

TEACHING HISTORICAL EMPATHY TROUGH REFLECTIVE LEARNING

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITAS NEGERI SEMARANG in collaboration with MASYARAKAT SEJARAWAN INDONESIA (Indonesian Historical Society)





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THE INDONESIAN TEACHERS' DILEMMAS FROM COLONIAL TO REFORMASIERA: NON-PERMANENT TEACHERS' WELFARE AND **STATUS ISSUES**

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ABSTRACT

This article begins with the historiographic condition of teacher and teacher education which are still rare in demand in Indonesia. The purpose of this article is to describe historically the condition of teacher education, teacher welfare, and teacher status in Indonesia since the Dutch East Indies era to the Reformation era. The sources of the data for this paper are mostly from documents concerning on teacher policies in the past. Oral sources are also used as the complement to the research data. The important findings in this research are (i) there were differences in teacher education between the Dutch East Indies era and independence era that in the colonial era, teacher welfare and status were guaranteed by the government, but the education was still exclusive and very difficult to access by Bumiputera; (ii) teachers in the Japanese colonial era functioned as a means to make Japan win in the Greater East Asia war, welfare was not taken into account; and (iii) during the independence era, the improvement of the teacher status and welfare until reformation era was still becoming a perpetual problem, one of which fulfilled the public discourse was the problem of non-permanent teachers. Historical factors should be considered in managing teacher education and teacher as profession. Therefore, teachers must be seen as historical objects which can enrich Indonesian historiography.

Keywords: historiography of teacher, teachers' welfare, teachers' dilemma, non-permanent teacher.

ABSTRAK

Artikel ini berangkat dari kondisi historiografi guru dan pendidikan keguruan yang masih jarang diminati di Indonesia. Tujuan penulisan artikel ini adalah mendeskripsikan secara historis kondisi pendidikan keguruan, kesejahteraan, dan status guru di Indonesia sejak masa Hindia Belanda hingga Reformasi. Sumber data tulisan ini lebih banyak berasal dari dokumen-dokumen seputar kebijakan tentang guru di masa lalu. Digunakan pula sumber lisan sebagai pelengkap data penelitian. Temuan penting penelitian ini adalah (1) terdapat perbedaan pendidikan keguruan sejak masa Hindia Belanda hingga kemerdekaan, pada masa kolonial, masalah status dan kesejahteraan guru telah dijamin oleh pemerintah, namun pendidikan masih bersifat eksklusif dan sangat sulit diakses oleh kalangan Bumiputera; (2) guru di masa Jepang berfungsi sebagai alat untuk memenangkan Jepang di dalam perang Asia Timur Raya, masalah kesejahteraan tidak terlalu diperhitungkan; dan (3) pada masa kemerdekaan, perbaikan status dan kesejahteraan guru hingga reformasi masih menjadi masalah yang tidak kunjung selesai, salah satu yang memenuhi dikursus publik adalah masalah guru honorer. Faktor historis harusnya dipertimbangkan dalam mengelola pendidikan keguruan dan profesi guru. Oleh sebab itu, guru harus dipandang sebagai objek sejarah yang dapat memperkaya historiografi Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: historiografi guru, kesejahteraan guru, permasalahan guru, guru tidak tetap

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INTRODUCTION

Education cannot be separated from politics, it can even be said that all policies (national and local) about education are basically political decisions (Beeby, 1981: 99). Historically, the efforts to oppose the mixing of political affairs with education have been going on for a long time. However, the realization of that desire failed to be achieved due to the rigorous pressure of the ideology of power in including the elements of short-term interests which actually make education never find the ideal form (Wirt and Kirst, 1982: 98). The reason why education must be separated from the elements of practical political interest is that the world of education requires professional services supported by policies which are stable and not much changed, whereas, in politics, the focus is on short-term interests and more on certain groups' interests. With the jumble of politics in the world of education, it is feared that it will make a massive distortion in the implementation of education.

One of educational elements which is most clearly affected by politics is teacher. Slamet (2014: 332) explained that the condition of teachers since the colonial era until today has not changed much. The discourse raised were that education must be noticed and the need of teacher in various regions was so high. However, there was no academic step taken to solve this issue. While, it turned out that the discourse contained political meaning was only intended to perpetuate power. The efforts to gain education for prospective teachers in the area are so dry, after a period of time, strategic policies for prosperous teachers are very difficult to realize. Wisaraja and Sudarsana (2017: 288) explained that not many have raised problems concerning on teachers and their welfare in various scientific perspectives. Even though, this matter is quite interesting to study, it puts pressure on policymakers in order to improve the condition of teachers in Indonesia. One of the disciplines that deserves to be taken into account in studying this issue is history. From there, the historical roots of the

teacher's life and the educational process from the past will be known.

One of the problems in reading the history of teacher is that the historiography of teacher in Indonesia is still dry. Historical writing about teacher is considered not so important in the context of knowledge. The search for difficulties in finding the historiography of teacher until this point is not enough, teacher, in a historical perspective is actually very potential to be written into a narrative that provides space for discourse debate in it. However, politics has obscured it, this condition also explained that the teachers in Indonesia were positioned in a marginal area which was rarely seen and taken into account. This is inversely proportional to the character development discourse that has been voiced by the government, in the context of character development, the position of teacher holds a central role. Freire (2002: 67) critically saw the issue concerning on teacher will never be resolved as long as the point of view used in looking at the problem is politics. In this context, teachers must be seen as a part of academics in schools which also have important role in nation building. Their life and future must be kept away from political elements.

Still in Freire (2003: 86), he proposed a thesis that when education becomes one of the political objects, the teacher in it is only an extension of power. Teachers are imprisoned in empty spaces of wisdom instead of being tools of change, education becomes a political instrument of power which aims to legitimize power status. That is the power domination that determines the fate of teachers as educational instruments today. Borrowing the term from Lash (2007: 9), teachers live in hegemonic and factual rules. One fact that can be explained is the severity of the influence of power in determining teacher welfare. In fact, according to the character education and development discourses, the position of teacher is in the most important zone. Lickona (1997: 56) explained that teachers hold key positions in character education of a nation. Automatically, teachers should obtain benefits from what have been done and their responsibilities. According to the power relations theory by Foucault (1980: 103), this phenomenon is a part of the articulation of the power-knowledge relationship in modern society.

