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| RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Analysis of Teachers' Digital Habitus during Distance Learning Implementation in the COVID-19 Pandemic Era

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| ABSTRACT
The incredible changes brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic have affected various aspects, including education, which has transitioned learning activities in schools from face-to-face to distance learning. Teachers, as the frontline implementers of learning in schools, have been adapting to the new situation prompted by the pandemic while facing demands for the continuous provision of education. The objectives of this study are: 1) to analyze how teachers engage in digital habitus during the implementation of distance learning amidst the pandemic and 2) to identify the types of digital habitus formed during this period. Bourdieu's habitus concept is utilized as an analytical tool in this study. Employing a qualitative approach, the research optimizes data exploration through in-depth interviews and observations conducted in urban public high schools in Indonesia. The findings reveal that teachers' digital habitus is shaped through an interplay process between pre-pandemic digital experiences, practices during the pandemic, the interconnected structure, teacher agency, and the reflexivity of agents in distance learning practices. The formed digital habitus of teachers includes adaptability to change, openness to the use of learning technology, a willingness to adopt new habits, and a cooperative attitude.

| KEYWORDS

Digital habitus, distance learning, pandemic, teacher, urban school.

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic is a significant chapter in global history that has affected every aspect of human life, including education. The landscape of education underwent an abrupt transformation through school closure policies that introduced a physical distance between teachers and students. Digital media and online learning emerged as substantial measures undertaken to address various challenges and situations during the pandemic. The implementation of online learning with a remote learning mechanism has rendered the learning process more accessible, enhancing learning opportunities for those previously constrained by factors such as physical distance, socio-economic status, or health issues, preventing access to educational institutions (Daniela & Visvizy, 2022).

Distance learning through online media has become the sole mechanism feasible to ensure the continuity of the teaching and learning process. In this context, several aspects warrant attention in the implementation of distance learning during the pandemic. These include preparation achievable by the system, consideration of students' needs at different levels and stages, ensuring communication with students and parents, and determining simple approaches for effective distance learning (Daniel, 2020).

In the implementation of distance learning policies, teachers have always been a focal point. They play a significant role in the educational process and face the challenges of distance learning directly. In this context, the teacher's position as a crucial actor in adapting to change is central. A comprehensive study reveals that over the last 20 years (from the early 1990s to 2010), teachers

have been increasingly recognized as central to the ongoing educational reforms in the U.S. (Datnow, 2020). Their significant role places issues of teacher agency, power, and social justice at the forefront of educational reform waves. Teachers can act as institutional agents, altering or maintaining entrenched learning practices through mechanisms like practical evaluative agency (peer learning, patterned social interaction, and shared understandings, aims, and practices) (Bridwell-Mitchell, 2015). Another study indicates that changes in the education system significantly influence teacher actions, with some adapting while others resist the urge to surrender by becoming more resilient (Flores, 2020). Technological advancements in education present a dual perspective: they can either empower or exploit teachers, yet they add meaningful aspects to their role (Selwyn et al., 2017).

Based on this argumentation, this research seeks answers to two interesting questions regarding teachers' digital habitus during the COVID-19 pandemic. There are: 1) how teachers engage in digital habitus during the implementation of distance learning amidst the pandemic and 2) what kind of teacher's digital habitus formed during that period. These two questions will guide how this study is presented.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Teachers and the Context of Change

For teachers adapting to changes, several supportive aspects play a crucial role in determining their condition. These include language development factors, adaptive teaching, collaboration with internal professionals, collaboration with parents, learning content, and the construction of critical knowledge, school context, and social processes and inequality (Gaikhorst et al., 2019). Within this realm, one emerging aspect pertains to the teacher's agency related to their professionalism. Therefore, the professional agency of teachers in facing change is determined through four main elements: 1) the varied manifestations of professional agency, 2) agency resources, 3) the temporary nature of professional agency, and 4) the importance of teacher professional agency in the transformation of social practices (Vähäsantanen, 2015). This perspective gains strength with the finding that teachers serve as change agents as long as they exhibit specific characteristics, such as 1) lifelong learning (continuous learner, eager to learn, reflective), 2) mastery (provides guidance; accessible/approachable by students, parents, and colleagues; holds a positive view of education and professional practice; committed to the job; trustworthy; and confident), 3) entrepreneurship (innovative and responsible), 4) collaboration (able to work collaboratively) (Heijden et al., 2015). Therefore, teacher agency is the result of iterations (repeated occurrences in the past), evaluative practices in the present, and dimensions of future projection (Priestley et al., 2012).

