

Public Resistance to the Limited Face to Face Learning Policy During the COVID-19 Pandemic in Islamic Elementary School

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Abstract

The limited face to face learning policy implemented by the Indonesian government during the COVID-19 pandemic has received two forms of resistance: closed (practiced by teachers, parents, and students) and open (practiced by teachers). This resistance has made it difficult to resume face-to-face learning. As such, this article seeks to illustrate the public's resistance to the face to face policy and analyze the implications of this resistance in Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Islami. This article relies on data collected from online media as well as interviews with representatives of diverse elements of society. It shows that resistance has been rooted in several factors: familiarity with online learning, concern that health protocols would not be optimally implemented; and economic concerns. This article recommends conducting further research to obtain a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the public's resistance to face to face.

Keywords: COVID-19 Pandemic, Face to face Learning, Public Resistance

Abstrak

Kebijakan pembelajaran tatap muka terbatas (PTMT) yang diterapkan pemerintah Indonesia selama pandemi COVID-19 mendapat dua bentuk resistensi: tertutup (dipraktikkan oleh guru, orang tua, dan siswa) dan terbuka (dipraktikkan oleh guru). Penolakan ini membuat sulit untuk melanjutkan pembelajaran tatap muka. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini berusaha untuk menggambarkan resistensi masyarakat terhadap kebijakan PTMT dan menganalisis implikasi dari resistensi tersebut di Madrasah Ibtidaiyah Islami. Artikel ini mengandalkan data yang dikumpulkan dari media online serta wawancara dengan perwakilan dari berbagai elemen masyarakat. Hal itu menunjukkan bahwa resistensi berakar pada beberapa faktor: keakraban dengan pembelajaran daring, kekhawatiran penerapan protokol kesehatan tidak maksimal; dan keprihatinan ekonomi. Artikel ini merekomendasikan dilakukannya penelitian lebih lanjut untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih mendalam dan komprehensif tentang resistensi masyarakat terhadap PTMT.

Kata Kunci: Kebijakan PTMT, Pandemi COVID-19, Resistensi Publik

INTRODUCTION

Coronavirus Disease 2019, better known by the abbreviation COVID-19, is caused by the virus SARS-Cov-2, which was first identified in Wuhan, China, in 2019 (Fauci et al., 2020; Mahmud & Ansarie, 2020). COVID-19 is an acute respiratory disease, with the virus transmitted by aerosols and droplets from infected individuals (Velavan & Meyer, 2020; Tabatabaeizadeh, 2021; Charlotte, 2020). As written by Ma (2020), nobody is immune to COVID-19. All are at risk, though

the risk is greatest amongst the elderly and people with comorbidities. Due to the dangers of COVID-19, many governments have implemented strict policies to limit its spread (Yuki et al., 2020; Zajenkowski et al., 2020; Munday et al., 2021). Many have implemented lockdowns, closing public spaces such as offices, recreation centers, and schools (Angoulvant et al., 2021; Banerjee et al., 2021; Bonal & González, 2020). With the closure of schools and the end of classroom learning, students have been required to use online learning to continue their educations (Rajmil et al., 2021; Agarwal & Kaushik, 2020; Umam & Amaniyah, 2021).

COVID-19 is more than a health crisis, having transformed all aspects of society (Huang, 2019; Tabatabaeizadeh, 2021). As noted by Valsaraj et al., (2021), government policies designed to limit the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic replaced classroom learning with online learning. However, over time the shortcomings of online learning became increasingly evident. Daniel (2020) writes that online learning has been hindered by (1) limited internet access; (2) teacher preparedness; and (3) students' difficulty adapting to online learning and understanding materials conveyed online (Lie et al., 2020). Online learning has significantly reduced students' academic performance (Salame & Hanna, 2020). Recognizing this situation, many governments have sought a return to conventional learning methods, albeit in a limited capacity (Nissa & Haryanto, 2020).