Teacher in Indonesia is divided into two types, namely teachers as civil servants who are appointed directly by the government and non-permanent teachers, namely teachers who are appointed by the principal because there is a shortage of educators in certain subjects (Rohman, 2016: 67). Non-permanent teachers will be emphasized in this paper as the victims of policies that do not favor them. Nonpermanent teachers do not get the rights as it is given to civil servant teachers. In fact, non-permanent teachers, in some cases, get more workload than civil servant teachers do (Setiawan and Budiningsih, 2014: 12). The perspective of injustice is used as a discourse analysis and tends to be closer to the Hegelian school which puts forward ideas as the driver of history. It is different from Marxian analysis which emphasizes class elements as an object of analysis. Until this day, nonpermanent teachers are still in the stage of struggling for their rights to the government. The efforts, in the next phase, will be transformed into a national movement for the welfare of non-permanent teachers that the ways to achieve it are not only through parliament with discussion of articles of the constitution, but in the case of Indonesia that the teachers conduct demonstrations on the streets to suppress the ruler. This is a unique phenomenon, in principle, teachers hold the title as the endorser of the nation's morality, and every action is inspired by ethical values. Behind that, in struggling for their rights as the endorsers of nation's morality, they carry out demonstration with the aim of putting pressure on the authorities. This phenomenon, in Foucault's analysis, (1983: 134) is seen as an attempt to break the power hegemony which has, at least, disadvantaged certain groups, in this case, nonpermanent teachers act as objects of power oppression. Therefore, it is natural for them to struggle and to achieve prosperity through various methods.

Teacher and development discourses continue to exist until this article has been compiled. The efforts to create a better Indonesian education continue to be a public discourse these days. In addition, the issue concerning on non-permanent teachers' welfare also becomes the discourses that are continuously emerged to create reactions from the authorities. This paper tries to trace the historical roots of teacher education and the quality of their welfare from time to time. As the part of political object, the life of teachers depends on the power relations that take place in a repressive manner. Throughout history, teachers have always been the main instruments in the nation's development efforts, but their position is always underestimated. The teacher discourse cannot be separated from development because in principle, these two things are related to one another. This writing also intends to criticize the historiographic condition of teachers in Indonesia which is currently difficult to find. Theoretically, this writing is historical sociology which is popular in Eastern Europe. This writing, quoting Foucault (1970: 94), does not examine history to find out how the biographies of great people or who is in power in a particular era, but the historical study carried out namely the history of the present.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was carried out using the historical methods. According to Gottschalk (1986: 32), the historical methods are to test and critically to analyze recordings and the relics of the past. Gottschalk (1986: 32) suggests 4 (four) steps in the historical research activities that are mutually sequential, so that one with the others is interrelated. The four steps are heuristics (the search or discovery of sources), source criticism, interpretation (interpretation), and historiography (presentation in the form of historical narratives). The sources of the data for this paper are mostly from documents con-

cerning on teacher policies in the past. Oral sources are also used as the complement to the research data. This article was written critically with the aim of providing an overview of the teachers' direction in Indonesia. Specifically, the discussion is focused on non-permanent teachers who are currently still facing dilemma and becoming public discourse these days.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Teacher Education and Welfare Before the Independence Era

Until 1941, there was a Village School teacher education course (Cursus Opleiding voor Volks Onderwyzer, abbreviated as OV-VO). The duration of education is 2 years after Angka 2 school. OVVO students were prepared to master the subjects of counting, writing, reading, drawing, singing, and playing (sports, body exercise, teaching, and character/morals) which were taught to Village School students. For Angka 2 school teacher, there was a Supporting Teacher Course (KGB) or Cursus voor Onderwijzer (CVO). The curriculum included subjects in arithmetic, reading, writing, local languages, Malay language, life sciences, natural sciences, etiquette, singing, sports, and pedagogy. The duration of the education is 3 years and after graduation, the graduates will get a salary of 7.5 million / guilders per month. Graduates who have good conditions were appointed as head of Vervolgschool. At this moment, teacher had become a very respectable job and therefore, not all people could become a teacher (Gunawan, 1986: 107).

The next is *Normalschool* (NS). This school accepted students from Angka 2 school or 5-6 years SR. The duration of the study is 4 years, and the graduates become teachers in Village School or in Angka 2 school. This school used local languages as the language of instruction and was specifically appointed for male students. The students who were accepted were *Vervolgschool* graduates who have passed the entrance examination (Watson, 1975: 7). After completing this school, before teaching, the graduates must also

have an agricultural certificate for 6 months in Pancasan Bogor (now Bogor Agricultural Institute, IPB). If the graduates have enough experience and showed good achievements as a classroom teacher, teachers graduating from this school can become school principals in a village school with a salary of 25 guilders every month, and even not frequently who were appointed as school owners in Dutch which is called *Opziener* (Nasution, 1983: 38). Moreover, to educate female teachers, there was an NS-level private teacher school, van Deventer School (VDS) which is in policy with the name of its founder, van Deventer. The students were the graduates of the Female Primary School (Meisje Vervolgschool) after studying for 6 years or those who came from HIS (Vikasari, 2012: 179).

To prepare Kindergarten (TK) teachers, there was Froebel School (Froebelschool) whose students were female and graduated from primary school after studying for 6 years or HIS Gelykgestelde (equalized) and Schakelschool which were quite outstanding. The duration of the study is 3 years. In the independence era, this school was renamed the School of Kindergarten Teacher Education (SPGTK). The next is Kweekschool (KS). This school accepted 7 or 8 years HIS graduates. The duration of the study at KS is 4 years with the language of Malay and Dutch. All students were organized to learn socialization, manners, good etiquette, and moral/character. Graduates were appointed as teachers or principal in HIS, Angka 2 School, or at Schakelschool with salary of 75-125 guilders each month (Supriadi et al., 2003: 87).

Hogere Kweekschool (HKS) was a school of prospective HIS or Schakelschool teachers who have received the title of gelykgestelde fully with HIS. Duration of the study is 5 years after 8 or 7 years after studying at HIS. After being appointed as an HIS teacher, HKS graduates can be promoted to become principal based on their achievements in educating the students, they can also be appointed as owner, and can even become KKIP (Head of

Educational Inspection Office or Hoofdschool Opsiener). If their achievements continue to increase, then they can enter Hoofdacte Cursus for 2 years and after graduated, they can become School Inspectur. The oldest institution for teacher education in Indonesia is Hollands-Inlandse Kweekschool (HIK) which was founded in 1852 in Surakarta. HIK was in the same level with Europese Kweekschool (EKS) and Holland-Chinese Kweekschool (HCK). The duration of the study is 6 years, and the students were HIS graduates after studying for 7 or 8 years. These schools used Dutch language. Six-year HIK graduates were appointed as HIS or Schakelschool teachers with a salary of around 175 guilders per month. Those who performed well and have worked for 5 years were promoted to become headmaster (Hoofdacte Cursus), and after that they can occupy important positions in the Education Office (Supardan, 2017: 103).

