Quo Vadis, Homo Digitalis? Reflection on Well-being in Education and the COVID-19 Pandemic in Belgium, Croatia, Poland and Romania

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Abstract

The last few decades brought about unprecedented rapid technological change. The COVID-19 pandemic sped it up and forced digitalized citizenship, digitalized teaching and learning, and permanent engagement through the virtual bond. Many processes were moved to the virtual world and those illiterate in digital tools might have felt excluded or left behind. Technological advancements have had many benefits revealed but they have also had multiple negative effects on the educational process and the well-being of participants of the latter. As our study shows, human social nature opposes the use of the Internet as the main or only medium of human interaction. Our study shows that sole online education is not desirable and is not good for our well-being. In the article, we present empirical research findings from 4 EU countries representing different parts of Europe. A group of researchers from 4 universities joined forces to map the needs of teachers and learners and to identify key factors for well-

being in education in post-pandemic educational settings. Qualitative data came from over 2000 participants (teachers and learners), as a part of a larger case study. In this article, we focus primarily on the data from an online survey in 2022, supplemented by a prior Pilot study in 2021.

Key words: *COVID-19, education system; EDUCATORE project; student; teacher, wellbeing.*

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic shuttered schools and disrupted learning across the globe, creating an urgent need to rethink education. According to UNICEF (2020), this learning crisis was the greatest global challenge in preparing children and adolescents for life, work and active citizenship. This crisis has also highlighted that the closure and opening of schools and universities carry enormous social and economic implications and will have lasting effects on educators, children and youth, on their parents and on societies as a whole. When schools shuttered, teachers were immediately tasked with implementing distance learning modalities, often without sufficient guidance, training, or resources. Research on the adaption models of online education showed that the most favorable results require centralized planning while allowing for local program adjustments (Tonković, Pongračić & Vrsalović, 2020, Doucet et al. 2020). According to UNICEF (2020), even in contexts with adequate infrastructure and connectivity, many educators lacked the most basic ICT skills, as a result of which educators were struggling with their own ongoing professional development, as well as facilitating quality distance learning; teachers' physical health was put at risk when required to provide face-to-face education for the children of essential workers and children in vulnerable situations. Adding to the fear of being exposed to the virus was the fear of losing salaries and benefits, all while coping with increased workloads and family responsibilities. This is especially true of female teachers who had to continue teaching and bore a disproportionate share of family responsibilities. Against this background, the EDUCATORE project was developed. EDUCATORE (*End of Disaster: Undoing Crisis. Active Tutors Open to Reflective Education)* is an EU funded project that seeks to contribute, through the interuniversity exchange of staff and students', to more knowledge about supporting the resilience of students and teachers in a post-epidemic context.

In this article, we present the results of a quantitative study comprising Computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI) and an online survey that were conducted at the beginning of the project with the aim to map the needs of both students and teachers in the four participating countries/regions: Poland, Romania, Croatia and Flanders (the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium). Although we can argue that we are still not out of the clear and the idea of a post-epidemic period is ambiguous (REF), we can already notice that the COVID-19 crisis and the development towards online teaching will have a lasting effect on the development of education. One specific evolution in many countries is a stronger focus on online teaching which is normalized (Ang & Zhang,

2021), and the need to train and support teachers to adopt this new way of working. For instructors, it is important to feel the readiness to adopt this new normalization, in order to be satisfied with the teaching context (Lim, 2022). However, a broader question is whether the shift to online teaching 'should' be a new normalization. The importance of supporting teachers and students to be resilient in this new context is stressed so widely, we might forget to ask if we should support this new normal. Many risks have been mentioned, for instance, technical issues; privacy concerns; the increasing possibility to cheat on exams; digital fatigue; and last but not least the limited interaction: online teaching can limit the amount of interaction and socialization between students and teachers. This can result in a lack of connection and a decrease in the quality of the learning experience. In this article, we address the needs of both teachers and students in a post-pandemic scenario.