The term resistance is commonly used to refer to diverse means through which minorities oppose the power exercised against them by others (Frers & Meier, 2017; Dutta & Elers, 2020; Leiva, 2019). According to Scott, resistance is one of two possible responses to societal changes as well the external pressures; the other is acceptance (Vinhagen & Johansson, 2013). A similar argument is offered by Factor, Kawachi, and Williams (2011), who describe resistance as manifesting its perpetrators' dissatisfaction with the current order while simultaneously protecting their interests and preserving their identity. Satriani, Juhaepa, and Upe (2018) hold that several factors influence public resistance: (1) economic and socio-cultural transformation; (2) the rise of new social structures; and (3) majority–minority friction, particularly when majorities are dominant in society. Foucault (in Niesche, 2013) even argues that, where dominance and power are asserted, resistance will inexorably follow.

As shown by the literature, resistance can be manifested in various forms and through diverse activities. According to Sukmana (2016), public resistance may take five forms: (1) ridicule; (2) co-option; (3) social control; (4) violence; and (5) silence. More broadly, Palmer, Dunford, and Buchanan (2017) divide resistance into two forms: active and passive. Factor et al. (2013) indicate that public resistance may be exercised through language, symbols, and actions, including mass demonstrations, rumors, lies, theft, and arson. During the COVID-19 pandemic, public resistance to government mitigation measures has taken various forms (Djalante et al., 2020). Limbon et al. (2021), for example, note that parents have objected to the implementation of face-to-face learning, citing several factors. First, government policies have been perceived as unbalanced and detrimental to students' and parents' well-being (Ambrose, 2020; Polesel et al., 2014). Second, the government has acted inconsistently, creating ambiguity and doubt amongst the populace (Nasruddin & Haq, 2020). Third, the government has been perceived as ill-prepared to implement health protocols in schools (Setyawahyuningtyas, 2020; Sabiq, 2020).

The distance learning policies implemented by governments during the COVID-19 pandemic have had a detrimental effect on students, as shown by their reduced academic performance (Harahap et al., 2021; Azevedo et al., 2021; Engzell et al., 2021; Kuhfeld et al., 2020). As such, governments have sought to replace such policies with ones allowing limited face-to-face learning (Cheng et al., 2020; Wrighton & Lawrence, 2020). Face-to-face learning refers to the conventional learning method wherein students and teachers meet in the classroom for a certain duration (Nissa & Haryanto, 2020). Nissa and Haryanto, (2020) write that, although classroom learning has been possible during the COVID-19 pandemic, for the sake of students it is important to follow all health protocols and limit classes to thirty minutes. Looking to Indonesia, Tanuwijaya

and Tambunan (2021) write that the government has allowed limited face-to-face learning through Joint Decree of Four Ministers No. 04/KB/2020, No. 737, of 2020 regarding the Opening of Schools with Limited Face-to-Face Learning. A similar policy had been implemented in the United Kingdom in order to reopen the schools that were closed during the COVID-19 pandemic (Panovska-Griffiths et al., 2020).

Limited face-to-face learning policies have been marked by certain characteristics. As written by Harahap et al. (2021: 71–72), policies (1) forefront health protocols in the classroom; (2) prohibit students who have been diagnosed with COVID-19, or whose parents have been diagnosed with COVID-19, from participating in classroom learning; (3) used emergency curricula; (4) required principals, teachers, and administrators to be fully vaccinated; (5) made local governments and education offices responsible for teaching; and (6) allowed parents to choose students' lessons. These policies, however, have been hindered by several obstacles. COVID-19 infection rates remain high, facilities are limited, vaccines are unevenly distributed, and, due to students' poor understanding of health protocols, parents fear for their safety (Meghani et al., 2021; Powa et al., 2021). Teachers have also been concerned, as they are expected to follow curricula while under the threat of COVID-19 infection. It has thus been difficult for them to determine the best course of action (Wakui et al., 2021).

The limited face to face learning policy implemented by the Indonesian government in response to the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in significant resistance from parents. Some, recognizing the continued virulence of the pandemic, have perceived this policy as endangering their children. One survey found that 60.7% of parents worried about school-based transmission of the virus in schools. (Fatiara & Iqbal, 2021) In Surabaya, several parents traveled to schools to protest the policy (Haryono, 2021). Many teachers, similarly, have been opposed to the policy, and in Bekasi they issued a warning to the government (Kemenedikbud, 2021). In response to such opposition, Cheng et al. (2020) and Cai et al. (2020) argue that face to face learning and similar policies have been problematic, and must better consider students' needs.