Research on groups that strengthen teachers' professional capabilities is considered to contribute to teachers' efforts in reinforcing their professional actions. This professional teacher community possesses five fundamental characteristics (namely: focus-related, long-term investigation, collaborative principles, leadership support, and trust), culminating in three different variants of teacher actions: the emergence of attachment to the community, abstention, or even rejection of the community (Brodie, 2019). As a supportive element for teachers, this professional community is also deemed to contribute to the emergence of supportive leadership, dynamics within the group and its composition, as well as trust and mutual respect (Vangrieken et al., 2017).

In the context of these challenges of change, there are also situations where teachers face difficulties in coping with them. The challenges of change in the field of education can lead to teacher frustration, anxiety, disruption, and the resulting stress (Zembylas & Barker, 2007). In terms of workload, teachers feel a shortage of time to carry out their daily professional activities, are overwhelmed, a lack of discretionary time to learn about technology, insufficient time to share with colleagues, a lack of time to interact with fellow teachers on a daily basis, uninterrupted time scarcity, and pressure-free time scarcity (Collinson & Cook, 2001). In this regard, stress and pressure to change oneself and work practices are caused by conflicts between motives and pressures, varied outcomes in efforts to facilitate change, and outcomes that do not always have a positive impact on teachers and schools (Brown et al., 2002).

Nevertheless, despite all the challenges, difficulties, and opportunities surrounding teachers' lives, they have demonstrated the ability to incorporate digital technology-based learning practices. This achievement is highly significant, marking the dialectics of teachers in change. Previous studies have stated that digital technology has been a crucial medium used in the learning process, even before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. This implies that teachers, in this context, have attempted to overcome obstacles and challenges by leveraging their skills and competencies. This is not a generalization suggesting that all teachers can successfully do this, but rather an affirmation that teachers are dynamic actors consistently making efforts to engage in the digitalization of education. Various digital-based learning strategies applied by teachers include project-based learning involving relationships within the classroom, curriculum, and digital literacy development (Kalman & Guerrero, 2013); the use of digital applications based on student feedback on learning (Bijlsma et al., 2019); video games as a social science learning medium (Maguth et al., 2015); sociology learning through filmmaking (Waller, 2017); learning through social media (Blogs, Wikipedia, and YouTube) (Szeto et al., 2016); multimedia presentations and learning using websites (Koeber, 2005); and the integration of mobile technology in classroom teaching practices (Walker et al., 2019). Another significant factor driving changes in educational practices is the widespread use of computers, multimedia, internet-based information learning, internet access in schools, the use of online system applications for learning, and the reinforcement of internet usage capacities (Büyükbaykal, 2015). The advent of search engines such as Yahoo

and Google also cannot be overlooked, as digital devices are always at teachers' fingertips (Urbaczewski & Beaver, 2015). Undoubtedly, strengthening teachers' professional competencies is crucial, where digital media is also employed as a supporting intermediary, such as private groups on Facebook (Mercieca & Kelly, 2018) and web conference applications (Tseng et al., 2016).

