



Obstacles in the Implementation of Inclusive Education: A Case Study of Schools in Surakarta

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Article history:

Received : May, 04 2026

Revised : Jul, 03 2026

Accepted : Jul, 08 2026

Abstract: Guarantee for all citizens to access the right to equal education is accommodated through inclusive educational policy. However, many factors have made the policy implementation not running optimally. This research aims to analyze obstacles in the implementation of inclusive education in Surakarta City. As the pilot project of child-friendly city since 2006, the fulfillment of educational rights for children, including children with disabilities, is the prioritized program. The method employed was descriptive qualitative with case study conducted in six schools organizing inclusive education in Surakarta City. A series of interviews and observations have been carried out as main techniques of collecting data. Interview was carried out with three informants involved in the implementation of inclusive education at school: Shadow teacher, Inclusive Coordinator, and Students. Meanwhile, observation was carried out in learning practice and interaction in the class. The result of research indicates that main obstacles include five interrelated structural factors: deficit in quantity and quality of shadow teachers, limited inclusive training for regular teachers, parents' declination to recognize children's condition, governmental regulation inconsistency related shadow teacher and educational basic data, and limited facilities and infrastructures not fully accessible to students with disabilities. To deal with the obstacles synergy is needed between regional government, school, and community through reinforcing regulation related to shadow teachers, teacher training, and facility and infrastructure improvement to achieve non-discriminatory inclusive education oriented toward each student's unique potency.

Keywords: *inclusive school, inclusive education, children with special needs, Surakarta*

I. Introduction

Inclusive education is an educational paradigm guaranteeing non-discriminatory educational rights of all children, including children with special needs, in regular school (Haz et al., 2025). Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and Jomtien Declaration (1990) confirms the importance of access to education for people with disabilities, in Indonesia adopted through Law No.20/23 and Permendiknas (Minister of National Education's Regulation) No. 70/2009 as an inclusive education (Amaliani et al., 2024). Although the policy has existed, its implementation still faces discrepancies. Munawaroh et al. (2025) emphasize that inclusive education needs adaptive curriculum, teacher training, and teacher-parent collaboration as supporting factors, but its implementation is still inhibited by limited infrastructure, social stigma, and often-changing policy. This condition is in line with Andriyan et al. (2022) identifying limited supporting facilities, teacher competency, curriculum flexibility, and school management and resource as main obstacles. Thus, although commitment to create inclusive environment has spread globally and nationally, structural and social obstacles at school level are still real.

Theoretically, inclusive education is based on social justice and human right principles viewing diversity as strength rather than weakness, in education process. UNESCO, through Salamanca Statement (1994), confirms that an inclusive regular school is a means of mitigating discrimination in education most effectively. This need is becoming increasingly urgent in Indonesia. the 2024 National Social-Economic Survey (Susenas) revealed that the participation rate of school for children with special needs decreases dramatically along with education level: 83.39% in 7-12 year age (equivalent to Elementary School) decreases to 60.95% in 13-15 year age (equivalent to Junior High school) and only 35.27% at Senior High School level or equivalent. These discrepancies confirm that a successful inclusive education can be measured not only through the availability of

regulation, but also through the preparedness of all school components, including teacher competency, institutional support, and family involvement (Widhiarti et al., 2024).

Amid the obstacles, the success of inclusive education relies heavily on two key factors: the optimization of shadow teachers' role and the availability of accessible facilities and infrastructures. Haniifah & Efendi (2022) emphasized that the presence of shadow teachers is an important condition before inclusive class can run, but their number has not been adequate in many schools. For example, in SD Negeri Sungai Luhut, the absence of shadow teacher and the limited resources make inclusive practice still at basic level (Mawaddah et al., 2025), while in Surakarta Inclusive Senior High School (SMA Inklusi Surakarta) teacher training and facilities are also still inhibited although they are considered strategic (Azhar & Liestyasari, 2025). This problem is qualitative in nature. Solihin et al. (2024) found many shadow teachers not possessing special education certification so that they have limited competency in developing Individual Learning Program (PPL) and dealing with special behavior. This condition was exacerbated by systemic factor, including unclear regulation related to employment status and financing of shadow teachers and Basic Education Data (Dapodik) system not fully facilitating yet the placement of shadow teachers at non-special school level such as SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta.

Surakarta was selected not merely due to the difference of location, but also because this city has inclusive educational institutional support and relevant school data. A study on two inclusive Senior High Schools in Surakarta showed different strategies in teacher training, policy, and external cooperation, but still faced similar obstacles, including difficult teacher training and limited resource (Azhar & Liestyasari, 2025). This finding confirms that the implementation of inclusive education in Surakarta is still faced with serious obstacles related to the optimization of shadow teachers' role, peer attitude, limited facility and infrastructure, and adaptation of school policy, so that the specific contextual data of this city is important to complement inclusive educational literature in Indonesia.

