3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the comprehensive findings and in-depth discussions derived from the analysis of the collected data, giving some insights that emerged from my research investigation. Since this research is conducted in Sidoarjo, a regency in East Java, Indonesia, which is inhabited by Javanese, Madurese, and Chinese (*East Java*, 2023), I sometimes refer to my respondents as Javanese. Despite my initial decision to exclude discussions about ethnicity in earlier chapters, it is challenging to completely avoid this topic. The influence of Javanese cultural norms and perspectives on ethnicity is undeniable. People's thinking and behaviour are often shaped by the Javanese ways of thinking, which can encompass their understanding and perceptions of ethnicity. According to Burke (2009), "there is no sharp or firm cultural frontier between groups, but rather a cultural continuum" (p.2). It means that cultures are not neatly separated or distinct from one another, but instead exist on a spectrum. It suggests that cultural boundaries are not rigid and fixed, but rather flexible and fluid. Therefore, although my respondents come from various ethnic backgrounds, most of them were born and raised in Java. Additionally, even the two respondents who did not spend their childhood in Java have lived in East Java for more than twenty years. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that Javanese culture has influenced and shaped their cultural capital to some extent. In addition, these are the cultural capitals that the respondents own affecting their communication strategy and emotions regarding conducting online learning. It is also crucial to note that these cultural capitals operate at an unconscious level, as Bourdieu asserted, the unconscious is a process that emerges from and reinforces naturalisation of agendas, strategies, goals, values, and desires inherent in the habitus, even if not always consciously deliberated upon (Webb & Schirato, 2022)

3.1. Having Ambiguous Communication Styles

In online learning, just like offline learning, there should be a solid interaction among the stakeholders, students, parents, teachers, and administrators of the institution. Communication is the only thing that binds these people together to achieve the desired academic outcome. However, the flow of communication does not always provide clarity and precision. There are instances when messages become enigmatic, leaving people puzzled and searching for meaning within complicated words. Such a situation arises due to ambiguous

communication style, where the intention of speech is concealed, and details are left hanging. In this sub-chapter, I investigate the ambiguous communication style as the stakeholder's cultural capital and the factors supporting it, seeking to unravel the complexities and explore why people use this strategy. By understanding the reasons that contribute to ambiguity and decoding hidden meanings, I can grasp the purpose better.

3.1.1.   Pronouns Ambiguity

The first aspect of ambiguous communication style involves pronoun ambiguity. This can also give rise to power dynamics within the communication. During my interview with respondent E or parent 1, I noticed that I rarely used the term *"Ibu"* to address her, despite being aware that, as an Indonesian, it is customary to use this term when interacting with individuals in business or personal relationships. As someone born in Surabaya and currently pursuing a master's degree, my cultural capital includes a deep familiarity with local norms and practices. Surabayans are recognized for their egalitarian style of communication, which emphasizes equality and fairness in interactions. According to Peacock as stated by Tinarso (2018), the unique culture of Surabaya is influenced by the fact that its people prioritize economic and political success over titles and traditional customs. The culture of Surabaya locals, known as *arek Suroboyo*, is characterized by openness, a tendency towards roughness, equality, and *bondho nekad* (a "daredevil" attitude). Meanwhile, Respondent E possesses cultural capital derived from her graduation from a tourism academy in Jakarta. This educational background equips her with specialized knowledge in the field, while her linguistic awareness enables her to analyse situations effectively. Furthermore, her cultural knowledge and awareness of local practices that teachers belong to "lower *priyayi*" through social education enhance her ability to direct social dynamics and understand the nuances of the context (Koentjaraningrat, 1990, p. 277). That is why she refers to me as "Miss" as a sign of respect in accordance with the cultural norms that recognize the higher rank of teachers.

According to Magnis Suseno, (1997) the Javanese attempt to treat people with whom they have business or personal relationships as relatives by blood. In this way, the equivalent for "Mister" is *"Pak"* (father), for "Mrs." they use *"Ibu"* (mother). I understand that addressing her as *"Ibu"* is a way to show respect, especially considering her role as a parent and the fact that she is paying for my services as a teacher. However, I did not consistently use the term. On the contrary, she referred to me as "Ms. or Miss" several times, which indicates that she views my role as a teacher and expects a level of formality. This use of "Miss" be a polite and

professionally courteous gesture. Unconsciously, I may have wanted to create a comfortable atmosphere by keeping the conversation direct and informal, so avoid addressing her *"Bu"* as much as possible.

In terms of position, my position as the teacher is considered higher rank than the respondents since she is a housewife, even though she is older than me. The evidence supporting the notion that a teacher holds a higher rank compared to a parent lies in the way the respondent responded to me. Firstly, she consistently employed formal language and adopted respectful tones when addressing me. For example, while I referred to her using the term *"Bu"* (mother) to bring out the senior-junior relationship because she is older than me (Magnis-Suseno, 1997), she used honorifics "Ms." or usually Indonesians mispronounced it into "Miss." Secondly, she portrayed the teacher as knowledgeable, showcasing her expertise in their subject matter. For example;

> *"Iya, susah kan. Kita ya usahain bisa ngajarin, tapi kan tidak sebagus gurunya. Tidak sehebat gurunya…. Makanya kita les-in ya Miss* (laugh)."

> [Yes, it's disappointing. We tried to teach (her), but it wasn't as good as the teacher. Not as great as the teacher…. That's why we (I) send her to the English course (laugh)]

According to Webb, knowledge serves as a distinguishing factor and confers privilege (Webb, 2002). Consequently, the respondent perceived a teacher as occupying a higher rank than parents due to their portrayal as individuals possessing greater expertise and knowledge. Here, a power dynamic is at play. Firstly, in terms of academic position, my expertise granted me a position of greater control. However, in terms of age and wealth, she held a clear advantage over me. Especially because she is the one who pays for my services in teaching her daughter, the power dynamic became more pronounced. Therefore, she consistently addressed me as "Miss." To restore a sense of balance in power, I unconsciously choose to decrease the level of formality by refraining from using the title *"Bu"* to address her, thus fostering a more equal distribution of power in our interaction. This power dynamic highlights that both of us possess certain privileges, but we were both striving to establish a more equitable distribution of power.

Another aspect of pronoun ambiguity involves the use of *"kita"* (we/us) and *"saya"* (I/me) or "kami" for plural forms. During the interview, I observed that the administrators frequently used the pronoun *"kita."* However, upon further examination, it became apparent that their intended meaning was actually *"saya"* or *"kami."* As someone born in Lampung but having spent her childhood and continuing to reside in Sidoarjo, Respondent C possesses a

cultural competence that allows her to understand and engage with cultural practices promoting inclusivity and collective belonging. Being near Surabaya, which is known as a maritime and trading city that cultivates an egalitarian culture (Tinarso et al., 2018), Sidoarjo shares a similar culture. Moreover, the development of maritime industries in Sidoarjo, as indicated by the Department of Industry and Trade (Disperindag, n.d.), further contributes to Respondent C's cultural capital, which is understanding this cultural practice that enhances her ability to foster a sense of unity, inclusiveness, and collective identity.

According to the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI), the terms *"kita"* and *"kami"* are both pronouns, but they have slightly different meanings and usages. Firstly, *"kami"* is a pronoun that translates to "we" or "us" in English. However, it is used to refer to a group of people that includes the speaker but exclude the listener (Ratyhlicious, 2018). It implies that the speaker is part of the group being referred to, while the listener is not. For example, if a group of friends is talking and one of them says, *"Kami pergi ke pantai"* (We [excluding you] are going to the beach), they are indicating that the speaker and their friends are going to the beach, but not including the listener in the group. Secondly, *"kita"* is also a pronoun that translates to "we" or "us" in English. It is used to refer to a group of people that includes both the speaker and the listener (Ratyhlicious, 2018). It emphasizes inclusiveness and implies that the speaker is a part of the group being referred to. For example, if a group of friends is talking and one of them says, *"Kita pergi ke pantai"* (We're going to the beach), they are including themselves in the group going to the beach. In summary, *"kita''* includes both the speaker and the listener in the group being referred to, while *"kami"* includes the speaker but excludes the listener. For example, as Respondent C or administrator 1 mentioned:

> *"Pendataannya dari untuk data-data murid baru trus murid lama, **kita** juga jadi punya apa namanya soft online base. Jadi **kita** dulu kan masih semuanya pake kertas ya. Pake kertas **kita** ngeprint segala macem, sekarang masih tetep ngeprint kayak gitu tapi **kita** sekarang punya backup untuk online-nya. Soft copy."*
>
> [Census of old students and new students, we also have, what's it called, a soft online base. So, we have what it was once using papers, right. Using paper, we had to print everything, but now we have a backup for the online version. Soft copy]

When I translated this into English, it appeared to be appropriate. However, in Indonesian, it feels rather awkward. This is because I am not involved in the management, and therefore, I am not responsible for administrative tasks such as printing documents or converting data into

digital formats. It was assumed that this term is common usage, widely accepted, and perceived as correct by the majority. This is according to linguists an error (*Error (linguistics),* 2022). However, during the conversation, I also refrained from clarifying the usage because I immediately understood her intended meaning, and I personally did not mind being included in the description of the process. Furthermore, this mistake seemed insignificant and did not warrant correction. However, I found this common usage to be intriguing because I realised that I unconsciously use *"kita"* as well, although much less frequently than the respondent.

Despite the possibility that this may be an error, it could have been unconsciously done by the speaker, even though they may realise it is incorrect. This is especially true when the context of the sentence is intended to elicit agreement or approval from the listener. An illustrative example can be taken from Respondent F's interview, where her statement exemplifies the cultural capital she possesses. As a graduate in Chemical Engineering, she exhibits proficiency in formal language usage and displays flexibility in the choice of pronouns. This exemplifies her cultural competence and linguistic awareness, allowing her to adeptly direct social dynamics and communicate effectively within various communication patterns. Following is the example:

> *"Iya, kalau dulu kan memang waktu pandemi kan **kita** mikirnya untuk kesehatan ya [I: Nggih.] keselamatan. Jadi apapun pilihannya, online itu **saya** rasa yang terbaik kan ya. Karena **kita** mengurangi intensitas untuk ketemu orang dan lain-lain. Sekarang ini kebetulan, eeh, lebih pada karena waktu. Kalau dulu kan mungkin, SD itu dia pulangnya nggak sesore seperti sekarang waktu SMP."*

> [In the past, during the pandemic, **our** primary concern was, of course, health and safety, right? [I: Yes] So whatever the choices, **I** think going online is the best option, right? Because **we** reduce the frequency to see people and so on. Nowadays, well, more specifically due to time constraints. In the past, perhaps, when she was in elementary school, she didn't have to return home as late as she does now in junior high school]

In this example, she deliberately uses *"saya"* when she is about to express her opinion, but switches to *"kita"* to imply that her opinion would be agreed by me. Her opinion was her decision to have her daughter participate in online activities due to health concerns, which I would agree with. And now, her decision to have her daughter continue with online activities is due to time constraints, which I would also agree with without any hesitation. By including me, this

behaviour emphasizes the collective habitus. According to Webb (2002), the habitus is collective in the sense that the common situation in which people find themselves positions them to certain shared actions, suggesting that we are all part of this process, regardless of the listener's actual involvement. It is possible that common situations that the speaker claimed create a sense of belonging and connectedness among individuals. It fosters a feeling of being a part of a group or community, which can provide a sense of comfort and support, as well as maintain *rukun* (social harmony). Shared experiences as my respondents have told me can promote unity and solidarity among us. It reinforces a shared identity and common goals. As in the example of Respondent C, she had the expectation that both of us share a similar identity as educators, along with common goals, which are centred around facilitating a seamless online learning process through effective collaboration with the administrators. By sharing identity, communication becomes easier because we can relate to each other's perspectives, understand common references, and engage in more effective and efficient communication.

In summary, the observed power dynamics underline the existence of privileges held by both parties involved. Furthermore, it is interesting that shared identity facilitated easier communication, allowing us to relate to each other's perspectives, understand common references, and engage in more effective and efficient exchanges. By recognizing and navigating these power dynamics while leveraging our shared identity, we aim to establish a more equitable power and encourage improved communication and understanding.

3.1.2. Sentence Fragments

Another aspect of ambiguous communication style involves sentence fragments in communication. sentence fragments, those seemingly incomplete and fragmented statements, sometimes used in interviews. While they may appear to be missing crucial information, it is interesting to note that I can often still understand the intended message behind these fragments. It is intriguing to delve into the reasons behind their usage and unravel their significance. One of the parent respondents was practicing this as can be seen in the interview.

> *"Negatifnya ya namanya **kita** ya, terus dianya juga kadang-kadang kan suka… Mungkin juga kalau offline yang nggak jelas bisa boleh [I: Iya, bisa boleh tanya] Oh gitu.. Okay, **saya** kira nggak, yang namanya test ya sudah gitu."*

[the negative side, for us (me), then my daughter sometimes likes to … maybe during offline (learning) if there is something unclear to the student, they may … [Yes, they may ask] Oh, I see. Okay, I thought, during the test, it should be like that.]