To be a teacher in secondary schools, certain deeds are needed to be taken through certain courses and examinations (Giroux, 1992: 196). For example, there was *Hoofdacte Cursus* for 2-3 years after studying at HIK and HKS. This course aims to educate potential and the best teachers to be appointed as head of HIS, HCS or ELS with a salary of around 300 guilders every month. The graduates of this course were the pioneers and developers of Indonesian national education together with the graduates of teacher schools held by the private sectors such as Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa, and Pasundan. At the beginning of independence era, only the graduates of this course became the rectors in several universities. In addition, teachers who have an HKS, HIK or equivalent diploma who have interests and skills in certain subjects (for example in language, mathematics, science, history and earth science), have chosen Low Deed (Lageracte) or High Deed (Hogeracte) which gives them the authority to teach in MULO or above (Zed, 1986: 9).

To be able to obtain an overview concerning on the value of money / salary

of the teacher and the principal at that time, as mentioned above, a comparison can be given as follows: the price of 1 kg of rice was only 5 cents or one-twentieth of a rupiah. With 1 cent or one rupiah of money, people can get full breakfast. The price of a 1000 cc Fiat car at that time was around 1600 guilders. With this description, it can be estimated that teacher salary at that time is more than enough to support the lives of teachers and their families (Supriadi et al., 2003: 58).

In addition to institutions of teacher education established by the Dutch East Indies government, there was also the school of teacher education organized by social and religious organizations, for example by Muhammadiyah and Taman Siswa. Besides educating prospective teachers, this schools also instill national, cultured, Indonesian personality, independent (non-cooperative) principles which are summarized in the system among "Ing ngarso sung tulodo, Ing madyo mangun karso, Tut wuri handayani". An educational principle which becomes a reference in determining the direction of Indonesian education policy, which throughout history has been weakened (Zed, 1986: 78). This principle is also what is still used today as the philosophy of Indonesia's national education.

During Japanese occupation, the purpose of teacher education in Indonesia was to help Japan to win the Greater East Asia war. There was no intention of the Japanese occupation government to improve the quality and welfare of SR teachers, so that, at that time, the quality was greatly reduced. Moreover, the number of teacher schools was very limited because, in fact, the Japanese government's occupation at that time did not lead to it. Teacher School (*Shihan Gakko*) also experienced the simplification as table 1.

In the independence era, SGL and SGP were combined into SGB (Low-Level Teacher School or Supporting Teacher School), whereas SGT was changed into SGA (Upper-Level Teacher School) which later became SPG (School of teacher education). SPG, in the Old

Table 1. Teacher Schools during Japanese Occupation Era

No	Name	Explanation
1	Danshi Shihan Gakko (Male Teacher School, abbreviated as SGL)	A school with 4-year study duration after SR whose teaching staffs were Indonesians plus Japanese soldier who trained students' physical safety.
2	Zyooshi Shihan Gakko (Female Teacher School, abbreviated as SGP)	A 4-year school after SR
3	Kooto Shihan Gakko (High Teacher School, abbrevi- ated as SGT)	A teacher school with 1-year study duration which was 1 level higher from teacher schools in the Dutch era
4	Kantei Shikken (Emergency Teacher Course)	A school with 6-month study duration which was appointed for CVO teachers who have studies for 2 years, and the graduates were equalized with the graduates of Normal Schools in the Dutch era

Order era and connecting to the New Order era, became the most popular school for the middle class, this was because the profession as teachers at that time still occupied a good position in the community.

The Dynamics of Teacher Life and Its Problem after Indonesia's Independence

In the period of 1945, Japanese army was defeated by Allied troops. Dutch soldiers who had previously been disarmed and expelled by Japanese soldiers, came back and was assisted by British soldiers (Amin and Kurniawan, 2018: 86). Through what is called NICA (Nedelands-Indische Civiel Administraie), the Dutch tried to re-occupy Indonesia. In this critical period, education continued to run even though it was an emergency. Likewise, school of teacher educations continued to run with some changes. For example, the Kweekschool was renamed Kweekschool Niewe Stijl (KS Gaya Baru or KS Corak Baru) with study duration of 3 years, namely classes 0, 1, and 2. After finishing class 2, the graduates were given a diploma as the secondary school teacher. The subjects given were the same as those in HIK. In the diploma, this school graduates were written for the first time using the name of Corak Baru Teacher School which gave the diploma holders the authority to be appointed as teachers (Zed, 1986: 17).

In 1947, SGB (Supporting Teacher School) was established as a result of the merger of SGL (Male Teacher School)

and SGP (Female Teacher School) which were the incarnation of Shihan Gakko. This year, SGA (Upper-Level Teacher School) was also established, which was the successor to Koto Shihan Gakko (High Teacher School) which was existed in the Japanese era. In the first stage, SGA was established in Yogyakarta, Purwokerto and Surakarta. It should be noted that the territory of the Republic of Indonesia at that time only covered parts of Java. Therefore, this school does not exist in Jakarta, Semarang and Surabaya which were the Dutch occupied territories. In these cities, there were still teacher schools such as HIK. After the inauguration of Indonesian sovereignty in 1949, teacher schools existed in the former Dutch occupied area were merged into SGA. SGA produced its first graduates in 1951 who were immediately appointed as teachers of SMP and SGB (Van der Wal, 1977: 127).

In 1954, because the need of teachers (from SGB and KPKPKB graduates) was sufficiently fulfilled, then, KPKPKB gradually merged into SGB. At almost the same time, courses were opened for teachers who had CVO and NS diploma (from the Dutch era) named B Teacher Education Course (KPGB) with a diploma (equivalent) of SGB, and a Teacher Education Course (KPGA) Course with SGA diploma (Equivalent). As a result of the conversion of KPKPKB into SGB, then the number of SGB was increasing and spread in almost all cities in the country.