Surakarta city has been declared to be a Child-Friendly City since 2006 and has a relatively well-established inclusive policy, but the gap between policy and implementation still remains because many formal commitments are not accompanied with equal support and resource. Studies on the obstacles in inclusive education in Indonesia, including Surakarta, still so far tend to focus on one school or one inhibiting factor separately, so that interconnection between structural factors across schools and across levels has not been mapped comprehensively. This research was carried out to fill in the discrepancy by presenting analysis on six schools at various levels and types of organizer (public and private) to map structural obstacles holistically and to identify interconnection between inhibiting factors so far tending to be analyzed partially in the existing literature.

II. Method

This research used a qualitative method with exploratory case study to analyze in depth the implementation of inclusive education in Surakarta City as a contextual "tied system". The case study design was selected as it gives an opportunity to study a complex phenomenon in real condition where the phenomenon is occurring, particularly when the boundary between phenomenon studied and its context is difficult to separate firmly. This research involved 28 informants consisting of 7 shadow teachers or substitute teachers, 15 regular students, and 6 students with special needs, one of each per school. Secondary data was obtained from document of regulations such as UU No. 8/2018 and Permendiknas No. 70/2009. Informant selection was carried out using purposive sampling based on the criterion of direct involvement in the implementation of inclusive education in respective schools.

This research was carried out in six schools organizing inclusive education in Surakarta representing varying levels and status of organizer: SD Negeri Manahan (State) and SD Al Firdaus (Private) at elementary school level; SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (State) and SMP Lazuardi (private) at junior high school level; and SMK Negeri Surakarta (state) and SMA Muhammadiyah 6 Surakarta (private) at senior high school level or equivalent. The selection of six schools - spanning different levels and organizing institutions - aims to strengthen the comparative aspect of research,

and thereby enabling the author to compare the condition of different schools and to identify the pattern of obstacles emerging in different institutions.

Data collection was carried out through non-participatory observation and semi-structured interview. Observation was conducted directly on learning process and interaction pattern without author's active participation to maintain objectivity, while interview was conducted using instrument guide with flexible question to dig into in-depth perspective from Shadow teachers, Inclusion coordinators, and Students. Data validation was carried out using source triangulation, comparing information across informants. The verified data were then analyzed using Miles & Huberman's (2014) interactive model, encompassing data collection, data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing and verification.

III. Results and Discussion

The implementation of inclusive education in six schools studied shows varying services depending on respective institutions' capacity (see Table 1). In SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School), students with special needs were directly placed in regular class with adapted materials and visual aids without shadow teachers. SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Junior High School) applied three service models: full, semi pull-out, and full put-out class, supported with resource room and international partnership. SMP Lazuardi (Junior High School) had most intensive assistance through providing shadow teachers in each class and assessment-based Individual Learning Program. SMA Muhammadiyah 6 (Senior High School) and SMK Negeri 9 Surakarta (Vocational High School) relied on counseling teachers and external party (psychologist, special school) without permanent shadow teachers. This variation reflects a fact that Permendiknas No.70/2009 mandates individual service but does not provide operational technical guide, so that the gap between policy idealism and resource limitation remains in the field (Utami et al., 2023).

A cross-school analysis identifies five interconnected structural factors as the main obstacles in the implementation of inclusive education: (1) deficit of shadow teachers, (2) limited inclusive training for regular teachers, (3) parents' declination in recognizing children's condition, (4) governmental regulation inconsistency, and (4) limited facilities and infrastructures. These five factors are discussed in order below.

To ensure the validity of findings, source triangulation was carried out by comparing information obtained from Shadow Teachers, Inclusion Coordinator, and Students in each school. Consistency was found in five factors. For example, Inclusion Coordinator's complaint about the vacuum of shadow teachers in SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Junior High School) was confirmed separately by Shadow Teachers simultaneously associating it with the problems in Dapodik system, while students' information on difficulty in attending the learning without assistance strengthens direct impact of the vacuum at class level.

The limitation of shadow teachers is the most decisive factor. SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School), SMK Negeri 9 (Vocational High School), and SMA Muhammadiyah 6 (Senior High School) do not have shadow teachers at all, so that the responsibility of assistance moved to class teachers and counseling teachers commonly not having special education background. In SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta, the shadow teacher having ever existed in 2023-2025 was mutated to Elementary School level due to the Dapodik problem. In SMP Lazuardi (Junior High School), six shadow teachers available worked in sharing manner so that they were not always able to give full assistance, while in SD Al Firdaus (Elementary School) the more adequate ratio of shadow teachers was still not enough recalling broad administrative and curricular tasks. These findings are in line with (Kholisna & Nugrahani, 2023) stating that the problem of shadow teachers in Indonesia is structural due to the absence of specific recruitment pathway and standardized competency, and

non-permanent employment status, leading to high turnover and disrupting the consistency of assistance.