Indirect or implicit communication styles may result in not finishing a sentence when stating opinions is influenced by her politeness, respect for others, and maintaining harmony within social interactions with me, as her daughter's teacher. In this example, the respondent used the ambiguous pronoun *"kita"* to refer to herself, and afterward switched to using *"saya"* when expressing her opinion regarding what students should do during a test. The use of *"kita"* highlighted a shared experience or identity as a housewife because she probably would have guessed that I am also a housewife from my profile picture on *WhatsApp* with my daughter or my status updates regarding my children's activities. However, when she began *"namanya kita"* (for us) but left the sentence unfinished, it was actually leading to the completion: *"namanya kita ya [sebagai ibu rumah tangga]"* (our identity as housewives). Then, the continuation of the sentence further reveals her perspective. He intended to convey that as a housewife, she may not possess the same level of proficiency in teaching English as I do, acknowledging the difference in knowledge and expertise between us. By not explicitly stating this, she indirectly implies that I hold a higher privilege or status in this context. Nevertheless, she still maintained her politeness to me by not finishing her sentences, leaving me room to interpret what she meant. In this example, she thought that during a test, students should not ask the teacher about anything regarding the test. Furthermore, I learned in my school back when I was in elementary school that my teacher told us, the students, not to ask the teachers anything at all during a test, including when the students did not understand the instructions, and that we should do it with our own capability. To my respondent, she expects her daughter to perform similarly in her English course test, although it is an informal course. It can be interpreted that she objected that I, as a part of the institution, has conducted a different rule from what she has known before. She may also want me to apply the same rule to promote consistency in education. In this context, I can perceive a certain level of power pressure being exerted, although to a lesser extent, due to the use of fragments, which somewhat conceal the intention. If she had used direct sentences, I would have been unpleasantly surprised and perceived it as a form of personal attack. It could have potentially made the conversation feel awkward and strained our relationship. In such a situation, both of us might have struggled to find a way to mend the situation and restore a harmonious dynamic.

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By employing sentence fragments and leaving certain elements unspoken, the respondent tactfully communicates this power dynamic. Skilfully balancing the recognition of her own limitations while acknowledging my elevated position. According to Nagazumi as stated by Koentjaraningrat (1990), in Javanese urban culture, teachers of the school for the indigenous population belong to "lower *priyayi*.". However, these positions do not involve wealth. Although she is a housewife, her husband has provided abundant economic capital. When I came to her house, I saw there were two parked cars that were estimated to cost more than 250 million Rupiahs by the time this research was conducted. Her house was furnished with a luxurious sofa, a Grandpa's clock, and a 50-inch-wide-screen TV. Her daughter also went to a private school near the English course. According to Webb et al (2002), "this capital could be economic, but it could take other forms, such as cultural capital" (p.109). Therefore, to mitigate the power dynamic, I make a deliberate attempt to reduce the frequency of using the term *"ibu"* when referring to her. This decision stems from the recognition that while my knowledge may afford me a certain level of influence, she holds seniority and pays me for my services.

According to Webb (2002), "the amount of power a person has within a field depends on that person's position within the field, and the amount of capital she or he possesses" (p.23). It means the level of power an individual hold in a specific domain is determined by two key factors: their position or status within that field and the amount of capital they possess. Therefore, in the example above, Respondent C, when she used pronoun ambiguity, holds power over me due to her position as the principal, which carries more status and authority within the education field compared to my role as a teacher. As the principal, respondent C could make decisions and set policies, as a result applying influence over teachers like myself to cooperate with the administrators. From my perspective, I recognize and acknowledge the power dynamic present in the principal's implicit request. I interpret her intention as an effort to foster harmony and cohesion within the office environment. By ensuring that we are on the same page and willingly collaborating, we can continue to do an excellent job together. On the other hand, Respondent E possesses more power due to her greater wealth or capital. In terms of financial resources, she has a higher level of capital compared to me. This financial advantage can afford her greater opportunities, resources, and potentially more influence. She also demonstrates a level of respect by employing pronoun ambiguity and sentence fragments when communicating with me as her daughter's teacher. Similarly, I reciprocate this informality by avoiding the use of formal term *"Ibu"* when addressing her. This shared informality in our

interactions suggests a more balanced dynamic where mutual respect and informal communication contribute to a sense of equality.

In conclusion, through an exploration of position, capital, and linguistic choices, we have seen power can manifest in various ways, influencing interactions and relationships. The examples of Respondent C, the principal, and Respondent E, the parent, have shown the complex interplay between status, wealth, and informal communication in shaping power dynamics. By acknowledging the influence of position, capital, and communication choices, interlocutors can strive balanced relationships and effective collaboration.

3.2. "White Lies"

In this subchapter, I identify another cultural capital that influences the stakeholders' interactions in conducting online learning. Here, I investigate the half-truths and white lies that respondents consciously or unconsciously act, the reasons behind it, and how it affects others in online learning. According to Wang (2019), "white lies mean the speaker makes every effort to reduce the harm to the listener out of good will" (p.104). White lies are often considered socially acceptable or even necessary in certain situations where telling the complete truth might be considered impolite or unnecessary. Maintaining good interpersonal relations is often considered one of the goals of telling a white lie (Wang, 2019). People anticipate the information they get in communication to be consistent with the truth but being true does not necessarily guarantee absolute precision or accuracy in communication (Wang, 2019). When information is true, it means that it aligns with the facts and is not intentionally deceptive. However, precision refers to the details, specificity, or exactness in the information provided, and these are not always available. The listener might feel surprised or caught off guard when they do not receive the level of precision they expected in the information provided.

According to Hildred Geertz, as stated by Magnis-Suseno (1997), "one typical principle by Javanese is to avoid open confrontation in every situation" (p. 42). The objective of avoiding direct confrontation is to establish and maintain social harmony and preserve social relationships. One way to prevent disappointment due to unpleasant matters that may disturb social harmony is the practice of dissimulation (Magnis -Suseno, 1997). It refers to the act of concealing or disguising one's true thoughts, feelings, or intentions. It involves deliberately presenting oneself or behaving in a way that is different from one's genuine situation. The

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Javanese term for this action is *éthok-éthok* or the East Javanese version is *"éphok-éphok"*, meaning "to behave as if." In Javanese culture, the practice of *"éphok-éphok",* is considered a high art. It involves concealing not only negative emotions, such as grief, but also strong positive feelings, like excitement. The purpose is to maintain a state of stable and avoid surprises or disruptions. It emphasizes the importance of keeping everything in a steady and balanced manner. I remember people around me said *"ojo kagetan"*, meaning "stay composed" when I was a child whenever I got too excited on something fun, like toys or rides in an amusement park. To practice this concept, I recall an instance where an old lady would suddenly smash a long cloth, perhaps a small blanket, next to an infant, causing the baby to stiffen in surprise. I was told it was a tradition to train the baby not to be startled or easily surprised. Furthermore, the art of dissimulation repels personal questions with non-committal, or slightly false answer (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). It is a skill or technique used to avoid answering personal questions directly. On the other hand, the questioner does not expect to receive a correct answer, either and merely accept it because the intention is not to pry into the personal affairs of another person.

I take an instance from Respondent D's interview, which highlight her cultural capital. Her cultural capital is her educational background of completing middle school, it is evident that her linguistic repertoire may be comparatively limited, with a narrower range of vocabulary at her disposal. One example of this behaviour is Respondent D mentioned she was okay with her current workload in administration regarding *Hyflex* learning, as she stated:

"Menurutku nggak sih, karena kan nggak terlalu banyak juga kan yang ikut online"

"I think it is okay because not many students are joining online courses."

This contradicts to what she had said previously, like for example:

"…trus kadang-kadang ya kita masih sering kali kan anak-anak yang online ini kan tidak tepat waktu, jadi kita (giggle) *kita mesti obrak-obrak."*

[…then sometimes I often must…, the online students are seldom on time, so I (giggle) I have to hound (them)]

…"terutama yang online-online itu hampir semua masih kita ngingetin."

[…especially the online students, almost all of them I still remind them.]

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"…yang online itu biasanya kita kirimnya kan lewat grup (Whatsapp) kirim untuk soalnya, terus sama nanti ya nanti kalau tidak kirim-kirim ya pasti aku nanyain terus, kapan?

[… for the online students, I usually send the tests via WhatsApp Group, then later if they haven't sent their tests back, I will surely hound them, "when (are you going to submit the tests?]

"iya jadinya (debt collector) ada beberapa anak yang lucu, dia njawabnya itu sopan sih ya, tapi lucu, Miss nanti aku bisa ya? Kira-kira kirim testnya itu tiga hari lagi?"

[Yes, I become (a debt collector). There are some silly students, he said politely but silly, "Miss, later can I submit the test approximately three more days?]

"…trus ada juga yang apa dia bilangnya pas tak tanyain, "oh iya, miss, lupa, nanti ya tak kirim.

[then others said, "right, I forgot, I will send it later]

"sudah ngirim ya pasti saya print trus kemudian dikasihkan ke gurunya.

[after (the students send the tests) I definitely print them then I give them to the teachers]

From her previous statements, she indirectly admitted that online or Hyflex learning is time and energy-consuming. She must deal with a complex procedure of online learning and low self-motivation students who do not come to class on time and delay submitting their tests. The other administrator respondent also admits that their workload is massive. As she stated,

"Lalu dishare lagi satu-satu ke WA masing-masing. Jadi admin-nya juga dapat extra job, banyak extra job-nya. Jadi online ini admin ini sangat kerja keras,

[then I share the report one by one via their WhatsApp number, so the administrator also gets extra jobs, a lot of extra jobs. So online learning causes the administrator works extra hard]

Lebih dari biasanya, jauh

[more than usual, a lot more]

However, when I confirmed to the Respondent D about the workload, she said it was not wasting time, nor tiring, or anything like that because there are not as many students as the on-site one. I found this as a surprise to me, especially because I had assumed she was being honest and had nothing to hide during the interview as it was already expected that her job would be challenging. This can be considered a "white lie." A white lie is a relatively harmless or trivial lie, typically told to avoid hurting someone's feelings or to maintain social harmony. It is a lie that is not meant to cause harm or deceive in a significant way. In this case, I may argue that telling a white lie can be an act of respect. By sparing someone's feelings or avoiding unnecessary conflict or discomfort, individuals may believe they are demonstrating respect for other person's emotions or well-being. They prioritize maintaining a positive and harmonious relationship *(rukun)* over complete honesty.

According to Hildred Geertz as stated by Magnis-Suseno (1997), there are three main feelings which the Javanese child is taught to feel situations which require an attitude of respect, namely *wedi, isin,* and *sungkan*. These values are instilled from a very young age. First, *wedi* means fear of not only physical threats but also the fear of unpleasant consequences resulting from one's behaviour. Here, children are taught to show respect to authority figures, such as parents, teachers, or elders. As part of this socialization process, children learn to recognize the power or importance of these individuals and develop a sense of caution or fear when interacting with them. The emotion of fear, in this context, arises from the child's awareness of the consequences of displeasing or disobeying the respected persons. It stems from a desire to meet societal expectations and avoid potential scolding or negative outcomes.

Next, "*isin* means shame, as well as shy, to feel embarrassed, to feel guilty, and the like" (Magnis-Suseno, 1997, p. 66). *Ngerti isin* or understanding when to feel shame is the first step for children to acquire a full Javanese personality, or it can be interpreted as maturity. Correspondingly, the act of not feeling any shame or *"ora nduwe isin"* is disapproved by society and may result in a judgment or scolding as a form of punishment. In parenting practices, children are consciously trained to feel shame by being made to experience shame or embarrassment when they make mistakes or commit faults or *"dipermalukan."* Shame is somehow important as it serves as a valuable internal signal, causing persons to reflect on their actions as a super-ego and make positive changes. However, the intensity and duration of shame, as well as the circumstances surrounding its experience, can influence its impact on an individual's well-being. Excessive or prolonged shame, especially when induced through harsh

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or constant criticism, humiliation, or public shaming, can have harmful effects on a person's self-esteem, self-worth, and mental health (Velotti et al., 2016). It means that is a person experiences intense or long-lasting feeling of shame, particularly when it is caused by being constantly critized, humiliated, or publicly embarrassed, it can have negative impacts on their sense of self-esteem, self-worth, and mental well-being.

Then, *"sungkan"* according to Geertz as stated by Magnis-Suseno (1997) "is a feeling of respectful politeness before a superior or an unfamiliar equal" (p.67). Magnis-Suseno described it as the feeling of a positive shyness that one experiences in the presence of one's superiors. Although I found these definitions acceptable, I felt it does not seem to fit right yet. I would describe it as the feeling of uneasiness or discomfort arising from the awareness of potentially burdening or inconveniencing others with one's actions. It is a sense of hesitation or restraint that prevents one from engaging in behaviour that could impose a burden on others. For example, when I was seven years old, I visited my father's friend's house during dinner time. The host kindly offered me a meal, considering it might be too late for a young child to eat and being concerned that I might become unwell if I delayed having dinner. I was indeed hungry at that time. However, my father declined the offer and quickly bid farewell to the host. When I asked my father why he refused, he explained it was because of *"sungkan"*, which meant he did not want to burden the host by accepting his offer to provide me with a meal. In this situation, my father's decision was driven by a sense of *"sungkan"* stemming from his understanding that he was not particularly close to the host, and he believed it would be burdensome for him to prepare an additional meal for me. It is possible that my father also considered the potential impact on the quantity of food the host had available. By declining the offer, my father aimed to show respect, avoid inconveniencing the host and maintain harmonious interaction. In other words, *"sungkan"* is not only a feeling of positive shyness toward superiors but also a feeling of uneasiness or discomfort arising from the awareness of burdening others.