Meanwhile, during this pandemic period, the implementation of digital media-based learning has also been integrated with remote learning mechanisms. Remote learning, in this context, serves as a channel to assess the extent to which the digitalization of education can be both a solution and a test of preparedness. Therefore, as remote learning continues consistently, we can observe the impacts it brings in its implementation. Two tendencies can be discerned when assessing the impacts of remote learning during this pandemic. These are viewed from the negative effects that pose challenges and the positive impacts associated with its advantages and benefits. Challenges experienced during remote learning include unstable internet connections, unclear delivery of content, limited interaction between teachers and peers, and the inability to inquire about specific details of the material and engage in discussions (Dwidienawati et al., 2020). Other challenges encompass a lack of preparedness (both students and institutions), low-quality interactions, a lack of motivation, insufficient class activities, and the strong adoption of e-learning (Rehman et al., 2021). Loss of motivation to learn, participate, or produce meaningful work for students and weariness and frustration for teachers have also been noted (Spinks et al., 2023). Additionally, technical issues such as slow internet connections, insufficient knowledge about the utilization of information and communication technology in the teaching and learning process, and low motivation have surfaced (Mourabit et al., 2023).

On the positive side, distance learning during the pandemic has brought several benefits, including ensuring student safety from virus spread while maintaining connections with teachers, peers, and learning content through LMS, Zoom/Google Meet, and WhatsApp Groups (Tetteh et al., 2023). Its implementation is perceived as flexible, accessible from anywhere, easy, time-efficient, and relaxed (Dwidienawati et al., 2020). It has also enhanced students' technological knowledge, aiding their independence (Assi & Rashtchi, 2022). With regard to social media's use in collaborative learning, online learning directly impacts the interactive relationships between students, peers, and teachers, thus fulfilling interactive relations and student satisfaction (Alismaiel et al., 2022).

The comprehensive analysis of these impacts demonstrates that teachers have consistently and continuously implemented the practice of distance learning involving digital technology. Teachers occupy a central position as strategic actors in the ongoing learning process. How they respond to situations and implement impactful actions in education is a critical focus of this study. Therefore, teachers and the implementation of distance learning are two inseparably intertwined aspects. Their interaction can be viewed as a process that maintains education as a vital pillar. Without distance learning, a significant decline in the education sector, anticipated by many, could have occurred. Another intriguing aspect is examining the processes teachers undergo to maintain the continuity of distance learning during the pandemic. This study conducts a meso-level analysis, considering schools as arenas for teachers to express themselves and engage with the existing educational structure.

2.2. Bourdieu's Habitus as an Analytical Tool

Structural and actor analysis is a viable approach for this research as a tool of analysis. Bourdieu's concept of habitus offers a relevant perspective, focusing on the ways of acting, feeling, thinking, and being of the agent (Maton, 2008). Maton describes habitus as how we carry our life history, express it in our current environment, and make choices in specific ways. This is an active, continuous process where we are bound to create history, though not always under conditions of our choosing. Habitus is also described as the dialectic between the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality (Bourdieu, 1977).

Equally important is the relationship between structure and agent, termed genetic structuralism by Bourdieu. He explains that the objective analysis of structures, social spaces, and their origins cannot be separated from the genesis analysis of their occupants, where agents participate according to their positions in the social space and the mental structures through which they apprehend this space (Ritzer, 2011).

Habitus operates on two levels: as an aspect that constitutes structure and as something structured by it (Bourdieu, 2010) (Maton, 2008). This structuring structure logic leads to a principle of division into logical classes, which governs the perception of the social world (Bourdieu, 2010). In other words, habitus is seen as structuring because its practices perpetuate the existing structure. Without habitus, structures would not stand to function and could significantly disrupt the existing order. Meanwhile, through the structured structure approach, each class condition is defined simultaneously by its intrinsic nature and its relational properties derived from its position in the class system (Bourdieu, 2010). Thus, as something structured by the structure, habitus operates according to the prevailing conditions of the structure. It is a means to translate the desires of the overarching structure.

In the framework of habitus, two inseparable elements are capital and field. Capital is understood as an internalized reservoir of skills and talents, a scarce and socially valued external resource capable of productive transformation and investment (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). Bourdieu categorizes capital into fundamental forms: economic capital (associated with money and private ownership rights), cultural capital (such as educational qualifications), social capital (networks or connections with others), and

symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The field, on the other hand, is the meeting place of forces possessed by various actors. In this arena/field, the rules of the game in the social space are highly competitive, with diverse social agents employing different strategies to maintain or enhance their positions (Thomson, 2008).