Methodology

The aim of the study was to identify factors of scarcity in well-being and resilience during online education. This is a qualitative part of a wider case study (Yazan 2015), where the case is the phenomenon of online education from the perspective of teachers and learners from four countries.

The main method of enquiry was quantitative. It started with a single-country pilot study comprising CAWI (computer-assisted online interviews) to calibrate the questions for the online tools, followed by a joint enquiry carried out in 4 countries using an online survey. Data were collected online, and the participants were volunteers who responded to the open call distributed via university and school networks. The online survey consisted of 18 multiple-choice questions. The sample was not representative, which is the weakness of the study, but we achieved high saturation of similar answers from all countries, which points to a shared experience. We decided to keep the call open for a limited time and teachers and learners from Poland were quicker to respond, which means that perhaps they were in more need to discuss their post-pandemic online education experiences and its reflection on their well-being. This may be because online education in Poland lasted the longest, almost 1 year for the oldest years of elementary school, all secondary schools and higher education. According to STATISTA (2022) during the 2020/2021 academic year, Polish pupils spent roughly seven months learning online (when a school year in Poland lasts ten months). In 2021, Polish parents perceived remote learning as "definitely worse" than in-person education. Only seven percent of respondents considered the online learning method to be better than stationary education (STATISTA, 2021). During online learning, students spend more time in front of display devices. As a result "over 45 percent of pupils reported that their physical health had worsened during the pandemic" (STATISTA, 2022).

It is important to add the timeline of the research. In March and April 2021, the Polish team applied this pilot CAWI to both students and teachers in post-secondary education, receiving 923 answers.

Between April and May 2022 separate surveys; one for teachers and one for students were shared by the respective project partners through Google Forms,. In total 753 students (mean age: 24.5 years old) and 343 teachers (mean age: 41 years old) completed the survey (see figure 1). The majority of the respondents were female (81.7 % for the students; 86 % for the teachers). With regard to the students, 16.6 % of the respondents were male, whereas for the teachers this percentage was 12.2 %. The remaining respondents considered themselves either as non-binary/non-conforming or preferred not to respond to this question.

The surveys were aimed at mapping how students and teachers experienced online education during the pandemic, the impact it had on certain behavior of teachers and students, and what they consider important in relation to post-pandemic education.
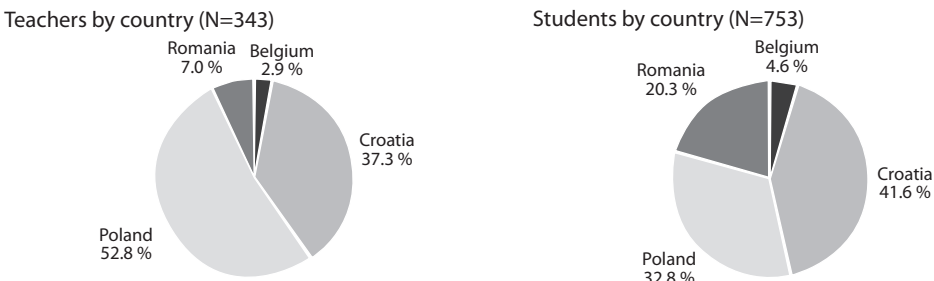

