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THE PROBLEM OF THE SENSE OF INJUSTICE OF EDUCATION FIGHTERS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Teachers or education fighters, especially honorary teachers in Indonesia do not yet have regulations. This causes honorary teachers to experience a sense of injustice in terms of income. As many as 48% of the total teacher population are non-civil servant teachers, most of whom earn below the regional minimum wage. The focus of this research is how to use existing resources to fight for the problem of a sense of injustice of honorary teachers to their income based on the philosophy of relationality. The aim is to explore in more detail the opportunities and challenges of using resources to achieve a sense of fairness for honorary teachers in terms of their income. This research is a literature study, with qualitative methods and a relational philosophy approach. The result of this research is that the President is central to solving the problem of honorary teachers because the Indonesian government system is presidential so that the president becomes the head of state as well as the government. The Indonesian government should have drawn up a grand design in the field of education, specifically for human resources by removing the status of civil servant and non-civil servant teachers and their derivatives so that there is only one term for teachers of the Republic of Indonesia who have the same regulations, welfare and guarantees of work wherever they carry out their duties, in both public and private schools.

Keywords : honorary teacher, sense of justice, welfare, resources, government

1. Introduction

In experience, the teacher can be likened to a window to the world because the teacher introduces many new things that can amaze students. Tomas Aquinas argues that the teacher is an artist, namely the art of facilitating students to be involved in a journey of discovery and showing students how to apply general principles to specific proofs. In other words, the teacher invites students to reason through the submission of arguments. The teacher is also an example (Quinn, 2001). In fact, teachers can make students from not being able to read to being able to write and read fluently. In families there is never no mention of a teacher and never does not seek a teacher. All families send their children to school and of course have direct contact with people whose names are teachers. How the teacher is actually the favorite of the families in this world.

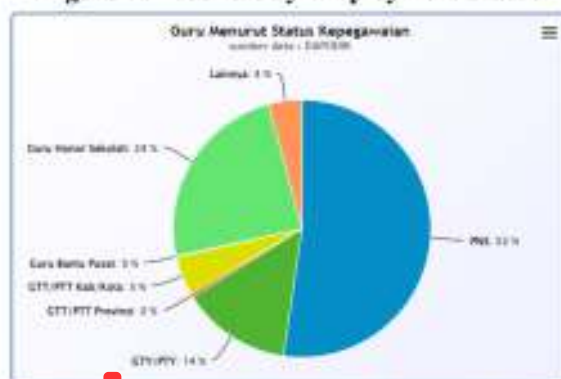
Looking more deeply at the teacher in terms of reality, the teacher does not experience as sweet as his predicate which is a window to the world, the art of facilitating, educating, and so on. Many teachers are in pain because of their low income. It is widespread in the news and experiences that teachers' salaries are very low, especially as honorary teachers. Honorary teachers get salaries that are not commensurate with their dedication. Therefore, there are many outpourings of honorary teachers who generally earn below the minimum wage ((Arifin & Arifin, 2019); (AntaraneWS Kalsel, 2020); (Budianto, 2020); (Ricardo, 2021b); (Fatimah, 2021)). In fact, it is very easy to find that in one school, civil servants and honorary teachers have the same workload but have different incomes ((Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 2014); (Ricardo, 2021b); (Fauzan, 2021)). This is because the basic salary of civil servant teachers (PNS) excluding

allowances is the lowest of Rp. 2,579,400.00 and the highest of Rp. 5,901,200.00 (Perubahan Kedelapan Belas Atas Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 7 Tahun 1977 Tentang Peraturan Gaji Pegawai Negeri Sipil, 2019).

For this situation, the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, Nadiem Makarim on the commemoration of teacher's day on November 24, 2021, expressed his highest appreciation for the dedication of educators throughout Indonesia. The Minister of Education and Technology also knows that the salaries of honorary teachers are very low, but the enthusiasm of the honorary teachers is extraordinary and for that he expresses his deepest gratitude to the honorary teachers. Thank you for the sacrifice, resilience and even serving the students studying at the students' homes so that they can study during the pandemic (Humas Kemendikbudristek RI, 2021). The Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, also gave permission for the use of school operational assistance funds not to be limited to honorary teachers (Ricardo, 2021a).

The honorary teacher is both a designation and a status because according to the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education there are two teacher statuses, namely PNS and non-PNS teachers. Even for non-PNS teachers, there are further clusters, namely honorary school teachers (GHS), central auxiliary teachers (GBT), district/city non-permanent teachers (GTTK), teachers with inappropriate proportions (GTTP), foundation permanent teachers (GTY), and others. Based on the Center for Cultural Education Data and Statistics (PDSPK) of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 2016), teachers according to their employment status are 2,906,239 consisting of two status groups, namely civil servants and non-civil servants. In terms of numbers, based on statistics in 2016, 52% were civil servants and 48% were non-civil servants, including 24% GHS, 6% GBT, 5% GTTK, 14% GTY, and another 4% (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 2016). So, the number of PNS and non-PNS teachers is almost comparable. Through Figure 1 below, it can be seen in detail the number of each group of teacher status as mentioned above.