To date, studies of resistance have generally focused on two points. First, studies have examined resistance using a legal perspective (Damayanti, 2021; Maikel, 2021; Pitasari & Munandar, 2020). Second, studies have used a political perspective to investigate public resistance to megaprojects (Arguedas & Villalobos, 2020; Johnson et al., 2020; Jordhus-Lier, 2015; Swann et al., 2019). Neither approach accommodates the ideals of society, nor does it recognize their role in policymaking.

This article seeks to address the shortcomings of previous studies, which have emphasized objectivity over subjective experiences. More specifically, this article seeks to show how resistance to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic has been practiced by parents, students, and teachers. It seeks to answer three questions: (a) What forms of resistance have been used against the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic? (b) What factors contribute to parents, students, and teachers' resistance to the face to face learning policy? (c) What are the implications of this resistance for society? The answers to these questions will facilitate the identification of the fundamental logics underpinning the resistance to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This article on public resistance to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic departs from the argument that parents, students, and teachers have practical motivations for their resistance. It is not only the threat of COVID-19 that drives them. Some are influenced by habit and comfort, believing that online learning is best suited to their needs. Others are influenced by their fear that health protocols will not be fully implemented. Still others, albeit fewer in number, have been driven by economic motivations. These have been their driving motivations for resisting face to face learning during the COVID-19 pandemic. Based on this, this article aims to find out what forms of resistance were used against the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19

pandemic, the factors that caused parent, student, and teacher resistance to this policy, as well as the implications of this resistance for society.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study analyzes primary and secondary data for qualitative and descriptive analysis. Primary data on public opposition to limited face-to-face learning were collected from online coverage and supplemented with fifteen respondents. Secondary data, meanwhile, were collected through a review of the literature (books and articles). Data were used to identify the closed and open resistance practiced by parents, students, and teachers. The factors contributing to their resistance (habituation and comfort, fear, and economic) were then mapped and classified.

Research was conducted over five months and involved desk review, documentation, and interviews. During field research, which was conducted between August and October 2021, data were collected from several online news portals to map practices of resistance. Data were complemented with interviews with informants (conducted between October and November 2021), which were used for comparison purposes. Interviews were conducted with informants by telephone and WhatsApp, after obtaining their consent. This study involved three important stakeholders: 10 parents of school-age children; 2 teachers; and 30 students. All were involved to understand their emotional responses to and interest in education.

Two forms of data analysis were used. First, data were processed following the stages identified by Huberman: reduction of data collected through observations and interviews, display of the data and findings in summary form, and verification. Second, data were analyzed interpretatively, involving restatement of the data collected through observation interviews and observations, description of the data to identify trends, and interpretation of the collected data (Miles & A. Huberman, 1994).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

According to online news coverage, various forms of closed and partially open resistance to face to face learning have been practiced by parents, students, and teachers, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Forms of Public Resistance

Segment of Society	Form of Resistance	Classification
Parents	Rani: "Yeah, not yet, I don't think (for face-to-face learning)." (Sutrisna & Jessi, 2021)	Closed resistance
	The majority of parents and guardians in Surabaya are opposed to face-to-face learning. (Amaluddin, 2021)	Closed resistance
Teachers	The teachers' union criticized the decision to implement limited face-to-face learning. (Aji & AMirullah, 2021)	Open resistance
	The Indonesian Teacher's Action Forum (FAGI) rejected the face to face learning policy (October 8, 2021) (Rahardjo, 2021)	Open resistance
Students	Sarah (17): "Yeah, distance learning is better." (Secha, 2021)	Closed resistance
	800 refuse to enter school for face-to-face	Closed resistance

Table 1 shows two tendencies in the public's opposition to the face to face learning policy: open and closed resistance. Closed resistance was perpetrated by individuals who expressed their concern regarding the implementation of face-to-face learning. Similar opposition was evident in interviews with parents *"Me, I'm not really willing to send my children to school"* (H, October 3, 2021); *"I think it's best if school is delayed for now"* (R, October 3, 2021); and *"It's a bit late for them to go to school now"* (X, 4 October 2021).

