

The Dynamics of Public Policy for Non-Permanent Teachers in Semarang, Indonesia

Ngabiyanto Universitas Negeri Semarang, Indonesia

Daniel D. Kameo Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Indonesia

Pamerdi Giri Wiloso Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Indonesia

Bambang Ismanto Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Indonesia

Abstract

This study examines the problems of non-permanent teachers from two sides. First, non-permanent teachers from the perspective of public policy. The focus of this study is on the government's reaction to the demands of non-permanent teachers formulated in legislation. Second, the government's strategy to accommodate the aspirations of non-permanent teachers and efforts to resolve the problems of non-permanent teachers through various public policies that are risen. This study is a follow-up to the implementation of research on non-permanent teachers in Semarang city. The data is taken based on the rules of qualitative research with in-depth interviewing techniques to obtain data in the field, especially primary data types. The results of this study find several interesting things. First, there is a change in orientation of non-permanent teachers from service to a struggle in improving social status and welfare. Second, the income of being a non-permanent teacher is not feasible to meet the minimum living needs of non-permanent teachers and their families. Third, public policy as the government's reaction to the demands of non-permanent teachers can be categorized into 5 models, they are: (1) Political Lobbying Model; (2) Blessing Amendment Model; (3) Impartial policy model; (4) Partial Policy Model; and (5) Response Policy Model. From these findings, it can be seen that the uniqueness of this study is the finding of the models of public policy which are a form of government reaction to the demands of non-permanent teachers.

Keywords

Non-Permanent Teacher; Welfare; Public Policy; Public Policy Model

INTRODUCTION

Since the enactment of the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 14-year 2005 about Teachers and Lecturers, the

Ngabiyanto is a lecturer at Civic Education, Universitas Negeri Semarang. Currently he doing research for doctoral program at Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana on policy education in Central Java. His research focus on Politics of Development. Email: ngabiyanto@mail.unnes.ac.id.

Daniel D Kameo is a lecturer in Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana. His research focus on Public Policy.

Pamerdi Giri Wiloso is a lecturer in Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana. His research focus on civil society.

Bambang Ismanto is a lecturer in Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana. His research focus on educational policy.

profession of a teacher is truly judicially designated as a professional position. Professional teachers will ensure that the community gets the standard education services in the schools. Professional teachers are obtained by professional governance ranging from education, recruitment, and sustainable competency development (Nomura, 2009). But in reality, the retired teacher did not immediately obtain a replacement

resulting in a teacher vacuum in the schools. In this situation there was the law of supply and demand, on the one hand there were many education scholars who were looking for opportunities to work and on the other hand there were schools lacking teachers, while the government had no new teacher procurement programs, to fill the teacher's vacancies. At these schools, the headmaster would promote teachers in schools that are more popular called non-permanent teachers (Usman et al, 2007). Such a phenomenon does not stop for a moment but continues to run for years without clarity when it stops, even ironically the state follows this flow by "promoting" 'Guru Bantu' whose essence is non-permanent teacher but rather more prestigious because the salary from the government/APBN. Not from the school so that there are honorarium teachers who are paid by the APBN, APBD, and Schools who in the next condition have terms K1, K2, and K3.

Non-permanent teachers who initially voluntarily devote themselves to school even though with inadequate wages/salaries in their development cannot survive with these conditions, especially economic pressure and encouragement, they have served for

years and as time goes by they are married, have a family and have family dependence, as a result, there is a change in orientation from service to expectation or hope of obtaining welfare, and the only path to change this fate is by demanding the state to change their status to PNS/ASN. In this situation, the number of non-permanent teachers has reached millions in size throughout Indonesia. They, non-permanent teachers, form unions, hold various meetings and seminars, even come to DPR and Kemenpan with a demand to promote non-permanent teachers to become PNS/ASN. This action then became a political commodity that "could be sold" for many parties, including political parties, candidates for regional heads, candidates for officials, even the teacher's organization itself in the face of political bargaining from the government. Facing such actions, the government issued a partial policy, addressing the occurred issues that are not at the root of the problem. A number of regulations were issued, and even changed, but the problem of non-permanent teachers has not been completed until now.

This study seeks to examine the non-permanent teachers from two sides. First, non-permanent teacher strategies to

improve welfare. This side includes their ability or inability to overcome this problem, how their strategy survives from the pressures of economic needs, how they fight for social status. Second, the strategy and reaction of the government to accommodate the aspirations of non-permanent teachers and resolve non-permanent teacher problems through public policies issued later.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Policy studies, especially in the world of education, cannot be separated from the analysis of policy implementation in developing countries (Bashir, 2007). One developing country that is used as an example of good policy implementation is the policy in Finland. Finland is a developing country by implementing three important policies. These policies include (1) Comprehensive School Reform policy (1972-1977); (2) Teacher Education Reform policy (1973-1979); and (3) General Syllabus and Degree Reform in Higher Education policy (1977-1980). Comprehensive School Reform policy changed the dual track school system, which consisted of 8 years of compulsory school and grammar school to become a comprehensive school system for 9 years. Teacher Education Reform policy changed

training and teaching for elementary schools. While the General Syllabus and Degree Reform in Higher Education policy eliminated the existence of baccalaureate degrees even though in 1994 the policy was not continued (Winarno, 2016).

The three policies are indeed not related to the existence and welfare of non-permanent teachers, but in a policy perspective, Finland is one of the countries that developed the concept of the welfare state. Through the concept of welfare state, the state is present to guarantee the availability of basic welfare at a certain level for its citizens, including non-permanent teachers (if in Indonesia). Welfare state according to Anderson (1990) contains at least four main pillars, they are: (1) social citizenship; (2) full to democracy; (3) modern industrial relation system; and (4) right to education and the expansion of modern mass education system.