Respondent D's response to my question by implicating her workload is not much showed her consideration of my feelings and her image. In this scenario, speaking the truth can be perceived as complaining. She did not want to cause a surprise and did not want me to see her as weak or a person who likes complaining, which might cause her to feel embarrassed. Perhaps, Respondent D perceived my question as a trap or provocation, if I had certain expectations from her. While my true intention is to understand her genuine feelings about her job, she may interpret it as an expectation for her to provide an answer that would please me.

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She might believe that expressing the difficulties of their job could be complaining or lacking competence. She may feel pressure to present a positive image and avoid appearing incapable or overwhelmed. Another possibility was that she was thinking *"aku iki sopo kok ngeluh?"* or "who am I to complain?" This kind of question may arise in her mind as an indication of power oppression, as a reaffirmation to herself of her position. In the office, her position as a clerk is regarded as the lowest compared to that of the principal and teachers. It is important to note that oppression occurs at an unconscious level, where neither the superiors nor the subordinates are consciously aware of it. Respondent D may feel that due to her lower position, she is subject to more scrutiny, control, or unreasonable demands from superiors or colleagues. She may perceive these expectations as oppressive because they lack the authority or influence to challenge or negotiate them.

Not only does Respondent D hold the lowest position in the office, but her education level is also low, even below what the Indonesian government mandates as compulsory education for 12 years or *"wajib belajar 12 tahun"* that is implemented in 2015 (Kusumah, 2021). She attended a school in a non-industrial district in Malang, in contrast to Respondent A who attended a state school in Sidoarjo, an industrial town, and Respondent C who attended the most prestigious private middle school in Sidoarjo. Even respondent B attended middle school in Singapore. Her education can be perceived as having a low level of objectified cultural capital. Furthermore, according to Frankema (2014), while there has been significant progress in providing access to primary and secondary education in Indonesia since the country gained independence, the overall quality of the educational system remains very low. Among all the Asian colonies that achieved independence in the early post-war era, Indonesia inherited the poorest colonial education system in Southeast Asia. According to Frankema, there are two main causes, firstly, the expansion of popular education in Indonesia was hindered not only by the Dutch government's lack of financial commitment but also by significant inconsistencies in the allocation of funds for education and a reluctance to support private initiatives in the education sector. Secondly, this reluctance should be understood within the context of the Dutch colonial commitment to the principle of secularism. The idea of state neutrality in religious matters was strictly upheld in a predominantly Islamic society in Indonesia, emphasizing the separation of religion from state affairs. This commitment to secularism played a role in shaping the educational landscape in Indonesia during the colonial period (Frankema, 2014). Therefore, considering that Indonesia inherited a very poor education system, attending a state middle school in a rural district area leads us to assume that the quality of education there is also subpar.

Moreover, The Dutch introduced a system of formal education for the local people in Indonesia, although this was restricted to certain privileged children (*Education in Indonesia*, 2023). There were significant disparities in ethnic enrolment and literacy rates in colonial Indonesia. Dutch and Indo-European children were mostly registered in European schools, following the standard Dutch curriculum (Frankema, 2014). However, there was a notable gap between Chinese and Indonesian children. This gap was more evident in literacy rates rather than in officially recorded school enrolment rates. It suggests that home education played a significant role among Chinese community, as they were the first to advocate for support in expanding Chinese schools. Structural inequalities are the result of a controversial political discussion on how to incorporate local indigenous education into the existing European education system, which was more advanced but also costly. The European education system was originally designed for the children of the Dutch, Chinese, and indigenous elites (Frankema, 2014). In short, different ethnic groups in colonial Indonesia had varying access to education, as the Dutch, Chinese, and indigenous elites gained access to education, while native population was served with cheaper schools. As a result, there was a missed opportunity to significantly improve access to education for Indonesians at a faster rate than what was achieved. This missed opportunity has created disadvantageous conditions for following Indonesian governments to build upon and improve the education system (Frankema, 2014)

Having a poor education system can contribute to a sense of powerlessness in society. Quality education is crucial for empowering individuals with knowledge, skills, and opportunities that enable them to participate fully in social, economic, and political domains. When the education system is lacking in quality, it can limit access to quality education, hinder social mobility, and perpetuate inequalities. This can result in individuals feeling disempowered, as they may face barriers to accessing opportunities, advancing their careers, and participating meaningfully in decision-making processes. It means structural inequalities can impact an individuals' access to educational opportunities, which in turn affects the acquisition and accumulation of cultural capital. Respondent D, for example, had disadvantaged backgrounds due to her limited access to quality education, resulting in lower levels of cultural capital compared to Respondent C and D from privileged backgrounds.

Moreover, in hierarchical relationships as I have described above, higher-ranking individuals, like the principal and teachers, hold decision-making power and influence on some extent. Respondent D, for example, unconsciously need to gain respect and credibility from the

principal and teachers due to the dependence of her job security on them. The pressure on her becomes even more significant because it is important for her at least keeping her job in place because it is the only source of income for her. Given that she has secured a job in a more advanced town compared to her hometown, it is generally expected that she has the responsibility to provide financial support to her family back home. As a result, losing her job would be a significant setback and cause great distress for her. The distress caused by losing a job is particularly intense for individuals who come from less fortunate backgrounds, as I have observed with Respondent A, who has the obligation of supporting her nuclear family financially. One day, she approached me to express her fear and anxiety regarding an unfortunate event that occurred in her classroom. As I listened to her, I deduced that her distress stemmed from the fear of being blamed for the incident. Despite her supervisor's intentions to investigate the root cause of the problem rather than assign blame, she was extremely nervous. I could see this from her trembling voice and hands. I immediately guessed that she was deeply afraid of facing termination because of that incident. In my perspective, the incident itself was relatively minor and unlikely to result in her termination. However, her fear surrounding the situation was so intense that it hindered her ability to concentrate on her next tasks and responsibilities. Despite the slim likelihood of severe consequences, the intensity of her fear had a deep impact on her emotional well-being and affected her ability to focus on her job. When I reflected on the intense emotions experienced by respondent A in facing termination, it suggested the behaviour of respondent D and her respond telling white lie. I cannot help but draw a parallel between the two situations. Similarly, Respondent D may also keep a fear of termination, as it would jeopardize her financial security and have a direct impact on her nuclear family's well-being back home. The pressure faced by individuals from such backgrounds is much greater, as their livelihood and survival are at stake.

Moreover, the pressure of supporting one's family is further increased by the underlying *rukun* motive. According to Magnis-Suseno, a person who makes a tuning profit is expected to share it with the community, giving priority to relatives. Surplus wealth should be shared by the community as reflected in the proverb: "When there is scarcity, it is shared, when there is abundance, it is also shared" or it also refer to as *gotong-royong* (Magnis-Suseno, 1997, p. 53). Hence, individuals with low capital face an even greater pressure to secure and maintain their jobs, which can contribute to feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability. Therefore, it becomes crucial for her to earn respect and establish credibility among individuals in higher ranks to ensure her financial stability. Regarding Respondent D's response earlier, it is crucial for

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her to project competence and confidence in her role within online learning. She aims to be perceived as capable and dependable to earn trust and recognition of her superiors and colleagues. In addition, performing white lie could be a way to avoid fear of judgement. She might worry that admitting their job is challenging could result in negative perceptions from other teachers or superiors. She may fear being viewed as incapable, inefficient, or less skilled in her role. Therefore, maintaining a positive image and avoiding any appearance of incapability or being overwhelmed by the workload are essential to safeguarding her job security. Telling a white is also linked to maintaining harmony or *"rukun."* Respondent D may desire to preserve a sense of unity and avoid generating discontent or complaints within the workplace. It is possible that she believed acknowledging difficulties of their job could foster a negative atmosphere or impact team morale. By downplaying the challenges and presenting a more positive outlook, she aimed to promote a harmonious work environment.

Despite all the reasons behind white lies, they can temporarily remove embarrassment, but white lies can also hinder the chance for appropriate support and guidance. If people consistently downplay their difficulties, they may miss out on valuable assistance, which could negatively affect their performance. In this case, I already suspected that she told a white lie immediately, but if this continues to occur, I may inaccurately interpret her situation when I need help from her, thinking she is not so busy while the opposite happens. White lies might seem harmless on the surface, but they can ultimately hold back personal growth and impede collaborative efforts.

3.3.   Unconsciously Blaming Others

In this subchapter, I explore the complex dynamics of covertly assigning blame to other people. Whether it's a defence mechanism or a means to preserve self-image, the act of secretly blaming others often masks deeper underlying issues. By exploring this cultural capital, I aim to uncover the reasons behind this behaviour and how it impacts the online learning process. To secretly blame others means to hold someone responsible for something negative or to assign fault to them, but without openly expressing or acknowledging it. It suggests that an individual privately holds negative feelings toward someone else for a situation, but they do not openly confront or communicate their blame or criticism. It implies that the blame is kept hidden or unspoken. I took an example from Respondent C. She possesses significant cultural capital, having graduated from a prestigious university, and has accumulated over three years of

experience as a principal. This background equips her with the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively manage a course. One example is shown by Respondent C:

> *"Karena dia konteksnya kalo Google Form itu tidak untuk essay. Pertama itu. Kan level 4 ke atas kan udah mulai banyak tulisan yang panjang-panjang. Nah itu. Susahnya di situ karena pernah ada kayak kendala nih gurunya kaku, pusing sendiri, jadi tambah lama proses pengecekannya, tambah lama mundur... mundur... mundur.... Nah itu juga mempengaruhi yang lain."*
>
> [Because Google Form is not for essays. First, the tests for level 4 require students to write longer sentences. That's it. That's the difficulty because we once had this kind of problem. The teacher is unadaptable, she was perplexed, so it took a long time to check the tests, causing delay… delay… delay. So that affected the others.]

In this scenario, Respondent C highlighted the burden of adjusting to online learning. Not only do the administrators have to make numerous adjustments, but teachers also face the need for extensive alterations. As many researchers have found that online learning in Indonesia poses significant challenges, especially for teachers (Rasmitadila et al., 2020; Yulia, 2020). One of them is professional development and training. Many teachers were not initially trained to conduct online learning effectively. As a result, teachers may encounter numerous challenges when adapting to online learning within a short period of time. However, my Respondent C used the phrase *"bingung sendiri"* which I translated into "perplexed," suggesting that the individual that she meant was struggling to master correcting tests via *Google Form,* while others can grasp it more easily or at least not feel the same level of confusion. It may also suggest that the person was the only one who reported difficulty in using the platform and proposed another method to correct students' tests. She also referred to the phrase *"gurunya kaku"*, which I translated to "the teacher is unadaptable," meaning the cause of her request was her inability to adapt quickly to the new situation. Perhaps, the inability was related to the rigid character that the person owned. Nevertheless, what I found intriguing is that the phrases *"gurunya kaku, bingung sendiri"* can be interpreted as a complaint from the administrator. Although it understandable for teachers to encounter difficulties in adjusting to new technology, and Respondent C may consciously acknowledge the validity of these challenges, the use of terms *"kaku"* or unadaptable and *"bingung sendiri"* or perplexed on her own could accidentally imply a sense of blaming or assigning responsibility.

Another scenario of unconsciously blaming teachers is also appeared in the following statement:

"Gak terlalu, kan kita meskipun mengajar kalo menurut saya sih murid itu urusan guru. Jadi kalau urusan saya dengan guru dan parents. Gimana-gimana yang mbayar parent-nya. "

[not really (the administrators do not perform a lot of communication with the students), even though (sometimes I) teach, in my opinion the students' matter is the teacher's responsibility. So, my role in the interactions with teachers and parents. Somehow, it is the parents who pay (for the students' tuition fee)]

In this scenario, the teacher unconsciously places blame on other teachers by using the *"urusan guru"* or teachers' matter, believing that it is not her responsibility to handle the students but rather the duty of the other teachers. The word *"urusan"* somehow evokes the feeling of being blamed or even anger in me may be influenced by my experience. Sometimes, when individuals refuse to accept responsibility, claiming it is not their concern and expressing their anger through phrases like *"urusane"* in Javanese annoyance, frustration, or even superiority tone, indicating a lack of willingness to engage or take responsibility for the matter at hand. This tone exacerbated tensions and create a negative atmosphere in the conversation or interaction. It reflects a disregard for accountability and imposes a heavier burden on others. Consequently, this behaviour can result in heightened challenges and difficulties for those left to shoulder the additional responsibilities. Although Respondent C did not use this kind of tone, the word choice *"urusannya"* indicates reluctance to deeply involve herself in student matters and establishes a boundary by emphasizing the teachers' primary responsibility.

Moreover, the role of the principal is vital in education. According to Leithwood as stated by Grissom et al., (2021) "school leaders are second only to teachers among factors influencing student achievement holds up to new scrutiny with more compelling evidence and may not have been stated strongly enough" (p.5). It suggests that recent research and evidence have provided stronger support for the notion that school leaders play a crucial role in influencing student achievement. It implies that the impact of school leaders on student success is highly significant and should be emphasised more prominently. Previously, the influence of school leaders may not have been sufficiently acknowledged or emphasised compared to the role of teachers. However, with new scrutiny and compelling evidence, it is now evident that school leaders are second only to teachers in their impact on student achievement. However, it

is possible that Respondent C is not fully aware of this and the significant influence of school leaders on student achievement. As a result, she may believe that her responsibilities do not directly involve students and unconsciously attribute the responsibility to teachers instead.