Figure 1: Teachers by Employment Status



Source: https://reference.data.kemdikbud.go.id/dashboardgtk/prk_dash2.php?id=20

Inequality in the welfare of civil servants and honorary teachers also occurs in the receipt of the teacher professional allowance. Through Government Regulation Number 41 of 2009 concerning Professional Allowances for Teachers and Lecturers, Special Allowances for Teachers and Lecturers, and Honorary Professors Allowances, the government provides guidelines for the provision of allowances, specifically the teacher professional allowance (Peraturan Pemerintah

Republik Indonesia Nomor 41 Tahun 2009, 2009). For those who meet the requirements, teachers will receive a certification allowance. In accordance with Article 1 paragraph (4), the teacher professional allowance is an allowance given to teachers and lecturers who have an educator certificate as an appreciation for their professionalism. The teacher professional allowance is paid by the government once a month. The amount of the teacher professional allowance is set at 1 time the basic salary of PNS teachers according to their class (Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia Nomor 41 Tahun 2009, 2009). For permanent teachers who are not civil servants who have an educator certificate but do not have a functional teacher position, they are given a professional teacher allowance of Rp. 1.5 million every month until they get a functional teacher position (Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional No. 72 Tahun 2008, 2008).

Not all teachers can receive the teacher professional allowance because there are conditions that must be met, such as 1) Have one or more educator certificates that have been given a teacher registration number; 2) Fulfilling the workload as a teacher; 3) Teaching as a subject teacher and/or class teacher in an educational unit in accordance with the allotment of the educator's certificate; 4) Registered with the department as a permanent teacher; 5) Maximum age of 60 years; 6) Not bound as permanent staff at agencies other than the education unit where they are assigned (PP No 74 of 2008). To facilitate the administration of certification allowances, teachers must have a Unique Educator and Education Personnel Number (NUPTK) as the identity of the teachers in carrying out their duties (Secretary General Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 1 of 2018, 2018). It's sad that many teachers, especially honorary teachers, find it difficult to get NUPTK because there are regional heads who don't want to issue NUPTK, on the grounds that they don't want to be charged with budget problems ((Ardyan, 2020); (Hanifa, 2020)).

Based on the real situation that occurred, namely the income inequality between PNS and honorary teachers due to differences in government regulations against the two and also not being handled specifically so that honorary teachers experience a balance of income, the focus of this research is how to use existing resources to fight for the problem of a sense of injustice for honorary teachers, his income is based on the philosophy of relationality. Teachers are human. Human nature is not only rational, but also relational. Humanity is not only in the realm of rationality but also relationality. Relationality is thus the nature of human humanity (Riyanto CM, 2021). The purpose of this paper is to explore or explore in more detail the opportunities and challenges of using resources to achieve a sense of justice for honorary teachers.

Humans are social creatures, so humans associate with others or "Others". Therefore, relationality is also the relation between "I" and the Other, which is different. Others are those who are excluded from the subjective category "I" and my group. They are "third person", not "We". In the context of the injustice experienced by honorary teachers, other can be understood as fellow honorary teachers, but can also be understood as those who are served, a community group, policy makers. When the other really becomes someone else because someone else happens to be, it means that someone forgets that humans are always looking for meaning. The meaning is the universe of possibilities but at the same time it is transcendent. Therefore, no one has the right to injure someone's free effort to visit the meaning of his existence. Therefore, the relationality of "I" along with the other must trigger an empathy. Empathy is a natural child of human nature who is with the other. Empathy is born from the depth of the relationship. In the context of Indonesia's diversity, empathy should be the way this nation exists. Empathy is even contained in the reflection of every Pancasila value: divinity, humanity, unity, society and justice (Riyanto CM, 2021). Thus,

relationality is the relationship between "I" and "Other" which is filled with empathy from the depth of the relationship.

The origin of empathy comes from the German word *Einfühlung* (DosenSosiologi.Com, 2021) or from the Greek word *emphateia* (Rakas, 2016) which literally means 'entering the feelings of others'. Empathy is the ability to imagine what other individuals and groups might feel (DosenSosiologi.Com, 2021) or a mental state that makes a person feel or identify himself in the same state of feeling or thought with other people or groups (Mulyono, n.d.) so that things This creates a desire to feel the abilities of others, which ultimately leads to an attitude of social concern and action to provide solutions. Therefore, empathetic behavior is often analogized as 'being in someone else's shoes' or 'seeing from the eyes of others' (DosenSosiologi.Com, 2021).

The characteristics of empathy are being able to 1) listen to other people's conversations well, 2) accept different points of view, 3) have social concern for others (DosenSosiologi.Com, 2021). An easy step for how to manifest empathy in everyday life is to have concern for others. This is done to make each individual able to help each other in dealing with the various social problems that exist (Setyadi, 2016). So the indicators of empathy are 1) being able to listen to other people's conversations well without misinterpretation, 2) being able to accept different points of view, 3) being able to have social concern for others, 4) being able to take concrete actions to help others. An empathy comes from the depth of the relationship if the empathetic individual already has the four characteristics above.

The teacher is a teacher of a science, the teacher generally refers to professional educators with the main task of educating, teaching, guiding, directing, training, assessing, and evaluating students. Formally, a teacher is a teacher in a public or private school who has the ability based on a formal educational background of at least a bachelor's status, and has legal provisions as a teacher based on the teacher and lecturer law in force in Indonesia (Wikipedia, 2021). Teachers are figures who provide knowledge to their students (Masruri, n.d.) so are important figures in education (Fauzan, 2021), and are the key to success in education (Arifin & Arifin, 2019). Teachers are the most important members of our society. They set goals, set students up for success, and inspire them and encourage them to do well and succeed in life. Students are tomorrow's leaders, and teachers are the tipping point that makes students ready for their future (University of The People, 2021). So, a teacher is a teacher who has a minimum competency of a bachelor's degree, provides knowledge, provides motivation, and accompanies his students to reach the future as future leaders.