Likewise, the number of primary school teachers from SGB graduates have increased many times compared to the beginning of independence era. It resulted in the concerns about the decline in the quality of education in primary schools. For this reason, in 1961, all GBS were merged into SMP and SMEP, while others were developed into SGA as they had at that time (Supriadi et al., 2003: 197).

In the middle of 1960s, SGA was renamed into SPG (School of Teacher Education), whose job was to prepare prospective primary school teachers. The enthusiasm of junior high school graduates to enter the SPG was so high that in the 1960s. Private SPG were established everywhere which resulted in the excess number of SPG graduates. Many of the SPG graduates cannot be appointed as primary school teachers. Fortunately, with the existence of the Inpres Primary School (Presidential Instruction) program which began in 1973, there were around 60,000 SPG graduates could be accommodated at the same time at SD Inpres. This situation recurred in the 1980s because the number of SPG graduates was already excessive, while the pre-service education qualification of primary school teachers was increased to D-II, then the history of the SPG was ended with its conversion into SMU (high school), SMK (vocational school), dan UPP PGSD under the auspices of the LPTK (Teacher Training Agency). In the early 1990s, all State and Private SPG in Indonesia were estimated to "leave" graduates of 350,000, people who did not / had not yet been appointed as teachers because of changes in government policy regarding minimum qualification requirements to become primary school teachers (Supriadi et al. 2003: 120).

The Improvement of Teacher Status/ Welfare in New Order

Nowadays, the issue of teacher status/ welfare is being discussed by many parties. This fact shows that the community has begun to pay attention to the problem of the teacher. The attention of this community did not come by itself, but there are reasons. When it is examined further, we can find that the attention is based on two things, namely the growing awareness and the understanding of the community about the duties and the functions of teacher and the status or welfare of teachers that is not in accordance with the urgency of their duties and functions. For the PGT Directorate, the tendency of people to pay attention to teacher status or welfare is a positive stimulant and therefore must be responded positively. Responding positively means having to find suitable forms of activity, so that, gradually, the improvement of teacher status / welfare will become a reality (Gunawan, 1986: 87).

The improvement of the status / welfare of teachers as an effort which will be more easily initiated if it is based on a legal legality. Even though, there is no formal legal basis, our efforts to realize this purpose can use the following principles: (a) government policy in the education sector; (b) government policy in the field of staffing; (c) technical and administrative requirements for a teacher; (d) public views / opinions based on understanding and awareness of the importance of the role of teachers. These bases began to not be good in the form of government policies or public views / opinions which tended to support efforts to improve teacher status / welfare; while we have to fertilize the third foundation which is internal. and we increase it. However, from those four bases, what needs to be taken seriously is the fourth response, namely the view of the community based on understanding and awareness.

The problem of teacher status which can also be interpreted as "the position of teacher" cannot be separated from welfare problem. Both of them are problems which are closely related to one another. Both have a causal relationship as well as complementary relationships, so the two problems are difficult to separate. To clarify the problem of teacher status, we want to discuss it in two ways. First, the status of teacher is reviewed in terms of the teacher as a member of the community;

Second, teacher status is viewed in terms of the teacher as a professional employee who earns salary.

Teachers, as members of society, are demanded by the community to be able to place themselves in a society that runs and develops in accordance with the norms that apply to the community. For the community, teachers obtain their own place or position. The provision of this status is based on understanding and hope that the community will get something in accordance with the mission carried out by the teacher. If their hopes are missed, then the provision of reasonable status would be faded, so the status of the teachers is getting worse in the eyes of the community (Vikasari, 2012: 78).

Teacher, as a professional employee or worker who earns salary, has its own status. This status is based on prevailing norms which are caused by the working relationship between the paid employee and the salary provider. In this working relationship, the provisions which are requirements that must be fulfilled by both parties are applied. As it is reviewed from the status of the teacher, the requirements imposed on the teacher must always be obeyed if we want the teacher status to not decline (Watson, 1975: 18).

The current state of teacher status, both in terms of the interests of the community, and the interests of the government, are indeed unpleasant. This does not mean that it is due to teacher mistakes or the mistakes of the government and the community, but the situation has not yet supported. Teacher status / welfare is a complex problem, thus, the efforts to solve it cannot be tried unilaterally, but it must be shared between interested parties, namely the teachers themselves, the government, and the community.

In the New Order era, the efforts to improve teacher welfare were intensively carried out (Rohman, 2016: 46). To improve teacher status or welfare, the efforts are needed from several parties, teachers, the government and the community. These efforts are primarily directed at "teacher welfare" both moral and material

which also involve teachers, the government, and the community. The efforts of the teacher include: (a) teacher needs to improve the quality of his profession; (b) keeping standing on the morale and mentality of the teacher; (c) keeping standing on the teacher's code of ethics; (d) being loyal to the government.

The efforts exerted by the government are: (a) constructing policies which support the improvement of teacher status or welfare; (b) conducting realization of policies in the field of teacher welfare; (c) paying attention to prospective teachers (teacher education) and retired teachers; (d) providing facilities according to ability; (e) preparing situations and conditions that are relevant for the implementation of the teaching profession properly. The efforts exerted by the community are expressed in the form of: (a) assisting the efforts exerted by the teachers; (b) assisting the efforts of the government; (c) following the development of education in general and teacher education in particular positively and constructively (Supriadi et al., 2003: 278).

The efforts exerted by those three parties include: supporting the implementation of the teacher's code of ethics, conducting upgrading to improve teachers' quality, improving or perfecting teacher education institutions, and providing lowcost housing for teachers, increasing teacher salaries, providing special teacher allowances, strengthening cooperatives teacher, and providing life insurance for teachers. In the 28th anniversary celebration of the Republic of Indonesia Independence Day in 1973, in the presence of exemplary teachers throughout Indonesia, President Soeharto promised to improve and to increase teachers' salaries. This was reaffirmed in the President's remarks at the opening of the PGRI Congress in November 1973 (Supadan, 2017: 99). This development can be regarded as a step ahead in a series of efforts to improve social status and welfare of the teachers.

