adjustable academic standard for all students.

Meanwhile, Gusti's research (Gusti, 2021) found that there was no dedicated special assisting teacher in an inclusive education program hosted by Public Senior High School 6 Mataram. However, the school employed inclusion teachers who also worked as subject teachers. The school decided to implement such a policy because it presumably could perform the learning process with an inclusive classroom model. Regardless of their initial competencies, inclusion teachers shared their needs for continuous further training to provide a treatment program for students with disabilities. Comprehensive training program development was compellingly required as it advanced teachers with differentiation strategies, class management, and assisting technology usage (Deroncele-Acosta & Ellis, 2024). The facilities and infrastructure for students with disabilities at school were not sufficiently provided.

In contrast to the Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang, it indicated its commitment towards inclusive education through special funding allocation for particular activities of the students with disabilities. The fund was allocated for several empowering school activities, such as special student competitions, "the inclusive camp" which was held annually, handicraft training to enhance their fine motor, therapy for students with autism (partnered with professional therapist), awarding event, learning through arts and English twice in a week conducted by an expert teacher for students with autism. Moreover, the school administered a specific additional allowance for special assisting teachers to motivate them to perform a better job. Special fund allocation displays the financial commitment of the school to create a responsive learning environment. Since 2024, this school has developed "Innovative Waqf", as a funding model for inclusive education through the waqf scheme. Some activities related to this movement are: waqf of waste cooking oil, musical instruments, learning media for students with disabilities, and others. Waqf development can be an alternative to fulfill the learning needs (Bulut, 2021) it also a realization of symbolic capital provided for student with special needs.

Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang demonstrates flexibility and an open hand by developing partnerships with several parties, such as universities, other communities, and the people concerning inclusive education. The school makes a substantial contribution in creating healthy social interaction for students with disabilities and non-disabled students. A mixed-class system applied at school opens the possibilities for them to interact more intensively. The school also enforces a learning policy without shadow teacher to build independence of students with disabilities and to grow the empathy of non-disabled students. It is strengthened with a counseling program under the supervision of a special needs teacher who regularly provides education for non-disabled students regarding their interaction with students with disabilities. Teachers and staff actively guide non-disabled students to understand and appreciate their differences. The empathetic attitude promoted by non-disabled students towards students with disabilities determines successful indicators of social engineering at school. School is an important factor in the interaction process of students with disabilities, particularly if it also enhances the relations between teachers and parents (Imron et al., 2023; Sumarsono et al., 2016);(Hrabéczy et al., 2023).

Social Practices among Students with Disabilities

The social practices formed among these students in Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School Malang have been greatly impacted by habitus, capital, and field. Habitus, as a mental and cognitive structure shaping an individual's actions, was distinctively observed in their attitudes at school. Students with minor disabilities, such as slow learners, demonstrated a habitus similar to healthy students, including in self-confidence during any interaction. In contrast, students with Down Syndrom, Autism and ADHD, tend to be individualistic, and they require a longer time to adapt. Active participation from students with disabilities in learning, even though it is sometimes irrelevant to teaching materials, demonstrates habitus formed from curiosity and support from the living environment. Moreover, the students' potential in certain aspects, for instance in music or Al-Qur'an recitation, also presents how cultural capital forms a unique habitus admitted within the school. (Junaidi et al., 2021) conducted a study revealing that eight out of fifteen students with Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) were unable to recognize emotional expressions, significantly

hindering their ability to engage in reciprocal communication. Furthermore, only 40% of these students could respond appropriately to questions, while 33.3% could speak without expressive facial cues, and 26.7% were non-verbal. These communication challenges often lead to social isolation and heightened vulnerability to discrimination, particularly among those with severe disabilities.

Students with disabilities' social capital is also seen from their circle of friends, both from their peers with disabilities and non-disabled students. Peers' support, as observed through non-disabled students' assistance in handling tantrums of their disabled schoolmates, works as a significant sample of how social capital facilitates inclusion. Cultural capital, such as musical skills or Al-Qur'an recitation skills, is acquired through awards and facilities provided by the school (Bhat & Bisati, 2025; Sabarudin et al., 2023). However, this recognition is limited to non-academic fields, that has not yet presented equality in dominant values of cultural capital. Symbolic capital is reflected through the school's initiatives to reduce stigmatization through certificates of appreciation and inclusive policies, even though the challenges as early marginalization, remained in the traces of social dynamics. Inclusive education can connect students with disabilities to meet and socialize with non-disabled students (Dulisanti, 2015).

The field at school as an arena of capital and power competition plays a central role in shaping social practices (Martono, 2018). Teachers, as cultural arbitrers, educate their non-disabled students to accept differences, so they help to create equal power relations. Increasing the numbers and availability of teachers who teach students with disabilities ensures that every child will obtain a fair and quality education (Hrabécz et al., 2023). School's policies, such as particular funding allocation and shadow teacher training, will strengthen the symbolic capital of students with disabilities. In addition, the school's flexibility in adjusting the learning programs and social interaction reflects its initiatives to deconstruct traditional hierarchy, despite the existing challenges as in stigmatization.

CONCLUSION

This study examined how the interaction of habitus, capital, and field shapes the social practices of students with disabilities in an inclusive school context. The findings reveal that inclusive education at Muhammadiyah 2 Junior High School of Malang is not merely the result of structural reform but is dynamically constructed through social interactions and relational transformations. The habitus of students with disabilities—formed by their type of disability, family support, and personal experiences—plays a central role in determining adaptation and participation patterns. Social and symbolic capital, including peer recognition and talent appreciation, strengthens their identity and self-confidence. Meanwhile, the school as a field supports inclusion through pro-accessibility policies, teacher professional development, and innovative waqf-based funding mechanisms. Collectively, these elements challenge the traditional assumption that physical accessibility alone ensures inclusion, emphasizing instead that genuine inclusivity emerges from everyday social practices.

Theoretically, this research extends the application of Bourdieu's social practice theory in the field of inclusive education by contextualizing it within Indonesia's socio-religious educational landscape. It introduces a distinctive analytical lens through the integration of Islamic-based values and waqf mechanisms as enabling instruments of inclusion. This contributes to the global scholarly discourse by demonstrating how cultural and moral capital can operate alongside social and symbolic capital in promoting educational equity. Practically, the findings encourage schools to foster empathetic peer cultures, provide continuous professional development for teachers, and establish recognition-based programs that empower students with disabilities to participate meaningfully. Policymakers are urged to develop institutional frameworks that ensure sustainable funding and evaluation of inclusive education, particularly in faith-based and community-driven schools.

However, this study is limited by its single-case design and small sample size, which restricts the generalizability of the results. Factors such as gender, type of disability, and socio-economic variation were not comprehensively explored. Future research should employ comparative and longitudinal designs across multiple inclusive schools to examine how the interaction of habitus, capital, and field evolves over time and across diverse socio-cultural contexts. Such studies will not only refine theoretical understanding but also contribute to the formulation of more robust and adaptive models of inclusive education practice.

RECOMMENDATION

According to the result of this research, the research suggests an expansion of social practices understanding within the inclusive education context. Furthermore, it is also suggested to explore the dynamics of social relations among students with disabilities and non-disabled students more deeply, particularly related to the student's role in shaping an inclusive culture. This study only focused on a case study in an inclusive school, hence, further studies might compare interaction patterns in several schools to identify the differences in social practices based on contextual policies, school leadership, and socio-cultural background.

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