In Indonesia, it is known that there are PNS and non-PNS teachers (Kementrian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 2016). There are seven groups or categories of non-PNS teachers, one of which is an honorary teacher. What is meant by honorary teachers are teachers who teach in certain places, either in formal or non-formal institutions (Djamarah, 2000). Honorary teachers can also mean teachers appointed by the government with the aim of reducing the number of teachers (Mulyasa, 2006). The rights of honorary teachers are 1) to receive a monthly honorarium; 2) have leave based on the applicable laws and regulations; 3) get legal protection (Mulyasa, 2006). As for the obligations are 1) Carry out the task of teaching, training, guiding; 2) Carry out administrative tasks in accordance with applicable regulations; 3) Comply with all applicable regulations at the school where they work; 4) Comply with the provisions stipulated in the work agreement letter.

His role in this pandemic period is demanded more even though the salary is small (Khoirunnisa, 2021). In terms of justice, it is clear what kind of justice is defined. Justice is essentially treating a person or other party according to their rights and obligations. What is the right of every person is to be recognized and treated in accordance with the same dignity and

worth, the same rights and obligations, regardless of ethnicity, degree, descent, property, education or religion (Pandit, 2016). Justice is the nature (deeds, treatment, and so on) that is fair; ~ for the community; ~ social cooperation to produce an organically unified society so that every member of the community has an equal and real opportunity to grow and learn to live on their original abilities (Mulyono, n.d.). The concept of justice according to the view of the Indonesian people is defined as a virtue or Immanuel Kant reveals that truth, the highest justice is the greatest injustice (Nasution, 2014).

Justice according to the theory by John Rawls (Nasution, 2014) is to have three things that are solutions to the problem of justice. First, the principle of equal freedom for everyone (*principle of greatest equal liberty*), about this is formulated by John Rawls as follows: *Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty of others*. This principle includes freedom to participate in political life, freedom of association and speech including freedom of the press and freedom of religion. The two differences principle (*the difference principle*), which he formulated as follows: *Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all*. This formulation is a modification or balance to the first formulation which requires equality for all people, this modification applies if it provides benefits to everyone. In addition, this formulation also appears to be aimed at modern society which already has a complete structure, although the intention is to provide equal distribution of employment opportunities or to give equal and equal roles, but nevertheless, it has shown that it has shown serious concern, not to forget and leaving other people who find it difficult to obtain positions and opportunities in economic activities. So, socio-economic differences must be regulated in order to benefit the less fortunate people. The three *principles of fair equality* to obtain opportunities for everyone (*the principle of fair equality of opportunity*), namely economic inequality must be regulated in such a way as to provide opportunities for everyone to enjoy them.

So, justice is a situation that experiences equal treatment, has freedom of opinion and assembly, equal employment opportunities, and has economic equality so that everyone can enjoy it. In the context of civil servants and honorary teachers, both of them should receive the same treatment, have the same opportunity to work, and what is equally important is to have economic equality. In this economic similarity, civil servant teachers and honorary teachers have the same income.

Resources are the ability to fulfill something, a source of supplies, support or assistance, the means produced by one's abilities (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Resources can also mean anything that has a use for humans. Some resources have economic value and some do not. Time and technology are two important factors that can turn a substance into a resource. For example, petroleum was not a resource until people learned to use it. Types of resources are classified into three types, namely natural resources, man-made resources and human resources (toppr, 2021). So, resources are all that refers to anything that allows an individual or organization to work effectively or all elements of nature that help individuals to survive in this world. Resources can be anything, such as money, employees. The higher the availability of resources, the more added value it has.

In the context of honorary teachers, there are many resources that can help, such as teacher union organizations, colleagues, regulations, socio-political or community organizations, government. Everything can be said to be a resource if it helps honorary teachers in their struggle for justice.

2. Methodology

This research is a literature study research, which is a series of activities in which data collection is carried out using library data collection methods, reading, taking notes, and organizing research materials. The method or technique is carried out with the aim of revealing various theories that are relevant to the problem being studied as a reference material in the discussion of research results. In answering the problems in this study, it was carried out using a qualitative method with a relational approach. This method is suitable to be used because it aims to investigate human phenomena and investigate interpretations and meanings that are unknown and need to be explored.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Results

The main problem for honorary teachers is that they experience injustice in receiving salaries, even though when compared to PNS teachers, honorary teachers bear the same burden, maybe even heavier. They also have the same education, educate the children of the same nation, arrange the same administration as PNS teachers. The main problem with honorary teachers is the injustice experienced in terms of the very low salary received. To answer the problem of this research, namely how to use existing resources to fight for the problem of a sense of injustice of honorary teachers to their income generation based on the philosophy of relationality, the data on the main problems of honorary teachers, the efforts of all resources, and the efforts of honorary teachers are collected first.

1) The main problem is the low salary of honorary teachers

Based on data from the Indonesian Teachers Association (PGRI), the average salary for honorary teachers is IDR 300 thousand per month (Pengurus Harian PGRI, 2020). Indeed, each region is not the same, for example in East Aceh Regency it is Rp. 500 thousand/month and some are even Rp. 400 thousand, in Ende Regency, temporary teachers at state vocational schools are Rp. 700 thousand to Rp. 800 thousand/month. Then in Blitar Regency, Rp. 400 thousand for new honorariums, the old ones are Rp. 900 thousand (Ricardo, 2021b). Some are still lower than the average, in an area in Gunungkidul there are still those who receive Rp. 200 thousand (call A) teaching at a private junior high school (Interview, 8 December 2021). This data is also reinforced by the testimony of the Education and Teacher Association (P2G), "Many part-time teachers are filled with honorary teachers, whose wages are only 500-700 thousand per month. On the other hand, they are still required to be perfect and professional in carrying out their duties" (Suryadinata, 2021). With the amount as above, the salary of honorary teachers is indeed below the wages of workers.

