

Beyond Digital Access: A Critical Ethnography of How Teachers Navigate and Resist Neoliberal Agendas in National Online Learning Platforms

Sartinayanti^{1*}, Kaso Mustamin², Muh. Safar³, Andi Hidayati⁴, Dodi Sukmayadi⁵

¹Institut Turatea Indonesia

^{2,4}Universitas Pejuang Republik Indonesia (UPRI) Makassar, Indonesia

³Universitas Muhammadiyah Bone, Indonesia

⁵Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia

Email: syafaruddin2014anthi@gmail.com¹, kamust1204@gmail.com², safarmuhammad785@gmail.com³, titi.hidayati64@gmail.com⁴, dsukmayadi999@gmail.com⁵

Correspondence Authors: syafaruddin2014anthi@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates how Indonesian school teachers navigate and resist neoliberal agendas embedded in national online learning platforms, moving the debate beyond questions of digital access. Drawing on a nationwide cross-sectional survey of 482 teachers combined with critical policy analysis, the study operationalizes neoliberal logics through indicators such as the marketization of learning, datafication of performance, individualization of responsibility, and platform-driven managerial control. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to map patterns of teachers' platform use, perceived pressures, and everyday acts of compliance and resistance across school levels, regions, and employment status. The findings reveal a structurally uneven landscape in which online platforms intensify workload, extend managerial surveillance, and reconfigure professional autonomy, while simultaneously opening spaces for tactical appropriation, collegial solidarity, and critical pedagogy to thrive. Teachers in rural and under-resourced schools reported stronger experiences of platform-mediated control but also higher engagement in collective forms of resistance. The article concludes by arguing for the re-politicisation of digitalization policies in Indonesian education, centering on teacher agency, labor justice, and democratic accountability in the governance of national platforms.

Keywords: Digital, Ethnography, Learning, Neoliberal

I. INTRODUCTION

Debates on digitalization in education in Indonesia have intensified in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, when national online learning platforms rapidly moved from peripheral innovations to central infrastructures in schooling. Policy discourses have tended to frame these platforms in technocratic terms, emphasising efficiency, flexibility, and expanded access to quality learning resources across the archipelago. Within the flagship "Merdeka Belajar" reforms, digital platforms are frequently celebrated as neutral tools that will modernize schools, upskill teachers, and equalize opportunities for students regardless of geographical location. However, a growing body of critical scholarship argues that educational technologies are never neutral; they are embedded in political-economic projects that reconfigure the purposes, governance, and labor relations of public education (Dr. Deepti Dimri, 2025).

Globally, researchers have shown how learning management systems, large-scale assessment platforms, and data dashboards often function as vehicles for neoliberal reforms characterized by marketization, managerialism, and performativity. These platforms translate complex pedagogical work into quantifiable metrics, enable forms of real-time surveillance and audits, and shift the responsibility for educational outcomes onto individual teachers and students. In many contexts, digital infrastructure has become intertwined with high-stakes accountability regimes and competitive logics, intensifying workload and narrowing conceptions of good teaching to what can be measured and optimized. Such developments are not unique to the Global North; studies in the Global South highlight how platformization intersects with pre-existing inequalities in connectivity, infrastructure, and teacher labor conditions (Gasser, 2024).

In Indonesia, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology has invested heavily in national platforms such as Rumah Belajar and Merdeka Mengajar, positioning them as key instruments for implementing curriculum reforms, teacher professional development, and school evaluations. Official policy documents portray these platforms as inclusive and empowering environments through which teachers can autonomously access resources, share best practices and demonstrate competencies. However, early empirical work points to more ambivalent realities, including increased administrative burden, the normalization of unpaid digital labor, and expanding forms of algorithmic visibility where teachers' activities are tracked and ranked. These tensions invite a closer examination of how teachers engage with, negotiate, and contest the neoliberal logics encoded in national platforms (Asdi et al., 2025).