Figure 1. Sample of surveyed students and teachers

Results
Perspectives on online education: A personal consideration

Figure 2 shows that of all students, 28.5 % indicated online education as being worse than in-person education, compared to 42.3 % of the teachers. This picture becomes even clearer when taking a look at the number of respondents indicating online education as being better. As many as 17.8 % of the students compared to only 2.0 % of the teachers perceived online education as better than in-person education. Thus, it is clear that in general, teachers in the study had a more negative or at least a less positive view on online education compared to students. However, both, within the student (48.9 %) and the teacher (46.1 %) group, almost half of the respondents perceived online education to be neither better nor worse, but just different. Therefore, how online education is perceived, seems to be the result of a private consideration, indicating that a lot of personal meaning making is at play. These results are in line with the results obtained by Jurlina, Papo and Potlimbrzović (2022) who explored student perception of online teaching. Although students do not mind online teaching, they perceive it as worse than face-to-face teaching at the university.
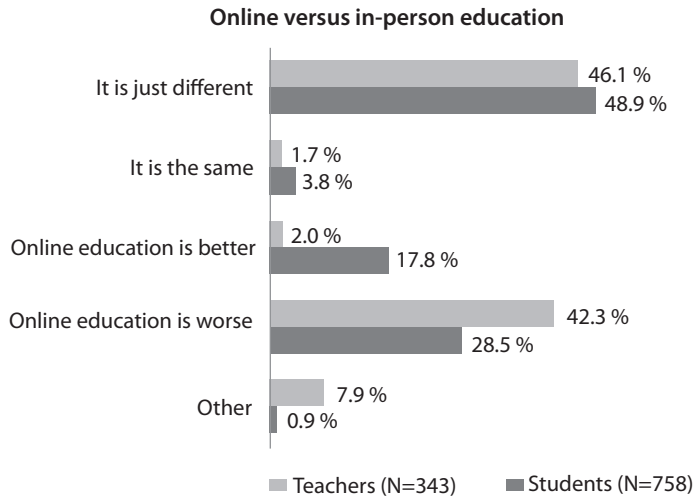
Online versus in-person education

Figure 2. Frequency distribution of perception on online versus in-person education (in percentage)

Inequality of benefits

Even though almost half of the students and teachers take a stance pro or con online education, considerably fewer of them indicate that they experience no advantages (students: 1.5 %; teachers: 12.2 %) or disadvantages (students: 6.1 %; teachers: 0.9 %) at all. This indicates that even though some may perceive online education as better or worse than in-person education, most students and teachers experience at least one advantage and disadvantage of online education. Next to that, it demonstrates that online education not only constitutes a challenge for education, but also brings something to the table. However, there are no universal advantages or disadvantages, highlighting once again that personal meaning-making is at play. Furthermore, Figure 3
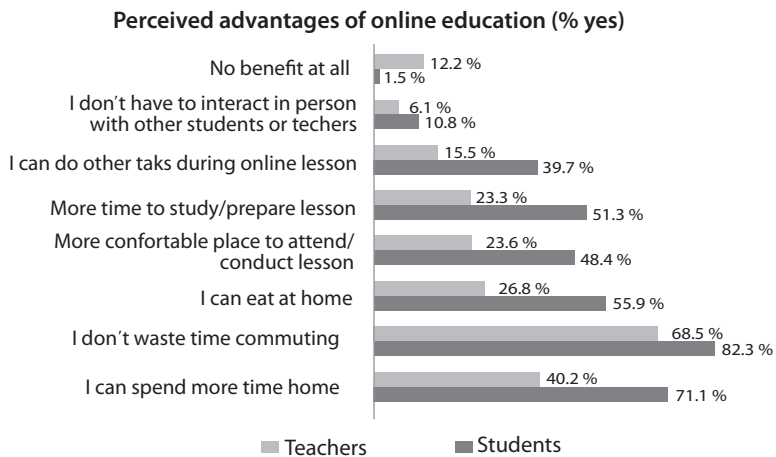
Perceived advantages of online education (% yes)

Figure 3. Frequency distribution of items on advantages of online education (percentage of the respondents indicating yes)

reveals that the teachers in this study seem to be less able to reap the benefits of online education compared to the students. More than half of the students indicated that they do not waste time commuting (82.3 %), can spend more time at home (71.1 %), can eat at home (55.9 %) and have more time to study (51.3 %). In a large-scale survey Croatian students reported that they were able to save money (60 %) because they did not travel to university (Havranek, 2021). In contrast, within the teacher group, only the fact that they do not waste time commuting (68.5 %) is experienced as a benefit by more than half of the teachers. Thus, the benefits of online education seem to be less pronounced and less varied in the teacher group, compared to the student group.