All three parents voiced their disapproval of the face to face learning policy. Children also voiced their disdain for returning to school, as seen below *"Me, I'm not ready to go back to school"* (A, October 6, 2021); *"It's a bit late to go back to school now. There's very little time left."* (Y, October 5, 2021); *"No, I'll go back to school some other time."* (S, October 2, 2021); and *"I'm not ready for school; some other time."* (Hn, October 2, 2021).

From these data, it is apparent from online sources as well as interviews with parents and students that closed resistance has been practiced. Opposition to face to face learning has also come from teachers, who have employed open resistance and mass action. These data are also supported by interviews *"Me, I think it's better for face-to-face learning to be pushed back."* (K, October 5, 2021); *"I think it's best to stay online."* (D, October 6, 2021); and *"For now, it's best for us to continue doing online learning"* (W, October 7, 2021). From these data, it is apparent that teachers were also opposed to the plan to return to face-to-face learning.

Factors Contributing to Public Resistance to Face to Face Learning

Public resistance to face to face learning has been driven by four factors: habits, security, fear, and economic issues. This is shown in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Factors Contributing to Public Resistance

Segment of Society	Contributing Factors	Categorization
Parents	Zumma, the guardian of one student, stated that she took issue with the policy that parents had to retrieve their children from school. She was forced to divide her time between earning money, handling domestic affairs, and taking care of the children. "But what can I do but hope that there's a new formula, a new policy," she said (Ginanjari, 2021)	Economic
	Pipit Lim: "I'm still not comfortable, because not only is he unvaccinated, but health protocols at school... can Yofel wear a mask and face shield all day? (ABC, 2021)	Habit, fear, comfort
	Cahyadi (Surabaya): "What if the children catch COVID-19 at school? This is a matter of safety. Who is guaranteeing it? (Sutarwijono, 2021)	Fear
	Rani: "I'm worried about the health protocol for the children. There will be crowds, masks everywhere. Also, we can't be sure the schools will keep an eye on the children"(Sutrisna & Jessi, 2021)	Fear
Teachers	Face-to-face learning in Tuban may not be allowed in several schools next July, as many teachers have refused to be vaccinated.(Gunawan, 2021)	Fear
	The reasons that the Indonesian Teacher's Action	Fear

	Forum (FAGI) rejected the face to face learning policy: 1) the government and local executives have not followed WHO's recommendation for face-to-face learning; 2) vaccination in the education sector has been spotty; 3) many schools have failed to implement adequate health protocols, and thus many students have been infected during face-to-face learning. (Rahardjo, 2021)	
Students	800 students were unwilling to enter school during face-to-face learning, as they were comfortable with online learning at home. Some students were already working or even married. (Fatimah, 2021) Sarah (17) also said that distance learning was fun. "Yeah, distance learning is better. It's different in the class. Things are different in class; it used to be crowded, but now it's empty." (Secha, 2021)	Habit, comfort, economic Habit, comfort

Based on Table 2, several factors may be identified as contributing to opposition to the face to face learning policy: First is habituation, the process through which activities are repeated regularly enough to become a habit. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, students have become used to learning at home. This was also recognized by respondents *"I don't feel like going to school... have to wake up really early. Online learning is better, more relaxed."* (A, October 6, 2021); *"The reason I prefer studying at home, it's more relaxed. I don't really feel like going to school."* (Y, October 5, 2021); *"If I'm learning at home, I don't need any preparation. I just need to turn on my phone or laptop, start Zoom, and I'm ready to learn."* (S, October 2, 2021); and *"I don't feel like going to school. It's better to study at home. It's more practical, no need to bathe... I can go straight to learning."* (Hn, October 2, 2021).