This article contributes to that task by shifting the analytical focus from questions of access (who can log in, which schools have adequate connectivity) to the micropolitics of everyday platform use among Indonesian teachers. Rather than assuming teachers to be passive implementers of policy, this study approaches them as active agents who interpret, appropriate, and at times resist platform imperatives within specific institutional and socio-economic contexts. The analysis is theoretically informed by critical ethnographic traditions and labor process theory, which emphasize how workers navigate managerial control and carve out spaces of autonomy and resistance within technologically mediated workplaces. Empirically, this study employs a quantitative design using a large-scale survey to capture patterned variations in teachers' experiences and practices across regions and school types (Rackwitz, 2026).

The title of the article foregrounds "critical ethnography" to signal its commitment to unveiling power relations and amplifying subaltern perspectives; however, the methodological choice is a quantitative survey that is analytically embedded within a critical, ethnographically informed reading of teachers' narratives and policy discourses. This combination responds to recent calls for critical quantitative inquiry capable of tracing how structural forces such as neoliberalism materialize in everyday educational practices. By operationalizing abstract concepts such as marketization, datafication, and individualization into measurable indicators, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive mapping of how national online platforms reshape teachers' work and subjectivity.

The Indonesian context renders these questions particularly urgent and relevant. The teaching workforce is marked by sharp stratifications between permanent civil servant teachers (ASN) and various categories of contract and honorary teachers who face precarious employment conditions and often juggle multiple jobs. Digitalization policies intersect with these labor hierarchies in complex ways, potentially deepening inequalities when performance metrics are unevenly applied or used to justify selective recognition. Moreover, Indonesia's vast geographical disparities in infrastructure mean that the promises of digital innovation are experienced differently in urban and rural schools. Examining how teachers from diverse settings navigate national platforms can illuminate how neoliberal agendas are mediated, reworked, or resisted on the ground (Verdejo-Valenzuela, 2026).

This study addresses three interrelated research questions. First, how do Indonesian teachers perceive neoliberal features in national online learning platforms, including pressures towards marketization, individualized accountability, and intensified managerial control? Second, what forms of navigation, adaptation, and resistance do teachers report in their daily engagement with these platforms? Third, how are these perceptions and practices patterned across socio-demographic variables such as region, school level, employment status, and teaching experience? By answering these questions, this article aims to move beyond celebratory narratives of digital innovation and foreground the contested politics of platformisation in public education.

The remainder of this article is organized as follows. The next section reviews the international and Indonesian literature on neoliberalism, platformisation, and teacher labor, highlighting key debates on resistance and agency. The subsequent section outlines the quantitative research design, including sampling, instrument development and data analysis procedures. The results section presents descriptive and inferential findings on teachers' perceptions of neoliberal agendas and their reported practices of navigation and resistance, supported by quantitative data. The discussion section interprets these patterns through a critical ethnographic lens, relating them to broader policy developments and labor conditions in Indonesian education. The article concludes by drawing implications for the design and governance of national online learning platforms that center on teacher agency and social justice.

II. METHODS

A. *Research design*

This study employs a cross-sectional quantitative survey design framed within a critical ethnographic perspective on teacher labor and digital governance. While traditional ethnography relies primarily on immersive qualitative fieldwork, this study translates ethnographic concerns, such as everyday practices, meanings, and power relations, into a structured questionnaire administered to a large sample of teachers. The design enables the identification of patterned variations across socio-demographic groups and school contexts while retaining a focus on how teachers navigate and resist neoliberal agendas in national online platforms (Nur Ullah & Biswas, 2024).

B. *Population and sampling*

The target population consisted of in-service teachers working in public and private primary and secondary schools across Indonesia who had used at least one national online learning platform (e.g., Rumah Belajar, Merdeka Mengajar) in the past twelve months. A multi stage sampling strategy was implemented to obtain representation from Indonesia's main island groups (Sumatra, Java-Bali, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Eastern Indonesia), school levels (primary, junior secondary, and senior secondary), and employment status (civil servant ASN, non-ASN contract, and honorary).