The Latest developments: Procurement of Supporting Teachers from the New Order to *Reformasi* Era

In the past five years, starting from 1988, the proposed teacher formation has always not been fulfilled. The average of proposal for teacher needs was only fulfilled by around 20% in the form of a formation of teachers appointed as civil servants. From the calculation according to the existing data showed that public primary schools (SD) experienced a considerable shortage of teachers, while junior, senior high and state and vocational schools experienced the excess of teachers in certain subjects and lack of teachers in other subjects. This shortage includes to fulfill the needs of teachers in new schools and to replace teachers who were retired. This shortage does not take the guidance and counseling teachers into account yet (Nasution, 1983: 56).

The basis in calculation for teacher needs is the Decree of Minister of Education and Culture No. 0386/O/1993 in October 25th, 1993 concerning on Guidelines for Calculating Teacher Needs in Schools in the Primary and Secondary Environment and the Decree of Minister of Education and Culture No. 055/ U/1994 dated March 11th, 1994 concerning on Improvement of Guidelines for Calculating Teacher Needs in Schools in the Dikdasmen (primary and secondary education) Environment which calculates the needs of teachers of Kindergarten (TK), Primary School (SD), Special School (SLB), Junior High School

(SLTP), Public Middle School (SMU), and Vocational School (SMK). The calculation is generally based on the number of study groups or study classes, the number of hours required for teachers to teach per week for each subject (Supriadi et al, 2003: 289).

During the transition period from a centralized system to a decentralized system today, the local government has not been able to appoint new teachers. The most often reasons stated is that there are not enough funds available from own local revenue (PADS) to increase the number of teachers, especially those who are civil servants. Meanwhile, the demand for a 9-year compulsory education program which was extended in 2008 requires a number of teachers (Van der Wal, 1977: 89).

Today, some of the teacher shortage can be fulfilled through the appointment of Non-permanent Teachers (GTT) according to school initiatives. However, their workload is generally not the same as that of a civil servant or permanent teacher (GT), they are given the obligation to teach 24 hours per week and to carry out other administrative tasks. In private schools, the percentage of GTT is greater than in public schools. From 427,903 nonpermanent teachers (GTT) who work in public and private schools starting from kindergarten (TK) to senior high school (SLTA), 295,147 people (69%) are in private schools, and 132,756 people (31%) work in public schools. The qualifications and quality of non-permanent teachers

School Level	The Num- ber of School	Study Group	The Number of Teacher				
Level			PNS (Civil Servant	Depag (Departme nt of Reli- gious Af- fairs)	GTT (Non- permanent teacher)	Total	
1. TK	230	982	9.209	-	306	9.515	
2. SD	136.332	997.757	1.045.547	7.047	45.765	1.098.359	
3. SLB	-	-	9.483	-	72	9.555	
4. SLTP	11.244	132.807	270.248	902	53.146	324.296	
5. SMU	3.014	42.894	119.041	337	24.459	143.837	
6. SMK	791	15.470	38.633	122	9.008	41.763	
Total	151.611	1.189.910	1.492.161	8.408	132.756	1.633.325	

Table 2. The Condition of Public School's Teachers in 2003

Table 3. The (Condition	of Private	School's	Teachers in 2003

School	The	Study Group	Teacher				
Level	Number of		PNS- DPK	Perma- nent	Non-permanent		Total
	School		(Civil Servant)	(foundati on)	Pure	PNS (Civil Servant)	
1. TK	42.667	83.331	1.152	54.767	49.077	176	105.172
2. SD	8.861	82.966	20.121	59.355	36.594	1.347	117.324
3. SLB	-	-	-	2.588	1.736	-	4.324
4. SLTP	9.832	77.239	15.075	81.755	74.011	3.209	174.050
5. SMU	4.699	32.749	8.594	33.428	59.878	4.143	106.043
6. SMK Total	4.534 71.593	42.754 319.093	5.581 50.523	24.706 256.599	73.851 295.147	7.618 16.493	111.486 618.399

Table 4. Non-Permanent Teacher in State and Private Schools in 2003

School Level	Non-Permanent Teacher (GTT) in Public Schools	Non-Permanent Teacher (GTT) in Private Schools	Total
TK	306	49.077	49.383
SD	45.765	36.594	82.359
SLB	72	1.736	1.808
SLTP	53.146	74.011	127.157
SMU	24.459	59.878	84.337
SMK	9.008	73.851	82.859
Total	132.756	295.147	427.903

(GTT) who work in both public and private schools are generally inadequate, as well as the compensation (honorarium) they receive is generally still very low (Supriadi et al., 2003: 278).

To overcome the shortage of teachers, in the short term, the government has exerted the efforts to find the solution through the procurement of Supporting Teachers carried out through contractual work arrangements. The Procurement of Supporting Teachers is conducted through a selection system oriented to teacher competency standards and implemented in an integrated manner through cooperation between the central, provincial and district or city governments. In the long term, if the government's financial condition is possible, teacher recruitment will be carried out through the appointment of teachers with civil servant status as in the previous times (Supardan, 2017: 24).

In 2003, the government (in this case, the Ministry of National Education) has planned to provide Supporting Teach-

ers in the amount of 190,714 people. The Quota of Supporting Teachers for each Province is presented in Table 13.6. This program aims to fulfill the needs of Kindergarten (TK), Primary School (SD), Middle School (SLTP), Senior High School (SMU), and Vocational School (SMK) teachers at the district or city level, and it is expected to support the improvement of the quality of teaching and learning processes in schools and national quality of education, and to avoid the gap in quality of education between regions (Supriadi et al., 2003: 321).

The Implementation of the Supporting Teacher Procurement Program

Supporting teachers are prioritized from non-permanent teacher (GTT) circles, both in public and private schools, and new (non-GTT) teacher candidates who meet the specified criteria. The criteria in question are the conformity with the nationally applicable curriculum, namely: class teachers in kindergarten (TK) and

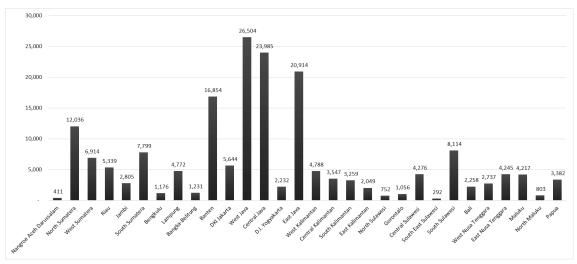


Figure 1. The Quota of Supporting Teachers per Province in 2003

elementary school (SD), subject teachers in special school (SLB), junior high school (SLTP), senior high school (SMU), vocational school (SMK); and Guidance and Counseling teachers in junior high school, senior high school, vocational school, and special school. Districts or cities can obtain supporting Teachers if they have fulfilled the requirements, namely: (a) sending a list of all schools and individual teacher data for the 2002/2003 academic year to the Directorate of Education in the form of a predetermined format; and (b) submitting a quota of Supporting Teacher approved by their respective Regents / Mayors in accordance with the specified quota number and have been described in the form of subject qualifications or guidance and counseling teachers or classroom teachers (Rohman, 2016: 62).