In addition to unconsciously blaming the teachers, Respondent C also tends to assign blame to the parents. As she mentioned in the interview:

> *"Cuma kalo case beberapa orang dan orangnya itu-itu terus, nah biasanya orang-orangnya itu-itu aja, jadi kaya "iki mesti telat ngumpulno" kaya gitu"*

> [However, in cases involving certain individuals, and the individuals (concern) to the same people, so it is like "this person is always late for submitting (the assignments)" it's like that]

The statement suggests that when referring to specific individuals repeatedly causing issues or problems, there is an underlying implication of blaming or assigning responsibility to those individuals without explicitly stating it. The phrase *"iki mesti telat ngumpulno"* (this person is always late for submitting) implies a negative perception or criticism towards that individual's behaviour, this subtle form a blaming suggests that the person being referred to is consistently causing delays or disruptions, leading to frustration or inconvenience for others.

However, the reason why Respondent C unconsciously blames others possibly stems from a defence mechanism. Blaming others can serve as a defence mechanism to protect oneself from criticism or taking responsibility for mistakes. She may unconsciously resort to blaming others to safeguard their self-image and maintain a sense of control. Her defence mechanism is needed to protect herself from feelings of vulnerability, insecurity, or inadequacy. Blaming others unconsciously allows her to shift responsibility away from herself and maintain a perception of competence or superiority. By attributing difficulties or challenges to external factors, she can preserve her self-esteem and avoid confronting any potential shortcomings or personal accountability. This defence mechanism provides a sense of control by avoiding feelings of vulnerability or accepting personal limitations.

It is indeed possible that respondent C's behaviour of unconsciously blaming others may be a result of stress and pressure. Stressful situations and high-pressure environments can impact individuals differently, leading to various coping mechanism. Here, Respondent C may unconsciously deflect blame onto others to cope with stress and alleviate her own feelings of pressure or responsibility. The pressure may come from the burden of transitioning from

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traditional face to face class to online and Hyflec learning. The transition to online teaching requires primarily acquiring new technological skills. As one of the administrator respondents mentioned that the most significant change during the abrupt shift from traditional learning to online learning is the transition from a paper-based system to a paperless one. As she stated:

> *"Pendataannya dari untuk data-data murid baru trus murid lama, kita juga jadi punya apa namanya* soft online base*. Jadi kita dulu kan masih semuanya pake kertas ya. Pake kertas kita ngeprint segala macem, sekarang masih tetep ngeprint kayak gitu tapi kita sekarang punya backup untuk online-nya.* Soft copy*."*

> [the data collection used to be done (manually) for both new and existing students, we now have a soft online base. So previously, we used to rely on paper-based records. Printing on papers for various documents. Now, (we) still print certain things like that but we now have a backup online. Soft copy.]

In a traditional class, students do their tests on paper and submit them to the teachers, then they correct them by reading and marking incorrect answers directly on the paper using a pen. Sometimes they add some notes next to these answers, so they remember what the student's weaknesses are and put them in the student's progress reports. The students could also see these notes and learn the correct answers to the questions. However, in an online system, since everything is paperless, teachers face several challenges when they correct tests solely through a laptop via Google Form app. First, without a physical test paper in hand, teachers may miss out on some incorrect answers or mistakenly cross out correct answers. Second, correcting tests digitally requires teachers to navigate through multiple screen outlooks, making it challenging to keep track of which answers have or have not been corrected. It can also be time-consuming to switch between screens while checking every answer. All these lead to eye strain and fatigue. Correcting multiple tests solely on a laptop screen for long periods can be physically and mentally exhausting, affecting the accuracy and quality of corrections.

The sudden transition from a traditional system to an online one had brought about a significant workload for the administrator to handle. As she stated:

> *Oh, tentu saja iya. Bukan kendala sih, lebih tepatnya ada pekerjaan baru … Bisa dibilang… Sibuknya di awal…*

> [Oh, certainly. But it's not a constraint, more precisely there is a new job … it can be said … it's busy at the beginning]

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Ya coba-coba lagi karena ini gak bisa tanya ke siapa-siapa, karena kan ini one and only punyanya XXXXX (English course' name) *untuk program ini* data base*, reporting. Jadi ya nyoba lagi, jadi kita kirim yang online-online jadi ya ngeprint yang* convert PDF*. Bedanya* convert *tapi* PDF*.*

[Well, I keep trying because (I) cannot ask anyone else, because this (system) the one and only belong to XXXXX (English course' name) So (I) keep trying, so we send (to online students) the converted PDF. The difference is (they are in) PDF format.]

"Lalu dishare lagi satu-satu ke WA masing-masing. Jadi admin-nya juga dapat extra job, banyak extra job-nya. Jadi online ini admin ini sangat kerja keras."

[then, (we) share (the converted PDF format reports) one by one to (the parents') WhatsApp account' numbers. So, the administrator also gets an extra job, many extra jobs. So, in online learning system, the administrator is working very hard]

In this scenario, in the middle of numerous changes and adjustment to online and hybrid learning, the administrators find themselves relying on their own abilities to address problems and overcome challenges. Therefore, another complaint from the teacher added an extra job to the workload, which should not be necessary as she was the only one with an issue, while other teachers did not have any problems in using *Google Form*. It can also be interpreted as blaming the teacher for causing additional workload. In this context when Respondent C unconsciously blaming the teacher, the statement implies that the teacher's rigid or inflexible approach is causing frustration and difficulty for the administrator. The phrase *"pusing sendiri"* (perplexed on her own) implies that the person should not be feeling perplexed or overwhelmed, suggesting that her confusion is unnecessary or self-inflicted. It hints that the teacher is overthinking or overreacting to a situation, and their confusion may be perceived as unwarranted or exaggerated by Respondent C. The teacher's behaviour was creating problems that only affect her, thus implying a sense of blame toward the teacher for the extra workload. Therefore, the administrator had to look for another way to solve this problem, which was changing *Google Form* to *Adobe Acrobat* so then the tests could be printed into traditional paper tests.

The reason why she talked back about the person who caused them frustration to others instead of addressing the person directly is because of the fear of conflict. According to Mulder, conflict threatens order, and people who perform observable rebellious behaviour or

durhaka or *mbalelo* is particularly painful because they are not in harmony *(rukun)* as they should be (Mulder, 1996). When the teacher had an issue with the method, but not the others, it was she who could be considered starting the conflict. When a conflict happens, any party should stop it to maintain order. Thus, the administrator took the initiative to defuse the conflict, despite costing her more workload. One reason for this action is to preserve working relationships in the institution. They have known each other for more than five years, so to disturb it only for one conflict was not worth doing. Another reason is personal values that prioritise peace, harmony, and conflict resolution. These values are very influenced and shaped throughout a person's life, including during childhood. Values are often instilled and taught by parents, family members, teachers, and other influential figures during a person's formative years. According to Magnis-Suseno (1997), in the social disciplining of the Javanese child, two distinct phases can be distinguished (p. 49). First, in the first five years of a child, she is the lovable centre of attraction and attention in her environment, and naughtiness and impertinence are dealt with smoothly. However, as far as I have seen, this is not always the case. Once, I saw a toddler in a working-class family in Sidoarjo sitting on the porch trying to reach the ground. Suddenly, to my surprise, I heard a loud shout prohibiting the child from touching the ground, accompanied by a sharp tone, followed by scolding and berating the toddler. The cause of the adult shouting may be triggered by the belief that the ground is dirty, and the toddler might get sick from the parents' mistake for not preventing him from touching it. Then, I can see the toddler's fear in his eyes and shock from the shout. This situation was not the only time I saw it, but I have seen a similar situation several times, mostly in Sidoarjo and Surabaya, East Java, and mostly happens in working-class families, although it may also happen in middle-class families. Moreover, obedience is obtained through the threat of forces outside the family, like evil spirits *(setan, genderuwo, kuntilanak, sundel bolong, mak lampir)*, dogs, or strangers, usually related to authoritative jobs, such as doctors, police officers, and teachers. I remembered the people around a child usually say something like *awas ada sundel bolong* [watch out, there is a demonic being] or *awas nanti digigit anjing* [watch out or the dog will bite you] or *awas nanti dimarahi Bu Guru* [watch out, the teacher will be angry at you] and often by pointing at me, since I am also a teacher, in intimidating and frightening tone to correct his/her misbehaviour. Here the child learns fear or *wedi* as early as a toddler for any misbehaviours. Therefore, disturbing the social harmony caused by conflict is also considered disobedience, so prolonging conflicts is closely related to the emotion of fear that caused discomfort or even traumatic pain and should be avoided at all costs.

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The second phase of social discipline is implemented by "the disapproval of the outside world by the surroundings" (Magnis -Suseno, 1997, p. 50). In this phase, a child is no longer disciplined by direct threats of danger from outside the family, but rather through indirect hints about the disapproval of the outside world. The hint "*ora ngerti isin*" or "*ga nduwe isin*" in East Javanese language style meaning does not feel shame is a sharp sign of disapproval. Children are trained consciously to feel *isin* by being made ashamed when they commit some fault. Another hint people use to correct misbehaviour is *"hush, ga ilok."* Which can be translated to "not appropriate" or "not suitable" in English. The word *"ga"* is derived from the Javanese *"nggak"* which means "not" and *"pantes"* which means "appropriate" or "suitable." However, it is not like when somebody put on a dress and others think that the dress is not suitable or appropriate for the occasion. It is more on evoking fear and shame at the same time to quickly correct the child' naughtiness that I acknowledge from the intimidating tone. "The feeling of *isin* is used to threaten children for any misbehaviour they did, including conflicts that disturb social harmony" (Magnis -Suseno, 1997, p. 66). People generally avoid being in an embarrassing situation because according to Miller as quoted by Haris (2006), "what lies at the root of embarrassment is the anticipation of negative evaluation by others, that is fear." People may worry about being judged, ridiculed, or humiliated by society. The potential negative consequences, such as damage to their reputation or social standing, can lead individuals to avoid situations that may cause embarrassment. Moreover, fear according to Hawkins (1995), is at the level of 100, while being humiliated which causes one to feel shame, has the lowest energy in his map of consciousness, that is level 20. It means all attitudes, thoughts, feeling and associations below level 200 make a person go weak (see Map of Consciousness). Fear also limits the growth of personality and may cause somebody to feel oppressed and live like a slave (Hawkins, 1995). Furthermore, the level of shame is dangerously near death, meaning one may choose conscious suicide or a subtle decision to take one (Hawkins, 1995). With these two negative feelings, it is obvious that my respondent would avoid uttering the whole idea in a complete sentence as it would lead to fear and humiliation that could cause a weakened position in this social relationship

Parents who choose to use shame or *isin* or *malu* in Indonesian as a mean of teaching children the value of *rukun* or social harmony and respect may have learned that it can be effective in eliciting short-term compliance because they also think it works on themselves and does not question its potential harm. They unintentionally use shame as they have experienced it themselves as children, viewing it as a normative and effective way to teach values, like *rukun*,

and might not fully realize the potential harm it can cause or the alternative approaches available. Shaming kids kill their capacity to act from internalized values and instead fires up their desire to simply stay out of trouble (Young, n.d.). They might do the right thing, but internally there is no connection between their misbehaviour of conflict and doing the "right" thing, that is maintaining social harmony. It creates a subconscious understanding that behaving well is to avoid future shame, but unfortunately, it does nothing to their mind in building a strong understanding to, later, make good choices. As a result, when conflict happens, there is a strong urge to suppress it as soon as possible when the children become adults. Shame also fails to teach empathy to children (Young, n.d.). According to Oxford Languages Dictionary, empathy is the ability to understand and share the feelings of another. However, shame consumes children's attention and they only focus on verbal words of shame and see others as sources of threat (Gilbert & Procter, 2006). Thus, they are unable to practice empathy as they perceive others solely as threats, hindering their ability to understand the feelings of others. They can only suppress their emotions or vent them out when they can no longer bear them, without possessing the capacity to openly resolve conflicts for the sake of finding better solutions. In other words, both fear and shame are used to teach children to internalize the concept of *rukun*, demonstrating the consequences when adults are unable to solve an open conflict and resort to secretly blaming others.

The deep-rooted implementation of shame and fear can contribute to Respondent C's utilization of defence mechanisms. When shame and fear are established in her upbringing or societal norms, she can significantly impact how she perceives and responds to challenging situations. In this case, Respondent C may resort to a defence mechanism to protect herself from experiencing shame or fear. By unconsciously blaming others, Respondent C maybe be attempting to shield herself from potential criticism or negative consequences. Blaming others can act as a defence mechanism that helps her avoid facing her own vulnerabilities or shortcomings. It provides a temporary sense of relief from the shame or fear she might otherwise experience. The fear of receiving criticism is apparent in Respondent C's following statement, indicating a reluctance to potentially negative feedback:

> *"sedangkan Mr.* (the owner of the course) [giggles nervously while pointing to the second floor of the building] *itu menginginkan semuanya sudah up to date, Jadi ya…"*
>
> [On the other hand, Mr. (the owner of the course) [giggles nervously while pointing to the second floor of the building] wants everything to be up to date, so uhm….]

