



Is Double Salary Enough?: Examining Civil Servant Teachers' Welfare as the Effect of Teacher Certification Policy in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Teacher quality is a critical determinant of student achievement and overall educational success. In Indonesia, the enactment of the Teacher and Lecturer Law in 2005 marked a significant effort to improve teachers' welfare through the Teacher Professional Allowance (*Tunjangan Profesi Guru/TPG*), which specifically doubles teachers' income after certification. The policy faces persistent challenges despite its intent, including failure to meet certification targets and limited impact on student learning outcomes. This study examines the effects of the current teacher certification on teachers' welfare in Indonesia. Employing a desk research method, the research highlights that while TPG contributes positively to teachers' welfare and motivation, clearly it is still not enough to make teaching a respected profession in Indonesia. Broader systemic issues, such as disparities in earnings, contract-based employment, and the need for additional income, undermine its effectiveness. The findings suggest that teacher certification policies must be refined to ensure equitable and sustainable improvements in teachers' welfare. This study contributes to limited research on teacher certification and welfare, offering recommendations for more effective policy.

Keyword:

Teacher Certification; Teacher
Welfare; Teacher Policy.

INTRODUCTION

Among other factors, teacher competency has been regarded as one of the key determinants that affect student achievement (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Sirait, 2016). Many scholars believe that teachers become one of the most important school-related factors in determining the students' future academic success (Burroughs et al., 2019; Darling-

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Hammond, 2000; Rockoff, 2004). The quality of teaching can not only significantly impact students' cognitive and affective development, but also behavioural outcomes of schooling (Rowe, 2003). These studies lead the research to be focused on how to increase teacher effectiveness and teaching quality.

The best performing countries in Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) were those who value teachers the most (Viac & Frasser, 2020). The value is closely related to the attractiveness of teaching as a job. Based on OECD Job Quality Framework, there are three dimensions that determine job quality: earnings, labour market security and quality of the working environment (Cazes et al., 2015). Those three dimensions emphasized the importance of teachers' welfare to value teaching as a quality occupation.

There are various studies which examine the correlation between teacher salary with the quality of education. For example, a study by the World Bank found that there is little correlation between teacher salary and teaching performance nor student learning despite the increase of salary in Indonesia (de Ree et al., 2018). This study, famously referred to as the 'Double for Nothing' study, has sparked many discourses on the necessity of additional income for teachers to improve the quality of education.

Other studies also found that while countries with higher average salary for experienced teachers tend to accomplish higher national achievement, there is no significant correlation between the national average salary for new teachers and national achievement level (Akiba et al., 2012). Yontz & Wilson (2021) also found that the impact of teacher salary on student performance is more likely to happen in wealthy districts compared to poorer districts. These studies showed that to some extent, there have been efforts to increase teacher income in hopes to improve teachers competency. Though there have been several studies which examine the relationship between teacher income and teacher performance, there has not been a clear definitive conclusion to its relation with teachers' welfare, especially in Indonesia.

Before deep diving into evaluating teachers' welfare, it is important to understand different existing groups of teachers that are relevant to the income they receive. In Indonesia, there are two main groups of teachers Law Number 20 year 2003 on Civil Servant (Civil Servant Law): Civil Servant Teachers and Non-Civil Servant Teachers. Where Civil Servant Teachers are teachers who are hired to work by the government. They are then divided again based on the duration of their contracts: *Pegawai Negeri Sipil* (PNS) are teachers who have permanent contracts and Government Employees with Work Agreements (*Pegawai Pemerintah dengan Perjanjian Kerja/PPPK*) are teachers who usually have 1 to 5 year contracts. Whilst non-civil servant teachers are teachers who are usually hired directly by the school with vastly different spectrums of income. This paper focuses on the welfare of civil servant teachers, both PNS and PPPK. One of the reasons is because of the difficulty to map non-civil servant teachers' income. Therefore making it difficult to draw a definitive and representative conclusion.