3. Methodology

This study employs a qualitative approach, with critical points to note being describing, exploring, and understanding the meanings attributed by individuals or groups to social or humanitarian problems and applying an inductive research viewpoint focused on individual meanings and interpreting the complexities of issues (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Data collection is conducted through in-depth interviews both online and offline with informants because a) informants have unique and essential data about the social world through verbal communication; b) it involves actively asking questions and listening to each other in the process of meaning formation; c) the search for patterns in social life composed of "thick description"; and d) it is issue-oriented, with the researcher focusing only on specific topics explored through certain informants (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). The total number of informants involved in this study is 34, comprising 19 teachers as primary informants, three school principals, four deputy principals, and eight students. These informants were selected through purposive sampling. The characteristics of the primary informant teachers are divided into several categories: young teachers, senior teachers, practical subject teachers, theoretical subject teachers, teachers who have frequently used digital media since before the pandemic, and teachers who have used less digital media. Interviews with each informant were conducted 1-3 times, with each meeting lasting 30-90 minutes. Interviews were conducted in two ways: face-to-face with informants and through media such as telephone and Google Meet. Due to the concerning COVID-19 situation and for health protocol reasons, interviews using telephone and Google Meet were more frequently conducted. Observations were conducted under very limited conditions due to the fluctuating pandemic situation. Documentation techniques involved school archives and documents of learning activities between teachers and students. The validity of this research data uses source and method validity. In this study, the data analysis used is the interactive model with a process of data condensation, data display, and drawing and verification conclusions from the analyzed data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2019).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Teachers Engage in Digital Habitus during Distance Learning

4.1.1. The Interplay between Pre-Pandemic Digital Learning Experience and Practice during the Pandemic

The use of digital devices for learning is not a new phenomenon in public high schools, especially in urban areas in Indonesia. This is evident in two key areas: within the school context and in the context of teachers carrying out their daily professional activities. In the school context, public high schools generally possess and utilize digital devices for both academic learning services and administrative school services. Before the pandemic, schools had begun installing and using wifi. However, installations were limited to specific points, such as in the teachers' office area, the principal's office, the administrative room, and some classrooms. Therefore, the Internet can be said to have entered school spaces but was not sufficient to fully support the learning and school administration processes that prioritize digitization, as many blank spot areas were still identified.

Furthermore, the establishment of computer laboratories has been carried out since 2010, ensuring an adequate quantity of computers for the learning process in a phased manner. In subsequent developments, computer rooms in these schools began to be equipped with devices that could connect them to the Internet. CCTV installations were implemented in teachers' rooms, administrative rooms, crucial points in the school, and classrooms connected to the principal's office. All of these measures provide facilitation and convenience for monitoring the activities of the school community while also being used to enhance security in the school.

Additionally, the establishment of computer labs has been ongoing since 2010, with a gradual increase in the number of computers adequate for the learning process. Over time, these computer rooms in schools began to be equipped with devices that could connect to the Internet, the installation of CCTV in teacher rooms, administrative areas, crucial points in the school, and classrooms connected to the principal's office. All these measures facilitate and ease the monitoring of school community activities and are also used to strengthen school security.

In other forms, some schools have revamped their digitalization by integrating it into their branding, focusing on digital learning and the formation of a school culture. This implementation is not only about strengthening internet-based computer labs but also the emergence of learning innovations using e-learning systems. In 2017, one such school began creating a Learning Management System (LMS) for the teaching and learning process. However, since online learning was not mandatory at the time, this system was rarely used, and its development eventually stalled.