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The statement suggests that Mr. (the owner of the course) has a strong desire for everything to be up to date. Giggling nervously while pointing to the second floor of the building could imply that there are specific expectations or standards set by him regarding the course or its operations. The nervous laughter may indicate a sense of pressure or anticipation in meeting those expectations. Moreover, she also used fragments by not finishing her sentence and left it hanging by using the phrase *jadi ya… (so uhm…)*, leaving me a room to wonder what might happen in her situation regarding her superior expectations. According to Clinic Mayo (2021), laughter is often considered a valuable form of stress relief, and it is recognized for its ability to bring about a sense of relaxation and release tension. When we laugh, our bodies produce endorphins, which are natural mood enhancers that promote feelings of happiness and well-being. Moreover, laughter can help to reduce stress hormones, lower blood pressure, and enhance overall mental and physical health.

Another possible reason for Respondent C unconsciously blaming others could be related to power dynamics. In her situation, being in a position of authority or power may resort to blaming others to maintain control or assert dominance. Considering her age of 29 and holding a top position in the institution, Respondent C may experience added pressure due to various factors. Firstly, having younger subordinates to manage can create a unique dynamic, as it requires balancing leadership responsibilities with limited professional experience. Younger subordinates may have less professional experience, which can lead to knowledge gaps or a learning curve when it comes to certain tasks or responsibilities. This may require additional guidance, training, or mentorship to ensure they can perform their roles effectively. Mentoring younger subordinates requires a significant investment of energy and time, which add to the pressure experienced by Respondent C. Based on my observations, I have noticed that Respondent C occasionally seeks my advice on how to effectively communicate with one of her subordinates when dealing with certain issues. Additionally, having two teachers with a ten-year age gap could contribute to feelings of pressure. The age difference might result in a perceived difference in expertise or seniority, potentially affecting the power dynamics in her confidence in leading and making decisions, meaning she must struggle a little bit more to have her subordinates do what she has delegated at the same time maintaining *rukun* by avoiding open conflict.

To conclude, it is crucial to recognize the negative effects impact of unconsciously blaming others in online learning. Unconsciously blaming others by talking behind their back can

damage relationships and hinder engagement. It can erode trust, delay communication, and inhibit personal growth and development. Additionally, it is important to recognize that even if we unconsciously blame others and think our words would not reach them, there is always a possibility that our comments would be conveyed back to the person we are discussing. This can create an uncomfortable and strained atmosphere within the online learning environment. Therefore, it is crucial to be mindful with our words and actions, ensuring that we foster a positive and respectful environment for everyone involved. By refraining from blaming others, and promoting open communication, empathy, and understanding, we can contribute to a more harmonious and supportive online learning experience.

3.4. Unfulfilled Commitments

In the learning process, commitments hold a central place. Whether made to oneself or others, commitments signify promises, intentions, and agreements that form the foundation of trust and reliability. However, not all commitments are fulfilled as originally intended. In this subchapter, I explore the intriguing of unfulfilled commitments and examine the implications they bear on individuals. Unfulfilled commitments, by their very nature, expose the gap that exists between what was promised and what was delivered. Understanding the reasons behind unfulfilled commitments allows me to gain insight into the complexities of human behaviour, decision-making, and the various factors that can derail good intentions.

An example of unfulfilled commitments is what happened to Respondent F. Respondent F's daughter has the second lowest rank in the class. Also, the level that she is studying now is the second time she took it because previously her grades were low, so the principal decided to downgrade her class level. The principal was encouraging the parent to let her come to the classroom on-site, so she would have more intensive meetings with the teacher and her grades would improve. However, since last year, she had enrolled in a private full-day school where the classes are dismissed around 3.30 pm, while my Hyflex class starts at 4.15 pm. She commutes by pool car, so considering the traffic in Sidoarjo and other students who need earlier drop-off, she could only reach home after four, and going to the English course would make her late in attending my classroom and miss the lessons that day. Her mother had also tried to arrange with the driver to drop her at the English course directly from school, but it still made her late coming to my class. Therefore, to her mother, joining an online classroom is a better option to avoid coming late to my class for the time being. However, although she is already joining my class from home, there are never times that she joins my class on time,

including when her school is dismissed earlier or during school's day off. She is always fifteen to thirty minutes late and misses half of the lessons. I have also informed the administrator to remind the student that it is time to begin the class. The administrator mentioned that there has been no response from her. This has been a recurring issue for several months, where there is no response from her whenever the class is about to start. Furthermore, in an online meeting, every time I called her name to answer the questions in the workbook together, she did not reply to my call immediately. The causes of this behaviour are unknown, although I assume it also may not be caused by her inability to master the device or application since she belongs to generation Alpha, who are experiencing the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic as young children and have been exposed to types of entertainment dominated by electronic technology, social networks, and streaming services (*Generation Alpha*, 2023). Based on the information provided, it seems that the issue may not be related to handling the app or device. As a result, I would consider that she had trouble staying focused during online meetings.

On the other hand, besides being unable to stay focused during online meetings, my respondent's daughter does not do the homework I have asked her. In an offline setting, teachers can easily approach students at their seats, open the workbook, and check the task immediately. However, with distance learning, this is not possible. To address this challenge, we have implemented a solution where students are asked to take a picture of the workbook and send it via *WhatsApp*. This approach was chosen because the workbook is physical, and we encourage children to write using their hands. Additionally, asking students to submit tasks in softcopy might be more challenging for them, as they may not have mastered the necessary digital skills yet. Thus, the picture submission method provides a simple alternative for the students. Thus far, we have not encountered any significant issues with students who exhibit good motivation and active participation. These students have been consistently engaged and responsive during the online learning process. However, it is very difficult to encourage Respondent F's daughter to send me the image of her workbook via *Whatsapp*, so I can assess her progress. All she did was excuses for delaying it and in fact, she never sent me the workbook. Respondent B has also reported a similar experience of online students having difficulties submitting their tasks:

> "I mean, I've tried it, because I've taught these classes for a few semesters already, at
> the beginning, oh God, it might sound bad, at the beginning I asked them like even I
> asked them personally, "OK so you haven't sent me, send it to me now, as your friends

already sent it to me." I'm tired when they don't reply, they ignore my chat. Some of them even just read my chat, they don't say anything. They don't send anything."

In other words, some students indeed encounter difficulties staying focused and engaged in the classroom due to a lack of structure. Those who are not accustomed to establishing a structured routine, like a clear schedule or conducive learning space, may find it harder to stay disciplined and focused during online classes. Therefore, parents play a crucial role in supporting their children, like establishing a conducive learning environment, setting a routine and schedule, and monitoring and accountability.

As I have mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, several weeks before, I had texted this respondent to request that she stayed with her daughter during an online meeting, and here is the text that I sent via *Whatsapp*:

"Saya berpikir semisal kalau didampingi bagaimana? Tapi tadi XXXX (student's name) *bilang malu* (smiling face with smiling eyes emoji)*.*

(new speech bubble) *Semisal dibujuk untuk didampingi bagaimana nggih, Bu? Misal, supaya* XXXX (student's name) *fokus menulis jawaban yang sudah diberikan. Misal terlewat, saya tidak keberatan menshare lagi*

(new speech bubble) *yang penting ada* feedback *dari XXXX* (student's name) *jadi supaya lebih aktif di kelas, bertanya mana yg belum mengerti, atau menjawab pertanyaan dari saya, semisal masih keliru tidak mengapa, jadi saya mengerti bagian mana yg XXXX* (student's name) *belum bisa*

[I think, for instance (she) is accompanied (by you) how is it? But previously she said she was shy *(emoji)* For example (she) is persuaded (so she is willing) to be accompanied, how is it, Bu? For example, so she can focus on writing the answers that I have given. In case she misses it, I don't mind sharing it again. Most importantly, there is feedback from the student, so (she) can be more active in class, asking questions which (the part she) hasn't understood, or answering questions from me, if (she) has the wrong answer, it's alright, so I understand which part she hasn't understood.

Here, in my request, I use the word *dampingi* or I translated it into "accompany" to describe she should stay by her side during an online meeting, making sure she wrote the correct answers from the virtual whiteboard and responds when I called her name. The purpose of reaching out

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to parents is to foster increased parental involvement in her daughter's learning process and seek potential solutions together. Because I am concerned about her current low performance, I worry that she may struggle to keep up with more challenging coursework at the next level. By involving parents in her learning process, I hope to provide extra support and resources to help improve her performance. This approach aligns with what Lareau (1987) discussed, quantitative studies suggest that "parental behaviour can be a crucial determinant of educational performance" (p.73). It suggests that research conducted using quantitative methods has found a significant relationship between the behaviour of parents and their children's educational performance. Respondent F possesses valuable cultural capital as a graduate in Chemical Engineering, which has equipped her with an extensive vocabulary and knowledge in the field. After texting her, I received a highly satisfactory response from Respondent F. This is the reply text I received in my *WhatsApp* account:

> *"Sy sbnarnya juga setuju kl XXXX (student's name) lesnya offline tp mmg waktunya ngga pas jam 16.30 XXXX baru nyampe rumah itu pun sy hrs ngepush dia utk cepet2 join krn linknya shd dikasih dan sdh diminta join. Sy rasa mgkn dia kyknya juga kecapekan krn masuk rumah lgsung online les ngga ada wkt istirahat jd mgkn ngga konsen Terus juga ngga pede takut salah katanya* (different speech bubble)
>
> *Coba besok selasa sy coba bujuk XXXXX* (student's name) *utk sy dampingi biar sy juga tahu kesulitannya dimana ya miss …"*

> [I actually agree if XXXXX (student's name) to have offline course, but the timing is not suitable. At 16.30 she just arrives home. Even then, I have to push her to quickly join because the link has been given and (she) has been asked to join. I think she may be tired because (after she) entered the house, (she) goes straight to online lessons without any break, so maybe, (she) can't focus. Also, she said she is not confident, afraid to make mistakes. Let me try next Tuesday, I will try to persuade XXXXX (student's name) to be accompanied by me so that I can understand where the difficulties (lie), Miss.]

After I received this text, as a teacher, I was feeling relieved and optimistic about the progress being made. I could see that by working together, there is optimism that our joint efforts would positively impact the student's progress and lead to better outcomes in her education. I also noticed that Respondent F showed an ability to mimic or imitate my words effectively. For instance, she expressed her intention to accompany her daughter during virtual classes to gain

insights into her struggles with English, echoing my previous statement. However, on that Tuesday, her behaviour remained unchanged. While I believed her mother had done her best, it is possible that the student needed more time to adjust herself, and I understand that. However, even when school finished earlier during the fasting month, she still did not join the class on time. It appeared that there may be a gap between her intention and the actual implementation of this plan, as she did not follow through on her commitment to accompany her daughter and understand her specific challenges. This lack of progress left me wondering. It was then that I saw an opportunity to conduct this research to gain further insights into the student's performance at home during online classes.

During the interview, as a warm-up question, I asked about her motivation for enrolling her daughter to participate in online classes. Respondent F stated:

> *"Kalau di saya, karena saya juga kadang-kadang WFH, bisa ngawasi langsung. Gitu, jadi, kadang saya bisa ngawasi langsung "Ayo, ini udah" Begitu dia dateng saya ingetin, XXXXX (English course' name) nya lho apa segala macem. Terus dia bilang, belum dikasi linknya, terus saya ikut ngawasi, ada saatnya mungkin. Mungkin Miss juga pernah diskusi ke saya kan [I: Nggih nggih nggih] "Kok … XXXXX (student's name)" Sejak saat itu ya, at least saya bisa ngawasin gitu misalkan ini, ayok itu ditanyain itu dijawab. Fokus. Gitu sih, sebenarnya saya juga ngawasin.*

[As for me, because I sometimes also WFH (work from home), so I can watch her (her daughter). So, sometimes I can watch her directly "Come on, this one is done" When she arrived home, I reminded her, XXXXX (English course' name) and everything else. And then she said, "They haven't given me the (*Zoom*) link. Then I also watched her, maybe there were times … (when I didn't watch her). Maybe you once discussed this with me, right? [I: right] (Kok=why XXXXX (her daughter) (didn't join the *Zoom* meeting?)) Well, since then, at least I can watch her. For example, "You are being asked. Answer it. Focus. So, it was like that. Actually, I am also watching.]

These utterances are a combination of ambiguous communication styles which lead to concealing the truth. First, my respondent used fragments or incomplete sentences. When she said, *"ada saatnya mungkin"* which I translated into "maybe there were times," native English speakers may think that this sentence is not clear, therefore, should be ignored, thinking she may not mean to say it and cancel the idea abruptly. However, as a Javanese descent myself, I immediately understood what she meant. The clue was in the previous statement *"terus saya*

ikut ngawasi" which I translated into "then I also watched her." If I combine the sentences into *"terus saya ikut ngawasi, ada saatnya mungkin,"* it means she wanted to mention that there were times she did not watch her. This fragment is also a subtle admission that she does not always watch her daughter during online meetings. If she admitted this situation to me, I also understood the reason for not doing her part consistently was due to her inevitable circumstances. This unfinished sentence provided me with an opportunity to analyse the circumstances that may have contributed to her inability to effectively monitor her daughter and fulfil her commitment to ensuring active participation in online classes.