Limited inclusive training for regular teachers exacerbated the impact of the vacuum of shadow teachers. Wijaya et al. (2023) mentioned that regular teachers in inclusive schools experience high cognitive burden as they must manage regular students and students with special needs simultaneously without adequate training provision. Social factor contributing to parents' denial or concealment of children condition during admission prevents the school from designing service earlier, a psychosocial phenomenon still rooted strongly in the stigma of disability in Indonesian society (Aryuni et al., 2024).

Nearly all schools face limited facilities and infrastructures. SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School) has had neither special room nor adaptive aid such as multi-story accessible building, SMP Negeri 22 (Junior High School) has not been wheelchair-friendly; SMA Muhammadiyah (Senior High School) has not had stairs accessible to people with disabilities (ramps); and SMK Negeri 9 Surakarta (Vocational High School) still relies on School Operational Grant (BOS) fund for bathroom accessible to people with disabilities. SMP Lazuardi (Junior High School) is better with the availability of ramps and Pelangi Center. Amaliani et al. (2024) confirms that physical accessibility is the key to successful inclusion and school's reliance on BOS fund merely indicates the absence of regional budget allocated specifically to inclusive infrastructures, despite self-declaration of Surakarta as an Inclusive City.

Curriculum adaptation runs without uniform standard. For instance, SMP Lazuardi (Junior High School) developed Individualized Educational Program (IEP) at the beginning of each semester based on individual assessment, SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Junior High School) only provided to students with severe disabilities, while SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School) and SMA Muhammadiyah 6 (Senior High School) was limited to simplify problem and lower Minimum Mastery Criteria (KKM). This gap occurs due to the lack of standardized operational guide. Despite the significant development of Freedom Curriculum, the transition from policy to classroom practice still needs technical training and sustainable supervision (Haz et al., 2025) and therefore the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) principle has not implemented fully in the field.

Social interaction between students with special needs and regular students is varied: very positive in SMP Lazuardi (Junior High School) and SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School) owing to consistent socialization to parents; fair in SMK Negeri 9 Surakarta (Senior High School) despite the tendency of withdrawal among students with physical disabilities; and ever marked with bullying case in SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Junior High School) before improving through parenting program. This quality of interaction is dependent on school culture consistency and collaboration with parents (Aryuni et al., 2024), indicating that positive social acceptance is an output of sustainable character education process rather than created automatically.

The five structural factors aforementioned do not stand alone, but are interlocked creating what is called "obstacle circle" (Figure 1): the absence of shadow teachers exacerbates regular teachers' ability to manage inclusive class so that teachers rely on parents' role, but parents' denial breaks the support pathway, while policy inconsistency and limited facilities reduce the school's space to innovate, in turn increasing workload that should be supported by shadow teachers. This concept is in line with Bronfenbrenner's ecological perspective that child development is the result of interaction between microsystem (class and family) and macrosystem (national policy; thus, intervention in one level only will not break the multi-level obstacle chain (Andriyan et al., 2022).

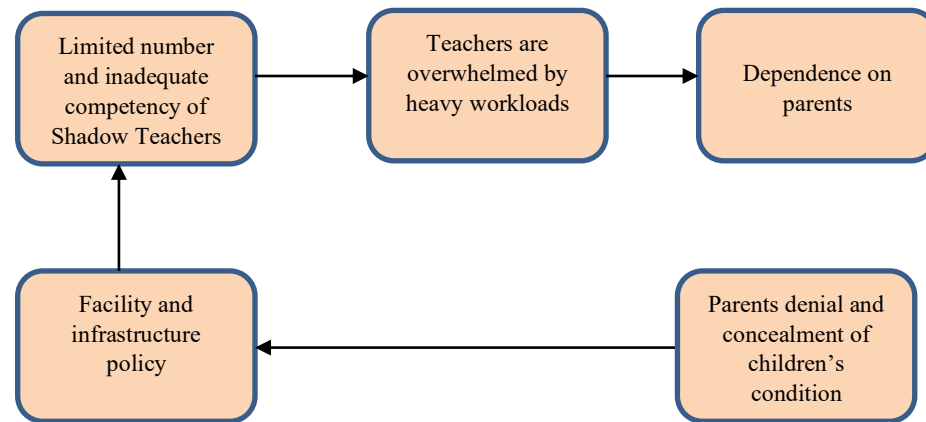


Figure 1. Circle of Scale

Despite some limitations, the schools studied demonstrate creative response according to their own capacities: SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Junior High School) built international partnership (J-NET, JICA) and cross-school shadow teacher forum; SMP Lazuardi applied periodical training for shadow teachers through microteaching; SD Al Firdaus (Elementary School) strengthened self-confidence of students with special needs through monthly life skill program; SMK Negeri 9 Surakarta (Vocational High School) collaborated with Special School and utilized digital technology; and SD Negeri Manahan (Elementary School) developed independent learning creativity such as letter card and mini drama. These varying initiatives confirm that the sustainability of inclusive education cannot rely on teachers' personal initiative only, but strong institutional system, consistent regulation, and well-planned resource support from regional government are needed, as emphasized by Suprihatiningrum (2022) that the success of inclusion is measured not only the physical presence of students with special needs in the class but also from their full and meaningful participation.