Regardless of the salary of the honorary teachers, they still work and are able to bring many students to achieve their goals. For example, A, there are several former students who became teachers at a well-known private foundation, became administrators in public or educational institutions. According to his testimony, his former student's income was higher than A's (Interview, 8 December 2021). From the data above, it is clear that the salary of honorary teachers is lower than that of workers.

2) All stakeholders related to the low salary of honorary teachers

The following are parties related to the issue of the low salary of honorary teachers.

a. Government of the Republic of Indonesia

One of the government's tasks is to improve the welfare of its people ((Sikumbang, 2015); (DPR RI, 2021)), including honorary teachers because honorary teachers are part of the people. In 2020 honorary teachers held a demonstration in front of the Presidential Palace with the main topic

asking the president's attention to pay attention to them because they have low salaries and work uncertainty (Khoirunnisa, 2021). In the eyes of the law, the status of honorary teachers is not strong. When following the regulations for the salary of honorary teachers, in fact there has not been found a regulation from the government that regulates the salaries of honorary teachers. Thus, it is very difficult for honorary teachers to ask for their rights after they have given their obligations to carry out their duties as teachers. For this reason, P2G urges the government to issue a Presidential Regulation which regulates the salary for honorary teachers whose salaries have been very minimal so that there is a legal umbrella that protects and guarantees the welfare of honorary teachers, including private school/madrasah teachers (Ricardo, 2021a).

The government's effort is to give honorary teachers the opportunity to take the selection test for State Civil Apparatus (ASN) for Government Employees with a Work Agreement (PPPK) (Direktorat Sekolah Dasar, 2021). The rights that are obtained if you become a PPPK ASN teacher are to get performance appraisals, salaries, allowances, competency development and awards (Sekretarian GTK, 2021).

b. Ministry

The ministries associated with honorary teachers are the Ministry of Education, Culture and Higher Education Research (Kemendikbudristekdikti), the Ministry for Administrative Reform and Bureaucratic Reform (Kemenpan-RB), and the Ministry of Religion or Ministry of Religion as well as the Ministry of Home Affairs (Kemendagri). The efforts made by each ministry are as follows.

i. Kemendikbudristekdikti

Kemendikbudristekdikti efforts in seeking the eligibility of honorary salaries through:

- (1) Allowing BOS funds for the salary of honorary teachers (Kompas.com, 2020). Even if it is the first step. The Ministry of Education and Culture stated that there was no option to increase the welfare of honorary teachers.
- (2) Requesting the local government to provide salaries to honorary teachers according to the Regional Minimum Wage (UMP) (Hartomo, 2018). Because according to the Ministry of Education and Culture, the welfare of honorary teachers is the responsibility of the Education Office. On the one hand, the Ministry of Education and Culture also feels that it has this responsibility (Kompas.com, 2020).
- (3) Launching a salary subsidy or wage subsidy to teachers and temporary workers (Atmojo, 2020).

ii. Ministry of Religion

The Ministry of Religion also manages schools. Schools under the Ministry of Religion also receive and BOS. For the purposes of remuneration for honorary teachers, the Directorate General of Islamic Education stipulates that the maximum limit for the use of BOS funds for personnel expenditure is through Technical Instruction Number 7330 of 2019 which stipulates the honorarium for non-PNS teachers/educational staff and the honorarium for activities at public madrasas at 30% (Ashari, 2020).

iii. Kemenpan-RB

A year and a half ago, Kemenpan-RB reported that regarding the discourse on honorary teachers getting a salary equivalent to the regional minimum wage (UMR) it continued to develop a strategy for accepting ASN in accordance with competence (Astuti, 2020). The mechanism is regulated in the Regulation of the Minister for Empowerment of State Apparatus and Bureaucratic Reform (Permen PAN RB) Number 28 of 2021 concerning Procurement of Teacher Training and Education for Functional Positions of Teachers in Regional Agencies in 2021. In this regulation,

the mechanism has been regulated including the National Selection Committee (Panselnas) for the procurement of ASN chaired by the Head of the National Personnel Agency (BKN) (Sekretarian GTK, 2021).

In terms of the remuneration of honorary teachers, none of the ministries has taken responsibility. Even Mr. Nadiem Makarim - Mendikbudristek - at the National Alumni Association of the Indonesian Islamic University in Cawang on Saturday, December 14, 2021, made a statement handing over the salaries of honorary teachers to the respective regional governments (Hardiyanto, 2021). This means that the amount of honorary teacher salaries is not yet known because it is directly handled by the respective regional governments. Meanwhile, in reality, as explained by the Minister of Education and Culture (Mendikbud), Muhadjir Effendy in 2018 that the low level explains the current low salary of honorary teachers because it is only financed by the employing school. This is because honorary teachers are not tied to any agency, but are appointed by the principal (Rachman, 2018). That way there are many kinds of honorary teachers, honorariums in public schools are under the management of the local government and honorariums in private schools under the management of school owners can be as foundations or as individuals.

With regard to the 20% education budget, in fact what happens with this kind of budget management, the budget that has been mandated in the constitution, namely 20% of the state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN) allocated for education does not guarantee the completion of education in the country (Sri Mulyani in online discussion in Jakarta, Wednesday, August 4, 2021). This is because this provision does not only apply to one ministry of education, but is divided into several ministries, namely the ministry of education and culture, the ministry of religion, research institutions, and most of them are delegated to the regions in the form of school operating costs and teacher salaries. Thus the education budget is not fully focused on the ministry of education and culture, but there are several ministries/agencies that can budget.