Understanding Public Policy as a Process

Public policy is an effort to answer and provide solutions to the problems faced by the public. The formulation of public policy is the meeting point of various actors with different perspectives and interests (Beland et al, 2016). Therefore, the political dimension is also

one of the keys to understanding how public policies are formulated and agreed upon by various existing actors; both formal actors such as the state, as well as informal actors that include actors outside the country.

The public policy addresses two interrelated matters; they are "policy" and "public". Policy is often related to how the government acts in solving a problem. While the public relates to many or general people and refers to the community or country (Smith, 1998). A policy can also be interpreted as the behavior of a number of actors (officials, groups, government agencies) or a series of actors in a particular field of activity. Talking about the policy, it cannot be separated from the links of interests among groups, both at the government and community in general (Anderson, 2011; Indiahono, 2009).

According to Jones in Winarno (2012), the policy term is used in everyday practice but is used to replace activities or decisions that are very different. The purpose of the Jones statement is that the policy term is often exchanged with goals, programs, decisions, standards, proposals, and

grand design. However, even though the public policy may seem a little abstract or may be seen as something that "happens" to someone, but basically in everyday life, every person has been deeply influenced by many public policies.

In defining the notion of public policy, political leaders have different emphases. Eyestone defines that public policy is the relationship between a government unit and its environment (De Mesquita et al, 2002). Another definition comes from Dye, where Dye defines that public policy is anything the government chooses to do or not to do. Other political figures, Rose, also suggests that policies should be understood as a series of activities that are more or less related to the consequences for those concerned rather than as a separate decision. And Friederich provides a definition in a broad dimension, that public policy is a direction of action proposed by a person, group or government in a particular environment that provides obstacles and opportunities for the proposed policy to use and overcome in order to achieve goals or realize a goal or a certain purpose (Dye, 1992; Winarno, 2012).

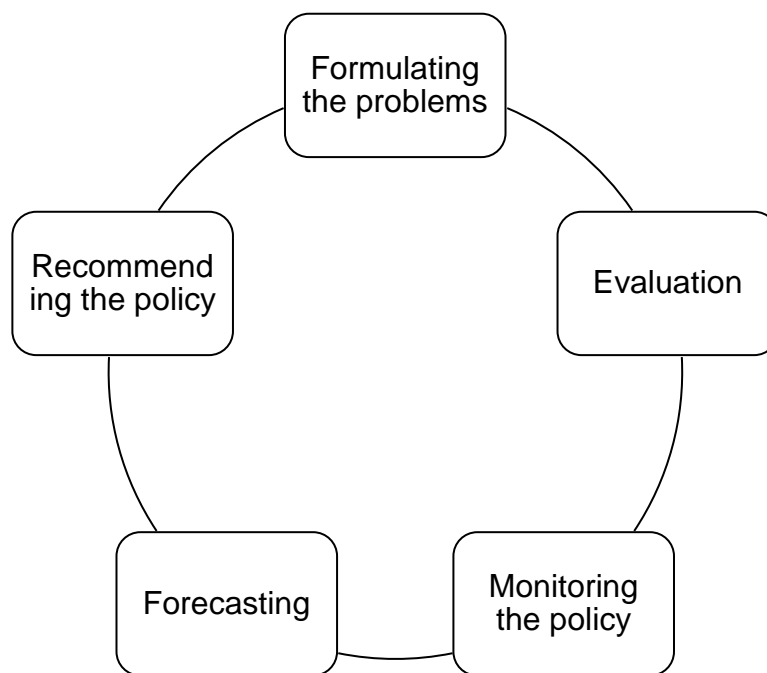


Figure 1. Stage of the Public Policy Process (Winarno, 2016).

The policy term has a meaning that is not much different from the word wisdom. Wisdom is understood as a collection of decisions taken by an actor or by a political group in an effort to choose goals and ways to achieve those goals (Budiardjo, 2008). The public policy discusses how issues and problems are then compiled and defined and how they are put on the policy agenda. Agreeing with the explanation of Budiardjo, Handoyo (2012) suggests that a policy is made on the basis of the objectives to be achieved. The objectives to be achieved at least have three criteria, they are (1) desired to be achieved; (2) rational or realistic; and (3) forward oriented. With these three criteria, it will produce good

policies and oriented towards the desired progress.

Public policy has a "coercive" nature that is potentially legitimate. This forced nature is not possessed by policies taken by private organizations, and therefore, this means that public policy demands broad adherence from the public. The nature of public policy as a direction of action can be better understood if this concept is broken down into several categories. These categories include policy demands, policy decisions, policy statements, policy outputs, and policy outcomes. Based on this explanation, in general, the term "policy" is used to designate the behavior of an actor (such as an official, a group, or a government institution) or a number of actors in a

particular field of activity. Such an understanding is often used for the purposes of ordinary talks. Therefore, to focus on scientific and systematic discussions, especially regarding public policy analysis, boundaries and concepts of public policy are needed more precisely (Winarno, 2016).

Some of the limitations related to the meaning of public policy are among others stated by Robert Eyestone, which in his analysis he explained that public policy is defined as a government unit with its environment. In addition, Thomas R. Dye also stated other restrictions on public policy. Public policy according to Thomas R. Dye is related to anything chosen by the government to do or not to do, while political expert Richard Rose put forward another opinion that public policy is defined as a series of activities which are more or less related to the consequences for the parties concerned, rather than as a separate decision (Dye, 1992; Winarno 2016).