A call for good education

A closer look at Figure 4 on the perceived disadvantages enables two observations. First, both students and teachers have encountered various drawbacks of online education and the ranking of the disadvantages seems to be more or less the same for both teachers and students, indicating that having no contact with students and the routine of sitting behind a computer in the same environment is a major issue for both groups. However, technical problems seem to be more present in the student group with 70.1 % (ranked first) compared to the teacher group (59.8 %, ranked third) and in general, prevalence is higher in the teacher group. Second, teachers indicate having experienced more structural issues with regard to online education, compared to the students. As many as 25.9 % (n=89) of the teachers indicate having a lack of proper place to conduct lessons, compared to 10.6 % (n=80) of the students. Next to that, 19 % (n=65) of teachers indicate lacking a computer or other electronic devices to conduct lessons and 14.8 % (n=50) of them lack adequate internet access due to financial reasons. In comparison, within the student group, this is 6.6 % (n=50) and 5.4 % (n=41) respectively. However, even these numbers are still considerable in the light of socially just education and equal opportunities in education. Both teachers (79 %) and students (64 %) state the lack of personal contact with other students as one of the biggest disadvantages of online learning. This leads to a high number of both teachers (75 %) and students (55 %) stating that they spent too much time in front of the screen. These results seem to confirm the results of the big research in Croatia where 43 % of students reported using social media in an unhealthy way since it was the only way to be in contact with colleagues (Havranek, 2021).

Similar results were obtained by Puljak et al. (2020). In their research, most students agreed that they and their institutions/teachers had adapted quickly to exclusively e-learning, that they had adequate information technologies at home to participate in e-learning, and that institutions supported them in technological adjustment, but this was not unanimous. There seems to be a number of students that had relevant issues when taking part in online education. In Poland, according to national statistics, the problems faced during the pandemic were the lack of equipment, insufficient preparation of teachers, information chaos, students dropping out, and disappearing (Centrum

Cyfrowe, 2021). A decrease in the quality of teaching and learning was reported by the Highest National Audit Chamber (NIK, 2022). This prolonged situation was not addressed adequately, with not enough planning ahead and continuing temporary – ad hoc measures lasted too long. It resulted in poorer educational attainment of students, worse learning outcomes and increased mental health problems.
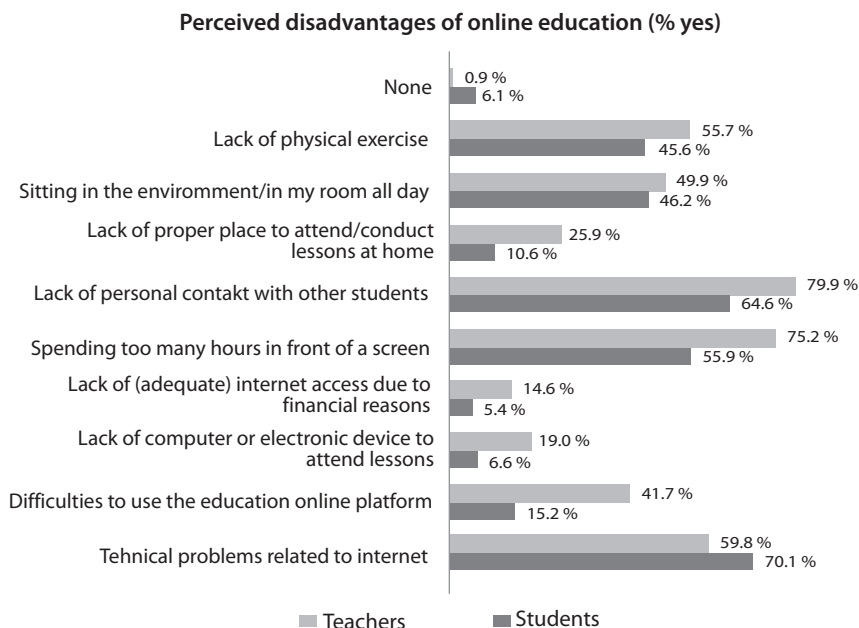
Perceived disadvantages of online education (% yes)