The local government itself has problems regarding the budget and manpower because the local government itself must pay attention to the rules from the Ministry of Home Affairs as its direct supervisor and the Kemenpan-RB. Ideally, the regulations of each ministry support each other so that it can run well. As with the NUPTK matter, the Ministry of Education and Culture requires it to exist. Meanwhile, regional heads who are actually under the Ministry of Home Affairs are even afraid to issue NUPTK. Many regulations from the Ministry of Education and Culture are not in line with the Kemenpan-RB and the Ministry of Home Affairs. At least four ministries, Kemendikbudristekdikti, Kemendagri, Kemenpan-RB, and Kemenag have synergy in regulating all teachers whether as a state apparatus or not including honorary teachers.

c. People's Representative Council

To overcome the low salary of honorary teachers, Commission X of the House of Representatives (DPR), which is the commission in charge of education, has made the following suggestions:

- i. urged the President to issue a Presidential Regulation (Perpres) related to standardization of salaries and allowances for honorary teachers (Republika, 2021).
- ii. proposes that honorary teachers who have worked for more than 10 years are immediately appointed as Government Employees with a Work Agreement (PPPK) ((Komisi X DPR RI, 2021);(Kiswondari, 2021)).
- iii. an advanced mechanism is held so that honorary teachers can be appointed as Civil Servants (PNS). During this period, there must also be intensive mentoring and training so that these

PPPK teachers can increase their capacity according to the competency standards needed to become PNS teachers ((Komisi X DPR RI, 2021); (Kiswondari, 2021)).

- iv. suggest that senior teachers who have not passed the selection to become PNS teachers can be considered for appointment as PNS education personnel. "This is a form of appreciation for their years of service ((Komisi X DPR RI, 2021); (Kiswondari, 2021)).

d. Regional government

It was found that there were two provinces whose governors instructed local governments to pay the salaries of honorary teachers according to the UMK, namely as follows.

- i. The DIY local government has implemented a policy for state schools in its area to provide salaries above the Regency/City Minimum Wage (UMK) for working assistant teachers (naban) (Jogja Daily, 2021).
- ii. The Central Java Regional Government stated that it is the local government's obligation to fight for the fate of honorary teachers so that their lives can be the same as other workers, so the salaries of honorary high school/vocational teachers in Central Java are at a minimum according to the UMK of each district/city (Tamain, 2021). The Governor of Central Java further explained that local governments are prohibited from saying there is no money. If there is no money, the regent's or mayor's salary should be reduced so that it does not delay the payment of honorary teacher salaries (Muntoha, 2021).

Meanwhile, the superior of the regional government is the Minister of Home Affairs. If the Ministry of Home Affairs does not regulate the remuneration of honorary teachers, the regional government will certainly not immediately budget for it. On the one hand, the local government itself is confused in dealing with teacher salaries and school operational costs. For this reason, the Ministry of Home Affairs should issue a regulation so that the regional government budgets the salary for honorary teachers with certain rules, at least equal to the minimum wage.

e. Teacher Organization

It was found that two well-known teacher organizations that voiced the interests of honorary teachers, namely PGRI and P2G. From these two teacher organizations, data was collected on what had been made to help honorary teachers.

i. PGRI

From PGRI there are several actions that have been taken to defend honorary teachers, as follows.

- (1) Requesting the immediate issuance of a Presidential Decree concerning the resolution of problems for honorary teachers and awards or minimum salaries for honorary teachers (Brotosedjati, n.d.).
- (2) Asking stakeholders to pay honorary teacher salaries equal to the UMR ((Panama, 2021); (Antara, 2021)).
- (3) Ask the government to make it easier for honorary teachers who have been more than 10 years old to become civil servants (Panama, 2021).

ii. P2G

The actions of P2G to support honorary teachers are as follows:

- (1) urged the government to issue a Presidential Regulation that regulates the salary for honorary teachers whose salaries have been very minimal so that there is a legal umbrella that protects and guarantees the welfare of honorary teachers, including private school/madrasah teachers (Ricardo, 2021b).
- (2) ask for the welfare of teachers, especially honorary teachers in private and public schools to be improved (Suryadinata, 2021).

- (3) ask the government to help improve their status so that the income they get is more decent (Fajarta, 2020).
- (4) pProposes that the burden of teacher administration be simplified and focused on the quality of education (Fajarta, 2020).
- (5) requested that Kemendikbudristekdikti issue a Joint Decree (SKB) of the four Ministers regarding the minimum living wage for honorary teachers. The SKB is also expected to be signed with the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Home Affairs and Ministry of Finance (Putra, 2021).

From the two teacher organizations mentioned above, it can be concluded that there are three things that are sought, namely 1) urging the government to immediately issue a Presidential Regulation that regulates honorary teachers and their salaries; 2) urge the four ministerial ministries, namely Kemendikbudristekdikti together with the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Finance to issue a decree on a decent salary for honorary teachers; 3) propose to Kemendikbudristekdikti to simplify teacher administration and focus on the quality of education.

f. Workplace

Institutions where honorary teachers work, have been trying to do the following things.

- i. Salary is in accordance with Law No. 14 of 2005 Article 15 paragraph 3 which states that teachers who are appointed by the education unit submitted by the community are given a salary based on a work agreement or collective work agreement (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturer, 2005). The workplace institution can be an Educational Foundation, an Educational Association or an Educational Association, basing their salary on Article 15 paragraph 3 of Law no. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers. The law provides protection for teachers' workplaces. Teachers regardless of their status, including honorary teachers, inevitably follow the rules of the game in the institution where they work.
- ii. Proposing a judicial review of the 2003 National Education System Law carried out by the Salafiyah Foundation and the Santa Maria Pekalongan Foundation (EP Putra, 2011) submitting a judicial review of Article 55 Paragraph (4) of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, namely community-based educational institutions can obtain technical assistance, financial subsidies, and other resources fairly and equitably from the government and/or local government. The Petitioners argue that the phrase 'can' in Article 55 Paragraph (4) of the Education System Law has eliminated or at least has the potential to eliminate the government's obligations which are at the same time the applicant's rights in financing the provision of basic education.

g. Campus

Campus is my very important resource for honorary teachers. The so-called campus is the area of the main building environment of the college (university, academy) where all teaching-learning and administrative activities take place (Mulyono, n.d.). Talking about the campus is not only about its construction but also about the activities that occur within it. Campus is not only a building or complex but also a means of developing knowledge, forming personality, independence, social skills, and character. Campus as a higher education institution, is a place to hone creativity, criticality in responding to problems that occur in society.