To gain a better understanding of the circumstances that led to the mother's failure to accompany the student, I asked questions regarding the student's routine and structure for online learning. By inquiring about these aspects, I aimed to uncover any factors that may have impacted the student's ability to receive proper support and guidance from her mother during the online process. First, as part of my investigation, I inquired about the type of device the student was using for online learning, specifically whether she was using a smartphone or a laptop. Understanding the device being used can provide insights into the student's technological resource and the potential limitations or advantages it may have for her engagement in online classes. Based on my personal experience during the pandemic while being at home with my children, I noticed that when they were using smartphones for online learning, the small screen size made it challenging for them to read the content displayed on virtual whiteboards or PowerPoint presentations. The limited screen often resulted in difficulty in comprehending the information being presented, potentially impacting their overall learning experience. As both a mother and a teacher, I strongly recommend that students utilize a laptop or desktop computer with a wider screen when participating in virtual classes. From my perspective, this setup offers several advantages, including a larger display that enhances the readability and comprehension of the content presented on virtual whiteboards or in PowerPoint presentations. The increased screen size provides a more immersive learning experience and better support students' engagement and understanding of the material being taught. However, during the interview, I noted that Respondent F's daughter is using a smartphone instead of a laptop or desktop computer:

> *"Pake HP ya seringnya sih. … Iya pake HP. … Kalau laptop itu biasanya kalau adek, apa, ngerjain Mid test ya? [XXXX (student's name): Iya] seringnya pake HP. Tapi untuk yang apa, kursus yang regularnya, biasanya pake HP….*
>
> *XXXXX (student's name): Iya, soalnya kan laptopnya nyalainnya lama"*

[(she) mostly uses a smartphone…. Yes, using a smartphone… As for a laptop, what is it, dear? (when you) are taking the midterm test, right? [XXXX (student's name: Yes] Mostly uses a smartphone. But for regular courses, she usually uses a smartphone.]

XXXX (student's name): Yes, because turning on the laptop takes a long time.

In this scenario, the student's preference for using a smartphone indicates a potentially suboptimal routine, as the small screen size makes it more challenging for students to read the content in the virtual class. This may lead to a behaviour of disregarding or not fully engaging with the material, simply attending the class without actively participating or following along. This lack of proper engagement can result in poor academic performance and limited learning outcomes. Another revelation from the student is that the slow start-up time of the laptop indicates her rushed schedule to join the virtual class, as explained by her mother in the *WhatsApp* text. However, it is not uncommon for students to use smartphones as their primary device for online learning. In fact, there are many other students who also use smartphones, while only a few opt for laptops. It is worth noting that students using laptops generally exhibit better engagement. However, students with smartphones can still actively participate in class, answer questions, and demonstrate good engagement. This suggests that the level of engagement is not solely determined by the device being used but can be influenced by other factors, such as the student's motivation, and learning environment. To gather information about her learning environment, I inquired about the specific location in Respondent F's house where her daughter participates in virtual classes:

"Di mana seringnya dek? [XXXXX (student's name): Di kamar.] … Karena dingin ada ACnya. (giggle) …Dulu kan biasanya dia pake headset, sekarang nggak saya perbolehin. Biasanya biar saya bisa denger dia ngomong apa … Dia lagi bicara apa, kaya gitu."

[Where do you usually have your classes, dear? [XXXXX (student's name): in my bedroom] … Because it's cool, there's an air conditioner (giggle) … Before, she used to wear a headset, but now I don't allow it. Usually, so that I can hear what she's saying … what she's talking about, something like that.]

In this scenario, the student conducts her online classes in her bedroom, where there may be temptations to lie down due to the presence of a bed. However, it is important to note as well that despite the potential distractions in a bedroom setting, many students still manage to maintain good engagement in their online learning. This suggests that the location alone does not necessarily dictate the level of motivation or engagement in class.

To understand why her mother struggled to fulfil her commitment to be more involved in the learning process, I revisited the previous statement where she mentioned monitoring her daughter. I could only find it later when I purposely asked a question about the mother's WFH schedule. Since the online meeting of her daughter is twice a week for an hour each, to her mother's schedule, she could only be with her once. By using the fragment "*Gitu sih, sebenarnya saya juga ngawasin"* (I actually also am watching her, too), this is her strategy to apologize and be excused from not doing what I have asked her regarding her daughter's education. I also assume this communication style has a purpose to manipulate my response. She realized I might not be happy with her excuses because everybody is expected to know that children have difficulty in staying focused in online classrooms which causes ineffectiveness in understanding the material and it affects her academic outcomes. Moreover, I texted her number and asked her to watch and remind her daughter to stay focused in class. Since her situation does not allow her to do exactly as I have asked for, with these pressures, she used fragments expecting that I accept her unspoken apology unconditionally, or in Indonesian it is named *maklum* or "be understanding" as my response.

Another typical characteristic of ambiguous communication style is the use of the particle *"kok"* in the fragment *"Kok … XXXXX (student's name)."* This word literally does not have any meaning and does not have a direct translation in English, but it is often used to convey surprise, emphasis, or seek confirmation. The meaning of *"kok"* can vary depending on the context and intonation. According to KBBI (Great Dictionary of Indonesian Language), as a particle, the first usage is to emphasize meaning, like *"bukan aku kok yang menyuruh"* or "it is not me who told this", and second meaning is "why", like *"kok dia tidak datang"* or "why didn't he come?" (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2022). As for my respondent's context, the use of *"kok"* means "why." However, she used *"kok"* without even finishing her utterance. If I should finish her sentence myself, what she wanted to say is *"kok XXXX* (the daughter's name) *tidak masuk kelas daring?"* or "Why didn't your daughter join my online class meeting at *Zoom*?" In this case, I assume she could not finish her sentence because what she was going to see was embarrassing to admit. Her daughter who was around twelve at the time was at home all by herself. Her older sister lives in another city pursuing her degree, her father lives in Jakarta, and the mother, whenever she must come to the office, only comes back home after 6 pm. There is no helper at home as commonly middle-class families in Indonesia have. Although it is understandable for the mother not to be able to watch her daughter every time

she has online class, she could not say this out loud; it would put her in a vulnerable position and evoke embarrassment.

However, during the interview, she repeatedly used the word *"ngawasi"* meaning "to watch," which is very different from what I wanted her to do. In my mind, I picturized her sitting next to her daughter, and the student sat on a desk with the device in front of her, her workbook was opened on the right page, and she had her pencil or pen in her hand busy writing notes or answering written questions. Meanwhile, since the mother used the word "to watch," it means she thought she should look at her daughter occasionally and check if she seemed to do this well or not by seeing the *Zoom* meeting was on, she heard my voice, and her daughter's gaze was to the screen, without sitting next to her for an hour straight. Perhaps, that itself should be enough for her and her daughter. Therefore, I felt sorry and guilty for not making my request clearer. I could have said something like: "Please sit next to your daughter for one straight hour, and make sure she uses her workbook and answer the questions." However, this direct instruction could be impolite, and it would disturb social harmony because it evokes negative feelings or reactions in her. She might feel my instruction were too much to ask for and overwhelm her, especially if she felt she has limited time or resources, like a desk or sophisticated device to support her daughter. This can lead to feelings of stress, anxiety, or frustration. I expected her parent to be more involved in the process, while she expected the teacher and institution would help her more with the student as she could not do it herself due to her limited time and resources. These two different expectations could not be resolved as both parties do not want to disturb social harmony, so it leads to a *status quo*, causing errors or incomplete work by the student and her ability underdeveloped.

When parents find themselves unable to meet the expected level of involvement due to various circumstances, such as work commitments, health issues, or personal challenges, they may feel compelled to conceal these difficulties from the child's teacher. The reasons behind such concealment can vary greatly, ranging from a fear of being judged or stigmatized to a desire to protect their child's reputation or avoid potential consequences. Concealing the inability to fulfil the teacher's expectation creates a delicate situation that impacts both parents and teachers, as well as the child caught in the middle. According to Hildred Geertz, as stated by Magnis-Suseno (1997), "one typical principle by Javanese is to avoid open confrontation in every situation" (p. 42). The objective of avoiding confrontation is to establish and maintain social harmony and preserve social relationships (Magnis -Suseno, 1997). One way to prevent

disappointment due to unpleasant matters that may disturb social harmony is the practice of dissimulation (Magnis -Suseno, 1997, p. 47). It refers to the act of concealing or disguising one's true thoughts, feelings, or intentions. It involves deliberately presenting oneself or behaving in a way that is different from one's genuine situation. The Javanese term for this action is *éthok-éthok* or the East Javanese version is *éphok-éphok,* meaning "to behave as if." According to Magnis-Suseno, outside the family circle, the art of dissimulation deflects personal questions with non-committal, or slightly false answers (Magnis -Suseno, 1997, p. 47). She may subconsciously decide that giving a somewhat inaccurate response during the interview would not harm me or her daughter or the English course she is going. This custom is already embodied into one's habits through upbringing, socialization, and education and it is considered generally polite to avoid unwarranted truth. Javanese has been trained to pretend not to hear anything although more often they hear too much because nobody wants to involve in the personal affairs of another person, proving that Javanese people are individualists, contrary to the common belief that they value community, collectivism, and interpersonal connections and seem very proud to this. On the other hand, as individualists, Javanese people perform the dissimulation procedure or *ephok-ephok* as a sign of refusal to provide deep information, preventing me as an interviewer to look for further information. On the contrary, "keeping the truth away from the conversation allows both parties to have the freedom to develop the discussion in any direction" (Magnis -Suseno, 1997, p. 48). When people have the freedom to develop discussions in any direction, there can be both positive and negative impacts. On one hand, open discussions can spark creativity and promote innovative thinking. When people have the freedom to explore various directions, they can generate unique ideas and solutions that may not have emerged in more controlled discussions. This becomes somehow a more appealing situation to talk about for Javanese people rather than telling the true situation that may lead to an uncomfortable situation for both parties. Consequently, not telling the truth is a form of politeness to maintain social harmony or rukun and it prevents an awkward situation of interfering in other's personal affairs.

It seems that Respondent F's motivation for not telling the truth revolves around the protection of her self-interest and concerns about potential damage to her image. This aligns with one of the common reasons that individuals may choose to withhold or distort information. Protecting one's image is a powerful motivator, as people often strive to maintain a positive perception of themselves, both personally and professionally. By concealing the truth, Respondent F may believe that she can safeguard her reputation and maintain a certain image

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that might arise from revealing the truth. Perhaps Respondent F may be trying to preserve an image of being idolized mother. This suggests that she wants to maintain a perception of being a perfect or exemplary mother figure, someone who is highly regarded and admired in that role. According to Mulder (1996), "this matrifocality is enhanced by the cult of the mother and its pervasive ideological underpinning" (p. 95). It implies that the significance of mothers and the idealised perception of motherhood are intensified by a cultural phenomenon that excessively idolises and feels deep respect for mothers. It suggests that the cultural ideals surrounding motherhood, often unrealistic and attainable. Influence societal expectations and contribute to the pressure placed on mothers to conform to an idolised image. As the symbol of morality, goodness, self-sacrifice, endurance, and responsibility, women as mothers carry a heavy ideational burden that also provides the reason why mothers should be honoured above all else. Therefore, it appears that Respondent F's desire to preserve the image of an idolised mother, as associated with the notion of *"surga di bawah telapak kaki ibu,"* (heaven lies beneath the feet of a mother) could be a motivation for not telling the truth to me. By concealing any perceived shortcomings or difficulties, Respondent F may be attempting to uphold the idealised image of a mother who embodies the qualities and virtues traditionally associated with the concept. If Respondent F were to truthfully express that she was unable to be present by her daughter's side during virtual classes due to various reasons, she may fear that I would pass judgement on her mothering abilities. This fear is understandable, as hearing such judgement from anyone, even indirectly, can be devastating for any mother. It is important to emphasise that while I may not have any intention of speaking to her in such a manner directly, the potential impact of the mental image she imagines I hold could greatly affect her. The feeling that she wanted to avoid is a sense of shame. The experience of shame can be deeply painful and can arise when she believes she has fallen short of societal or personal expectations.

In short, concealed parental involvement is the result of avoiding the underlying fear of shame that can drive individuals to conceal the truth. Parents have immense pressure placed upon them, particularly mothers, to meet societal expectations and uphold an idealised image of perfection. The motivation is the fear of being judged as inadequate or imperfect. It can be a significant barrier to open and honest communication. However, it is crucial to emphasise that parenting is a complex and challenging journey, and no one can always meet unrealistic standards of perfection, so the feelings and anxieties that mothers endure in response to societal expectations are entirely rational and warrant understanding and empathy.

3.5.   The Impacts of The Influence of Cultural Capital on Online Learning

In exploring the impact of the influence of cultural capital, it becomes evident that culture plays a significant role in shaping individuals and societies alike. Cultural capital refers to the knowledge, values, beliefs, skills, and experiences that a person acquires through their socialization and engagement with various cultural forms, such as art, literature, music, and education (Webb et al., 2002). This form of capital not only affects an individual's social status and opportunities but also shapes their worldview, behaviours, and interactions with others (Webb et al., 2022). By delving into the multisided dimensions of cultural capital, I can gain a deeper understanding of its implications on social stratification, the dynamics of power, and students' learning outcomes.

In the online learning method, students are required to assume greater responsibility for their learning and cultivate self-motivation (Dynarski, 2018). While higher education students may find it more feasible, the task becomes considerably challenging for children to take on increased responsibility and self-motivation in the context of online learning. Teachers face numerous challenges when dealing with children in online classes, including the difficulty of establishing a conducive learning environment free from disruptions like background noise from their homes. Additionally, maintaining high levels of student participation and engagement during class poses another significant obstacle (Rasmitadila et al., 2020). The challenges faced by teachers in conditioning children for a disturbance-free online learning environment and ensuring active participation during class are supported by the responses provided by my teachers' respondents.