The commitment to improve teachers' welfare was marked by the enactment of Law Number 14 Year 2005 on Teachers and Lecturers (Teachers and Lecturers Law). This Law introduced the Teacher Professional Allowance (*Tunjangan Profesi Guru/TPG*) that can be received after the teacher passed the certification process through Teacher Professional Education (*Pendidikan Profesi Guru/PPG*). It doubles their income as the TPG amounts to one month's basic salary of the teacher. This increase in teacher's income led to an oversupply of students in undergraduate teacher education programs (Suryani, 2020). However, after nineteen years since the enactment of the TPG policy, numerous issues are still prevailing regarding the certification process for teachers. The Government of Indonesia could not meet the targets to certify all teachers by 2015 that was set in the Teacher and Lecturer Law. Many

teachers remain uncertified due to several challenges. Fitriani & Novitasari (2024) findings convey that the certification process in Indonesia is complex, and limited quotas often lead to conflicts among teachers.

TPG is important in ensuring teachers' welfare in Indonesia. There is a significant correlation between teachers' welfare with the working motivations of teachers (Tagela et al., 2023) and the performance of teachers (Hasanah & Zainuddin, 2024; Suratman et al., 2020). TPG plays a pivotal role because many teachers in Indonesia, mostly uncertified or contract teachers, have to find side jobs to meet the needs of their families (Rosmanida et al., 2022). However, even with the existence of TPG, the welfare of teachers remains a significant issue in Indonesian education. This research aims to investigate the effect of current certification mechanisms on teachers' welfare in Indonesia and what policies should be done. At the moment, there are less empirical studies in Indonesian context regarding the effects of teacher certification on the welfare of teachers.

METHODS

This research employs the desk research method, a research method to identify the previous research, reports, and documents in the public domain to establish a knowledge on certain topics (Alliance, 2019). This research focuses on examining the effects of the teacher certification policy on teachers' welfare in Indonesia. The desk research method is suitable for understanding the existing body of knowledge related to policy impacts by synthesizing findings from relevant academic papers, reports, policy documents, and government publications.

The data for this study were collected from secondary sources, including related regulations, peer-reviewed journal articles, government reports, publicly accessible data sources, and policy briefs. Particular attention was given to documents that discuss teacher certification policies and teachers' welfare in Indonesia. The keywords used during data collection, namely "*Kesejahteraan Guru* (teachers' welfare)", "*Gaji Guru* (teachers' income)", "*Sertifikasi Guru* (teachers' certification)", and "*Tunjangan Guru* (teachers' allowance)". The literatures were limited in the range of 2015-2025 except for the regulations document.

The regulations analyzed in this study are Law Number 14 Year 2005 on Teacher and Lecturer, Law Number 20 Year 2023 on Civil Servant, Government Regulation Number 5 of 2024 on Civil Servants' Main Salary, and the derivative regulations. In addition to that, local government regulations related to teachers' welfare such as the West Java Province Governor Regulation No. 10 Year 2022 were also analyzed to give more comprehensive insights.

The collected literatures were analyzed using a thematic approach (Hargood et al., 2008). This method focuses on themes within the story. This method allows for identifying recurring themes and patterns within the literature or qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Some research has utilized this method to investigate certain phenomenon (Anis et al., 2018; Keykha & Towfighi, 2021). In this research context, themes and narrative were categorized into three key areas/pattern. The category was adopted from some previous research in order to fill the empirical gap in this topic (Anggranei, 2020; Handraini & Magriasti, 2023; Nawawi, 2022). The categories including :

1. The historical background and objectives of the teacher certification policy in Indonesia.
2. The immediate and long-term effects of certification on teachers' welfare, including financial incentives and professional development.
3. Critiques and challenges of the certification policy in achieving its intended welfare goals.