In relation to improving the welfare of honorary teachers, several campus efforts were found in finding solutions.

i. Conducting *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD)

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI) in collaboration with the Honorary Board (BK) of the DPR RI held a focus group discussion with the theme "Revision of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System and Arrangement of Laws in the Education Sector through the Omnibus Law Approach". Participants in this FGD activity consisted of structural and functional officials within the Secretariat General of the DPR RI, academics from universities in West Java, the West Java Provincial Education Office, the Bandung City Education Office, educational leaders, cultural figures, and community organizations in the field of education (Humas UPI, 2021).

The substance of the National Education System Law that needs to be deconstructed in the concept of the national education system for educators (teachers), namely teacher welfare must be the main orientation in the Improvement of the National Education System Law, paradigm shifts in the role of teachers in the future through the Improvement of the National Education System Law, as well as deconstruction in the concept of the national education system for development, human resources educators (teachers). The situation and needs in the field have developed far, from the issue of the industrial revolution 4.0 to including "disruption technology" which has begun to change people's behavior. The law to be revised must have the spirit of an *omnibus law* as proclaimed by the current Indonesian government. Hopefully the Ministry of Education and Culture can refresh education regulations so that they can make breakthroughs in the world of education (Humas UPI, 2021).

ii. Carry out scientific studies

The lecturer is one of the campus residents who has a responsibility as an agent of community change towards good welfare. That way, lecturers have an obligation to improve welfare, including honorary teachers. One effort that lecturers can do, for example, is conducting a scientific study of the National Education System Law and other instruments, writing scientific articles that encourage changes in welfare (Mulyasa, 2006).

iii. Carry out material test assistance

Campuses that have LBH help teachers who want to submit a material test, for example the judicial review of the National Education System Law.

3) Teacher's Effort

On the part of honorary teachers there are several efforts made to have good bargaining power so as to obtain fairness in income receipts.

a. Teaching as worship

Because age continues, when you reach the age of 35, what you think about is no longer material but worship (Parhani, 2020). So, teaching as worship.

b. Submitting material for the 2003 National Education System Law

One of the teachers named Anisa Rosadi filed a judicial review of the 2003 National Education System Law (Humas Kemenhumham, 2021), in which the applicant argued that the non-inclusion of non-formal PAUD educators in Article 1 point 1 and Article 2 paragraph (1) of the Law on Teachers and Lecturers is contrary to the 1945 Constitution, particularly Article 27 paragraph (2), Article 28C paragraph (2), Article 28D paragraph (1) and Article 28I paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution. This is because the Petitioner does not get guaranteed work and a decent living, cannot develop himself, in order to meet the necessities of life and cause the Petitioner to be discriminated against (Humas Kemenhumham, 2021).

c. Keep improving yourself

Although the salary they receive is small, honorary teachers continue to develop themselves by attending seminars or continuing their studies to a higher level. According to the records of the Indonesian Teachers Association, what happens in the field is not all certified teachers "walk in place". Hundreds of thousands of teachers continue their education for masters and some even have doctorates. Thousands of teachers make books. Hundreds of teachers become outstanding teachers every year. Hundreds of teachers have even become figures in the community. Although the number is considered small, there is a "crawling" movement towards better teachers (Pengurus Harian PGRI, 2020).

d. Become a government employee teacher with a work agreement (PPPK). The first aid teacher is a civil servant teacher but does not have a pension (Interview with M, 9 December 2021). From a salary point of view, PPPK's salary is not inferior to that of prospective civil servants, namely Group I starting from Rp. 1,794,900 – 2,268,200. In addition to getting the salary for first aid teachers, they also get allowances and leave rights (Peraturan Presiden (PERPRES) Tentang Gaji Dan Tunjangan Pegawai Pemerintah Dengan Perjanjian Kerja, 2020).

e. Keep being an honorary teacher by owning a business

No pension money after entering retirement is a consideration for many honorary teachers who are reluctant to become PPPK teachers (Interview with R, 9 December 2021). R testified that he was reluctant to register as a first aid teacher because there was no guarantee of old age. Therefore, R continues to pursue his status as an honorary teacher and opens a business to provide private lessons to students in need. By giving private lessons, the time can be arranged by yourself.

f. Become a member of a teacher organization

Aspirations must have the right place so that they are profitable and at the same time become a resource for honorary teachers. For this reason, they join teacher organizations, such as PGRI, P2G. Of the two teacher organizations, PGRI calls for the government to appreciate moving teachers who have a myriad of achievements so that they are facilitated or automatically become prospective principals (Pengurus Harian PGRI, 2020). Meanwhile, P2G urges the government to issue a Presidential Regulation that regulates the salary for honorary teachers whose salaries so far have been very minimal so that there is a legal umbrella that protects and guarantees the welfare of honorary teachers, including private school/madrasah teachers (Ricardo, 2021b).

g. Do a demonstration

In 2020, hold a large-scale demonstration in front of the Presidential Palace to convey his aspirations regarding low salaries and the absence of definite job guarantees (Khoirunnisa, 2021).