The criteria which must be fulfilled by prospective supporting teachers are: (a) the age is not more than 40 years old at the time of enrollment, (b) the educational qualification is in accordance with the Decree of the Minister of National Education No. 123/U/2001 concerning on Teacher Appointment Guidelines, and (c) passed the selection. Regarding item (b), the Minister of Education Decree stipulates that education qualifications according to level and type of teacher are as follows. (1) Educational qualification for kindergarten (TK) teachers is the graduate of D-II PGTK and in certain circumstances, it is

possible to accept graduates of SPG TK.; (2) Educational qualification for Elementary/Primary School (SD) Teachers is D-II PGSD pre-service program and under certain conditions, it is possible to accept the graduate of the D-II PGSD Inclusion Program, SPG, and SGO; (3) Educational qualification for Junior High School (SLTP) Teachers is the graduate of S-1 education or non-education Bachelor-level who have a Teaching Certificate IV, and under certain conditions, it is possible to receive D-IV graduates, and under certain conditions, it is possible to accept the graduate of D-III/Teaching Certificate III or D -II/Teaching Certificate II subjects; (4) Educational qualification for high school (SMU) and vocational school (SMK) teachers is the graduate of undergraduate (S-1) education or non-education undergraduate who has teaching certificate IV; (5) Educational qualification for Special Kindergarten (TK) and Special Elementary/Primary Schools (SD) Teachers is the graduate of SGPLB, D-III PLB, PLB or Special Education Bachelor; (6) Educational qualification for Special Junior High School (SLTP) teachers and Special Middle School (SMU) teachers is the graduate of S-1 PLB

Supporting Teachers have rights to earn honorarium of Rp. 460,000 per month and deducted with income tax (PPh). All funds to pay the honorarium of supporting teachers are borne by the State

Budget (APBN) through the Ministry of National Education Project List (DIP). This program is managed by the Central Project which is based in the Directorate of Education, Directorate General of Primary and Secondary Education, and the Regional Project which is located in the Provincial Education Office. In order for this program to run according to the plan, a set of guidelines which includes: (a) general guidelines for procurement of Supporting Teachers, (b) guidelines for the implementation of selection, (c) guidelines for implementing cooperation, (d) guidelines for monitoring and evaluating program implementation, and (e) guidelines for monitoring and evaluating the performance of Supporting Teachers.

The manager of the Supporting Teacher Program is the Ministry of National Education in collaboration with the provincial and district or city governments. At each level, a committee called the National Procurement Committee for Supporting Teachers was created and led by the Minister of National Education. It can be said that this program involves almost all elements of education from the central to the school level.

The Overview of Non-Permanent Teachers: Educational Fighters in the Reformation Era The shortage of teacher occurs at every level. Therefore, eventually, this shortage is temporarily filled by honorary teachers whose status is non-permanent teachers (GTT). The lack of teachers is caused by the large number of teachers who retire, and it is not supported by the appointment of new civil servant (CPNS) teachers. However, the government policies regarding zero growth in state apparatus or civil servants are not implemented consistently. This has an impact on the minus growth of the state apparatus / civil servants (PNS). This problem is increasingly complicated when a moratorium policy takes place, where in a few years there is no appointment of civil servants.

Since 2003, in Indonesia, there has been a shortage of teacher, this is evidenced by the reports and requests from the Regional Government to the Minister of National Education which asked a number of teachers to be placed in their regions. In response to this and realizing that the state budget has not been able to appoint civil servant (CPNS / PNS) teachers, the Central Government has initiated the procurement of supporting teachers. This program was welcomed by the Regional Government, so in 2003, Supporting Teacher Procurement Selection Proiect was conducted in 2003 and continued in 2004. Based on the Decree of the Minister of National Education No. 034/ U/2003, a group of Indonesian Supporting Teachers was officially established, with a total of 261,000 teachers spread across 33 provinces, 428 Regencies/ Cities.

The existence of non-permanent teachers in schools has raised new problems regarding their salaries and employment status. Non-permanent teachers generally receive improper salaries and are not enough to live alone and to sustain their status as teachers. The source of income for non-permanent teachers also varies, there are those who get salaries sourced from the APBN, APBD, BOS Funds, and funds from the School Committee. Salaries also vary and are not standard. Some earns salary of Rp.300,000, Rp.460,000 and Rp.710,000. Additionally, some even get a salary below that number. This variation of nonpermanent teacher funding sources also creates a different status. For example, in Senior High Schools in Semarang, there are non-permanent teachers who are paid monthly with BOS funds, there are nonpermanent teachers who are paid according to the number of teaching hours per week at a rate of Rp. 30,000; per hour. In junior high school there are nonpermanent teachers who are referred to as K1, while in other junior high schools, there is something called K2 (Gumilang, 2015).

From the variation in nonpermanent teacher status in schools in Semarang, it can be summed up into 3 categories, namely (1) K1, is a group of nonpermanent teachers who are appointed by the Ministerial Decree and are paid from the state budget funding sources; (2) K2, is a group of non-permanent teachers who are appointed by Decree of the Governor, Regent, or Mayor and paid from APBD funding sources; (3) K3, is a group of non-permanent teachers who work based on the assignments from the Principal or Foundation and are paid from BOS funding sources / School Committees (Baedhowi, 2009).

Although non-permanent teachers earn inadequate salary and unclear status, non-permanent teachers continue to implement services according to the rules. There are a number of things that cause this to happen, namely (1) the search for status as a teacher and reluctance are considered as unemployed scholars, (2) the forms of service to education, (3) filling in free time while continuing to study at the master level, (4) stepping stone into civil servant (CPNS). The last reason is what then becomes the motivation of nonpermanent teacher to continue carrying out their duties even though they are in the middle of a dilemma.