Tabel 1. Comparison of Implementation of Inclusive Education between Schools in Surakarta

Parameter of Analysis	SD N Manahan	SD Al Firdaus	SMP N 22 Surakarta	SMP Lazuardi	SMK N 9 / SMA Muh. 6
Availability of Special Education Teacher (shadow teacher)	None	There some Special Education Teacher, adequate number	None (transferred)	There are shadow teachers in each class	None
Curriculum adaptation	Informal differentiation, Minimum Mastery Criteria decrease	IEP modified tiered curriculum	Modified Lesson Plan & EIP for Students with Severe Disabilities	Assessment-Based Systematic IEP	Decrease in academic achievement target
Facilities and Infrastructures	Inadequate (no resource room)	Adequate Therapy & resource room	There is a calm down room; non user-friendly tiered access	Pelangi Center; partial wheelchair access	Bathroom in process; no special ladder is available for children with special needs
Social Interaction	Very positive	Strong inclusive culture	There have ever been bullying case, but it is going better	Very receptive	Quite good; some Children with Special Needs tend to withdraw themselves.
Alternative solution	Letter Card media, mini drama	Self-Reliance Program, PUSPA therapy partnership	JICA Scholarship, Children with Special Needs Friend Volunteers	Training for Special Education Teacher in the beginning of semester	Special Education School Collaboration, cellular digital application

Source: Analysis of Interview Data and Field Observations (2026)

IV. Conclusion and Suggestion

This research concludes that the implementation of inclusive education in Surakarta city is still inhibited by five interconnected and interlocked structural factors creating “obstacle circle”: deficit in the quantity and quality of shadow teachers, limited inclusive training for regular teachers, parents’ denial to recognize children’s condition, governmental regulation inconsistency related to shadow teachers and Dapodik, and limited facilities and infrastructures not fully accessible to students with special needs. The vacuum of shadow teachers is the most decisive obstacle as it compels regular teachers to assume the burden of assistance without adequate training, and policy inconsistencies and limited facilities bound the schools’ room for innovating. These findings confirm that formal policy commitment, including the status of Surakarta as a Child-Friendly City since 2006, has not been accompanied with technical support and equal resource at school level.

Based on the findings, this research recommends three main priorities needing follow-up. First, the reinforcement of regulation related to Shadow teachers should involve drafting regional regulation specifically governing recruitment, placement, employment status, and financing of shadow teachers in inclusive school, and all once separating its administration pathway from regular Dapodik system to enable the placement of shadow teachers to sustainably prioritize the needs of students with special needs. Second, routine, mandatory, and structured teacher training should be provided for all regular teachers in inclusive schools, to reduce teachers’ cognitive burden in managing student diversity and to improve the understanding of Universal Design for Learning (UDL) principle. Third, facilities and infrastructures should be funded through special budget allocation beyond BOS fund to meet the physical accessibility standard according to the Minister of Public Works’ Regulation No. 20/2006. These three priorities were selected because they directly target the root cause of obstacle circle identified, so that the intervention in the three potentially breaks multilevel obstacle chain more effectively than partial correction at school level.

V. Acknowledgment

This manuscript is the result of research conducted under the 2026 Impactful Learning Grant program, conducted as an academic study on the implementation of inclusive education in Surakarta City. This research has not been previously presented at any conference and is not derived from mini thesis, thesis, or dissertation.

The authors would like to express their deepest gratitude to all parties for having provided support and contributions in completing this research. Special thanks are extended to the Principal, Inclusion Coordinator, Special Assistant Teacher, class teachers, and students involved in the nine schools providing inclusive education in Surakarta City: SD Negeri Manahan (Public Elementary School), SD Al Firdaus, SMP Negeri 22 Surakarta (Public Junior High School), SMP Lazuardi, SMK Negeri 9 Surakarta (Vocational High School), and SMA Muhammadiyah 6 Surakarta, having been willing to take the time and provide very valuable information in the data collection process.

This research was supported and funded through the 2026 Impactful Learning Grant Program (Program Hibah Pembelajaran Berdampak). The authors express their deepest gratitude to the program organizers for the trust and support given so that this research can be carried out well.

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