Figure 4. Frequency distribution of items on disadvantages of online education (percentage of the respondents indicating yes)

Both observations on the disadvantages of online education also shed light on the broader meaning of what constitutes 'good education'. It makes clear that for both students and teachers, education is not only about schooling and learning, but also about interpersonal contacts and the school as a pedagogic province different from the family (a place to go to, being away from the home context). This is illuminated even further in the answers to the question what students and teachers consider most needed when returning to on-site education, as is presented in Figure 5 and 6. It is clear that for both the students and the teachers in the research, there is no fix-all focus. Nevertheless, in general, attention is paid to the meaning of education. Students do not ask for specific competencies or psychosocial counselling like integration/ resilience/wellbeing workshops (7.9 %, n=60), support in dealing with difficult situations (16.4 %, n=124) or support in coping with depressed mood or depression (20.1 %, n=152), but they call for developing good education and a broad perspective on the function of education, with attention for rebuilding the relationships between students (38.7 %, n=293), a transition period for their re- adaptation to classroom work (37.5 %, n=284), a consistent plan for returning to on-site education (32.5 %, n=246)

and rebuilding the student-teacher relationships (31.5 %, n=239). In accordance with these findings, 45.2 % of teachers (n=155) stress the importance of the restoration of the educational community and 37.6 % of teachers (n=129) emphasize the importance of a consistent plan for returning to on-site education. However, in the teacher group, the picture is less clear-cut since the teachers also stress the importance of acquiring specific competences and attitudes, such as raising the level of one's own emotional resources (32.7 %, n=112) or support in recognizing difficulties related to depression in students (30.9 %, n=106). Still, in general, it could be stated that both students and teachers indicate that developing good education from a broad perspective can alleviate crises like the COVID health crisis. In the four countries the public debate focused mainly on the learning deficit of students, but it might be important to broaden the debate.

Needs of students when returning to on-site edication

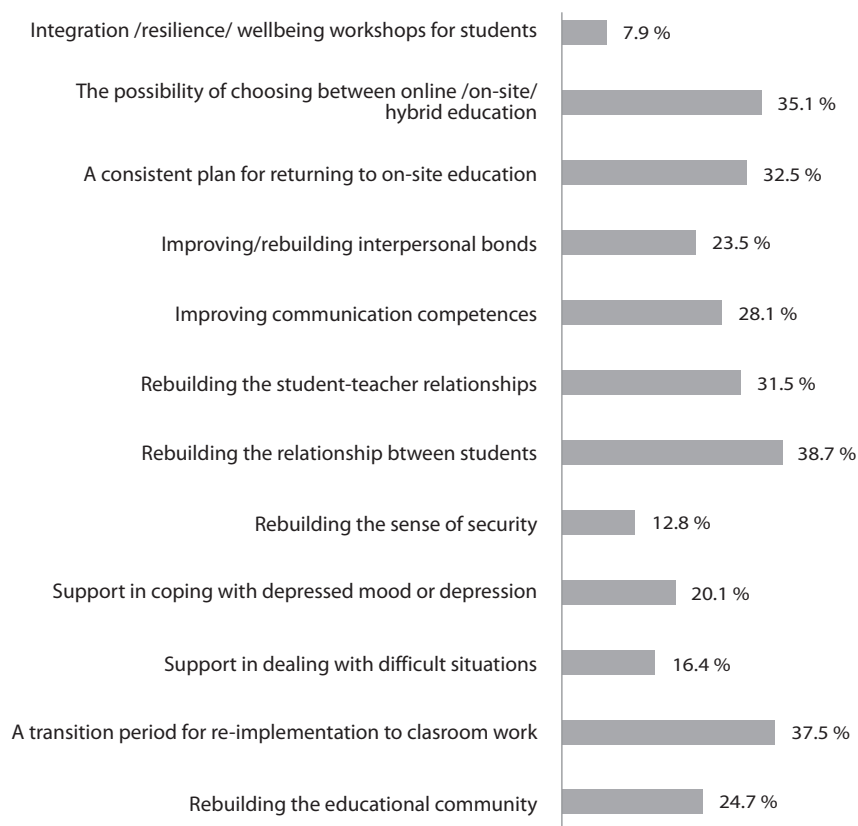|	
Integration /resilience/ wellbeing workshops for students	7.9 %
The possibility of choosing between online /on-site/ hybrid education	35.1 %
A consistent plan for returning to on-site education	32.5 %
Improving/rebuilding interpersonal bonds	23.5 %
Improving communication competences	28.1 %
Rebuilding the student-teacher relationships	31.5 %
Rebuilding the relationship btween students	38.7 %
Rebuilding the sense of security	12.8 %
Support in coping with depressed mood or depression	20.1 %
Support in dealing with difficult situations	16.4 %
A transition period for re-implementation to clasroom work	37.5 %
Rebuilding the educational community	24.7 %