From the various notions of public policy conveyed by the political figures above, the article about the political policies of non-permanent teachers in Semarang City leads to the notion of public policy proposed by Anderson (Winarno, 2012), which is related to the

direction that has an intention set by an actor or a number of actors in overcoming a problem.

In an effort to implement appropriate policies in the problems of non-permanent teachers, several things that need to be considered are how the public policy process itself. The public policy process basically includes several stages, they are (1) the stage of formulating the agenda; (2) the stage of policy formulation; (3) the stage of policy implementation; and (4) the stage of evaluation. More clearly the public policy process is illustrated in the figure 1.

Non-Permanent Teachers' Income and The Survival Strategy

The number of non-permanent teachers increases year by year due to the imbalance of large number of retired teachers with the appointment of new teachers and even there has been an employee moratorium policy in the last five years. The number of non-permanent teachers in Semarang City according to the education level is presented in the table 1.

The data above shows that the number of non-permanent teachers in Semarang City is quite large with a total of 13,317 teachers. The existence of non-

Table 1. Non-PNS (Non Civil Servant) Teachers in Semarang City 2015/2016

Number	Education Level	Non-permanent teachers
1	Kindergarten	3263
2	Primary School	4679
3	Secondary School	3306
4	High School	2069
Total		13.317

Source: Education Office of Semarang City.

permanent teachers initially became a temporary solution to fill the teacher's vacancy. However, in reality it is a permanent solution because the vacancies and lack of teachers have not been replaced by government employees/ASN teachers. This is as stated by Kusno, Principal of SMAN 12 Semarang as follows:

"So, as stakeholder in the education unit, we think the presence of non-permanent teachers is very important because the existence of non-permanent/GTT teachers can be a medium to fill the need of teaching hours which other teachers can't handle it. That's why school has to employ non-permanent teachers since there are no civil servant/PNS teachers in this school (30 October 2017)".

Non-permanent teachers face many problems, including status and welfare issues. They are always worried of work termination because their employment status is not strong. And regarding their welfare issue, their income is not enough

to meet personal needs especially if they have a family. A survey conducted by the Indonesian Independent Teacher Federation (FGII) on non-permanent teachers' salaries in 2015 showed that ideally a teacher received a monthly salary IDR 3,000,000. Moreover, the data showed that the average income of PNS teachers per month was IDR 1,500,000, non-permanent teachers was IDR 460,000, and non-permanent teachers in private schools was IDR 10,000/hour.

Having income like this, many non-permanent teachers have to survive to support their living needs by teaching in other schools which are often called *towaf* teachers, teachers who teach from one school to another, give private course in the afternoon, and even do side job, such as being a *ojek* driver, street food seller, book/ LKS seller, cellphone credit trader and so on (Republika.com, 2015). These additional outside school activities make the non-permanent teachers' competence

not optimal. In addition, they have heavy and time-consuming workload so that non-permanent teachers do not have enough time to develop their competencies.

Government Reaction to Non-Permanent Teachers' Demands

One of non-permanent teachers' problems which is very important and requires immediate solution is related to the demands of non-permanent teachers to be appointed as civil servants (CPNS/PNS). As mentioned above, The government has taken various steps to solve this problem, such as making legal product related to the non-permanent teachers' welfare. During the reign of President Susilo Bambang Yodhoyono (SBY), legal products were issued in the form of Government Regulation No. 48 of 2005 in conjunction with Government Regulation Number 43 of 2007 in conjunction with Government Regulation Number 56 of 2012 concerning the Appointment of Non-permanent teachers to be CPNS.

Non-permanent employees who can be appointed as CPNS in Government Regulation Number 48 of 2005 should meet the requirements, such as: (1) non-permanent employees have maximum age

of 46 (forty six) years and tenure of 20 (twenty) years or more continuously; (2) non-permanent employees have maximum age of 46 years and tenure of 10 (ten) years or more/less than 20 (twenty) years continuously; (3) non-permanent employees have maximum age of 40 (forty) years and tenure of 5 (five) years or more/less than 10 (more) years continuously; (4) non-permanent employees have maximum age of 35 (thirty five) years with tenure of 1 (one) year or more/ less from 5 (five) years continuously.

In Government Regulation Number 56 of 2006, the above conditions is no longer used. This new regulation only accommodates the remaining non-permanent employees in 2005. This condition can be read in article 6 of Government Regulation No. 56 of 2006 as follows: "The appointment of non-permanent employees which their income funded by the state budget (APBN) and budget (APBD) to become CPNS based on this government regulation is carried out comprehensively and in accordance with the needs and capabilities of state finances starting from the 2005 to 2012 fiscal year".

From the explanation in Government Regulation (PP) 56 of 2012, it is clear

that those who can be appointed as CPNS from non-permanent employees at this time are those who became non-permanent employees before 2005. Therefore, the problem is the uncertainty about the future of non-permanent teachers after 2005 until now, whereas the non-permanent teachers keep serving because they hope to become civil servants later (Tugiran, 2017). But unfortunately, that hope is still unclear. Government Regulation Number 56 of 2012 which limits the appointment of non-permanent employees as required by PP 48 of 2005 jo PP Number 43 of 2007 is a form of government irresponsibility towards the future of non-permanent teachers.

The retention and demands from non-permanent teachers lead to government reaction by issuing policies at the school level, government and the central government. The demands from non-permanent teachers and government policies can be summarized in following models: First, this model is experienced by non-permanent teachers whose salary is taken from state budget. In 2003, when state budget was unable to fund the recruitment of CPNS/ASN to overcome the lack of teachers, the Central Government took the initiative to recruit non-

permanent teachers. This program was welcomed by the Local Government so that a Recruitment Project for Non-Permanent Teachers was held in 2003 and continued in 2004. Based on Decree of the Minister of National Education No. 034/U/2003, a group of Indonesian Non-Permanent Teachers was officially formed, with 261,000 teachers spread across 428 Regencies/Cities in 33 Provinces.

