Artikel

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Meaning of Political Power for Teachers

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Abstract

This article is the result of research which describes teachers' politics in achieving positions in the government bureaucracy. The approach used is phenomenological qualitative. The research was conducted in Bantul, Special Territoty of Yogyakarta. The subjects were purposively selected totaling 19 people which including a Head of Elementary Education Service and 2 Chiefs in Elementary Education Department who were previously teachers, 6 Headmasters, and 10 teachers.

The data were collected through deep interviews and document analysis. The acceptability of the data and the credibility of data sources were achieved through triangulation, i.e. data cross-checking with the sources, expert discussions, and rival explanations. Data analysis was conducted through the following procedures: data managing, reading and memoing, describing, classifying, interpreting, and visualizing. This study obtained three results: (1) The teachers considered positions as mandates and opportunities to be involved in education development. The teachers must be responsible to accept and do the mandates. (2) Being directly involved in developing education was the teachers' motives to take positions in the government bureaucracy. They believed that the right man is in the right job so they take the position. Unsuitable people in the positions would make serious effects. (3) The teachers achieved the positions through organization i.e. PGRI (*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* or Indonesian Teachers Association). Rulers are very concerned about PGRI in order to rule teachers, as well as teachers through PGRI can be closer to the rulers.

Key words: bureaucratic power, teachers' motive, and advancement of education

Introduction

Teachers have central position in teaching and learning process. Their rules in planning and preparing classroom activities are prominent. Umar Tirtarahardja and La Sulo (1994) explain that teachers' position in schools is very complex; they are managers, directors, organizers, coordinators, communicators, facilitators, and stimulators. The positions surely determine the success of education and learning. Moreover, in broader scale, teachers have important roles in succeeding the society development.

Historically, teachers, in old Javanese are considered as noble people who become right people to ask, spiritual guide, and models to other people. In a Sufis' tradition, a teacher refers

to a figure who has the most perfect character or *kamil mukammila*. Hindu's tradition of India (Zen Rachmat Sugito et al, 2006), a teacher is known as '*maharesi guru*', a man who educates monks in *Bhinaya Panti* (monk school), and encourages his students to reach escaping from misery (*samsara*).

As a praised man, a teacher has big position and role in his community. Frederick Meeyr (Dirto Hadisusanto et al, 1995) counts a teacher as a role model and he has vital role in maintaining civilization and community development. Therefore, a teacher is counted as a process leading to enlightenment of mankind.

Teachers' involvement in society reflects connection and dynamics of their relationship. Their participation makes them relatively understand any issues in their community. Consequently, they collaboratively take parts in any societal interest of their group. Joel Spring (1993) states that teachers do vital parts in social interaction. Politically, there are seven groups who concern with education issues in the social interaction context, namely: (1) politicians of political party, (2) education politicians, (3) boards of education, (4) courts, (5) foundations, (6) corporate sector, and (7) teachers' union. The groups interact one another in authority relationship related to education establishment. In addition, there is bargaining of interest in the relationship, whether hard bargaining or vice versa (Joetta L. Sack, 2002).

Research results of Kenneth K. Wong (2006), J. Wagman (2003), J. Rubin and R. Fausset (2005) showed that many candidates of mayor election in the USA used educational issues as the material of campaigns.Kenneth K. Wong (2006) stated that "Five of the six candidates said that they would not hesitate to push for a takeover if the city's schools were to lose their accreditation". In general, educational issues in the USA included: leadership reinforcement in public education, school reformation, and advancement of school quality. Experts stated that educational issues are also become parts of campaigns in Indonesian election.

The authority relationship matter among groups of interests above can be an opportunity and a challenge for teachers to critically put their position.Teachers can have different point of view from other groups about the matter, so that this study focuses on discovering facts about authority and describing it according to teachers' point of view. The formulation of the problems is "What is the meaning of authority to teachers?" This formulation generates some operational questions, namely: (1) How is teachers' understanding about authority? (2) What is teachers' motives to become functionaries in government bureaucracy?

Theoretically, experts define "authority" in some ways. Lasswell & Kaplan (Cheppy, 1991) define an authority as 'participation in the making of decision'. Roger H. Soltau (Cheppy, 1991) considers an authority as an ability of a man to influence other people so they follow his expectation.