Figure 5. Frequency distribution for needs of students (percentage of the students indicating yes)

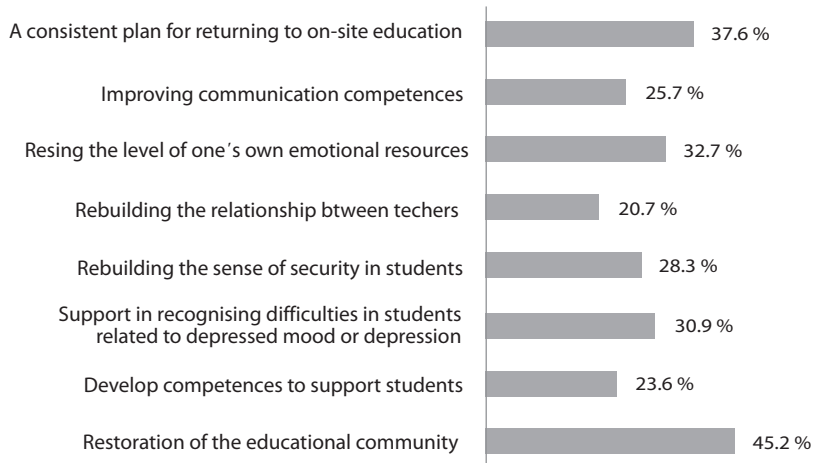**Needs of teachers when returning to on-site education**

Figure 6. Frequency distribution for needs of teachers (percentage of the teachers indicating yes)

Teacher wellbeing matters

Of all the teachers, 87.8 % (n=301) state that their wellbeing has an extremely high impact on student outcomes (see Figure 7). This indicates their perceiving themselves and their wellbeing to be inextricably linked with student performance and their wellbeing. Figure 8 shows that compared to the student population, teachers also seem to be in need of more support to increase their wellbeing, especially when it comes to a feeling of purpose and self-worth (teachers: 42.0 %, n=144; students: 28.1 %, n=213) and positive feelings and a sense of reward (teachers: 38.5 %, n=132; students: 24.5 %, n=186).

How much does teacher well-being contribute to better educational outcomes of students? (N=342)
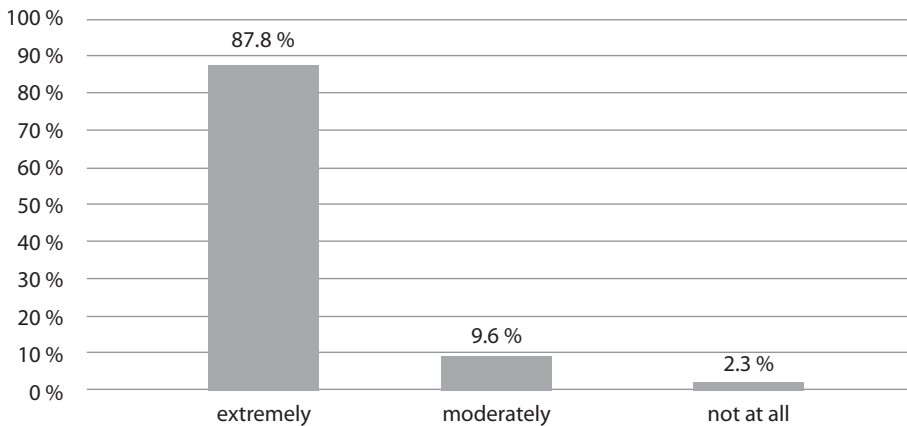

Figure 7. Frequency distribution of teachers' perception on the contribution of teacher well-being on educational outcomes.