Controversy of Moratorium Policy

CPNS moratorium policy is not a new thing in education. In 2011, SBY-Boediono government through Joint Regulation of Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform Number 02/SPB/M.PANRB/8/2011, Minister of Home Affairs Number 800-632 of 2011, and Minister of Finance Number 141/PMK.01/2011 concerning Civil Servants Moratorium implemented a postponement of CPNS requirement from January 2011 to December 2012. The reason for the implementation of the policy was as an effort to organize Civil Servants (PNS) and the savings in the state/ budget (Bjork, 2003).

Revocated in 2012, the CPNS moratorium policy was re-emerged in 2015 during the Jokowi-JK government. The policy issued by the Ministry of

Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (KemenPAN-RB) limits the recruitment of CPNS for 5 years, starting in 2015 to 2019. Same as SBY-Boediono Government, the reason for the Jokowi-JK Government issued the policy was to reduce the burden of APBN/APBD especially related to employee's expenditure costs which was greatly increasing. In addition, as Regulation of Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform Number 20 of 2017 on Criteria for Determining Civil Servants Needs and Civil Servants Requirement 2017, this moratorium policy was aimed to conduct employee training by officials at both the central and level (Chang et al, 2013). This training was related to the organization audit and HR management in accordance with the direction/development strategic plan.

The government's moratorium policy was enough to cause public disappointment towards many people; parents, university graduates especially those who really hope to become civil servants. Becoming civil servants is the main choice in finding work since its high salary, also pension plan when entering retirement age.

Based on the statements above, it can be explained that the moratorium

policy for the government was a solution in managing the bureaucracy in order to create good governance. In addition, this policy was also chosen as strategy to overcome the burden of the state and budget which was increasing year by year. However, the government needs to review it since there was rejections to this policy. The impact of CPNS moratorium on education field is that the ratio of civil servant teachers to non-civil servant teachers is so far and it forces schools to use non-permanent teachers to cover the lack of civil servant teachers in each school. The policy also has an impact on the use/allocation of School Operational Assistance (BOS) funds by the school to fund non-permanent teachers' salaries. As a result, the allocation of BOS funds that should have been used for operational was cut off for non-permanent teacher salaries and finally the use of BOS funds is not effective.

In addition to CPNS Moratorium policy, there is also interesting thing related to this issue which is the Revocation of CPNS Moratorium. As known, the Jokowi-JK Government implemented a moratorium policy for 5 years. This means that the moratorium policy will expire in 2019. With the policy of revoking the civil servant's moratorium,

the CPNS formation is reopened. However, various pressures from the public through the House of Representatives (DPR) urge to appoint K2 and K3 non-permanent teachers to be CPNS first.

However, the problem is not just pressure from various parties including DPR, more than that it requires the government's commitment to overcome the problems of non-permanent teachers. The implementation and revocation of the CPNS moratorium especially for teachers has not been the right solution, in fact it raises various other problems, especially for the government and the school. Therefore, the revision of the ASN Law No 5 2014 must be legally implemented soon.

Modeling Public Policy for Non-Permanent Teachers

The existence of non-permanent teachers who initially assisted to fill the lack of teachers in schools has become a problem for the country, both local government and central government. Moreover, after served for years even more than fifteen years, they demanded to be appointed as government employees/ASN. The struggle of non-permanent teachers in demanding to be

ASN has even entered the political field by forming solidarity organizations as a means of struggle. Through this organization, a variety of political meetings are held wrapped up in seminars or gatherings, holding audiency with local and central government officials both executive and legislative and even threatening to stop teaching and doing demonstration to Jakarta.

Non-permanent teachers' demands, and retention caused reaction from government by issuing policies at school, local and central government levels. Based on a study of public policy analysis, the policy model is one of the instruments to help to conduct public policy analysis. Modelling in understanding the substance of policy will help to give an idea of desired result from a policy (Santoso, 2010). By making a policy model to resolve the problems of non-permanent teachers in the regions, it is hoped that it can help to analyze in depth about government policies regarding non-permanent teachers and find the right solution.

Government policy is one of efforts to overcome problems from non-permanent teachers' demand. There are several policy models that can be used to analyze the dynamics of public policy that has