There are two kinds of authority or power, i.e. transmitive power and transformative power (HAR Tilaar, 2003). The transmitive power aims to make subordinate relationship between one subject with others, so that will beobedience and loyalty. The transformative power aims to encourage the reflection of other groups in order to cause critical actions. In other words, the orientation of the first type is legitimatized and the second one is advocated. The authority or power in education can be classified into two types, namely macro power and micro power.The macro power includes the authority of preparation, formulation, settlement, and implementation of educational policy in the governmental institutions whether in national level, province level, or district level. The micro power refers to the authority of classroom and school management that include: (1) organizing school visions, missions, and orientations; (2)organizing strategic plans and programs for short term, middle term, and long term; (3) arranging school curriculum based on school creation and autonomy; (4) arranging school syllabus of lessons; (5) arranging lesson plans for each meeting; (6) conducting classroom activities using tools and media; (7) choosing relevant learning media; (8) evaluating and assessing the students results.

This study focuses onteachers' macro authority which refers to the understanding and motives of the teachers who have transferred their position becoming functionaries in the government bureaucracy. The authority to rule and govern needs right ways to realize and where the source of power is from.According to experts, there are four factors related to realization and the source of power, namely: (1) forms and numbers of power, (2) distribution of power, (3) time to use the source of power, and (4) results of the use of power sources.

Ramlan Surbakti (1992) state that the sources of power include physical obligation, richness and wealthy, norms, function of expertise, information, social status, private popularity, and organized community. A method to easily realize the power is through TKP (*TeknologiKontrolPolitik*) or Control Politic Technology which use the function of state intelligent service to detect the movement of militant groups. There are also sophisticated technology to control any disturbances, psychological methods and interrogation techniques,and the use of torturing as intimidation tool.

Distribution of power is also important factor instead of the forms and the sources of power. The capability of people who have authority or power influence the distribution of

power. A man under-controlled is disabled to distribute the power well and easy to be controlled by a man behind. Some people cannot distribute their power due to the lack of spirit. They submit their life and have no enthusiasm to change their life.

There are changes found in principles and government management including education sector since there is the autonomy of territories issued in regulation or *Undang-undang* (UU) No.22, 1999 about district government which is revised becoming UU No.32, 2004 and is completed becoming UU No.12, 2008. The autonomy of territories is a right, an authority, and an obligation of the autonomous territories to rule and govern their governmental issues and social interests based on the regulation.

Through the autonomy of territories, there is an expectation of achieving better future of national education. In conducting the autonomy, the government uses some instruments of policy making such as UU No.20, 2003 about National Education System and UU No.9, 2009 which has been annulled by Constitution Court. The regulations aim to make Indonesian people intellectuals.

However, there are some cases found as teachers become tools of local administrators. Republika daily newspaper (22nd of November 2011) reported that "While local election, several local administrators threated the teachers to teach in remote areas or headmasters would become assistant teacher sunless they voted the administrators". According to Laksana (2011), despotic power can be in form of mutation or demotion.

Research Method

This study uses phenomenological model of qualitative approach. This approach is suitable with the problems which belong to dynamic-complex phenomenon. The researcher can deeply expose the facts concerned. This approach is conducted by considering society or communities as subjective reality and objective reality. As subjective reality, society has generated individuals through reification process. As objective reality, through socialization, an individual unites two things, namely primary socialization and secondary socialization which are used to participate in social institution structures.

The research setting was Bantul, Yogyakarta with some evidences. First, Bantul is a vital part of Yogyakarta Special Territory. Yogyakarta is known as a province with high rate of national education index and has special government (UU No.3, 1950 about Yogyakarta, The SpecialTerritory).Secondly, Bantul has different education bureaucracy structure from other regencies in Yogyakarta and Central Java. It has two education services in district government i.e. elementary education service and secondary and non-formal education service.

Thirdly, it is a developing region in economics, social, and culture. Fourthly, from the culture of politics, Bantulmaintains the tradition of using *Kraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* or the Palace of Yogyakarta as a symbol and the source of power legitimation.

The subjects of the study were purposively selected totaling 19 people, including the functionaries of Education Department, headmasters, and teachers. The functionaries consisted of the Head of Elementary Education Service and two Division Coordinators of the Elementary Education Department. They had been teachers. The headmasters consisted of six Principals from Elementary School (ES), Junior Haigh School (JHS), and Senior High School (SHS). The teachers consisted of 4 ES teachers, 3 JHS teachers, and 3 SHS teachers.

The data were collected through deep interviews. This techniques were conducted in order to explore the verbal data and the deep meaning of findings. Triangulation is employed to fulfill the acceptability and credibility. There were three kinds of triangulations processes, namely: crosschecking the data with the sources, expert discussions especially the colleagues from Yogyakarta State University, and crosschecking the data with the theories or rival explanation.

After triangulation process, the data were analyzed through phenomenological qualitative analysis as well as suggested by John W. Creswell (2007). There were seven steps in analyzing the data, namely: data managing, reading and memoing, describing, classifying, interpreting, and visualizing.