The acceptance of teachers as Civil Servants (PNS) seems to be the direction and goal of non-permanent teachers' struggle. For this reason, various strategies and efforts are carried out to achieve this status. The case of how supporting teachers' strategies and struggles that 99.8% succeeded in becoming civil servant (PNS) teachers can be explained in the following description. Not long after the appointment of supporting teachers, then sporadically, a solidarity movement among Indonesian Supporting Teachers which was expressed through various scientific activities (seminars) and moral movements to improve human resources and welfare of his life has emerged. Starting in 2003, a number of Indonesian Supporting Teachers associations were established, including (1) PGBI (Indonesian Supporting Teacher Association in Central Java, East Java, and D.I Yogyakarta); (2) FKGBS (Temporary Supporting Teachers Communication Forum) in Sumatra, Sulawesi,

Kalimantan and NTB; and (3) FKGBI (Indonesian Supporting Teacher Communication Forum) in West Java, DKI Jakarta, and Banten (Gumilang, 2015).

Those associations sporadically and spontaneously have emerged from the sharing of personal concerns of supporting teachers who care and have a commitment to strive in improving the clarity of the status of supporting teacher to become civil servant (CPNS). At that time, coinciding with the commemoration of National Education Day in 2005, initiators and leaders of various Supporting Teachers from various regions gathered in the Indonesian Parliament (DPR RI) Building to convey the aspirations of Indonesian Supporting Teachers. The aspiration was received by Commission X and Deputy Chairperson of the Republic of Indonesia Parliament (DPR RI). At that time, a high awareness of solidarity and the awareness to unite the Vision and Mission of the supporting teachers' struggle have emerged and delivered in an organized manner in the FKGBI forum.

After realizing the plan to form a forum on May 9th, 2005, a meeting was held in Jakarta among activists of FKGBI from various regions. The representatives came from East Java, Central Java, West Java, DKI Jakarta, North Sumatra, Lampung, South Sumatra, South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, NTB. The meeting produced five memorandums of understanding. (1) The National Board of Presidium of FKGBI was formed with its members namely Achmad Tugiran, S.Pd., Syarifah Efiana, S.Pd, Adi Wijaya, S.Pd., Endang Sumitra, S.Ag., Laode Askar, S.Pd., and Drs. Ambo Sakka and Secretary General Robyan Henry; (2) Establishing the objectives of FKGBI struggle which aims to improve the welfare of Indonesian Supporting Teachers; (3) Agreeing to the Seminar and National Meeting of Supporting Teachers in Solo, Central Java, which becomes the National agenda; (4) An Indonesian Supporting Teachers Congress will be held; (5) May 2nd was chosen as the birthday of FKGBI.

As the follow-up of the formation of

FKGBI, Indonesian Supporting Teacher National Seminar and Gathering was held in Surakarta on July 9-10, 2015. The activity was attended by approximately 5,000 Indonesian supporting teachers and was attended by 71 delegates from 17 provinces. In the national meeting, there were several recommendations for FKGBI. *First*, urging the government to appoint all supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS / PNS) in the formation of 2005-2007. Second, stipulating seven members of the FKGBI National Presidium Board, namely: Achmad Tugiran, S.Pd., Syarifah Efiana, S.Pd, Adi Wijaya, S.Pd., Endang Sumitra, S.Ag., Laode Askar, S.Pd., and Drs. Ambo Sakka. Robyan Henry was chosen to be the general secretary.

Third, assigning Presidium Board together with the Chairperson of the FKGBI National Seminar and Gathering to fight for and convey recommendations to Executive Institutions (Presidents and Ministers and related institutions) and Legislative Institutions (DPR, DPD RI) in Jakarta, until it is succeeded. Fourth, First Congress of FKGBI in October 2005 in Jakarta will be held. However, the activity was delayed, and it was realized on July 5-7, 2006, in Medan, North Sumatra.

After the activity was held, the National Presidium Board of Indonesian Supporting became the driver of the struggling movement of the supporting teachers, so they could obtain civil servant (CPNS) status. Some important agendas of FKGBI activities in fighting for supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS) are as appendix 1.

From those various struggle activities, various important documents which became important monuments in the steps of the struggle for Indonesian supporting teachers towards the changing status to civil servants (CPNS) have emerged. The important documents as the results of the struggle of Supporting Teacher are as follows. *The First* is the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) leadership letter dated on May 16th, 2005 No: KD.02/2848/DPR RI/2005 concerning on requests to the government to appoint

supporting teachers to be civil servants without test. This was a follow-up to the Indonesian House of Representatives' Leadership Meeting on May 10th, 2005, which discussed the reports of the commissions.

The Minister of National Education's letter dated on June 15th. 2005 No: 134/MEN/KP/2005 which suggested to the President of the Republic of Indonesia about three (3) alternative solutions for supporting teachers. The Third is the Working Meeting with Commission X on June 28th, 2005. Minister of National Education proposed that 100,000 supporting teachers be appointed as civil servants (CPNS). Fourth, on July 4th, 2005, in the Commission X meeting with Minister of Education, Minister of Religion, Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform. Minister of Home Affairs. Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare, Minister of Development Planning/Kep. Bapenas, Minister of Finance, set a CPNS 2005 quota of 300,000, of which 70% of supporting teachers were appointed to be civil servants (CPNS) without going through tests.

On August 24th, 2005, during a Consultation Meeting of the Indonesian House of Representatives Commission X with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform and Minister of Education, the results prioritized supporting teachers to be appointed to be civil servants (CPNS), and issued PP concerning on non-permanent teachers. Next, on December 9th, 2005, the meeting was chaired by the Vice President with Minister of Education, Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, Kep. BKN and echelon 1 officials from three related agencies. The results will help supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS) in 3 stages 2005-2007. Then, on December 27-28, 2005, the results of the Coordination Meeting on Supporting Teachers in Jakarta (Grand Cempaka), by the Minister of Education which were attended by the Heads of Education Office all over Indonesia and related institutions agreed to appoint supporting teachers to be civil

servants (CPNS) through three stages.

On January 9th, 2006, a letter from the Minister of National Education to the Governors and Regents all over Indonesia was issued regarding the appointment of supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS) in three stages, starting in 2005-2007. The ninth, on February 7th, 2006, the results of the House of Representatives (DPR RI) Working Meeting on Commission X with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, Minister of National Education, and Minister of Religion reaffirmed the government's commitment to complete the supporting teacher by appointing them as civil servants (CPNS) in 2005-2007. This result was final and complete. Tenth, on April 3, 2006, the result of FKGBI's meeting with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform was represented by Deputy III of HR Development, Mr. Ridwan Kamarsah, Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform reaffirmed the warm commitment of all supporting teachers under the age of 46 years old to be appointed as civil servants (CPNS) in 2006-2007.