These efforts provided experience in using digital media in schools. At the very least, each school had some basic digital infrastructure, so during the pandemic, the focus was on adding supporting elements such as strengthening internet signals and hardware like tripods, cameras, and clip-on microphones. In this case, schools had prior preparation, so enhancing school capacity

did not start from a fundamental level of procurement but rather from strengthening the resources and facilities of the school. In the context of teachers, laptops connected to LCD projectors in each classroom have been utilized in the learning process. Additionally, digital content, such as PowerPoint presentations, educational videos, articles, news, and images widely available on the Internet, had already been incorporated into learning activities before the pandemic. A teacher shared their experience:

> *"Learning with the internet, videos, and PowerPoint was already happening before the pandemic... the internet helps enrich classroom material, and students are more enthusiastic because they can learn and analyze cases through activities such as watching videos..."*

Some teachers also started using social media, for instance, publishing students' best work on YouTube in video format. This was done to motivate students and serve as examples for future learning. However, it must be acknowledged that before the pandemic, the use of digital media for learning was not widespread among teachers. Many still predominantly used lecture-based teaching methods, and the learning media employed were primarily limited to conventional paper-based materials with minimal digital media involvement.

With the onset of the pandemic, all learning activities underwent a significant shift, transitioning to distance learning as schools closed. This adjustment period can be seen in two phases: the transition phase and the post-transition phase. During the transition phase, teachers, both inexperienced and those with decades of experience, were confused and worried about what methods to use for teaching. Following government policies to continue education according to regional conditions, schools allowed teachers to choose methods that were accessible and suited their digital competencies. WhatsApp played a significant role in this transition phase, facilitating coordination with the creation of WhatsApp Groups (WAG) for students, checking student attendance, and being a medium to send video material links and for discussions. Besides WhatsApp, some teachers began using Zoom for online face-to-face interactions and uploading screen-recorded lessons to YouTube. During this challenging period, some weaknesses were identified, such as a lack of discipline in conducting lessons and a disparity in the frequency and intensity of lessons due to the diversity of digital media used by teachers. This transition period lasted for about three months.

Entering the post-transition period, from mid to late 2020, schools began preparing e-learning systems capable of facilitating teaching processes with a uniform platform. Some schools created their e-learning systems tailored to their needs, which are user-friendly and accessible to teachers, students, and school administrators. However, others adopted e-learning platforms developed by leading companies like Quipper and Microsoft Teams. At the grassroots level, schools took the initiative to socialize digital technology usage through a mentoring model. This model provided space for teachers with higher digital proficiency to assist those with lower digital skills. These mentor teachers were typically IT subjects, teachers accustomed to using digital media for learning, and mostly younger teachers.

During this period, teachers' engagement was not only in intensifying digital device usage but also in maintaining the habit of using software like learning apps e-learning, producing learning media in text, image, or video form, and incorporating social media in learning. These practices continued throughout the distance learning period, both in the preparation phase regarding materials and media to be used and in evaluations using digital applications or social media. Schools also encouraged teachers to independently enhance their digital competencies through webinars and tutorials on learning applications and their supporting tools. Interesting interactions emerged among teachers and between teachers and students in this context. The usual social distance felt between senior and junior teachers, as well as between teachers and students, seemed to fade. Young teachers even became tutors for senior colleagues, and students actively helped their teachers resolve digital problems during learning. Teachers experienced an acceleration in technology use, while students improved their skills in technology use (Winter et al., 2021). The intensity of learning digitalization was also monitored by schools using a teaching journal system. Teachers were required to fill in this journal after each lesson, which served as a data-based and more transparent supervisory mechanism by the principal.

Support for teachers was also evident through professional communities based on subjects at the city level, known as MGMP (Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran/subject-based teacher forum). These communities, consisting of teachers teaching the same subjects, are organized independently outside of school, contributing to the strengthening of school learning. MGMP was responsible for adjusting curricula and teaching materials and for facilitating the exchange of learning tools (teaching materials, learning media, learning evaluations) among teachers of the same subjects.

The pandemic period thus became crucial in supporting teachers in conducting learning activities on a digital competency basis. For those already with substantial digital skills, this period further enhanced their digital capabilities. For those with less digital proficiency, it served as a critical time to develop their digital habitus more effectively.