3.2 Discussion

Seeing how honorary teachers carry out self-improvement efforts, it is very necessary to be supported so that they can find a sense of justice in terms of welfare which leads to prosperous income. Welfare can be measured by salary level. The salaries of honorary teachers need to increase from year to year (Setiawan, 2020). There is no denying the fact that the government has begun to pay attention to the welfare of honorary teachers by providing opportunities to become ASN-PPPK, facilitating the administration of NUPTK, providing teacher certification allowances, providing wage subsidy assistance, providing welfare benefits according to the policies of each local government. In terms of managing the NUPTK, the Ministry of Education and Culture has

formed an integrated service unit which is intended to make it easier to manage various things, including managing the NUPTK. NUPTK is the Identification Number for a Teacher or Education Personnel, given to all GTKs, both civil servants and non-civil servants who meet the requirements and conditions in accordance with the letter from the Director General of GTK as the official Identity Number for identification purposes in various program implementations and activities related to education, in order to improve the quality of teachers and education personnel (Center for Education and Culture Data and Statistics, 2021). In the case of ASN-PPPK, it is regulated in Government Regulation (PP) Number 49 of 2018 concerning Management of Government Employees with Work Agreements. With the PP, all central and regional agencies are no longer allowed to recruit temporary workers in any form.

Ownership of NUPTK for honorary teachers is very important because NUPTK functions as a condition for being able to: 1) Participate in a certification program, namely the certification program which is now known as the Teacher Profession Program (PPG) which aims to increase the professionalism of educators and education staff in carrying out their functional duties; 2) Get functional allowances, namely these benefits are very useful for the welfare of life, especially for PTK with non-PNS status; 3) Participate in the Teacher Competency Test (UKG), which is a media for screening teacher competencies for quality improvement; 4) Obtain educational scholarships, namely scholarships given to NUPTK holders who are considered competent and outstanding.

For this reason, honorary teachers cannot be separated from stakeholders. The honorary teachers are in the midst of colleagues, workplace institutions, teacher organizations, campuses, and the government and the DPR. These are all other things that add value to honorary teachers as a resource for honorary teachers in an effort to improve their welfare so that they experience a sense of justice with PNS teachers. Together with the other, the honorary teacher fights for his fate and with the other, the honorary teacher voices the problem of his sense of justice. The following are the efforts made through the resources of honorary teachers.

1) Have NUPTK.

NUPTK absolutely must be owned by teachers, including honorary teachers. In order to get a sense of justice through the benefits provided by the government, honorary teachers absolutely must have a NUPTK.

2) Together with their colleagues, both honorary and non-permanent teachers voice the problem of a sense of justice in terms of income through writing or action. Even though demonstrations are something that can be considered bad for teachers in voicing their situation, in the end it was taken by honorary teachers by holding demonstrations in front of the Presidential Palace (Khoirunnisa, 2021). The activity is expected to open the eyes of the government, represented by several relevant ministries, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture, Technology and Higher Education, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform, and the Ministry of Religion. The results include the ease of administering the NUPTK, the opportunity to become ASN-PPPK, the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education and the Ministry of Religion allow BOS funds to pay the salaries of honorary teachers, the regional government instructs regents or mayors to pay the salaries of honorary teachers through the APBD.

The DPR RI also urges the President to issue a Presidential Regulation related to standardization of salaries and allowances for honorary teachers, proposing that honorary teachers who have worked for more than 10 years are immediately appointed as ASN-PPPK. Also honorary teachers who have become ASN-PPPK are given intensive assistance and training so that these PPPK teachers can increase their capacity according to the competency

standards needed to become PNS teachers. One more suggestion is to accept honorary teachers who do not qualify as ASN-PPPK to be accepted as education staff.

3) Institution where work

In terms of salary, institutions outside the government follow Law No. 14 of 2005 Article 15 paragraph 3 which states that teachers who are appointed by education units submitted by the community are given salaries based on work agreements or collective work agreements (Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia No 14 Tahun 2005 Tentang Guru Dan Dosen, 2005). The workplace institution is a place for teachers to take shelter and shelter. Giving salary according to the agreement is the right thing to do. As the other, the workplace institution should provide more than that, for example, apart from the judicial review of the National Education System Law, it also provides more tangible things, such as a) quickly providing all the requirements for the NUPTK management so that honorary teachers can immediately take care of the NUPTK and get it; b) seeking funds to improve teacher welfare, especially in terms of salary and other allowances; c) holding up grading for teachers and learning methods so that they are in accordance with the present and the situation of students which will have an impact on parents' understanding of quality so that parents have the awareness to pay more. In this way, income increases and finally it is hoped that teacher salaries can be carried out which are equal to the income of PNS teachers.

4) Teacher Organization

Teacher organizations seek three things to support the achievement of a sense of justice for honorary teachers in their income. These efforts are 1) urging the government to immediately issue a Presidential Regulation that regulates honorary teachers and their salaries; 2) urge the four ministerial ministries, namely Kemendikbudristekdikti together with the Ministry of Religion, Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Finance to issue a decree on a decent salary for honorary teachers; 3) propose to Kemendikbudristekdikti to simplify teacher administration and focus on the quality of education.

5) Campus

There are two things that the Campus has actually done related to a sense of justice for honorary teachers for their income, namely 1) FGDs on the substance of the National Education System Law in the hope that the Ministry of Education and Culture can refresh education regulations so that they can make breakthroughs in the world of education. The breakthrough with the welfare of teachers must be the main orientation in improving the National Education System Law, changing the paradigm of the role of teachers in the future through the improvement of the National Education System Law, as well as deconstruction in the concept of the national education system for the development of human resources educators (teachers) who pay attention to the development of issues of the industrial revolution 4.0 to including "disruption technology" which has begun to change people's behavior. The law to be revised must have the spirit of an omnibus law as proclaimed by the current Indonesian government. 2) Writing articles published in journals about the urgency of improving the salary of honorary teachers to be equivalent to the salaries of civil servants.