Other important documents which also become the evidence of nonpermanent teachers' struggle are the results of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) Commission X Meeting with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform. Minister of National Education, Minister of Home Affairs, on 26 June 2006, include stipulating that the appointment of supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS / PNS) to be completed in 2007, and it will be handled directly by Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform through the District or City Regional Government of BKD. In addition, there were also Recommendations on the Results of the First FKGBI Congress on July 5-7, 2006 in Medan, North Sumatra. Then, PP 48 of 2005 aims to accommodate supporting teachers to be appointed as civil servants (CPNS) at the latest in February 2007. Other documents were the results of the working meeting on February 5, 2007 by Commission X of the Republic of Indonesia with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, The Minister of National Education, and Minister of Religion, decided that supporting teachers of the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Religion contract teachers were appointed to be civil servants (CPNS) in 2007.

The long struggle of non-permanent teachers which are political, social and economic above has delivered 28,862 supporting teachers to be appointed as civil servants from 2003 to 2010. The rest, 57 non-permanent teachers cannot be appointed as civil servants because of educational qualifications, illness, disability physical, and age factors.

CONCLUSION

Problems concerning on teacher in the republic era have sharpened, welfare and status issues have become the main variables which have not been able to be dealt with solutively. Teacher, in the reformation era, was divided into two types, namely civil servant teacher and nonpermanent teacher which were the transformation from supporting teachers initiated since the New Order era. According to its position, civil servant teachers experienced improvements in welfare every year and had a clear status. The status was followed by the rights and obligations that must be carried out. While, nonpermanent teachers continued to struggle in order to obtain clear status from the government. Welfare variable also became a problem which has never been resolved. Various breakthroughs have only in the form of documents, in reality, the existing documents have not been able to solve the core problems faced by non-permanent teachers. Teacher's profession has always been an interesting conversation in the community. Discourses concerning on the process of education, the status after following the program, and the welfare gained were the main themes that are always actual in history. Although it has always been a pleasant topic to be talked and discussed both in formal and informal forums, throughout Indonesian history, historiography of teacher is still quite difficult to find. Teacher is still considered a less interesting historical object to be discussed in a past perspective, even though discussing the history of the teacher is the best reflection process to see the condition of today's teachers. In the context of enriching historiography studies, teacher history needs to be written critically, and the study of it need to be carried out massively in order to provide more knowledge and information about the conditions of the teaching profession from time to time.

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Appendix 1. The Process of FKGBI Struggle for Supporting Teachers' Status

No	Date	Explanation
1	2 May 2005	Supporting teachers conducted meeting with House of Representatives leaders and urged the government to pay attention to the welfare and status of the supporting teachers
2	9-10 July 2005	Indonesian Supporting Teachers National Seminar and Gathering held in Surakarta, Central Java (it results Recommendations)
3	2 May 2006	The first anniversary of FKGBI coincided with the celebration of National Education Day in East Jakarta which urged the government to appoint supporting teachers to be civil servants (CPNS)
4	5-7 July 2006	Congress 1 of Indonesian Supporting Teachers Communication Forum held in Medan North Sumatra. (produced the National Board of DPP FKGBI 2006 – 2010)
5	17 September 2006	The inauguration of the DPP FKGBI was the result of the 1st Congress of FKGBI in Medan, North Sumatra
6	8 November 2006	The aspirations were received by the DPD RI, then on November 15, 2006 the DPD RI Called Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform to a working meeting
7	30 November 2006	DPP FKGBI was accepted to meet with Commission X of DPR RI in Jakarta, the aspirations were accepted. As a result, the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) Commission X is committed to calling on the relevant executive agencies to discuss about supporting teachers.
8	4 December 2006	Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform was called by the House of Representatives Commission II
9	4 January 2007	DPP FKGBI met with the House of Representatives (DPR) Chairperson of the Republic of Indonesia, welcomed by the Deputy Chairperson of the Republic of Indonesia Parliament on Public Welfare (Mr. Zaenal Ma'arif)
10	28 December 2006	DPP FKGBI consulted with BKN, welcomed by Mr. Usman, the information told that PP 48 was in revision process, centered on article 3, which principally accommodated non-permanent teachers/supporting teachers (database) to be appointed as civil servants (CPNS)
11	15 January 2007	The meeting of the Commission II of the Indonesian House of Representatives called Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform.
12	5 February 2007	Meeting of the House of Representatives (DPR) Commission X with Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, Minister of Education and Minister of Religion
13	26-27 March 2007	DPP FKGBI went to the State Secretariat Office, Ministry of Law and Human Rights office, Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform office to look for the revision of PP 48 of 2005 to know the progress
14	5 April 2007	FKGBI went to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights office to oversaw the last harmonization process.
15	6 April 2007	DPP FKGBI Leadership held meeting for the consolidation of DPP FKGBI personnel and set the FKGBI programs in 2007/2008.
16	2 May 2007.	Coordination meeting was held to conduct moral actions and commemorate 2 May 2007. Sporadically, the provincial districts/cities held a moral movement urging the President to sign a revision of PP 48 of 2005. DPP FKGBI held a peaceful action to share interest to the people in Surakarta
17	5 May-10 June 2007	Held an action of concerns by establishing 'Tenda Keprihatinan Guru Indonesia' in the Solo City DPRD office; with the agenda which was urging the President to sign the Revised PP 48 of 2008. It was implemented exactly 40 days and 40 nights.
18	7 June 2007	At 7 at night, the news from the Head of the President SESKAB Trial Bureau had signed the Revised PP 48 of 2005 to PP 43 of 2007.
19	6 – 7 June 2008	At North Sumatera guesthouse, Menteng, Jakarta, a coordination meeting for the massive demonstration was held, if the President do not sign the Revised PP 48 of 2005. It was attended by 14 Provinces: - DKI Jakarta, - West Java, - Central Java, - Jogjakarta (absent), - Java Timur, - Banten, - Lampung, - South Sumatera (absent), - North Sumatera, -Jambi (absent), -Bengkulu (absent), - Aceh (absent), - South Sulawesi, - Southeast Sulawesi, NTB (absent), Bali (absent), Central Kalimantan (absent)