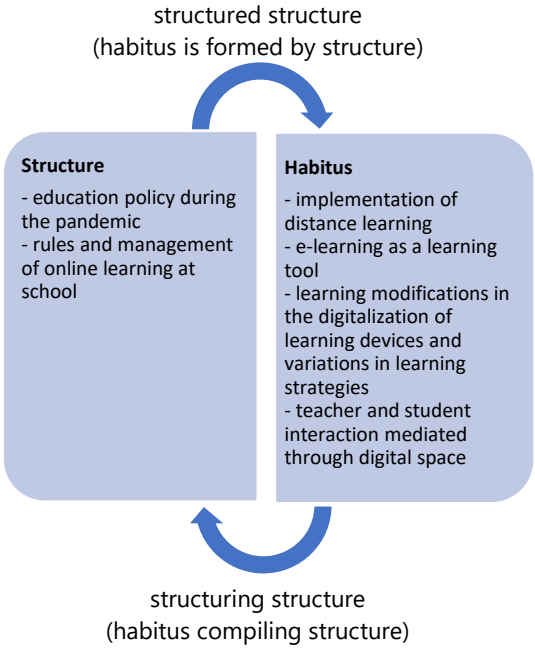
4.1.2. Interrelated of structure and teacher agency

During the period of Distance Learning, the structure of education was placed as a primary element. This structure served as both a foundation and a limitation that teachers needed to understand in implementing the learning process. This structure, which directs education during Distance Learning based on educational policies, interacts with the agents' (teachers') capability to respond to the pandemic. In this situation, structure and agent work within a framework that mutually reinforces the patterns of habitus that are formed. The habitus patterned in daily actions is part of a dialogic process between the working structure and the agent's ability to interpret it.

The structure in question refers to the organization of education during Distance Learning, directed by educational policies that extend down to the smallest institutions, such as schools. This structure sets the boundaries for what must be understood in the new normal, including guidelines on maintaining educational activities despite social distancing.

The repetitive actions taken in response to these conditions form the digital habitus of teachers. Teachers, as agents within this structure, face challenges on the one hand and opportunities on the other. Within this framework, agents have the space to determine what kind of habitus context they will adopt to survive within the encompassing structure. This habitus is a property of the agent facing the structure (Maton, 2008). Here, agents socio-culturally absorb various aspects of life to become members of the relevant society. Correspondingly, the teachers' habitus is also formed based on the values prevailing in their everyday professional lives. The distance learning era, with all the digital competencies required for teachers to support their activities, represents a choice of teacher habitus that is also aligned with the digital capital possessed by the teacher. Thus, the teachers' habitus in this context falls into the category of structured structure, where the composition of their habitus is the result of pressure from the objective structure but still within the limits inherent in its original structure (Rocksby, 2010).

The formed habitus is then repeated intensively over time and under different conditions. Digital-based teaching and learning activities are the most effective means to enact habitus in the context of educational provision needs. With the internalization of the digital habitus of teachers, the patterns of action formed further strengthen the distance learning structure during the pandemic. In this context, habitus plays a role in structuring structure, where it provides a mechanism as a means to understanding the world or social life and also shapes society through the representations it makes (Bourdieu, 2010). This also aligns with the context that the digital habitus enacted in the Distance Learning era plays a role in structuring, where individuals selectively can change the form of the objective structure following its own structure (Rocksby, 2010). Without the enactment of digital habitus by teachers, the implementation of education during the pandemic would not be possible. Habitus is born in the social situation where it is produced, and it also functions as a framework that realizes and colors an individual's perception, representation, and action within the surrounding structure (Bourdieu, 2010). In this case, the pandemic situation has prompted a digital-environment habitus driven by socio-economic support and individuals' capacity and willingness to adapt to the drastic increase in digital technology use (due to imposed social restrictions) and environmental degradation conditions (Ruiu et al., 2023).