First, five provinces were purposively selected to reflect the diversity of infrastructural development and urban-rural composition. Second, within each province, districts were stratified into urban and rural categories based on national statistics, and schools were randomly selected within each stratum using ministry school lists. Third, the school principals facilitated the distribution of an online questionnaire link to all teachers who met the inclusion criteria. A total of 516 responses were received; after data cleaning to remove incomplete or ineligible cases, the final analytic sample consisted of 482 teachers..

C. *Instrument development*

The questionnaire was developed using a multi-step process. An initial pool of items was generated based on the international literature on neoliberalism in education, platformization, and teacher labor, as well as Indonesian policy documents and previous empirical studies on national platforms. Items were written in Bahasa Indonesia using clear, non-technical language and were organized into six main scales measured on a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree):

Perceived marketization of learning (e.g., emphasis on competition, branding, and performance rankings)

Perceived datafication and surveillance (e.g., the intensity of data collection, monitoring, and visibility through dashboards)

Perceived individualization of responsibility (e.g., pressure to self-upgrade, self-finance, and self-market through the platform)

Perceived managerial control (e.g., principals of supervisor' use of platform data to evaluate performance)

Navigation strategies (e.g., pragmatic adaptation, tactical compliance, selective engagement)

Resistance practices (e.g., collective critique, refusal to comply fully, and creation of alternative sharing spaces)

Content validity was assessed through expert review by three Indonesian scholars specializing in educational policy, teacher education, and digital learning, who evaluated the relevance, clarity, and cultural appropriateness of the items. Their feedback led to the rewording of several items and the removal of overlapping indicators. A pilot test with 52 teachers from one province examined the internal consistency and factor structure of the scales. Cronbach's alpha values ranged from 0.78 to 0.86, indicating acceptable reliability for research purposes.

D. *Data collection procedures*

Data were collected over a six-week period via an online survey platform accessible through smartphones and computers, reflecting the digital realities of teachers' work in the pandemic. Participation was voluntary and anonymous in nature. Teachers received an information sheet explaining the study's aims, confidentiality measures, and their right to withdraw at any time. Informed consent was obtained electronically before respondents could proceed to the questionnaire, in according with the ethical guidelines for social research.

To mitigate sampling bias towards teachers with stronger digital access, district education offices and school principals were encouraged to provide shared devices and connectivity support, where possible, particularly in rural schools. Nonetheless, it is acknowledged that teachers in the most under-resourced settings may still be under-represented in the sample, a limitation discussed later.

E. *Data analysis*

The data were exported to a statistical software package for cleaning and analysis. The initial steps included checking for missing values, outliers, and normality. Cases with more than 20 missing responses were excluded; the remaining missing values on scale items were handled using mean substitution within each scale when only one item was missing. Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, frequencies) were computed to summarize respondents' characteristics and overall patterns of platform use.

Reliability analyses were conducted for each scale using Cronbach's alpha, which was above 0.75 in the main sample. Exploratory factor analysis with principal axis factoring and oblique rotation was used to confirm the dimensionality of the neoliberal perception scales and to ensure that the items loaded on their intended constructs. Composite scores were then calculated for each teacher by averaging the item scores within each scale.

To address the research questions, a series of inferential analyses was performed. Independent-samples t-tests and one-way ANOVAs were used to examine differences in neoliberal perception and resistance scores across key categorical variables, including region (Java–Bali versus non-Java–Bali), school level, and employment status. Effect sizes were calculated using Cohen's *d* and eta-squared to assess the magnitude of the differences. Multiple linear regression models were estimated to explore how teacher characteristics (years of teaching experience, contract status, and school location) predicted perceived managerial control and engagement in resistance practices while controlling for gender and age.

F. *Ethical considerations*

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the university research ethics committee in Indonesia. Given the sensitivity of examining resistance to official platforms and managerial control, particular attention was paid to ensuring confidentiality and minimizing potential risks to participants. The survey did not collect identifiable information, such as names, school codes, or specific districts. The IP addresses were not stored. Items referring to resistance were carefully phrased to focus on general practices rather than potentially incriminating actions.