The first step of data analysis was data managing. In this step, the researcher arranged and organized the data files that had been collected. The next step is reading and memoing. In this step, the researcher carefully read the results of the interviews and made some important notes. In describing step, the researcher described the personal experience of the subjects and the essence of the phenomena. In classifying phase, the researcher developed any significant statements and classified them into units. The interpreting step was done by developing the textural description about "what happens", the structural description about "how the phenomena are experienced" and the essence. The last step was visualizing in which the researcher presented the narration about the essence of experiences in the form of description completed by discussions.

Findings and Discussion

There are three points as the results of research: (1) teachers' understanding of authority or power, (2) teachers' motives in deciding to become functionaries in government bureaucracy, and (3) teachers methods to achieve the power of bureaucracy.

1. **Teachers' Understanding of Authority**

Several subjects are aware of how important a power in district government. For them, a power is a means to make a change. However, they believe that no one appropriately asks for a power. A power means a mandate which has to be sincerely accept because the one who gives the mandate has considered the acceptors.

Some subjects believe that a position cannot be sought, but they cannot refuse mandates given. For them, holding a mandate is very important since they can learn if there is any mistakes. It is stated by SLM, a subject who is in charge as the Coordinator of Division in the Elementary Education Service.

The explanation above shows that teachers see a position as a mandate to seriously do. They have to accept any mandates because the one who gives them has considered their capacity. They do not ask for a position, but they have to accept it. They have to do their best to keep the mandates.

The subjects see the power as responsibility. Doing responsibility means participating in making decision in education sector.Theoretically, how they see a position is suitable with the statement of CheppyHaricahyono (1991) who states that 'the participation in the making of decision'.

Teachers' authority in the office of the Elementary Education Service of Bantul belongs to transformative power as well as the theory stated by HAR Tilaar (2003). This kinds of authority or power aims at developing subordinate relationship among the subjects. Therefore this power delivers obedience and loyalty. The teachers' authority in Bantul regency forms the legitimated relationship between teachers and the Regent.

2. **Teachers' Motives in Deciding to Become Functionaries**

Several subjects are aware of the importance of being a part of power system in district government. In their point of view, teachers are important to be involved in education sector. Teachers are considered as the right people who understand education and need to be involved in its development. Regarding a school Principal, WYN considers that education and authority have to support each other. Developing education without supports from those who have power can be hard to achieve and vice versa.

> "Education and authority are mutual. Both have to support each other. Developing education without supports from those who have power can be hard to achieve and vice versa." (10/07/13/KS-WYN)

The subjects of the teachers also mentioned the importance of the teacher has the power to regulate education. Education officials from the teacher will understand more about the education that the chosen policy will be more effective to solve the problem of education. This is as told by SPY as follows:

"If there is an opportunity to get into the bureaucracy, one of the teacher is supposed to be an official who has the power in the government bureaucracy. Powers of government bureaucracy has the authority to regulate education for the better. Education officials from the teacher will understand more about education. Thus, the selected policy, of course, would be more effective to solve the problem of education ". (10/07/13/GR-SPY).

Some subjects claimed that an officer is not their desire but because they get a mandate that must be executed in order to participate optimally. This is as told by some of the subjects of Principals as follows:

"My motivation is not willing to shake my desires, but because I was given the mandate to be received and prepared me to perform. When the task was handed to me, then it should not be rejected. It is a trust that must be executed with a vengeance". (04/07/2013 / KS-SRM).

Other subjects add that motivation to serve is to improve the quality of education in more optimum results. Role as an officer who has more power is believed to be an opportunity to be able to do more to change the world into a better quality of education. The opinion is also supported by the subjects from teachers. The subject said that the head of the school, became head of the field, let alone the head of Basic Education department is large enough to have opportunities to improve education. According to him, the officials should improve the quality of education directly, not just pursuing the position. This is expressed more fully as follows:

"As anything else in his tenure in the district government education bureaucracy, whether as principal, the head of the field, especially as the service chief is the one who pick the strategic position. They have a pretty big chance to improve education. Therefore, the officials should be able to shake her intention in improving the quality of education directly, not just pursuinga position". (24/09/2013/GR-MDS).

The above description shows clearly that the motive becomes official is not the desire of the teachers but because given the trust that must be executed in order to optimally participate, then the position will be assigned. Motivation to be an official for them is to improve the quality of education. Role as an officer who has more power is believed to be an opportunity to be able to make better quality education. The opinion was also expressed by the subjects come from teachers who said that it is an important to have a position to improve education.