Before discussing the challenges faced by teachers, it is important to understand the cultural capital of the respondents. Respondent A's cultural capital includes being a graduate from the English department, having an interest in English songs, and primarily speaking Indonesian and Javanese. On the other hand, Respondent B's cultural capital includes being a graduate from a university in Singapore and can express herself better in English. However, when she experiences strong emotions, she tends to speak Javanese.

Both Respondent A and B face challenges in conditioning children for a disturbance-free online learning environment and ensuring active participation during class. The challenges include no virtual image from the student. The teachers do not have any idea what is going on with the students at home, whether they are engaged or just letting it be. Another challenge is the microphone off. Students do not immediately reply, and without virtual image, teachers

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completely lose track. In other words, it is poor engagement by the students. Here is what Respondent A mentioned:

> *"Ooo kalau ini online biasanya kan karna online kita gak face to face miss. Jadi online kan pakek kamera. Nah kadang kalok, namanya juga anak remaja, gak dinyalakan kameranya. Nah gak nyaut kamera dimatikan, microphone dimatikan nah jadi kalok misalnya guru kan ngomong. Namanya juga ngajar pasti ada dua sisi yang tanya jawab gitu kan? Nih aku cuman, saya cuman tanya terus ndak ada jawaban, ya itu…. (anak-anak) juga sama."*
>
> [Oh, in online classes, since we're not face-to-face, Miss. So, we use cameras. Sometimes, especially with teenagers, they don't turn on their cameras. No reply their cameras are off, and the microphones are off, so when the teacher is speaking, when (we are) teaching, there must be questions and answers happening, right? I (informal) just, I (formal) just ask questions, then there are no answers, that's it … (for children), it's the same.]

Children often struggle to find the motivation to actively participate in online classes, as the teacher's physical presence is absent. Without the ability to physically interact or touch the children, the teacher faces constraints in capturing their attention and encouraging their active engagement in the class. This limitation holds up the teachers' ability to effectively stimulate student participation and may result in decreased motivation among children during online learning. Similarly, Respondent B also highlighted similar challenges faced by teachers when dealing with children in online classes:

> "Would you? Would you? I mean if I were the kid, I like (cough sarcastically) I'm going (cough sarcastically) to the mall, I should have to listen to my teacher on the way to the mall. I mean anyway, my mind will not be there. Then my heart (is) not there, I experienced it, their mind are not there"

In this scenario, the teacher expected children to listen attentively during online classes. However, due to the physical freedom provided by online learning, students have the flexibility to attend classes from various locations, not just from home. Unfortunately, children may struggle to maintain their motivation, particularly when they are engaged in activities that they find more enjoyable, such as going to the mall or engaging in recreational pursuits. The attraction of these activities can make it challenging for children to stay focused and motivated during online classes, posing a problem for teachers who rely on their attentiveness and active participation for effective instruction.

According to Webb (2002), "Bourdieu's research helps us to see why education tends to reproduce social divisions and therefore challenges all interested parties - educational bureaucrats, politicians, teachers, and of course students themselves - to make moves within the field that might bring about change" (p.107). When discussing the impact of online learning on teachers' power in education, it becomes evident that the shift to virtual classrooms has brought about significant changes in the dynamics of authority and control. Both teachers express a sentiment that their authority to control students in a traditional classroom setting has been diminished by online learning. They feel powerless when dealing with unmotivated students in the virtual environment. In a physical classroom, teachers typically have more direct control and influence over student behaviour and engagement. However, the online format presents challenges ineffectively motivating and managing students, leaving teachers feeling less empowered in ensuring student participation and maintaining discipline. The feeling of loss of authority can be frustrating for teachers, as they strive to create an engaging and productive learning experience for their students.

To compensate for the reduced power and influence over students in the online learning environment, teachers then turned to parents as crucial and authoritative figures in the students' lives. By actively involving parents, teachers hoped to enlist their support in encouraging students' active participation during *Zoom* meetings. Parents can play a pivotal role by assisting with technical issues, creating a conducive learning environment, and reinforcing the importance of maintaining focus during online classes. Parents could also assist in resolving technical challenges, such as connectivity issues or navigating online platforms. Additionally, they could help create an optimal learning environment at home by minimising distractions, providing a designated study area, and ensuring access to necessary resources, like workbooks, pencils, and erasers. However, despite their efforts to obtain parental cooperation, the teachers encountered challenges or experienced difficulties in achieving the desired involvement. The sentiments expressed by Respondent A:

> *"Kalok feedback dari orang tuanya langsung di tempat itu kalok misalnya ditanyai bagus. Cuma kalok pada dasarnya kalok praktek kurang sih, kadang orang tuanya masih sibuk aja sama aja."*
>
> [If I got the feedback from the parents directly on the spot (in the office), if they were asked, they gave positive feedback. But, if basically in reality it lacks, they are still busy, it's just the same]

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In this scenario, Respondent A opted to use fragments to conceal the sentiments she felt. By utilising fragments, she intended to veil the underlying emotions and thoughts that could potentially disrupt social harmony or *rukun*, while still finding a way to express her genuine feelings. What she wanted to say is: "The parents expressed positive feedback when I asked them directly in the office, but in practice, they are not really involved, sometimes it is because they are busy, so the situation remains the same". She concealed the word "not involved" and replaced it with *"kurang"* or "lacks" without continuing what is really lacking. In contrast, Respondent B adopted a more direct and explicit approach to express her true feelings, without resorting to ambiguous communication or the use of fragments:

> "It feels like you're listening to a podcast. You know I told them, actually I told some of my students, "If you do not have the book with you, you're in the park. Just say that you'll be absent". Don't say, "Miss I'm going to join online", but you're in the park, you don't have the book, and you're just listening to me talking. What am I a podcast? What am I a radio? … Obviously forced by their parents to join the class, right?"

In this scenario, Respondent B not only conveyed her true feelings but also expressed a sentiment regarding parents' lack of active involvement in their children's classroom participation. Instead of actively engaging and supporting their children's motivation in the classroom, the parents seemed to place the responsibility solely on the students themselves.

Respondent B's ability to freely express herself compared to Respondent A is attributed to the cultural capital she possesses. Respondent B predominantly used English as the primary language. English in terms of sentence structure and word order is considered more direct and straightforward because as a teacher, I teach my students to always follow the subject-verb-object order. This language choice enables Respondent B to effectively convey their message without the need for fragments or ambiguous communication. Also, Respondent B's experience of studying in Singapore during her teenage years for a period of five years, along with her five years of teaching English for five years, has contributed to her adeptness in communicating directly and clearly in English. This can be considered as an embodiment of cultural capital. In contrast, Respondent A, who has spent her life in Sidoarjo, comes from a relatively low-income family background, with her father working as a security guard and her mother as a housewife. As a result, her upbringing predominantly involved the use of Javanese and Indonesian languages, which influence her cultural capital to the value of *"rukun"* (social harmony). Therefore, in her communication style, she unconsciously avoids any possibilities of conflict by concealing or minimizing potential sources.

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Another noteworthy observation is that Respondent A actively encouraged parental involvement in their children's learning process, like what Lareau had stated. Lareau (1987) emphasizes the importance of increasing parental engagement in education, as educators believe it plays a crucial role in fostering educational achievement. Respondent B takes a different approach during the interview. Instead of reaching out to parents, she focused on directly communicating with the students, emphasizing the importance of solving the problem together. This approach stemmed from her personal experiences in Singapore, where she had to resolve challenges independently as her parents were not present. However, despite her efforts, it seems that this approach has not yielded the desired results, leading to a sense of frustration, like what I found in the interview:

> "*Lama2 makan ati ini. Jujur ae. Mangkel wes suwe-suwe yo wes karepmu*.
>
> [After some time (I) eat my heart out. Honestly. This is upsetting after some time alright it's up to you]
>
> *Suwe-suwe* (after some time) I mean it's up to you. I mean I've tried my best doing my duty. Because sometimes my duty here is to teach you to remind you to submit. Not to beg you. It's different right? To remind you, to warn you, and to beg you is different, I'm not begging, I'm not begging, I would warn you, like I warned level 6 just "If you don't submit your assignment by this week, by this Sunday. Sunday is your last… Your deadline will be on Sunday. That's my warning. If you don't submit until Sunday, I'll just mark your day with zero, that's the warning." I'm not begging. [mimicking teacher begging to students] "Please… can you please send me your assignment? Please… I need it." I bet (it's) the word "why my teacher is so pathetic, begging me?"

Interestingly, she switched to Javanese to express her frustration reflecting her tendency to her native language to convey her sentiments more effectively. It means Javanese may hold a deeper emotional connection to her and it is better to convey the intensity of her feelings in that moment.

In contrast to Respondent B's approach, it appears that Respondent A's efforts to engage parents have yielded some positive outcomes. Some parents, being more aware of their children's progress, have taken an active interest in their children's development and actively seek updates from Respondent A. This indicates that Respondent A's encouragement for parental involvement has resonated with some parents, leading them to actively inquire about their children's educational progress from Respondent B, as I can see in the interview:

"tapi biasanya kalok misalnya biasanya sih kalok murid-muridku, yang bayar kesini, yang levelnya level three *itu biasanya mamanya datang bayar sama tanya "gimana perkembangan anak saya?" kan kebetulan aku juga admin miss. Jadi break di tempat toh? Ditanyai langsung gitu. "Soalnya anak saya kok kemarin cerita miss kok apa namanya sejak les ini bagus speakingnya" misalnya kayak gitu. Jadi mamanya tanya perkembangan terus jadi mamanya tanyak terus kayak mamanya XXX (student's name), kayak gitu."*

[But usually, if for example usually when my students pay, (the one) who pays here (at the office), the one who is at level three, usually the mothers come to pay and ask, "How's my child's progress?" coincidentally I am also an administrator, Miss. So, I have a break here, right? I was asked directly. "Because my child yesterday told me, what is it? Since attending the course, her speaking has improved" For example like that. So, the mother keeps asking about the progress, so her mother keeps asking, like XXX's mother, she is like that.]

This also explains why she frequently receives gifts from the parents, as Javanese culture values maintaining *"rukun"* and treating others like family members. The act of giving gifts is a way for parents to express their gratitude, strengthen the bond, and maintain a harmonious relationship with the teacher, treating her as a part of their extended family. According to Magnis-Suseno (1997), "the impression should be conveyed as if the situation was one of genuine, spontaneous, and emotionally supported *rukun,* not of a hard-won struggle to maintain appearance only" (p.53). Therefore, maintaining *"rukun"* can sometimes be a challenging task that requires effort, rather than being a purely spontaneous action.

Now, let's explore how parents' responses can vary. I would analyse and compare the response of two parents, namely Respondent E and Respondent F, whose daughters have been enrolled in this English course since a young age, around kindergarten or early elementary school. It is worth noting that both the students and their parents have become accustomed to the nature of studying in this English course over the years. First, we can examine the case of Respondent E, whose daughter has been performing excellently in my class. A notable example of parental involvement is when the mother frequently informs me via chat if her daughter is going to be absent. This demonstrates a proactive effort on the parent's part to keep me informed about her child's attendance and highlights her active engagement in her daughter's education. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, it is worth noting that her communication style via *Whatsapp* involves the use of emojis and she consistently refers to me with the title

"Miss". This choice reflects her careful thought and consideration in maintaining *"rukun"* and *"respect."* By consistently using the appropriate title, she demonstrates a sense of respect and professionalism, further emphasising her commitment to upholding *"rukun"* in our teacher-parent relationship.

Another proactive aspect that she mentioned during the interview is the efforts she has made at home to support her daughter's education. As she mentioned in the interview:

"Iya becanda sedikit tapi kan ada gurunya. Tapi, saya online itu saya tungguin juga.

"I: Oh, ditungguin juga ya?"

"Iya, saya juga ngikutin kan. Begitu di kelas, saya tetep pulang itu "kamu belajar apa? Sebelum les disiapin ini. Jadi, kamu paling tidak, tahu materinya apa."

[Well, joking a little but there is a teacher (there). But, when (she is) online, I wait next to her.]

[Oh, you wait next to her, too?]

[Yes, I also follow (her lesson). So, when her class (at school) is over), I still after school "What did you learn? Before taking the course, prepare this. So at least, you know your material today."]

In this context, the mother engages in proactive involvement in her daughter's education. She initiates conversations with her daughter to inquire about her school lessons and find out about her academic progress. Additionally, she ensures that her daughter is well-prepared before attending her course by reminding her about things she needs to do. During virtual class, she remains present, waiting alongside her daughter to make sure that she follows the lesson throughout the entire time. This level of active participation gives an example of the mother's commitment to her child's educational journey.

From her commitment to her daughter's educational journey, it is evident that she possesses cultural capital that significantly influences her actions. Firstly, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter, it is worth noting that her use of an ambiguous communication style, characterized using fragments and the inclusive pronoun *"kita",* serves the purpose of maintaining *rukun* and fostering a sense of respect. This communication approach is rooted in her cultural capital and reflects her commitment to supporting social harmony and preserving respectful relationships in her interactions.