This process helped to organize findings into a coherent framework, which was used to interpret the overall impact of the teacher certification policy on the welfare of Indonesian teachers.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

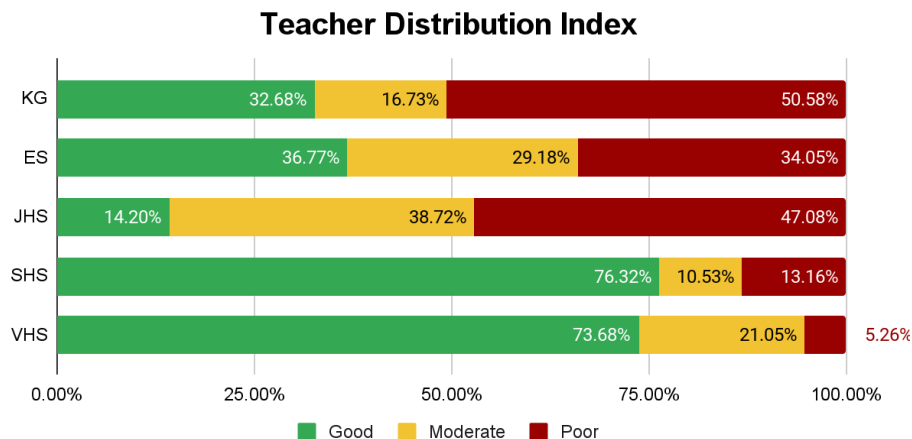
Based on the collected data and literature, the Indonesian teachers' welfare witnessed dynamic issues since the enactment of the Law No. 14 Year 2005. After years of implementation, some issues emerged due to the needs for policy revision. Based on the data analysis, the discussion focused on the four main topics, namely: 1) the teacher certification issues, 2) teacher income disparities, 3) teacher income comparison with the regional minimum wage, other professions, other countries, and 4) policy recommendations for teacher's welfare.

The queue of uncertified in-service teachers to enter PPG and contract teachers still become an unresolved issue

Based on the Teacher and Lecturer Law, certification is the requirement before receiving TPG. Both in-service and pre-service teachers have to complete PPG in order to obtain a professional educator certificate. However, there are systemic issues such as queue quotas (Mamero, 2018; Rismasari & Hasan, 2021). In 2024, the Government only provided around 59 thousand quota for teacher certification (MoECRT, 2024a).

In-service PPG remains a pressing issue that has not been solved. There are 1.544.810 (54,38%) uncertified teachers in Indonesia (Dapomart, 2024). According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (MoECRT, 2024a), it will take around 20 years to certify all teachers in Indonesia using the status quo of the PPG program. This means that during those 20 years, there will still be teachers who are underpaid, not due to their capabilities, but because of systemic issues beyond their control.

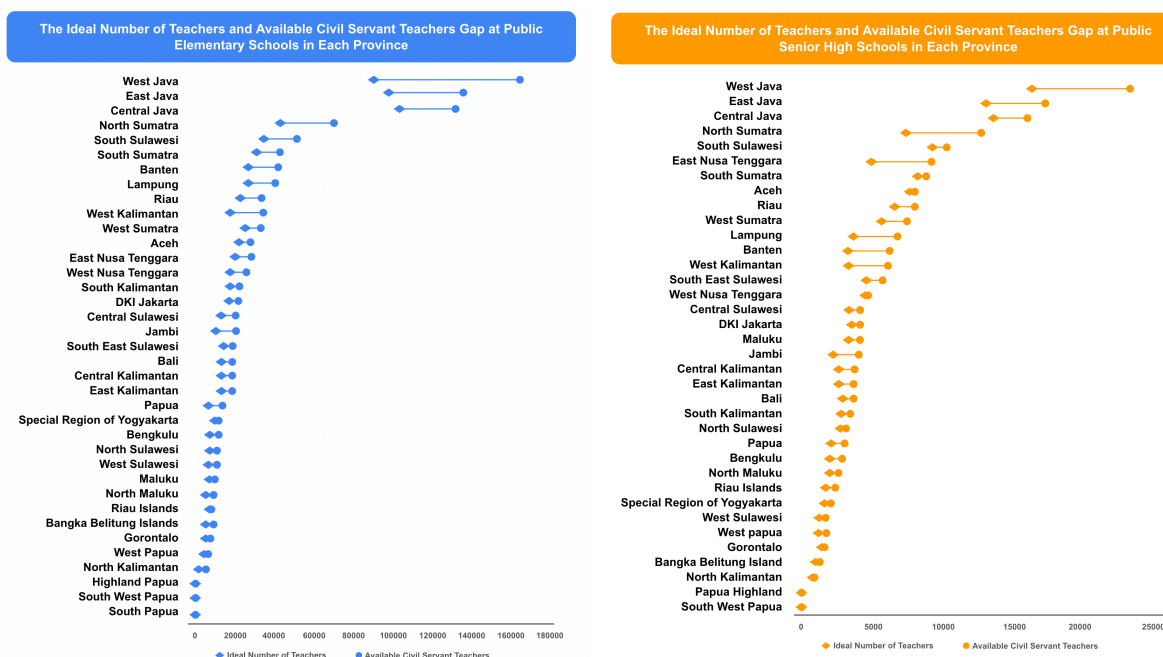
Another major issue is the contract teacher or guru honorer. There are around 1.4 million contract teachers in Indonesia (Indonesian Ministry of Education, 2024b, 2024c, 2024d) that in most cases receive around IDR 300,000 per month (Fauzan, 2021). These contract teachers were hired to fill for teachers shortage issues at the schools or local government level due to the mismatch in the planning process between the central and local government. However, some were hired because of the political relation with the school or local government leaders (Gaol, 2023; Sumintono et al., 2015; Zamjani, 2022).