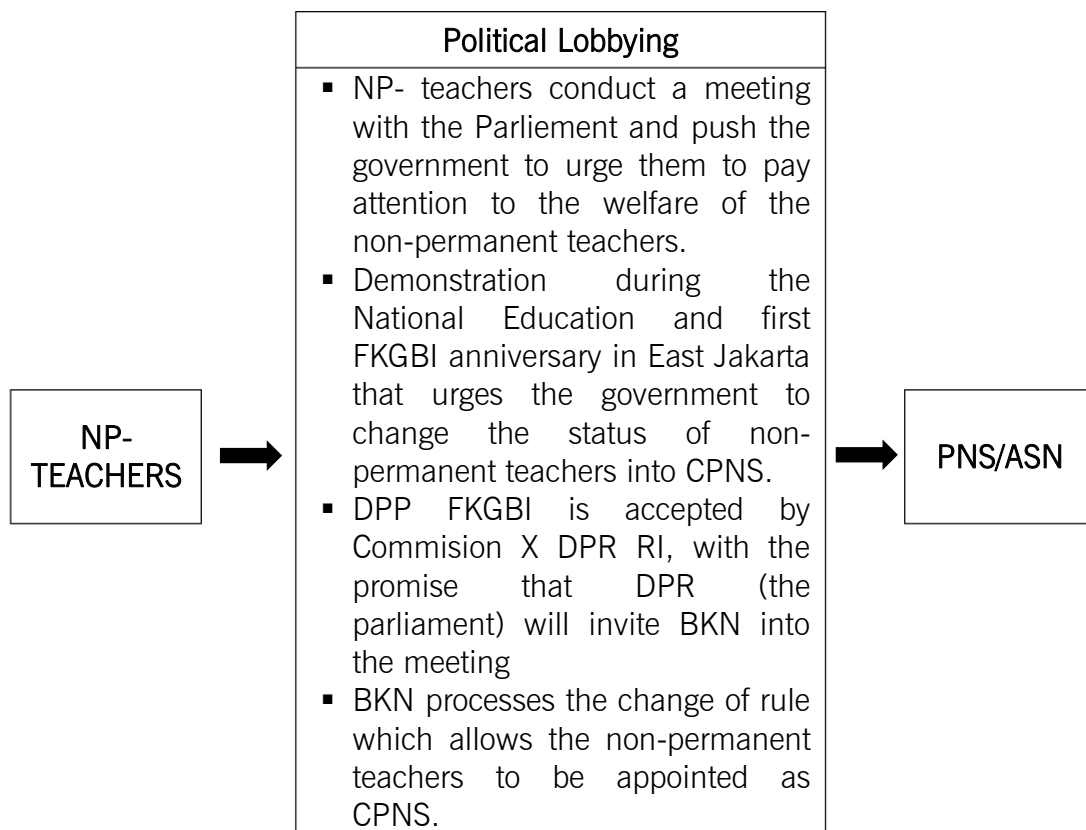


Figure 2. Model 1, Political Lobbying.

been carried out by the government. These policy models can be summarized as following model (Wang et al, 2003).

First, this model is experienced by Non-permanent teachers paid/ given honorarium from the State Budget. In 2003, when state budget was unable to fund the recruitment of CPNS/ASN to overcome the lack of teachers, the Central Government initiated to recruit non-permanent teachers. This program was welcomed by the Local Government so that a Recruitment Project for Non-Permanent Teachers was held in 2003 and continued in 2004.

Based on the decree of the Minister of National Education Number 034/U/2003, there was born the exclusive group of Non-permanent teachers in Indonesia with total number of members reached up to 261,000 teachers spreaded in 428 Regencies/Cities of 33 Provinces in Indonesia. After experiencing the process of pretension and political lobbying, finally, all Non-permanent teachers were successfully appointed as Government Civil Servant (PNS/ASN). The government policy model towards the demand/pretension of Non-permanent teachers can be illustrated in Model 1 (Figure 2).

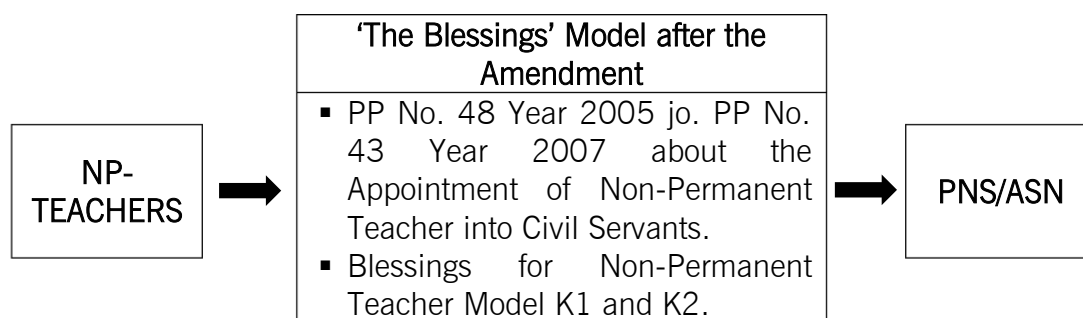


Figure 3. Model 2, The Blessing Model.

Second, the policy model when Non-permanent teachers experienced advantages from policy change of Government Regulation Number 48 Year 2005 which was replaced by Government Employee Nomor 43 Year 2007 about Non-permanent teachers' assignments to become the Government Civil Servant. This rule is a blessing for K1 and K2 Non-permanent teachers who become Government Civil Servants without age limitation (Figure 3).

Third, the policy model named Impartial Policy model. This policy model is seen to have loss the hope of Non-permanent teachers to be able to assign themselves as a Government Employee teacher. With the decree of Government Regulation Number 56 Year 2012 to replace the Government Regulation number 48 Year 2005 jo. PP Number 43 Year 2007. The consequence is for the Non-permanent teachers who have the rights to be assigned as Civil Servant from

Non-permanent teachers are one who started to become Non-permanent teachers before year 2005 and was less than 35 years old. This policy had blocked the opportunity of thousands Non-permanent teachers to be able to appoint as Government Employee. The third model is illustrated in Figure 4.