The four respondents indicated that they were unwilling to begin face-to-face learning as they were used to studying online, learning at home, without needing to bathe or otherwise prepare. Parents and guardians were likewise used to distance learning, as indicated by their responses below *"My main reason, I don't feel like driving the kids to school and back, waiting for them for ages, or going there and back."* (H, October 3, 2021); *"I think we should just let them study online. It's no worries; I'd rather stay with them at home than transport them."* (R, October 3, 2021); *"What can I say? It's better for children to study online. Easier to monitor them."* (X, October 4, 2021). These parents' statements indicate that they have become used to accompanying their children during their online studies.

Second, students and parents feel comfortable with online learning, as indicated in Table 2. This factor was noted by students, as seen below *"Online learning is fun; I don't have to worry about the teacher getting angry."* (A, October 6, 2021); *"Offline learning? It's a waste. Classes are only for a bit."* (Y, October 5, 2021); *"It's a waste going to school just for a few hours... best to just stay at home."* (S, October 2, 2021); and *"It's best for me to study at home. It's no hassle."* (Hn, October 2, 2021).

The respondents indicated that they felt comfortable learning at home. They found it enjoyable and less burdensome than offline learning. Parents, meanwhile, enjoyed the fact that they were not required to bring their children to school and that their children were always supervised; thus, there was no chance of COVID-19 transmission. Similar sentiments were expressed by parents, as seen below *"So long as COVID hasn't gone away, I'd rather be safe and comfortable with them studying online for now"* (H, October 3, 2021); *"In my opinion, things are still safer and more comfortable with the children studying at home"* (R, October 3, 2021); *"Me, I still feel that*

children are safest studying at home" (X, 4 October 2021). The above statements by parents make it evident that, so long as the pandemic continues, parents feel safer and more comfortable with online learning.

Third, parents and teachers are concerned that schools are unready to maximally implement health protocols. Such a fear was expressed in Table 2, and confirmed by interviews with respondents *"I think that school facilities and health protocols aren't quite maximal yet."* (H, October 3, 2021); *"I'm sure that not all schools will be able to correctly follow health protocols and standards."* (R, October 3, 2021).

There is not only concern regarding schools' enactment of health protocols, but also their ability to do so optimally. This is reflected in the statements of informants below *"The ability to maximally implement appropriate health protocols... more than hand sanitizer, soap, water, and thermograms, but also stop crowding and keep distance."* (H, October 9, 2021); *"What I worry about is schools' health protocols... keeping distance, stopping crowding, making sure everyone washes their hands. Can the children be disciplined?"* (R, October 9, 2021); *"During the learning process, schools can maintain proper health protocols. But what about during breaks? Do children understand that they should not crowd together? And when they're chatting with their friends, do they still wear masks?"* (X, October 9, 2021).

Respondents' concerns regarding schools' ability to implement health protocols optimally are rooted in their fear that schools will be unable to monitor children. Children tend to gather in groups and remove their masks and leave them hanging on their necks. Often, children forget to wash their hands. As such, parents often doubt schools' ability to implement face to face learning.

The concerns and fears of parents are shared by teachers. As shown in Table 2, teachers have rejected face to face learning as they fear that health protocols are inadequate. Similarly, Teachers K and D expressed concern regarding health protocols *"The problem is teaching children to be disciplined and follow health protocols, to make them understand the need to keep their masks on and avoid congregating with their friends."* (K, October 10, 2021); *"Schools' facilities are quite there yet, and so it's very concerning."* (D, October 10, 2021). The difficulty of ensuring that children adhered to all applicable health protocols was also mentioned by Teacher W, who was pessimistic about schools' health protocols—particularly the availability of clean water *"The main thing, see, it's clean water. At school, getting access to clean water is difficult, and so health protocols cannot be readily realized."* (W, October 10, 2021). These informants indicated that health facilities and adherence to protocols were necessary for limited face-to-face learning.

The fourth factor underpinning opposition to limited face-to-face learning is economic. The requirement for parents to retrieve their children from school poses a significant burden for them, as they must divide their time between work and transporting their children. Such statements were made by respondents in interviews *"I am really happy that my children can go back to school. The only problem is driving them."* (H, October 7, 2021); *"Gosh, if I have to drive my children, it's better for them to study at home for now, as it disrupts my work."* (R, October 8, 2021).