Source: Processed by Author

Figure 1. Teacher Distribution Index

This situation is further exacerbated by the low Teacher Distribution Index across several educational levels. At the junior high school (SMP) level, only 14.20% of regions have a Teacher Distribution Index categorized as 'Good,' indicating that very few regions have an adequate number of teachers to meet the ideal needs. Therefore, addressing teacher shortages remains a critical priority, particularly at the elementary (SD) and junior high school (SMP) levels, to ensure equitable teacher distribution and meet educational demands in underserved regions



Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, 2023

Figure 2. The Ideal Number of Teachers and Available Civil Servant Teachers Gap

The number of formations for new teachers so often do not sync with the actual demand (Andina & Arifa, 2021). According to data from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in 2024, as illustrated in Figure 1, the ideal number of needed teachers exceeds the available number of teachers across all provinces and districts in Indonesia. This condition urges public schools and local governments to hire new or substitute teachers immediately as contract teachers to keep the learning process going (Sabon, 2022). Issues arrive when the teachers are compensated differently based on their employment status and professional certification status.

In summary, Indonesia's teacher management system faces persistent and systemic challenges that hinder efforts to ensure quality and equity in education. The slow pace of professional certification through PPG, the large number of uncertified and underpaid contract teachers, and the mismatch between teacher demand and official recruitment all point to structural inefficiencies in education governance. These issues not only affect the welfare and motivation of teachers but also have serious implications for educational outcomes, particularly in underserved regions. Without substantial reforms in teacher planning, recruitment, certification, and distribution, the vision of equitable and high-quality education for all students in Indonesia will remain difficult to achieve.

There is a significant income disparity between certified and uncertified teachers

Civil servant teachers in Indonesia receive compensation based on their rank and grade as government employees, as stipulated in the Civil Servant Law. Their remuneration includes a basic salary and additional incentives aligned with their rank and grade. Teachers who have obtained professional certification are entitled to receive a basic salary equivalent to double the standard amount based on the Teacher and Lecturer Law. In contrast, non-civil servant teachers' salaries and compensations are governed by labor regulations and local government policies, which typically align teacher compensation with the regional/provincial minimum wage (*Upah Minimum Regional/UMR* or *Upah Minimum Provinsi/UMP*).

Table 1: Take Home pay of Civil Servant Teachers based on Certification Status

Certified Status		Take home pay component	
Uncertified (Non PPG)	- Basic Salary		IDR 2.7 - 6.3 million
	- Functional Salary		IDR 286,000 - 389,000
	- Regional allowance*	performance	Varied based on regional regulation
	- Additional income		IDR 250,000
	Estimation		IDR 3.2 - 6.9 Million
Certified (PPG)	- Basic Salary		IDR 2.7 - 6.3 Million
	- Functional Salary		IDR 286,000 - 389,000
	- Certification allowance		IDR 2.7 - 6.3 Million
	- Regional allowance*	performance	Varied based on regional regulation
	Estimation		IDR 5.6 - 12.9 Million

Source: Processed by Author

The Government of Indonesia has provided additional allowances in the form of Teacher Additional Income for uncertified teachers through the Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Number 4 Year 2022. However, the amount is still far below the professional allowance, at only IDR 250,000 per month that is paid every three months. There are often issues with the delayed disbursement of the Teacher Additional Income, frequently caused by technical problems (Sidabutar & Dara, 2024).