Fourth is the Partial Policy Model. This is a breakthrough form the Government of Semarang City to improve the status and welfare of Non-permanent teachers. In the middle of Non-permanent teachers' desperation, the Semarang City Government issues the policy to open the opportunity of Non-permanent teachers to attend the Selection Test for Non-Civil Servant Government Employee teachers or what is known as Non ASN teachers. The term Non ASN allows government institution to appoint Non Civil Servant/ASN employees and to pay the salary of them independently as much as the standard of regional minimum wage

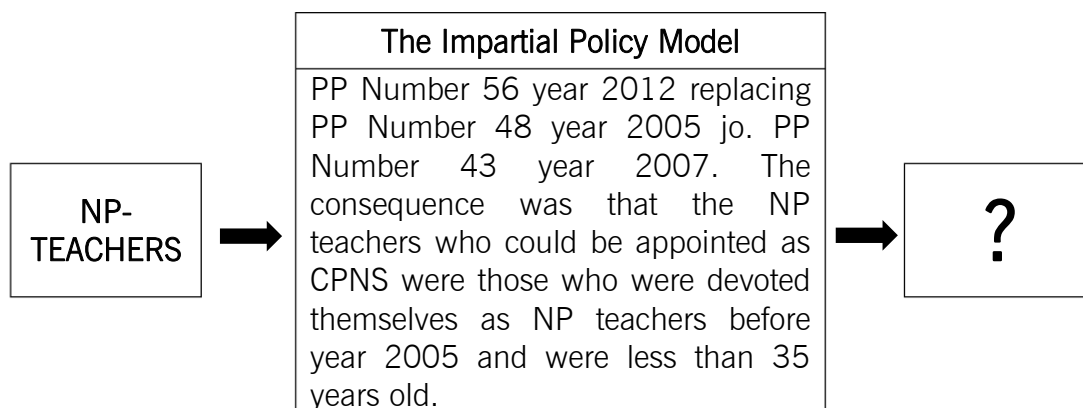


Figure 4. Model 3, The Impartial Policy Model.

(GDP), the government also has the right to give these employees health insurance/BPJS, and legitimate salary. The model of NP teacher employment in Semarang city is illustrated in Figure 5.

The *fifth* is known as responsive policy model. This model is elaborated from the policy of President Jokowi who has the policy known as ASN moratorium which is to stop the enrollment of Civil Servant Selection for five years. In 2018, the government announced and enrollment to ASN selection in numerous numbers of vacant position (formation) in all government institutions both under the Central and Regional Government. When this formation was announced for public, it was indeed resulted to an extraordinary anxiety felt by contracted Non-permanent teachers whose were more than 35 years old (see Model 3). Many of them threatened the Government with teaching

strike and hundred thousands of Non-permanent teachers held a demonstration in Jakarta.

This impedence was responded quickly by the Central Government by issuing the Policy of P3K or *Pegawai Pemerintah dengan Perjanjian Kerja* and what is known by public as Non-Civil Servant Government Employee. The detail related to what and how the mechanism of P3K is can not be answered yet in this article since the implementation hasnot started yet and is waiting for further policy from the Central Government. However, the model can be seen in Figure 6.

Analyzing the Dilemma of Non-Permanent Teachers from the Perspective of Public Policy

Public policy formulation is a continuous and interrelated system between one phase to another. From this

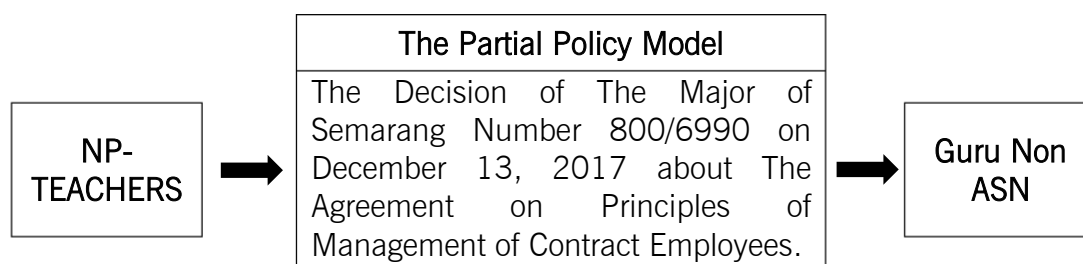


Figure 5. Model 4, The Partial Policy Model.

basic logic, it can be concluded that public policy is a process of activity which employs phases or stages of activity. The same goes with the discourse or plan to appoint Non-permanent teachers to become more permanent, or in this case Government Employee which also has to be done by following sets of technical and administrative stages. Oftentimes, the stages of policy formulation to appoint Non-permanent teachers are interconnected with political interest. This condition also explains how the issue of Non-Permanent Teachers could at least produce five models of policy as mentioned in the previous section.

To understand the interconnection of technical and administrative public policy with the political dimension that involves many actors, a process approach in the policy study can help an attempt to understand how the policy is formulated and implemented, including the policy to appoint and Non-permanent teachers to become more permanent through the five

explained models mentioned before. The model of public policy as a process was introduced by David Easton. This model emphasizes the existence of 'input' aspect comprising demand and support. The political system is then becoming the 'output' in the form of resolution or decree of a public policy (Mas'ood et al, 2008). In the context of policy regarding to the issue of Non-permanent teachers, the five models of public policy is the output of an attempt to figure out the problem fix the Non-permanent teachers' problems and dilemmas.

In the further development, Thomas R. Dye developed Easton's ideas by more specifically sharpening several phases, comprising *identification or policy problems, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy legitimation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation*. According to Dye, from the development of public policy model as a process, one is able to give a whole foundation related to systemic and more directed policy

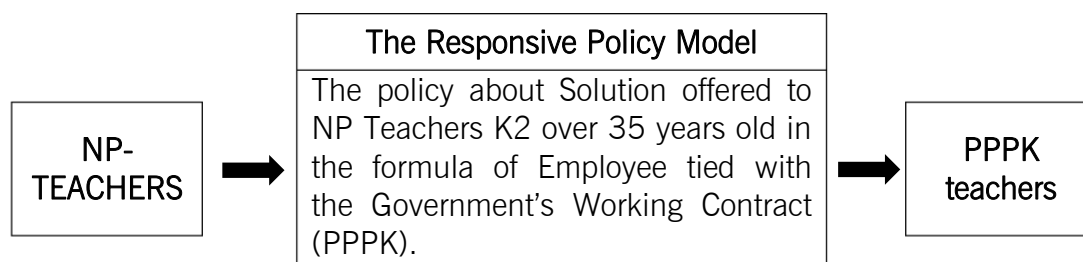


Figure 6. Model 5, The Responsive Policy Model.

formulation. It is hoped that the input which has been converted to a specific political system able to produce a qualified, directed, and appropriate policy output (Easton model).