6) Government

As explained above that the government provides two solutions to overcome the sense of justice for honorary teachers for their welfare, namely the ease of administering the NUPTK, the opportunity to become ASN-PPPK, the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education and the Ministry of Religion allow BOS funds to pay the salaries of honorary

teachers, the regional government instructs regents or mayors to pay salaries honorary teachers through the APBD.

Finally, it is very important to appreciate all the efforts above. All existing resources, namely the government, ministries, DPR RI, workplaces, teacher organizations, colleagues are very good others who are fighting for honorary teachers to feel income justice. However, without reducing the glory of the effort of all resources, if it is likened to a disease, the efforts mentioned above have not been able to cure the problem of the sense of injustice of honorary teachers towards the roots. All efforts must still be voiced and fought for and managed properly. Indonesia is like a multinational company that has a wide area, different culture, language, environment, habits. Therefore, in order for government management in this case to be successful, teachers need management practices ((Hanafi, 2015); (Bloom et al., 2012)). In addition, it is also necessary to reform the administrative system by building an accountable public management system (Zafarullah & Huque, 2001). With an accountable information management system, it will greatly reduce regulatory overlap, for example regulations on honorary teachers will be accommodated quickly because of a good management system. In this case, the system in our government needs to be improved so that it will be properly recorded what the aspirations of the people are and finally have an agenda for discussion and then a decision.

All efforts from all the resources mentioned above lead to the end of the government. Why is that? This is because all resources seek a sense of justice by submitting proposals, suggestions, aspirations addressed to the government. Likewise, teacher organizations also submit their proposals to the President. No exception, honorary teachers who convey their aspirations through demonstrations are also addressed to the President. Even the DPR RI submitted its proposal to the President. This is because the form of government of our country is presidential with the form of a unitary state (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, 2002). Therefore, the most effective delivery of aspirations is addressed to the President. The ministers who accept proposals from the public must first report to the President before making a decision. This is indeed the case because the Indonesian government system is a republican government in the form of a unitary state headed by a president (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, 2002).

Thus, the decision rests with the president. For this reason, the President of the Republic of Indonesia as a representative of the Indonesian government who has the responsibility for the welfare of the people (Corral, 2009) should practice good management. The time has come, we must clearly and transparently draw up a grand design for teachers. In addition, it is necessary to renew the perspective of teachers. It is time for the government and all of us to no longer divide teachers, so we must immediately make a decision to call all teachers teachers. Furthermore, the government must dare to take a decision that all teachers are the same and abolish the terms PNS teachers and non-PNS teachers which include GHS, GBT, GTTK, GTTP, GTY, and others so that all the names are only one term for teacher and welfare and the same rules, with the same obligations and rights. That way the rules for teachers without compartmentalizing. Ideally, all matters related to teacher management go through one door, namely the government door, including teacher issues which are actually the government's responsibility in terms of welfare and job security (Drummond, William H and Andrews, 1980).

Teachers and government or government and teachers have a strong relational relationship. The presence of teachers helps government programs in advancing the education of the Indonesian nation and state. The quality of Indonesian education is in the hands of the teachers. Whatever their status, teachers have the same responsibility, namely determining the success of the nation's education process. They are responsible for the constructive learning and

repetition of information, as well as enriching the experience (Guzmán, 2021). Given how important teachers are, even all Indonesian families need teachers, even in the online age. The role of the teacher remains central in the world of education regardless of the circumstances, whether it is online or offline. Teachers are not only givers of knowledge. The teacher also plays a role in providing advice to students for their growth so that they become adults. This right means that teachers also help students integrate their social, emotional, and intellectual development so that all dimensions are integrated in the process of seeking, understanding, and using knowledge to make good decisions in the lives of their students, and must also arouse a love of learning (Lanier, 1997). How important and central the teacher's role is for the advancement of education. Teachers are producers of future leaders (University of The People, 2021).

For this reason, so that the quality of education is the same from Sabang to Merauke from Miangas to Rote and in accordance with the government's expectations in the Nawacita, the government which has a main and neutral role in the implementation of education and management of its resources, including teachers, it is time for the government to 1) draw up a grand design for education management from planning to follow-up, 2) eliminating the existence of PNS and non-PNS teachers so that there is only one term, namely teachers who are all managed by the government even though the teachers work in various workplaces, both public and private, 3) because there is only one term teacher and it is managed by the government, all regulations issued by the government are for all teachers in this nation. Thus, there will be no more problems of inequality in income.

4. Conclusion

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that all good efforts to eliminate the problem of a sense of injustice experienced by honorary teachers lead to the government. The full responsibility for teachers lies with the government because teachers assist the government in realizing the educational goals of the Indonesian nation and state. Thus, it is time for the government to 1) develop a grand design for education management from planning to follow-up, 2) eliminate the existence of PNS and non-PNS teachers so that there is only one term, namely teachers who are all managed by the government even though the teachers are working, in various workplaces, both public and private, 3) because there is only one teacher term and managed by the government, all regulations issued by the government are for all teachers in this nation.

Everything related to teacher regulations that regulate welfare in order to achieve the same sense of justice must be guarded. All stakeholders have the same obligation to move to express a common voice for the welfare of teachers, especially honorary teachers. If in the future in this nation there is only one term teacher with the same rules and welfare, all available resources will continue to join hands to accompany teachers who have a big and central responsibility for the progress of our nation.

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