These disparities in compensation between civil servant and non-civil servant teachers reflect a broader issue of inequality within Indonesia's education workforce. While certified civil servant teachers receive relatively stable and structured remuneration, non-civil servant teachers continue to face uncertain income and inadequate financial support, despite carrying out similar teaching responsibilities. The limited and often delayed disbursement of the Teacher Additional Income further exacerbates their financial vulnerability. This imbalance not only undermines teacher motivation and retention, especially in remote or disadvantaged areas, but also challenges the government's efforts to build a professional and equitable teaching force across the country. Addressing these disparities is essential to improving teacher welfare and ensuring consistent education quality nationwide.

Many uncertified new teachers earn below the Provincial Minimum Wage

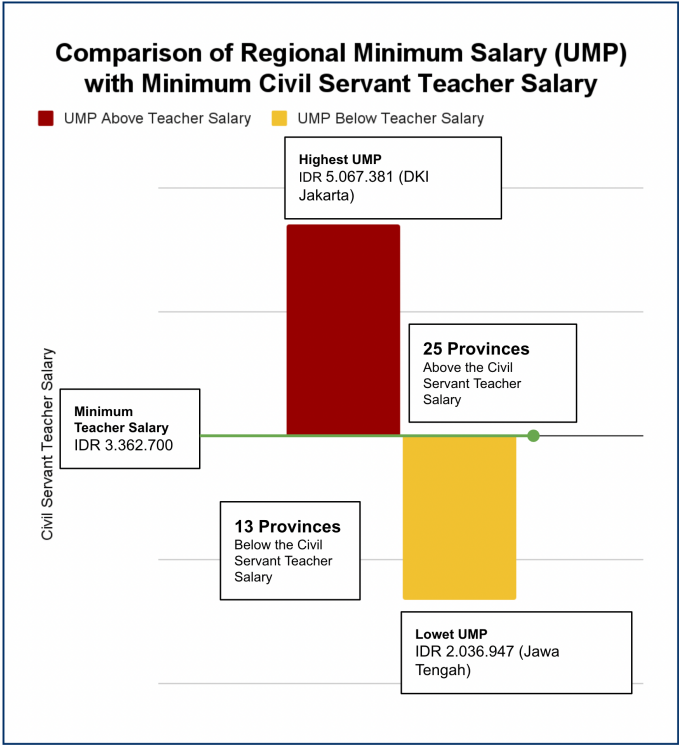
When comparing Provincial Minimum Wage (Upah Minimum Provinsi/UMP) data with the minimum income obtained by certified and uncertified new civil servant teachers, it turns out that the disparity is quite imminent. Uncertified new teachers are often inadequately compensated, with their remuneration failing to reflect the demands of their workload. The civil servant teacher's grade influences the amount of basic salary received. Based on Education Portal Data (MoECRT, 2024c), The majority of civil servant teachers (60.29%) are in grade III with a basic salary range of IDR 2,785,700 (IIIa) - IDR 5,180,700 (IIIId). Furthermore, there are still 30,502 teachers (2.58%) who are in grade II, thus having a basic salary range of IDR 2,184,000 (IIa) - IDR 4,125,600 (IIId).

Table 2: The basic salary range of civil servants

Grade	Number of Civil Servant Teachers				Salary Range
	SD	SMP	SMA	SMK	
Grade II (Pengatur)	30.502	0	0	0	IDR 2.184.000 (IIa) - IDR 4.125.600 (IIId)
Grade III (Pembina)	435.642	152.171	73.481	52.273	IDR 2.785.700 (IIIa) - IDR 5.180.700 (IIIId)
Grade IV (Penata)	217.013	131.129	61.900	29.412	IDR 3.287.800 (IVa) - IDR 6.373.200 (IVd)

Source: Education Portal Data, Indonesian Ministry of Education (MoECRT, 2024c, 2024b, 2024d) & Government Regulation Number 5 Year 2024

By comparing the minimum salary of civil servant teachers (basic salary of grade IIIa + functional allowance + Teacher Additional Income) with regional UMP data, there are 25 provinces where the minimum teachers’ salary is below the regional UMP. Meanwhile, for PPPK teachers, there are 8 provinces where the minimum teachers’ salary is below the regional UMP (basic salary of grade IX + functional allowance + Teacher Additional Income). In these provinces, some teachers are considered underpaid, especially new civil servants and PPPK teachers without professional teaching certificates.