Participants were informed that aggregated findings would be used solely for academic purposes, with no feedback of individual data to schools, districts, or the Ministry. The critical orientation of the study was made explicit in the information sheet, which emphasized the aim of amplifying teacher perspectives in debates on digitalization policies. This transparency aligns with the critical ethnographic commitment to reflexivity and accountability in research relationships.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Teacher characteristics and platform use*

Table 1 presents the distribution of the key socio-demographic characteristics of the 482 teachers in the sample.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents (N = 482)

Variable	Category	n	%
Gender	Female	318	66.0
	Male	164	34.0
School level	Primary	211	43.8
	Junior secondary	157	32.6
	Senior secondary	114	23.6
Region	Java–Bali	273	56.6
	Non-Java–Bali	209	43.4
School location	Urban	262	54.4

Variable	Category	n	%
Employment status	Rural	220	45.6
	ASN (civil servant)	231	47.9
	Non-ASN contract	147	30.5
	Honorary	104	21.6

The sample is moderately skewed towards female teachers and schools in the Java–Bali region, reflecting broader national patterns in the teaching workforce. A substantial proportion of respondents worked in rural schools and held non-permanent positions, indicating that the survey reached teachers across varied labor and infrastructural conditions.

Teachers reported high levels of exposure to these national platforms. Ninety-two percent indicated that they had used Merdeka Mengajar in the past year, while 68 percent reported using Rumah Belajar at least occasionally. On average, teachers logged into at least one national platform 3.4 times per week during the semester preceding the survey (SD = 1.7). Platform use was significantly higher among junior and senior secondary teachers than among primary teachers ($F(2, 479) = 6.21, p < 0.01$), suggesting that subject-specialist teachers may be more heavily integrated into digital ecosystems.

B. *Perceptions of neoliberal features in platforms*

Table 2 summarizes the mean scores on the four scales capturing perceived neoliberal features in national platforms. The scores ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Table 2. Mean scores on neoliberal perception scales (N = 482)

Scale	Number of items	Mean	SD
Marketisation of learning	6	3.62	0.74
Datafication and surveillance	7	3.88	0.69
Individualisation of responsibility	5	3.94	0.71
Managerial control	5	3.57	0.77

Overall, teachers moderately to strongly agreed that national platforms exhibit neoliberal features. Perceptions of individualized responsibility and datafication were particularly pronounced, with mean scores close to 4.0. Many teachers agreed with statements such as "The platform makes me feel personally responsible if my students do not complete online tasks" and "My activities on the platform are constantly monitored and recorded. Marketization and managerial control were also salient, though slightly less so, suggesting that while competitive logics and top-down oversight are present, they may be less uniformly experienced than data-driven individualisation.

Independent-samples t-tests revealed significant regional differences. Teachers in non-Java–Bali regions reported higher perceptions of managerial control (M = 3.72, SD = 0.74) than those in Java–Bali (M = 3.46, SD = 0.78), $t(480) = 3.71, p < 0.001$, Cohen’s d = 0.34. Similarly, rural teachers reported higher datafication scores (M = 4.01, SD = 0.66) compared with urban teachers (M = 3.77, SD = 0.70), $t(480) = 3.76, p < 0.001$, d = 0.35. These findings indicate that teachers in more peripheral or under-resourced contexts perceive national platforms as stronger instruments of surveillance and control, perhaps because they are deployed to standardize practices across dispersed schools.

C. *Navigation strategies and resistance practices*

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for the scales measuring navigation strategies and resistance practices.

Table 3. Mean scores on navigation and resistance scales (N = 482)

Scale	Number of items	Mean	SD
Navigation strategies	7	3.71	0.68
Resistance practices	6	3.12	0.79

The relatively high mean for navigation strategies suggests that most teachers pragmatically adapt to platform demands. Items with high endorsement included "I focus only on the platform activities that are directly beneficial for my students" and "I share login and uploading tasks with colleagues to reduce individual burden. These responses depict a landscape in which teachers selectively appropriate platform features and mobilize collegial cooperation to cope with intensified workloads, rather than either fully embracing or rejecting the platforms.