Based on the theory proposed by Dye, the phase of policy formulation is basically a space where every dimensions meets. This phase allows many actors with various of interest meets though they share the same aim which is to find a solution of an existing public issue. In the context of Non-permanent teachers' dilemmas and issues, the formulation phase is in the strategic stage where the best solution to the dilemmas is formulated.

Conceptually, this phase has several dimensions, i.e. (1) the technocratic dimension, which is the viewpoint the technocrats and policy makers have where they decide upon problems that need to be fixed; (2) the administrative dimension where the policy makers

decide that a more systematic working procedure towards policy is needed to find solutions on problems, for example, the planning, discussion, and evaluation procedures; (3) the political dimension, where the policy makers see the aspects of power including the principle of *dispersion of power* and the mechanism of *check and balances* between government institutions and political intervention to solve an existing problems; (4) the dimension of governance, where the policy makers see that to overcome problems need a collaboration of several parties or multi actors; (5) the advocative dimension where the policy makers decide to appreciate and manifest the society aspiration through policy instruments; and (6) the conflict management dimension, where policy makers see an existing policy is able to bridge an existing problems or interests (The compromise value aside from many interests to avoid conflicts).

The interrelation of each dimensions in this phase is seen where solutions to overcome issues and dilemmas by using public policy instruments are discussed. The issue of Non-permanent teachers and all attempts to find solutions of the problems are basically the practice of public policy instrument itself. By using the process perspective, the relation complexity between actors and various of interests they had become more analyzable. Besides, the in the stage of policy formulation, this model can be an instrument to explain the interrelation between dimensions in every process of public policy decision making.

In its concept, many dimensions in formulating public policy about Non-permanent teachers are interrelated. When the phase of agenda setting raises a public issue, one of it is to find the solutions of the issues of Non-permanent teachers, therefore, the technorative dimension sees that this problem should be overcome soon and a solution should be formulated, it can be with the instrument of power, money from the government, etc. The attempt to appreciate the existing public issue, and the attempt to find the solution towards a public issue is an advocacy dimension which supposed to be friendly to the

public. This dimension emphasizes that the attention focus is on the public interests and the rights of the people/society. In this point, modelling in the public policy analysis will be helpful to map the problems which supposed to be fixed through the public policy.

For the solution with public policy instrument can be implemented well, efficient, and appropriate, then a systematic working procedure is needed. The administrative dimension attempts to formulate a policy framework which is joped to be able to work effectively and effeciently and based on a clear working procedure wither in the process of preparation prior the implementation of the policy, during the policy is implemented (the implementator and Person in Charge in the Central and Regional Government), also after the policy is implemented (the policy evaluation and and revision).

When construting a solution upon problems raised in this democratitation era, the decision makers realize that many actors may involve in the process of decision making, object, and subject of decision, and other actors also have an influence in the success of the policy implementation later (pers, NGO, local and big businessman, etc.). In the phase

of policy formulation, the dimension of *governance* attempts to find a meeting point of many interests, aspiration, and alternative solutions of many disciplines, which is then discussed together until the a certain agreement is made. The dimension of *governance* sees that the multi actors in a political decision making is able to act as social control and realization of the democratization itself.

The dimension of conflict management sees that a public policy is actually an attempt to bridge the interest of multi actor (in the governance dimension) in the process of public policy. In the phase of policy formulation, the compromise point is hoped to be able be manifested from many interests after a deep discussion and together many actors attempt to develop things to find a solution on the existing public issues. This dimension hopes that the public policy taken by stakeholders can be the solution of problems and not become a new source of problem. At his point, five models of public policy to overcome the issue of Non-permanent teachers is hoped to be able to become solutions answering the existing dilemmas.

The political dimension tends to focus on the dispersion of power principle and the check *and balance* mechanism done

in government institution. In the phase of policy formulation to formulate and form policies, how far government is responsible to the societies during the process of policy decision making as well as the mechanism of working authority distribution are seen (Gaffar, 1999). At the practical level in the local authorities, the phase of policy formulation also discusses how far the implementators in the regions are in being responsible and to control the implementation of policy in its relation to the controlling function of regional parlement.

At this point, it can be concluded that the political dimension is related to the technocratic dimension (the discussion of public issues for finding the solutions by scientists, practitioners, and government as the facilitator), administrative dimension (a systemic working distribution), conflict management dimension (formulating the policy planning to minimize conflict, both vertical and horizontal conflicts), advocative dimension (sided with people and society aspiration by making a policy by minimizing the governmental irregularities), and even the dimension of governance which is multi actors, including the working relationship between the central government as the

decision taker and regional government as the local implementator.

The interconnection between dimensions in the phase of policy formulation shows variety of dimensions used by the decision takers while formulating a solutive public policy. In this phase, the public issue raised in the agenda setting is discussed deeper and developed to create a qualified policy framework. In the context of Non-permanent teachers' appointment to become the Government employee, the appointment is not supposed to become a discourse without an action. It has to be well formulated and implemented as the best solution to answer the existing problems. So far, five models of public policy have been issued and taken based on numerous of considerations and compromises between actors and many interests circling around the issues, including to accomodate Non-permanent teachers' aspirations. Thus, in the stage of policy implementation later, the public policy to overcome the problems of Non-permanent teachers can become one solutive, effective, and efficient policy decision.