Source: Badan Pusat Statistik

Figure 3: Comparison of Regional Minimum Salary (UMP) with Minimum Civil Servant Teacher Salary

For example, in Aceh Province, the uncertified new teachers would receive IDR 3,362,700 (basic salary of Grade IIIa (IDR 2,785,700) + functional allowance of Grade III (IDR 327,000) + Teacher Additional Income (IDR 250,000)). This amount is still below the UMP of Aceh, which is IDR 3,460,672.

The comparison between teacher salaries and provincial minimum wage data highlights a concerning reality: many newly appointed civil servant and PPPK teachers, especially those who are uncertified, receive incomes below the minimum regional standards. The reliance on rank-based salary structures without adequate adjustment for local living costs creates a structural gap in teacher welfare. These undercompensated teachers are expected to fulfill professional responsibilities and uphold education quality, yet their financial treatment does not reflect this expectation. Without reforms that ensure fair and regionally responsive remuneration, the recruitment and retention of qualified teachers, particularly in high-need areas will remain a persistent challenge.

Even with TPG, teachers still receive less than other same level civil servants in the same region

There are differences in the income components for teachers between the Teacher and Lecturer Law and the Civil Servant Law. The Teacher and Lecturer Law provides detailed provision of income components, one of these is the TPG. On the other hand, there are also civil servant allowances in the Civil Servant Law. These differences affect the welfare of civil servant teachers. Because of TPG and other teacher allowances in the Teacher and Lecturer Law, many local governments do not give civil servant allowances to civil servant teachers. For example, here is a simulation of the income for 3 types of civil servants in West Java Province

Table 3: The take home pay of civil servants in West Java based on West Java Province Governor Regulation No. 10 Year 2022

Profession	Take Home Pay Component	
Civil Servant Teachers	- Basic salary (IIIa-IVe)	IDR 2.7 - 6.3 mil
	- Functional salary	IDR 286,000 - 389,000
	- Professional allowance*	IDR 2.7 - 6.3 mil*
	Estimation	IDR 5.7 mil
Civil Servant Local Government Employee	- Basic salary (IIIa-IVe)	IDR 2.7 - 6.3 mil
	- Regional Performance allowance Daerah**	IDR 4.4 - 10.4 mil
	Estimation	IDR 7,1 mil
	- Basic Salary (IIIb - IVe)	IDR 2.9 - 6.3 mil
Civil Servant Doctor	- Regional Performance allowance Daerah**	IDR 15.6 - 25.2 mil
	Estimation	IDR 18,5 mil***

Source: Processed by Author

The table. 4 above indicates that there are differences in the minimum income for civil servants in West Java. The Additional Employee Income (*Tambahan Penghasilan Pegawai/TPP*) in West Java is only applicable to non-teacher civil servants. Consequently, the civil servant teachers only receive basic salary + functional allowance + TPG based on the Teacher and Lecturer Law. Even though the TPG is doubling teachers’ basic salary, it is still lower than the allowances received by other civil servants in the same level. The conditions in other regions may vary depending on regulations concerning civil servant and teacher allowances.

This disparity stems from overlapping and inconsistent regulatory frameworks between the Teacher and Lecturer Law and the Civil Servant Law, which often leads to teachers being excluded from regional incentive schemes. As a result, despite holding equal civil servant status, many teachers experience lower income and weaker financial recognition, potentially affecting their motivation and retention. Addressing this regulatory mismatch is crucial to ensuring fair and equitable treatment of teachers within the broader civil service system.