The resistance practices scale yielded a more moderate mean around the midpoint of the scale, indicating that explicit acts of resistance are present but not dominant. Commonly endorsed items included "I openly discuss the negative impacts of the platform on teaching and learning with colleagues" and "I sometimes choose not to follow certain platform instructions when they conflict with my professional judgement". Less frequently endorsed items referred to collective actions aimed at policy change, such as petitioning authorities, reflecting the constrained space for overt contestation within hierarchical education systems.

Given the stratified nature of teacher employment in Indonesia, further analyses were conducted to examine whether perceptions of neoliberal features and resistance varied by employment status. Table 4 displays the mean scores by employment category.

Table 4. Mean scores on key scales by employment status (N = 482)

Scale	ASN (n = 231) Mean (SD)	Non-ASN contract (n = 147) Mean (SD)	Honorary (n = 104) Mean (SD)
Datafication and surveillance	3.79 (0.68)	3.94 (0.69)	4.03 (0.69)
Individualisation of responsibility	3.82 (0.70)	4.02 (0.70)	4.12 (0.71)
Managerial control	3.44 (0.75)	3.64 (0.78)	3.77 (0.79)
Resistance practices	2.98 (0.78)	3.17 (0.77)	3.37 (0.80)

One-way ANOVAs revealed statistically significant differences across employment groups for all four scales ($p < 0.05$). Post hoc comparisons using Tukey's test indicated that honorary teachers consistently reported higher perceptions of datafication, individualization, and managerial control than ASN teachers ($p < 0.01$), with non-ASN contract teachers occupying an intermediate position between the two. The effect sizes were small to moderate (eta squared between 0.03 and 0.06). Honorary teachers also reported significantly higher engagement in resistance practices than ASN teachers ($p < 0.01$).

These patterns suggest that more precariously employed teachers experience national platforms as more intrusive and demanding, yet they are also somewhat more likely to report acts of resistance to them. One possible interpretation is that their already insecure status reduces the perceived marginal benefit of compliance while heightening their awareness of the exploitative dimensions of digital governance. Simultaneously, the risks associated with open confrontation may lead to resistance taking subtle or informal forms.

D. Predictors of perceived managerial control and resistance

To explore how teacher characteristics jointly shape experiences of neoliberal governance and resistance, multiple regression analyses were conducted with perceived managerial control and resistance practices as the dependent variables. Table 5 summarizes the key results.

Table 5. Regression models predicting managerial control and resistance (N = 482)

Predictor	Managerial control (β)	Resistance practices (β)
Years of teaching experience	0.09*	0.05
Non-ASN contract (ref: ASN)	0.11*	0.08
Honorary (ref: ASN)	0.18**	0.16**
Rural school (ref: urban)	0.14**	0.12*
Non-Java–Bali (ref: Java–Bali)	0.13**	0.10*
Gender (female = 1)	-0.04	-0.03
Age	0.02	0.04
R ²	0.19	0.16

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$. Standardized coefficients (β) are reported.

The model predicting perceived managerial control explained 19 per cent of the variance. Being an honorary teacher, working in a rural school, and being located outside Java–Bali were significant positive predictors of higher perceived control, even after controlling for other factors. The resistance model explained 16 percent of the variance, with honorary status, rural location, and the non-Java–Bali region again emerging as significant predictors of higher reported resistance. These findings reinforce the descriptive analyses, indicating that structural position within the education system – particularly employment precarity and peripheral location – is associated with intensified experiences of neoliberal governance and heightened tendencies towards resistance.

E. Discussion

The quantitative findings portray a complex landscape in which Indonesian teachers are deeply entangled in national online learning platforms that embody multiple dimensions of neoliberal governance, yet they actively navigate and resist these agendas in contextually specific ways. By moving beyond questions of digital access to examine how teachers perceive and respond to platform logics, this study contributes to critical debates on the politics of educational digitalization in the Global South (Faridi & Shaheen, 2024).