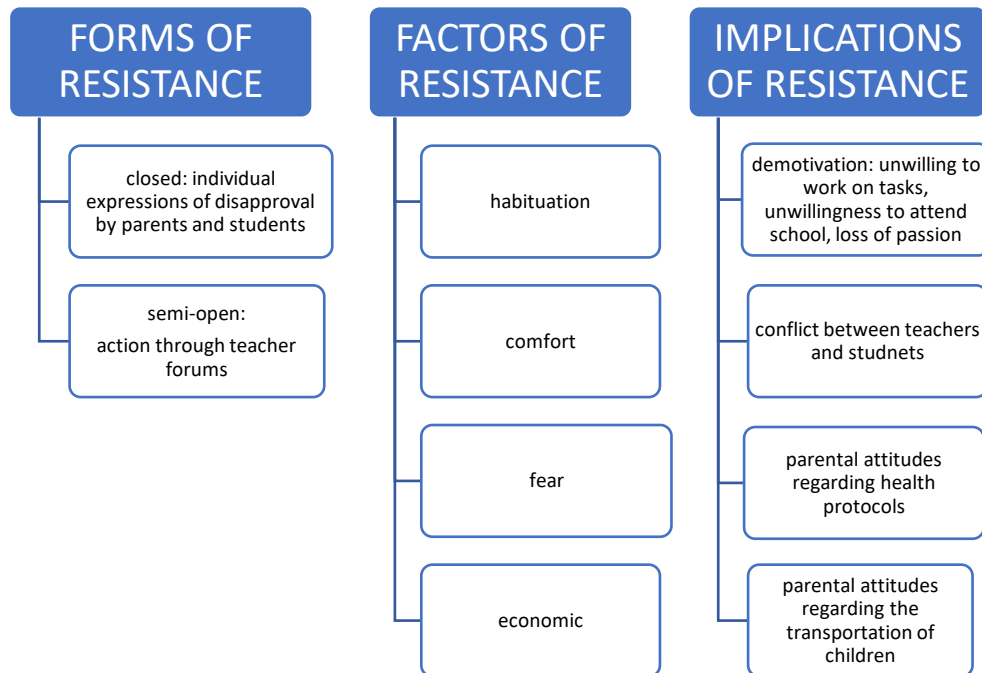
Both respondents indicated that they were excited that their children were able to return to school but felt unfairly burdened by the requirement for parents to transport their children—particularly given the brief time that children are in school. Such points were also made by informants *"So long as they've been learning online, I've been working, and so if things are offline, I don't know what I'll do."* (U, October 8, 2021); *"I'm confused as to how to divide my time between school and work; when things were online earlier, it was better."* (L, October 8, 2021).

From the above data, collect both from online news stories and interviews with informants, it may be concluded that four factors contribute to parents', students', and teachers' opposition to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic: habituation, comfort, fear, and economic. Online learning was initially perceived by parents and students as burdensome, but over

time they became habituated. They felt comfortable with online learning, which they perceived as safer and easier than offline learning. Fear that health protocols would not be optimally implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic also contributed to their preference for online learning, as did economic considerations.

The Implications of Resistance for Society

Public resistance to the face to face learning policy has had significant implications for society, resulting in demotivation, conflict between teachers and parents/students, as well as parental concerns regarding children's health and schooling. This is detailed in Table 3 below:



From Table 3 above, it is evident that public resistance to limited face-to-face learning has three implications. First, demotivation. As students have become used to online learning during the COVID-19 pandemic, children have become less motivated to do their homework, complete their assignments, etc. This was noted by several teachers *"It's very hard to get the assignments and homework from the children"* (T, October 11, 2021); *"It's hard to tell the children... sometimes they enter schools, sometimes not."* (Ab, October 10, 2021); *"The children, some of them are still unwilling to go to school"* (C, October 2, 2021); *"In class, it's very evident that the children have lost their passion"* (W, October 7, 2021); and *"The children, they are hard to handle. If we let them be, they won't do their tasks... that's how it is."* (Ht, October 7, 2021).