CONCLUSION

This study shows the tendency of the

non-permanent teachers to experience orientation shift from working for dedication to working for struggle for the sake of the Non-permanent teachers' status and welfare improvement. The shift of orientation had by the Non-permanent teachers were caused by the inadequate salary or income the teachers received to fulfil their needs. Therefore, this study found several models of policy as a result of government reaction to the demand of Non-permanent teachers. The policy models to answer the Non-permanent teachers' demand were summarized into five models, i.e. (a) Political Lobbying Model; (b) The Amandment 'blessings' Model; (c) Impartial Policy Model; (d) Partial Policy Model; and (e) The Responsive Policy Model.

Besides those findings, this study also contributes in proposing several recommendations: (1) Government should have a strategic planning on the mapping of teacher distribution in every region for the vacant teacher position after retirement can be fulfilled as soon as possible; (2) Government should issue the regulation to ban school principal to hire and assign teachers independently; (3) Article 6 Government Regulation Number 56 Year 2012 should be revoked to open the opportunity for the Non-permanent

teachers who were assigned after year 2005 to become Government Civil Servant, Non-Civil Servant Permanent Employee, or Government Employee under working contract (PPPK); (4) Other provinces or cities/regencies should model the City of Semarang which gave opportunities for the Non-permanent teachers to have the test/ selection to become Non-Civil Servant Government Employee; (5) The formulation of PPPK policy needs to be revisited to broader the scope of employees' rights and obligations for the PPPK policy to be able to employed as a permanent solution instead of the partial one.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, E. (2011). Democracy, public policy, and lay assessments of scientific testimony. *Episteme*, 8(2), 144-164.
- Bashir, S. (2007). Trends in International Trade in Higher Education: Implications and Options for Developing Countries. Education Working Paper Series, Number 6. *World Bank Publications*.
- Béland, D., Carstensen, M. B., & Seabrooke, L. (2016). Ideas, political power and public policy.
- Bjork, C. (2003). Local responses to decentralization policy in Indonesia. *Comparative Education Review*, 47(2), 184-216.
- Budiardjo, Miriam. (2008). *Dasar-dasar Ilmu Politik*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Chang, M. C., Shaeffer, S., Al-Samarrai, S., Ragatz, A. B., De Ree, J., & Stevenson, R. (2013). *Teacher reform in Indonesia: The role of politics and evidence in policy making*. The World Bank.
- De Mesquita, B. B., Morrow, J. D., Siverson, R. M., & Smith, A. (2002). Political institutions, policy choice and the survival of leaders. *British Journal of Political Science*, 32(4), 559-590.
- Dye, T. R., & Dye, T. R. (1992). *Understanding public policy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Gaffar, Afan. (1999). *Politik Indonesia Transisi Menuju Demokrasi*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar
- Handoyo, Eko. (2012). *Kebijakan Publik*. Semarang: Widya Karya.
- Indiahono, Dwiyanto. (2009). *Kebijakan Publik Berbasis Dynamic Policy Analisis*. Yogyakarta: Gava Media.

- Keputusan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Nomor 034/U/2003 tentang Guru Bantu.
- Mas'ood, Mohtar. McAndrews, Colin. (2008). *Perbandingan Sistem Politik*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Nomura, K. (2009). A perspective on education for sustainable development: Historical development of environmental education in Indonesia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29(6), 621-627.
- Peraturan Bersama Menteri Negara Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi Nomor 02/SPB/M.PAN-RB/8/2011, Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 800-632 Tahun 2011, dan Menteri Keuangan Nomor 141/PMK.01/2011 tentang Penundaan Sementara Penerimaan Calon Pegawai Negeri Sipil.
- Peraturan Menteri Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi Nomor 20 Tahun 2017 Tentang Kriteria Penetapan Kebutuhan Pegawai Negeri Sipil dan Pelaksanaan Seleksi Calon Pegawai Negeri Sipil Tahun 2017
- Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 43 Tahun 2007 Perubahan atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 48 Tahun 2005 Tentang Pengangkatan Tenaga Tidak tetap menjadi Calon Pegawai Negeri Sipil.
- Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 56 Tahun 2012 tentang Perubahan Kedua Atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 48 Tahun 2005 Tentang Pengangkatan Tenaga Tidak tetap Menjadi Calon Pegawai Negeri Sipil.
- Republika. (2015). Tujuh Anggaran Disepakati Guru Tidak Tetap, K2 Siap Diangkat jadi PNS. Retrieved from (<https://nasional.republika.co.id/berita/nasional/umum/15/09/15/nuq16t377-anggaran-disepakati-guru-tidak-tetap-k2-siap-diangkat-jadi-pns>)
- Santoso, Purwo. (2010). *Modul Pembelajaran Analisis Kebijakan Publik*. Yogyakarta: PolGov.
- Smith, R. (1998). Beyond conflict of interest: transparency is the key. *BMJ: British Medical Journal*, 317(7154), 291.
- Usman, S., Akhmadi, & Suryadarma, D. (2007). Patterns of teacher absence in public primary schools in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 27(2), 207-219.
- Wang, A. H., Coleman, A. B., Coley, R. J., & Phelps, R. P. (2003). Preparing

Teachers around the World. Policy Information Report.

Winarno, Budi. (2012). *Kebijakan Publik Teori, Proses, dan Studi Kasus*. Yogyakarta: CAPS.

Winarno, Budi. (2016). *Kebijakan Publik Era Globalisasi Teori, Proses, dan Studi Kasus Komparatif*. Jakarta: Caps Publishing.