First, the relatively high mean scores for datafication, surveillance, and individualized responsibility indicate that teachers widely experience national platforms as mechanisms that monitor their activities and redistribute responsibility for educational outcomes onto individuals shoulders (Golitsina & Vorontsova, 2025). This resonates with the international literature on datafication in education, which documents how platforms extend managerial oversight and foster cultures of self-tracking and self-improvement. In the Indonesian case, teachers reported that their logins, uploads, and course completions became visible indicators of professional worth, often linked to certification and career progression requirements. Such processes risk narrowing complex pedagogical work into performative acts oriented towards satisfying platform metrics (Sarhini et al., 2025).

Simultaneously, perceptions of marketization and managerial control, while still moderate to high, were slightly less pronounced. This suggests that national platforms in Indonesia may present neoliberal agendas in relatively soft or implicit forms, for example, through gamified badges, leaderboards, and narratives of "professional branding" rather than overt competition among schools. Teachers may internalize these expectations as part of being a "modern" or "innovative" educator, blurring the line between voluntary self-development and obligatory self-marketing. Critical ethnographic perspectives remind us that such subjectification processes are central to neoliberal governance, which operates not only through external constraints but also through shaping desires and identities (Dipti & S, 2024).

Second, the analyses reveal significant inequalities in the perception of neoliberal features across regions, school locations, and employment statuses. Teachers in rural and non-Java–Bali contexts, as well as honorary and contract teachers, consistently reported higher levels of datafication, managerial control, and

individualized responsibility than their urban counterparts. These groups occupy structurally marginal positions within the education system, often facing resource shortages, heavier teaching loads and less secure employment. For them, national platforms may function as top-down mechanisms to enforce uniform standards and monitor compliance with centrally defined reforms, exacerbating existing asymmetries of power between the periphery and the center.

The finding that honorary teachers also report higher levels of resistance practices is particularly noteworthy. This suggests that experiences of intensified control can generate critical consciousness and oppositional practices, even among those in precarious positions (Win & Jeffrey Dawala Wilang, 2025). While the survey cannot capture the full richness of these practices, the patterns align with qualitative research documenting quiet forms of resistance among Indonesian teachers, such as selectively ignoring platform requirements perceived as irrelevant, sharing passwords to collectively complete tasks, or using alternative communication channels outside official platforms to support students' learning. These tactics may not always be recognized as political; however, they constitute important forms of everyday resistance that challenge the totalizing ambitions of digital governance (Mak et al., 2026).

Third, the prominence of navigation strategies in the findings points to the importance of understanding teacher agency not only in terms of overt resistance but also in terms of tactical adaptation and appropriation of the curriculum. Most teachers reported selectively engaging with platform features that they perceived as beneficial for their students while minimizing time spent on purely bureaucratic tasks. They also described collegial practices of workload sharing and mutual assistance, especially in schools with limited digital infrastructure. Such practices can be read as forms of "practical wisdom" through which teachers seek to reconcile professional commitments with the constraints of platformised work (Arrasyid et al., 2025).

From a critical ethnographic standpoint, these findings underscore that national platforms are not simply imposed technologies but become sites of ongoing negotiation between policy logics and local practices (Nandi & Zabrodska, 2024). Teachers' navigation strategies may simultaneously reproduce and subvert neoliberal agendas, for example, by using platform resources to enrich classroom learning while resisting the competitive or individualizing framings that accompany them. Thus, quantitative patterns must be interpreted in light of the broader cultural and institutional contexts in which teachers operate (Ferroglia, 2026).

Fourth, the study's reliance on self-reported survey data raises important methodological concerns. Critical quantitative approaches caution that numbers should not be mistaken for neutral reflections of reality; rather, they are shaped by what researchers choose to measure and how respondents interpret the items. In this study, constructs such as marketization or resistance were operationalized based on existing literature and pilot work, but inevitably captured only selected dimensions of complex phenomena. Moreover, the cross-sectional design cannot establish causal relationships; for instance, it remains unclear whether higher resistance among honorary teachers is a response to intensified control or rooted in pre-existing cultures of critique in particular school communities (Piriou et al., 2025).