3. Teachers' Methods in Achieving Bureaucracy Power

In general, the subjects admit that they achieve the position or authority through teachers' organization. They referred to PGRI (*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* or *Indonesian Teachers* Union). Some subjects state that PGRI can be an important political means to achieve a position or power. However, they also find PGRI has been influenced by non-teacher people. It is stated in the interview transcript below:

> "PGRI has strategic position to bridge teachers' interests and government. Nevertheless I am feeling sorry about what happens today. PGRI has become a bridge of the government to rule teachers. I can simply conclude that the government tries to rule teachers through this way. As you can see, PGRI is ruled by bureaucrats". (21/10/13/GR-SRT)

The opinion of SRT is supported by SHR who is a Head of Elementary Education Service in Bantul which is also in charge as a chairman PGRI Bantul. His opinion as told to the researcher is presented as follows:

> "I am SHR, which has a life motto: being saved in world and afterlife. Therefore, I have to be born healthy, physically, and spiritually. With a heavy task in addition to being the head of the Department of Elementary Education and my current position also as PGRI chairman in Bantul. My experience in the management of PGRI is so long. Organizations ranging from being a section, then a secretary to a vice chairman, and now as the chairman of PGRI in Bantulto two periods. This time is the last period, up to the year 2014 ", (21/07/2013/Din-SHR).

As a chairman of BantulPGRI, SHR admitted that appointments process as the Head of Elementary Education Departmentis through very quickly process. His career in the government bureaucracy started from the head of branch (now UPT), four years later rose to head of Sub-Department of Non-formal Education, next 20 months rose to secretarial services, and 2 weeks later raised again to the head office. This is a very fast bureaucratic career of a chairman of PGRI as explained as follows.

> "Thank God, in 2002 I was given the job as the head of the Department of Education in the Kasihan district until 2006. Later in 2006 I was commissioned by the regent as the head of Sub-Department of Non-Formal Education, Department of Education. 20 months later, I became the Head of the new, and then I was assigned as secretary of the Department of Elementary Education, which is the third week of December 2008. After 2 weeks becominga secretary of the Department, on January 5, 2009 I was appointed by the Regent of Bantul as the head of the Department of Elementary Education". (21/07/2013/Kadin-SHR).

There are six of the seventeen districts of Bantul PGRI stationed as an officer in the Bantul district government bureaucracy. It also means there are six official Bantul district

government bureaucracy which included being part of seventeen PGRI of Bantul district. PGRI which became official in the government bureaucracy is the chairman, deputy chairman, deputy secretary, employment and welfare division, division of relations, advocacy and legal protection division. It was as told by the secretary PGRI Bantul as follows.

The explanations above shows a clear portrait that means the teachers to be able to achieve a high position of the office at the education office through a container called PGRI. As a professional organization, which is the largest container, PGRI is for teachers to develop their talents and potential. Actually there are many organizations in addition PGRI, such as Indonesian Teachers Association (AGI), the Indonesian Private Teachers Association (PGSI), and others. However, many organizationsof profession of teachers, PGRI is the most popular and have the most members.

Conclusion

First, that the teachers' understanding of power is a mandate and an opportunity to optimally engage in the development of education towards the realization of improving the quality of education. Powers in the government bureaucracy is important, because if the position held by people who do not know education, it will be fatal. Therefore, the mandate that has been given by the government to the teachers should be seriously done wholeheartedly.

Second, the motives of teachers in decidingto be an official at the government bureaucracy is to be direct actors in the development of education. Being an official is important for the teachersrather thanthe position is held by people who do not know education. If the positions are held by people who do not understand the education it will be fatal.

Third, the way of the teacher in achieving organizational power of the bureaucracy is through professional associations called PGRI. Rulers are very concerned about the PGRI in order to rule and master teachers. Thus PGRI is used by local authorities as a means of co-optation teacher. The impact is the Regent appointedmany officials of PGRIto be officials in the office of the Department of Elementary Education and Secondary Education and the Office of Non-Formal. There are six important concurrent positions in the office held by PGRI members, namely the office of Elementary Education Department, Secondary Education and the Non-formal Education.

Based on the above research conclusion, it can be made recommendation or advice to a lot of sides, namely: (1) teachers need to find the most effective ways to be more autonomous so that they are not much influenced by the political authorities in the district; (2) the application of Regulation 14/2005 concerning the teachers and lecturers demands the teachers

to be more professional, especially the teachers who have certification. Therefore if there are teachers who desire a career in the field of structural bureaucracy then be out of work as a teacher given the structural position should not be promiscuous with a functional position.

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