Secondly, she demonstrates her commitment to her daughter's education by attempting to teach her at home whenever her daughter seeks her guidance. Despite acknowledging that her own abilities may not match those of the teacher, she willingly engages

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in this role to fulfil her daughter's learning needs. This act of helping and support is a clear manifestation of respect and responsibility, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter. It displays her willingness to actively participate in her child's educational journey and highlights her recognition of the importance of providing additional help outside of the classroom setting.

Thirdly, Respondent E also ensures that her daughter has a conducive learning environment for her virtual classes. She takes intentional steps to establish an assigned learning setting for her daughter in their home. By setting up the learning space in her bedroom, she aims to isolate herself from any potential disturbances or noise originating from other parts of the house, including conversations among other family members. As she stated:

"Biasanya di kamar… Biar nggak keganggu."

[usually in her bedroom, so she won't be disturbed]

This decision reflects her commitment to providing a quiet and focused environment that facilitates optimal learning during virtual classes. Additionally, she opts not to use headsets during the sessions as it would hinder her ability to comprehend and actively participate in her daughter's virtual class activities. As she stated:

"Kalau computer pakai headset. Tapi kalau pakai headset itu saya nggak seneng kan, karena saya nggak tahu…. iya, apa aja yang dipelajari."

[if (she uses) a desktop computer, (she) uses a headset. But if (she) uses a headset, I don't like it, because I wouldn't know… Right, what she's learning]

Therefore, by staying attuned to the happenings in the virtual class, she ensures her daughter's learning experience remains uninterrupted and she monitors her progress. Furthermore, she also ensures her daughter's physical well-being by making sure she has her lunch before the class begins. As she stated:

"Harus sudah makan dulu Kan anak kayak gini itu Miss, kan lagi online "Ma, aku laper. Boleh kata Missnya minum sedikit, makan sedikit boleh." Aku nggak mau."

[She must eat first. (you know) how kids are, Miss, it is still online "Mom, I am hungry. My teacher says (it's) okay to drink a little, eat a little," I don't want that.]

In my online classroom, I frequently encounter instances where my students display slow response times when I pose questions to them. There are also occasions when I can sense their lack of focus. After I sought some information, I discovered that some of them are hungry. Understanding the importance of maintaining their focus and not letting physical constraints block their learning, I allow them to have a drink or a snack while participating in my virtual

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classroom. To me, their ability to concentrate is more important than the potential interruption caused by hunger. However, it is important to note that not all parents share the same perspectives. For instance, my respondent expressed a different viewpoint, preferring her daughter to have a full meal before the class starts and remain focused throughout the session without any interruptions, including hunger.

From these examples, it is evident that the success of her daughter's learning outcomes can be attributed to her mother's commitment to supporting her and the discipline she instilled in her. This discipline manifests in her daughter's active participation and ability to maintain focus throughout the learning process. To understand the methods employed by the mother to foster her daughter's active participation and focus, it is crucial to examine the cultural capital she possesses and its influence. As discussed in Chapter 1, cultural capital can manifest in different forms: embodiment, objectified, and institutionalized. Firstly, Respondent E embodies the cultural capital of being a full-time housewife. Being a full-time housewife can be considered a form of embodied cultural capital because it involves acquiring and performing a set of skills and practices related to managing household affairs, nurturing family relationships, and maintaining a harmonious domestic environment. According to Makunura (Makunura, n.d.) There are some common aspects of habitus that may be associated with a full-time housewife. A full-time housewife is planner because due to the nature of her role and responsibilities, she is required to be skilled in organising and arranging various aspects of household life. Respondent E takes charge of meal preparation, and manages finances, including scheduling her daughter's activities. She also prepares resources and materials to enhance her daughter's learning experience. In this context, Respondent E's cultural capital is being a housewife, and her habitus is her skills, knowledge, and dispositions related to managing routines and household tasks because her habitus is shaped by her experiences as a housewife and it influences how she prepares her daughter to be ready for online learning.

Secondly, the ownership of two cars, a two-story house, Mediterranean-style furniture, a wide-screen TV, her daughter's trophies, and a helper can be considered forms of objectified cultural capital. These possessions are visible assets that reflect a certain level of wealth, material comfort, and aesthetic taste. They represent material resources that aid and support in managing household tasks and responsibilities, especially regarding her daughter's education. Despite having enough cultural capital, it is evident that Respondent E does not simply opt for everything luxurious for her daughter. She demonstrates selectively in choosing the school and courses, considering factors beyond just prestige and cost. She prioritises the

quality of education and considers the value it offers rather than solely focusing on the most expensive or prestigious options available in town. This selective approach in choosing her daughter's school and courses, based on factors such as quality and value rather than mere prestige or cost, reflects Respondent E's habitus.

Finally, being born in Jakarta and spending one's life there for twenty years be a form of institutionalised cultural capital. In this case, growing up and living in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia exposes an individual to the cultural norms, values, and work ethic that are often associated with urban and professional environments. According to Kwatra larger cities attract more educated people, not just those with advanced college degrees, but also those with higher primary and secondary education (Kwatra, 2019). Therefore, the environment and social dynamics of a larger city can shape the habitus of its residents. In a city that attracts a more educated population, there is likely a higher value placed on education and a greater emphasis on achieving educational success. Respondent E's habitus, influenced by her experience of living in Jakarta, may align with this value system, leading her to prioritise her daughter's education and seek out the best educational opportunities available. In conclusion, while Respondent E's cultural capital may not directly determine her daughter's successful educational outcomes, it is her habitus that significantly influences her daughter's development. Her habitus, shaped by her experiences and values as a full-time housewife, and previously grew up in Jakarta, plays a crucial role in how she approaches and prioritises her daughter's education. She takes the initiative to teach her daughter additional lessons on top of her regular classes. She also actively monitors her daughter's progress and ensures that she is consistently engaged in her studies. She establishes routines and habits that foster a conducive learning environment for her daughter. It is through her habitus that she actively engages in planning, organising, and providing support for her daughter's learning journey, ultimately contributing to her educational success.

On the contrary, let's examine Respondent F, whose daughter is facing challenges in passing each level in the English course. A notable aspect of Respondent E is that she has never taken the initiative to contact me first, despite having my contact number in the WhatsApp group. As an unwritten rule in the English course, teachers could utilise the administrator to facilitate communication with parents. Usually, I would inform the administrator to send a text message to the student and her mother if the student has not joined the *Zoom* meeting. I would ask them to remind the student to re-join if the limited time is up and the class needs to start again. When I asked the administrator why the student had not joined again despite being

reminded, she mentioned that she had not received any reply from the student. On the other hand, the student's mother explained that she was not at home as she was still at the office. Furthermore, before the test day, as per the policy of this English course, students who are considered academically weak receive free tutorials as a preparation for the test. I recommended this student to avail of the free tutorial. The administrators, who had already anticipated her weakness, suggested that she should come to the office on Saturday for a face-to-face session, as it would help her maintain focus and allow the teacher to provide better assistance. However, the administrator mentioned that her mother could not take her to the site, so the tutorial would be conducted online. During the online meetings, the student also showed a lack of active participation, which left the mentor frustrated due to the lack of response from the student. Based on the information I have, the attempts to communicate with the mother regarding this matter have not yielded satisfactory results. The administrators have concluded that the mother is extremely busy and may not have enough time to check on her daughter. Considering that, I took the initiative to reach out to her mother first. As I described in the previous subchapter, I received positive feedback. However, in reality, I have not observed any significant change in the student's attitude. To understand why this is happening, let's analyse the cultural capital that Respondent F possesses.

Firstly, Respondent F embodies the cultural capital of being a working mother. There are some habits that working mothers may exhibit, like time management skills, multitasking abilities, and organization skills. However, I have observed a pattern that Respondent F does not seem to align with these habits because there have been limited opportunities for face-to-face or phone discussions between the administrators or myself. This observation is consistent with what Respondent C mentioned:

> *"Ngetik. Kadang orang gak mau ditelpon. Kan sibuk…Kan kalo chat bisa diliat lagi"*
>
> [(we communicate by) texting. Sometimes people do not want to be called. They're busy… If it is a chat, (they) can read it again]

From the observation, it means that Respondent F did not make time for discussions with us regarding her daughter's slow academic progress. It also raises the question of why she does not seem concerned about her daughter's poor grades in the report, as parents typically reach out to the administrators when their children receive low scores. This leads me to consider the habitus that she embodies. In the interview, I found a pattern of Respondent F giving up quickly when it comes to her daughter's preferences and choices regarding online or offline classes. As she mentioned:

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> *"Nggak tahu kalau XXXXX (student's name) (giggle) yang lebih suka offline apa online kalau sekarang? Hayo, nggak papa jujur aja sama Miss Andin (interviewer)(giggle)... Kenapa? Nggak buru-buru? Lebih santai mungkin ya. (giggle) Bisa sambil makan"*
>
> [I don't know if XXXXX (student's name) (giggle) prefers offline or online now? Come on, it's okay, be honest with Ms. Andin (interviewer) (giggle) … Why? Not in a hurry? Maybe more relaxed. (giggle) (you) can do it while eating."]

Here, we can see that Respondent F does not actively encourage her to participate in offline classes. While I understand that her statement may seem like teasing, I would have expected her to recognize that her daughter needs offline classes more than online, regardless of the student's preferences. Although online classes are currently the only option available, I would have expected her to understand that online learning requires a highly motivated student to remain focused. As Respondent E hinted, eating during virtual classes may be distracting for the student and could hinder her ability to maintain focus. I also believe that in order to ensure the student remains focused throughout the session, it would be important for her to pay close attention to her daughter's attitudes during the virtual class. Thus, I conclude that Respondent F's habitus includes giving up easily on her child's preferences, which may stem from having limited information about aspects of her daughter's learning experience (Lareau, 1987). I also expect that if Respondent F does not have enough information about her daughter's learning experience, she would have reached out to the administrators or me for clarification or updates. However, no such action was taken by Respondent F. Therefore, it seems that Respondent F simply gives in to her daughter's desires and may not be proactive in guiding or influencing her decisions. This behaviour could be due to a lack of time or energy to engage in conflicts or discussions, a desire to maintain a harmonious relationship with her daughter or a belief in fostering independence and autonomy in decision-making.

Secondly, when considering the objects that Respondent F owns, I can categorize them as objectified cultural capital. Her house can be described as a modest one-story dwelling with a rustic and homey style. The presence of plants and handmade ornaments on the walls adds a personal touch to the interior. Although there is no fancy furniture, the arrangement of the furniture is such that everything is situated close to each other in a relatively small space. Notably, there is a motorcycle in the outdoor carport, suggesting that Respondent F may not own a car. Overall, the house reflects a simple and cosy atmosphere. Considering the information provided, it seems that Respondent F commutes to Pandaan on a motorcycle and it can be physically demanding. The journey may involve navigating through traffic, sharing the

road with other motorists and trucks, and potentially facing challenging weather conditions, such as strong winds. The habitus associated with Respondent F's objectifies cultural capital can be characterized as one of necessity and resourcefulness. In this case, the choices she makes in terms of transportation, housing, and furnishing are shaped by the constraints imposed by her financial situation. The habitus reflects a pragmatic approach to making the most available resources and prioritizing practically over luxury or aesthetic preference.

Finally, being born in Central Java grants Respondent F a certain cultural capital associated with the region, including knowledge, norms, values, and social networks that are specific to that geographical area. The habitus of Javanese from Central Java is influenced by the ideology of *"alon-alon asal kelakon"* (slowly but surely) reflects a cultural disposition characterized by patience, humility, and perseverance. This phrase conveys the idea of taking things slowly but consistently and focusing on achieving meaningful results. It emphasizes the importance of patience, hard work, and endurance in pursuing one's goals and aspirations. This habitus manifests in various aspects of life, including personal interactions, work ethic, and decision-making. Javanese individuals from Central Java often exhibit a calm and measured demeanour, valuing harmony and avoiding conflict. They prioritize long-term goals and are willing to invest time and effort to achieve them. This habitus also emphasizes the importance of community and collective well-being, promoting a sense of togetherness and cooperation. Based on the ideology of *"alon-alon asal kelakon",* Respondent F may prioritize maintaining harmony and peaceful relations with her daughter. This ideology suggests that if she fulfils her responsibilities and takes care of her own actions, she does not need to exert excessive control or force upon her daughter. It emphasizes the importance of personal efforts and individual responsibility (Magnis-Suseno, 1997). However, it is important to note that adherence to this ideology can sometimes be overrated, leading to a lack of enthusiasm or proactive involvement. While Respondent F may prioritize maintaining harmony, it is crucial to strike a balance between allowing autonomy and actively supporting her daughter's academic progress. Finding ways to communicate effectively, address concerns, and provide guidance when needed can contribute to a more supportive learning environment.

To summarize, online learning places a greater emphasis on parental involvement compared to offline learning. Active efforts from teachers to reach out to parents can enhance parental involvement in the online learning process. While cultural capital may not directly impact online learning outcomes, it can shape the habitus of individuals, which in turn significantly influences their online learning experience. Parents who are actively involved in

their child's online learning journey, supported by effective communication with teachers, ca provide crucial support and guidance. They can help create a conducive learning environment at home, monitor their child's progress, and establish routines that promote engagement and focus during online classes. Moreover, cultural capital, such as educational background, values, and resources, can shape the habitus pf parents and students, influencing their attitudes, expectations, and approaches to online learning. These cultural dispositions can significantly impact the level of motivation, discipline, and adaptability demonstrated during online learning sessions.