Nevertheless, the survey provides valuable large-scale evidence that complements and extends qualitative studies of digital governance in Indonesian education. By systematically mapping variations across regions, school locations, and employment status, the analysis demonstrates that neoliberal agendas are not experienced uniformly but are mediated by structural inequalities. This supports calls for more contextually grounded analyses of platformisation that consider labor hierarchies, infrastructural disparities, and the legacies of centralized governance in postcolonial states.

Fifth, the findings have significant implications for policies and practices. If national platforms are to support genuinely democratic and emancipatory forms of education, their design and governance must move beyond narrow performance metrics and embrace participatory forms of decision-making that center on teachers' voices. This could involve, for example, co-design processes in which teachers from diverse regions and employment statuses are meaningfully involved in determining platform features, data collection practices, and indicators of professional growth. It also requires transparent governance frameworks that clearly specify what data are collected, how they are used, and how teachers can contest inaccurate or unfair evaluations of their performance.

Furthermore, this study underscores the need to address the labor conditions under which digitalization unfolds. Platforms that intensify workload and deepen precarity, especially for honorary and contract teachers, risk undermining educational quality and teacher well-being. Policies should therefore ensure that participation in platform activities is recognized as part of paid working time, that adequate infrastructural support is provided in rural schools, and that career advancement criteria do not disproportionately disadvantage those with limited access to stable internet connectivity or devices.

Finally, this study invites further research that combines quantitative and qualitative methods to more fully capture the micropolitics of teacher navigation and resistance in platformised education. Longitudinal designs could trace how perceptions and practices evolve as platforms are updated and teachers' careers progress. In-depth case studies in selected schools could illuminate how collective cultures of critique, union activities, and local leadership shape responses to digital reforms. Comparative work across countries in the Global South would further clarify how national histories, governance arrangements, and market dynamics condition the entanglements between neoliberalism and educational platforms.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

This article has examined how Indonesian teachers navigate and resist neoliberal agendas embedded in national online learning platforms, employing a large-scale quantitative survey informed by critical ethnographic and labor process perspectives. The findings show that teachers widely perceive platforms as instruments of datafication, individualized responsibility, and managerial control, with particularly intense experiences among honorary teachers and those working in rural and non-Java–Bali contexts. At the same time, teachers enact diverse navigation strategies and forms of everyday resistance, including selective engagement, collegial cooperation, and quiet refusal of platform directives that conflict with professional judgement. By moving beyond a narrow focus on digital access, the study highlights the need to re-politicise digitalization policies in Indonesian education. National platforms are not neutral tools but contested terrains where competing visions of education, labor, and professionalism are negotiated. Ensuring that these infrastructures serve democratic and socially just purposes requires centering teacher agency in platform design and governance, addressing precarious labor conditions, and opening institutional spaces for critical dialogue about the goals and consequences of digital reforms. Future research that deepens and extends the critical quantitative approach employed here can further illuminate how teachers in Indonesia and beyond appropriate, contest, and transform the neoliberal logics of platformised schooling.

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Ethical Compliance

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Data Access Statement

A Data Access Statement is a section in a scientific publication or research report that explains how the data used or generated in the study can be accessed by readers and other researchers. This statement aims to promote transparency, support research reproducibility, and comply with open-access policies, where applicable.

Common Elements in a Data Access Statement:

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2. Access Instructions: Provides information on how to access the data, such as direct links, DOI (Digital Object Identifier), or contact details.
3. Data Availability: Indicates whether the data are publicly accessible, available upon request, or restricted due to ethical, legal, or privacy considerations.
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- Reproducibility: Enables other researchers to replicate or verify the findings.
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Conflict of Interest Declaration

The authors declare that they have no affiliations or involvement with any organization or entity with any financial interest in the subject matter or materials discussed in this manuscript.

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