4.1.3. Teachers' Reflexivity

The agent's position within the habitus can be observed in the context of their reflexivity. This reflexivity of the agent is a crucial determinant in the operation of the digital learning habitus during Distance Learning. Agent reflexivity and the consciousness that shapes it are not only related to neurological stimuli, psychosocial memory, and cognitive brain functions evident in activities like recognition, memorization, and articulation but are also deeply connected with ideological aspects and the socio-cultural conditions of the agent (Pöllmann, 2016).

The reflexivity of teachers as agents in distance learning is realized in contexts where teachers assess their capacity in terms of digital competence pre- and during the pandemic, decision-making regarding the diverse choices of teaching methods during distance learning, and their response to the development of learning processes through the implementation of distance learning. Teachers reflect on the possibilities of using digital technology in distance learning based on the digital capital they possessed before the pandemic. This stimulates teachers to reflect and gauge how far their digital capital can be utilized for teaching and learning processes. This reflection continues into situations where teachers receive support from schools to use e-learning and various digital content.

Throughout the distance learning process, teachers are presented with various choices and encouraged to independently improve their digital capital through online tutorials, webinars, and training. Equally important is the urgency for teachers to understand students' responses to the online learning conducted. The outcomes of trial and error are a part of teachers' contemplation of the ongoing conditions. Decisions about refreshing teaching methods or relaxing the learning process by engaging students in light discussions about current conditions and news unrelated to the primary learning material also play a part in alleviating the tedium of the learning process. These realities actually drive the reflective attitude of teachers in determining the necessary learning processes. Absorption of surrounding needs becomes the driving force behind the formation of agent reflexivity.

These three aspects cannot stand alone as the objective decisions of teachers, detached from the Distance Learning policy, the main structure that has shaped teachers to follow principles of educational continuity. Schools as arenas also contribute significantly to forging teachers to interact with other teachers, students, and the MGMP community in determining what strategies can be pursued to continue the learning process. Therefore, the process of self-awareness in teachers to engage in the digital habitus is a dialogic process between themselves and external forces, both professionally and socially. This process is categorized as a non-reflexive agency, where agents strive to enact their habitus by emphasizing habits performed to interact with the environment, inseparable from strategies to achieve goals (Hoggett, 2001). The objectivity achieved by the variety of agent actions is what binds the agent to specific characteristics of action.

4.2. Teacher's digital habitus

Throughout the processes occurring during the implementation of distance learning, the research findings indicate that the digital habitus of urban secondary school teachers in the implementation of Distance Learning during the COVID-19 pandemic is characterized by being adaptive to change, open to the use of digital technology in learning, learning new habits, and cooperative.

Teachers' adaptability to change involves not only teaching activities during Distance Learning within school hours but also extends to other habits in using digital technology in education in general. In terms of learning, teachers familiarize themselves with several applications they have never used before, followed by attempts to integrate them into the learning process. This includes adapting the delivery of materials, patterns of teacher-student interaction, choosing suitable applications, using Learning Management Systems (LMS), assignments, exam formats, and more. Additionally, digital technology is used for administrative tasks, online meetings to replace in-person school meetings, and the transition from distance learning back to face-to-face learning using LMS. The openness to using digital technology in learning relates to employing different teaching strategies than before the pandemic. Faced with new challenges, teachers do not retreat or surrender to complex and uncertain conditions. During the pandemic, teachers are also learners of new habits, where mastering technology becomes the only way to stay engaged in the learning process. This includes school-initiated support, independent tutorials available on various social media platforms, webinars, learning directly from other teachers proficient in digital technology, and often, students assisting teachers in overcoming difficulties with digital technology. The effort to adapt to new conditions varies among teachers, with some skillfully and creatively implementing their ideas in Distance Learning. In contrast, others stick to simple digital technologies in the learning process. Teachers demonstrate a cooperative attitude through the relationships built among principals, teachers, and students. Among these three actors, interaction patterns emerge that foster a positive climate amid the difficulties of learning during Distance Learning. The principal, responsible for learning in the school, determines how the learning process will be conducted, taking into account the school's conditions and resources and input from teachers based on their digital competencies. Teachers are then trained to adjust to digital learning patterns during the pandemic based on their school's situation. In this context, teachers collaborate to learn the necessary digital applications and organize the learning process. This includes exchanging ideas, helping

each other with digital difficulties, and preparing learning devices appropriate for the Distance Learning situation, not only within the school but also in relation to each subject's MGMP (Teacher Subject Forum).