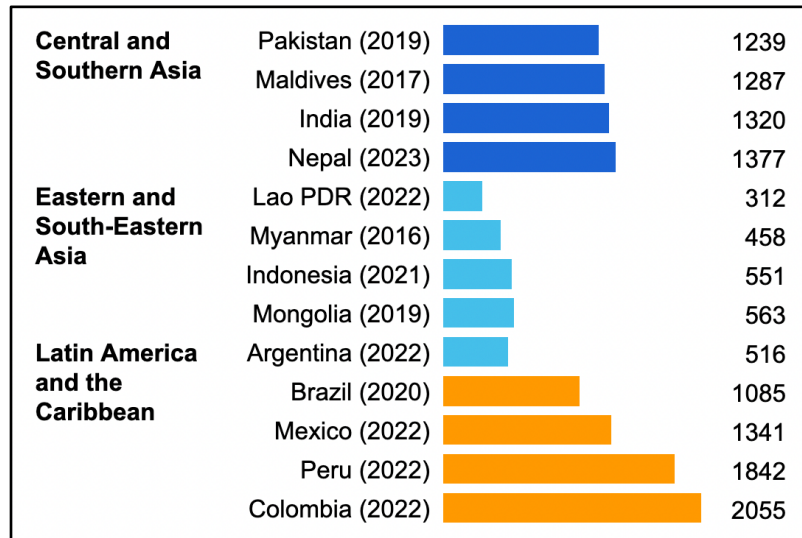
Teacher income in Indonesia, supplemented by TPG, still falls below the teacher income in other countries

The average initial salary received by teachers in OECD countries after being adjusted using Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) is US\$ 34,563 per year (OECD, 2023), while in Indonesia it is only US\$ 14,394. This means that the amount of income for teachers in Indonesia is not more than 42% of the average income of teachers in OECD countries.

Salary of civil servant teachers in grade IIIa with 1 year of service (including professional allowance, assuming the teacher has passed the certification before becoming a civil servant teacher):
- Salary IIIa + Functional Allowance + TPG
= IDR 5.818.400
- PPP Indonesia in 2023: 4 850.740
= 4.850,7 (rounded)
- Teacher monthly income with PPP
= US \$ 5.818.400/4.850,7
= US \$ 1.199,4969798173
= US\$ 1.199,5 (rounded)
- Teacher annual income with PPP
= US \$ 1.199,5 x 12
= US\$ 14.394 (rounded)

Source: Processed by Author

Based on the UNESCO (2024) report, there are variations of teachers’ salaries in developing countries ranging from USD 189 to USD 7.500 per month. Indonesia still lags behind compared to many developing countries in that report. This indicates that the welfare of civil servant teachers in Indonesia is still comparatively low internationally.



Source: UNESCO (2024)

Figure 4: Teachers' Salary Variation in Developing Countries

Policy Recommendation to Improve Indonesia's Teacher Welfare

Guaranteeing decent welfare of teachers will not only improve the motivation of existing teachers, but also attract the best talents to be a teacher and retain more productive teachers (Santibanez, 2020). Based on the findings, some policy recommendation was developed in order to improve the teacher's welfare.

1. New mechanism of TPG

TPG should be more than double the basic salary, but based on performance. The current TPG has been proven to be not enough in escalating the competitiveness of teachers' salary in Indonesia. However, it should be performance-based so the TPG can become the incentives for teachers to upgrade their knowledge and improve their performance. The TPG should be multilevel, so that the high performing teachers will get the highest allowance. In measuring the performance, there should be at least two indicators:

a. Teacher Attendance

As teacher absenteeism still becomes a problem in Indonesia (McKenzie et al., 2014; Unicef, 2024), teacher presence should be the key indicator of teacher performance-based allowance. This kind of approach has been implemented in India and it not only successfully reduced teacher absenteeism, but also improved student learning outcomes (Duflo et al., 2012).

b. Teacher Performance

According to the Minister of Bureaucratic Reform (PAN-RB) Regulation No. 6 Year 2022, all civil servants have to conduct performance evaluation. In the case of civil servant teachers, the performance evaluation is done through Merdeka Mengajar Platform (PMM) that is integrated with e-kinerja from the National Civil Service Agency (BKN) as regulated in the Regulation of the Director-General of Teacher and Educational Staff No. 7607/B.B1/HK.03/2023. The e-kinerja mechanism has incorporated the processed-based performance evaluation that is also relevant to the improvement plan of the school/learning ecosystem as recommended in *Rapor Pendidikan Sekolah* (School Education Report). It also includes the evaluation by the School Principal.