From the statements of these teachers, it is evident that children's interest in learning has decreased during face to face learning. Students do not complete their assignments, nor do they submit their homework. In interviews, several students confirmed their unwillingness to attend school *"Yeah, I'm tired... sometimes I submit my homework, sometimes not."* (A, October 8, 2021); *"I'm not up to doing my assignments... I've gotten tired."* (Y, October 8, 2021). These statements indicate that, as an implication of students' resistance to face to face learning, their motivation has decreased. Students have become unwilling to attend classes or do their homework.

The second implication of this resistance has been conflict. Students have felt comfortable with online learning during the pandemic, and conflict has emerged with the return to offline learning. Often parents have failed to awaken their children for school. This was mentioned by informants *"These mothers, they sometimes forget their children's school schedules, and that is what causes problems."* (T, October 11, 2021); *"Children often don't come to school, because their*

mothers don't remind them to go to school." (Ab, October 10, 2021); *"Children often don't attend class because they have not been awoken by their mothers."* (C, October 12, 2021).

These teachers' statements were confirmed by parents *"The teacher often reprimands me. Why haven't the children gone to school? If I forget, what must I do?"* (H, October 12, 2021); *"Sometimes it doesn't feel right to wake my children, even though I end up reprimanded by their teachers."* (R, October 12, 2021).

From these quotes, it is evident that parents' failure to remember their children's schedules is the main factor driving the conflict between children and parents. Further conflict was driven by students' failure to respect teachers' positions in class. Warnings are often ignored by students, as noted by several respondents *"The children, it's very hard to warn them. They'll just smile, apologize, and still be unwilling to attend school."* (K, October 12, 2021); *"The children, when we remind them that they need to attend school diligently, they will say yes, but in the end, they are too lazy to attend school, too lazy to wake up early."* (D, October 12, 2021).

The conflict between teachers and students was also recognized by students, as seen in the following quote *"My teacher often nags me if I don't attend school."* (S, October 13, 2021); *"I often face my teacher's wrath because I don't attend class often."* (Hn, October 13, 2021). The conflict between teachers and parents is driven primarily by teachers' suspicion that parents are not supportive of the continued efforts to educate children. The conflict between teachers and students, meanwhile, is driven by students' unwillingness to attend classes.

Third, parents have taken strong attitudes regarding health protocols. Parents fear and worry that their children may catch COVID-19 while at school. This was stated by respondents *"In the morning, I have to wake up very early to prepare food for my children, so that they don't snack in class. I also have to prepare their masks."* (H, October 12, 2021); *"We parents must nag the children, warn them to follow health protocols and to keep their masks, rather than stick them to their chins."* (R, October 12, 2021); *"Essentially, when the children are going to school, I must nag them about their schools' health protocols."* (X, October 12, 2021). As such, parents' caution shows that they still fear the threat of COVID-19 and are thus hesitant to allow their children to return to school.

Fourth, parents are hesitant to take their children to school. Classes are brief, and the requirement to transport children disrupts their work activities. Consequently, they feel unduly burdened *"Classes are so brief... it really disrupts my work."* (X, October 12, 2021); *"The hassle is no joke. If I leave them to go to work, then have to pick them up, it's ineffective."* (R, October 12, 2021); *"The children, I couldn't possibly wait for them to finish class because I have work. If I leave them, it's a burden, as they are only in class briefly"* (H, October 12, 2021). These statements indicate that face-to-face learning has implications not only for children but also for their parents' financial well-being.

From the above data, it is evident that the resistance of parents, teachers, and students has important implications for everyone. Students are demotivated; parents and students come into conflict with teachers; parents have concerns about schools' health protocols, and parents are unwilling to transport their children to and from school.