The formation of the digital habitus in teachers is influenced by several supporting factors: acceptance of changes in the education sector, school policy support, availability of easily accessible and learnable digital learning resources, and the motivation of teachers to continue providing education during the pandemic. Since the closure of schools, it has become clear that the education sector, ready or not, faces various challenges and changes. Embracing change is a process that teachers must confront, as some adapt easily and quickly, while others struggle and need more time to engage in the transformation. Accepting change also means viewing each challenge as an opportunity for learning, motivating teachers to want to learn and continuously develop, and always ready to learn new things, which can be difficult but necessary.

School policy support also serves as an energy booster for teachers. In the early stages of the pandemic, schools gave teachers the freedom to employ various teaching strategies, providing flexibility and easing the pressure during the offline to online transition, considering not all teachers had digital skills and an active response to implement various teaching strategies immediately. Subsequently, schools decided which e-learning media would facilitate teachers' tasks, followed by patterns of support in enhancing teachers' digital competencies to operate the e-learning platforms effectively. The role of the principal is vital, involving both monitoring and evaluation and developing openness and cooperation between teachers and school administrators. Easily accessible and learnable digital learning resources also play an important role in forming teachers' digital habitus. Not just books but also digital content, which is widely available on the Internet, serves as a learning resource for teachers. The abundance of tutorials for digital learning applications and learning content from various sources and learning platforms provides additional support for teachers. Digital media produced by fellow teachers also becomes an alternative resource in the learning process.

Teachers' motivation to continue providing education during the pandemic is crucial. The difficulties of conducting distance learning are real challenges faced by teachers related to digital skills, age, and the willingness to learn. However, a common phenomenon is that teachers continue to strive to overcome their difficulties. The varying outcomes in each case represent diverse efforts and adjustments to the new normal behavior that teachers must face. The duty and responsibility to continue providing education and teaching are unavoidable.

5. Conclusion

In the analysis of teachers' digital habitus, there are noteworthy aspects, namely the conceptualization of habitus and its understanding as a process. Bourdieu's strong introduction of habitus is an analytical framework that provides space for understanding individual activities as part of societal structures. Conversely, habitus is inseparable from the context of time and an individual's experiences. The importance of agents' reflexivity is also emphasized. Educational policy structures emphasize the continuity of the learning process during the pandemic, and conversely, digital learning activities reinforce the resilience of the existing educational structures. Past individual experiences are crucial assets for meeting present needs. Agents are not independent individuals who determine their actions freely. They are bound by social environments and the ties within them, making their reflections a part of how they respond to the social world around them. As a process framework, habitus cannot be viewed in isolation but as a continuous effort to determine how reflective actions are organized. In the process analysis framework, the sustainability, growth, or decline of this digital habitus cannot be predetermined. These determinations need to be assessed within the situational analysis framework. Moreover, this research has several limitations: 1) the representation of teachers is limited to public high schools, while private high school teachers or teachers at other levels are not included as informants, reducing the holistic analysis of teachers' digital habitus; and 2) the research focuses solely on the formation of digital habitus but does not explore the extent to which digital habitus benefits or hinders the learning process during the pandemic. The second aspect is crucial, given the widespread concerns about educational setbacks due to school closures during the COVID-19 pandemic and the potential for significant learning loss. A recommendation is the need for further research on teachers' digital habitus in the post-pandemic period and how the conditions of teachers' digital habitus during the pandemic influence their habits in the post-pandemic period.

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