The results of performance evaluation should affect the amount of TPG that will be received. The amount of the TPG can adopt this proposed performance evaluation formula.

$$\text{Score} = (30\% \times \text{Attendance}) + (60\% \times \text{Performance Score})$$

Range Score	Take Home Pay
80 - 100	2x basic salary
60 - 0	1.5x basic salary
Less than 60	1x basic salary

2. Professional Certification should be mandatory for all pre-service teachers

Teaching is not merely a job, it is a profession that requires specific skills and qualifications. However, unlike other professions, individuals can teach in a school without having the necessary certification. If we take a look at other professions for example, one cannot practice as a doctor without a license. The same applies to the professions of lawyer and accountant. It is important to make educator certificates a mandatory requirement for all pre-service teachers as their license to teach. This would not only ensure that all new teachers receive TPG, but also assure the suitable competency of new teachers to deliver a quality learning process.

3. Flexibility for uncertified in-service teachers

The government has actively addressed the challenges posed by uncertified teachers, aiming to enhance both professional competency and teachers’ welfare. To address the certification needs of uncertified ASN teachers, the government needs to continue the flexible adaptations of the in-service PPG scheme in the Minister of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Regulation No. 19 Year 2024. The regulation allows for adjustments based on teachers' teaching experience or any other teachers’ achievements. This approach helps overcome capacity constraints in the PPG system and accelerates the certification process.

While TPG still becomes the important determinant of teachers’ welfare, there should be affirmative action towards the uncertified teachers. During this transition, flexible certification is essential. However, this strategy leads to some consequences that need to be taken into account by the government. The government must consider the additional financial burden of PPG processes and professional allowances while ensuring that certification waivers emphasize competency and professionalism. This balance is crucial to upholding teacher quality and welfare.

4. Improving the teacher procurement system by enhancing coordination between the central government and local governments.

There should be no contract teachers anymore in the future. The division of authority between the central government and local government for the teacher procurement system in the Law No. 23 Year 2014 on Local Government should be revamped. During the planning process, the local government conducts the needs assessment by considering various factors, including the retirement of teachers. The central government has to ensure that the local government has the fiscal capacity to hire new teachers according to the real needs based on data such as, teacher distribution and teacher and student ratio in every region.

5. PPPK for contract teachers should be continued

As of the second quarter of 2024, the selection process for civil servant teachers through the *Pegawai Pemerintah dengan Perjanjian Kerja* (PPPK) scheme has successfully reached approximately 775,000 teachers (Tempo, 2024). This transition boosted their welfare

significantly as their income increased from IDR 1.2 mil (Elementary School) to IDR 3.5 mil (Risalah, 2024). The conversion to PPPK initiative requires strong political will from current policymakers, including enough budget to certify all the teachers. This policy needs to be continued to ensure there are no underpaid contract teachers anymore in Indonesia. Therefore, it is necessary for the government to pay attention to improving the welfare of teachers, considering that teachers are at the forefront of Indonesian education.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia has made significant progress in improving its teachers' welfare through TPG that doubles the basic salary of certified teachers. Apparently, the double basic salary is not enough. For the certified teachers, TPG has improved their livelihood and prosperity, but it is still less than other same level civil servants in the same region. Moreover, internationally, the teacher income in Indonesia also still falls behind. Teachers are crucial in shaping the next generation of a nation. Due to its important role, teaching should be valued as a respected profession. Therefore, the government should revise the existing policy by considering the teacher's welfare in a deeper context. While giving a clear and more contextual data regarding the teacher welfare policy, this research faced some limitations. This research main data sources were from secondary data sources which might not fully depict the real-case situation in a different regional context. In addition, the teacher welfare status in this study was obtained by comparing the civil servant wages only and not considering some welfare indicators (daily expand, additional income, individual preferences, etc). Primary data sources especially the interview data collection method are needed to enrich the depth of the data for the future research.

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