DISCUSSION

This article has shown that resistance to the limited face-to-face learning policy has taken two forms. In the first, complaints have been made by individual parents and students. In the second, opposition was voiced explicitly by teachers through their forums and other activities. Both forms of opposition were rooted in their fear of the threat of COVID-19. This closed and open opposition is similar to that identified by Habibi and Jacky in their study of public opposition to the

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) activities of PT PJIB, which was voiced through small forums (Habibi & Jacky, 2020). However, resistance to the face to face learning policy has not resulted in communal violence or damage to public facilities (Hepridayanti & Fauzi, 2021). Likewise, it has not resulted in legal efforts to stop these activities, nor has it resulted in legal consequences, as occurred amongst opponents of the N2 Gateway project in the informal Joe Slovo settlement in Langa, Cape Town (Jordhus-Lier, 2015).

Opposition to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic has been driven in part by habituation. Before the policy was implemented, online learning had been ongoing for almost two years. It was thus difficult for students and parents to change their habits; as noted by Kinicki, human beings are creatures of habit, and they cannot change easily (Kinicki et al., 2014). Once formed, habits cannot easily be changed. Gianessi (2012) recognizes that individuals require a commitment to addressing their issues and solving their problems. Because students have become used to online learning, the return to offline learning has made them demotivated, unwilling to complete their homework or assignments; some have even stopped attending class altogether.

Opposition to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic has also been driven by the comfort felt by students and parents during online learning. As noted by Landrum (2020), students feel satisfied with online learning, as do their parents. In a survey of 91 parents whose children were studying online, Wiwin found that 95.6% of parents had more time with their children and 85% felt more close to their children (cited in Hunaida & Izmiyah, 2020). According to Robbins and Judge (2017), people are more likely to oppose things that make them uncomfortable. Another implication of this sense of comfort is conflict between teachers and parents, as well as between teachers and students. This is exacerbated by teachers' suspicion that parents do not support their children's studies.

Also contributing to public opposition to the face to face learning during the COVID-19 pandemic has been the fear that health protocols will not be followed. There has been fear that in-person learning will create a third wave. Nugroho states that, to fully implement the face-to-face learning policy, the government must prepare the necessary human resources, facilities, and infrastructure; handle permits; and ensure that vaccines are distributed (Nugroho et al., 2020). Fear of the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic has driven them to nag their children and constantly remind them to adhere to health protocols. It is thus unsurprising that Meghani et al. (2021) and Powa et al. (2021) have found that parents worry that their children will not follow correct health protocols.

Opposition to face-to-face learning during the COVID-19 pandemic has also stemmed from economic concerns. This is not unprecedented. Sastra Hadi and Vidya Putra (2019) note that opposition to the construction of a geothermal power station was driven by economic concerns. Similarly, Satriani noted that the people of Bajo society opposed resettlement policies in part due to economic concerns (Satriani et al., 2018). As such, any new policy—including a policy for face-to-face learning—may find support or opposition, which may be driven in part by economic factors. This study has shown that parents have been less interested in bringing their children to school, as their work schedule is disrupted. This reflects Ambrose's argument that unbalanced government policies tend to detrimentally affect parents (Ambrose, 2020).

CONCLUSION

This study has found two forms of resistance to the limited face-to-face learning (PTMT) policy: closed opposition and open opposition. Closed opposition has been voiced by individual parents, students, and teachers. Teachers have also openly opposed face-to-face learning, using teacher forums to voice collective opposition to the policy. Due to this opposition, it has been impossible to roll out the PTMT policy optimally.

This analysis of public resistance to the face to face learning policy during the COVID-19 pandemic has made two important findings. *First*, resistance has come not only from students but also from parents and teachers. *Second*, resistance has been driven not only by the perceived threat of COVID-19, but also by parents, students, and teachers' habituation and their comfort with online learning. Online learning has created a new situation, one with which students and parents feel comfortable, and they are thus unwilling to employ a blended approach. This offers new insights for future research.

This study has limited itself to a qualitative approach, and thus its analysis cannot be generalized to obtain a broader understanding of public resistance. Likewise, the information provided by informants cannot be used to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the issues involved. To address these limitations, it is important to conduct further research using a different approach. This will enable the development of a better policy for face-to-face learning during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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