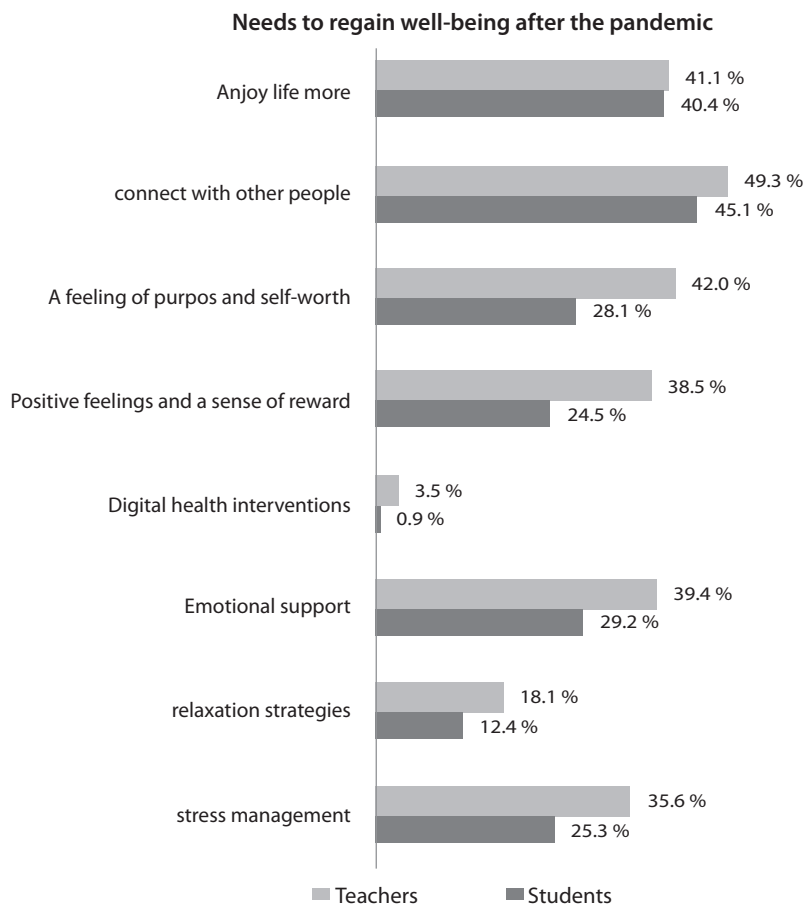**Needs to regain well-being after the pandemic**

Figure 8. Frequency distribution of items on needs of students and teachers to regain well-begin after the pandemic (percentage of the respondents indicating yes)

Discussion

Looking at these results, there is no unambiguous idea about how to deal with the problem of well-being in reaction to the development of online teaching. The results give a very mixed image about how people experienced online teaching and what this meant for them, or what they deem important to keep in mind returning to 'normal education'. It is clear that there is a need for support for both teachers and youngsters, but especially that, if we want to support the well-being and educational outcomes of youngsters, we need to support the well-being of teachers and increase their feelings of self-worth and recognition. This is a huge challenge in the current context of education in some countries. For instance, in Belgium, Croatia, Poland and Romania there is a workforce crisis in education, as there is a lack of teachers, and they feel unappreciated in society (European Commission, 2013; Spruyt et al., 2021). This

urges us to think not only about how to deal with the post pandemic organization of education as a technical matter, but to see this discussion in a broader picture focusing on the meaning of education in society and what it means to be a student and a teacher. It is clear that addressing the issues of well-being of students cannot be reduced to only technical solutions, in which we address a lack of skills or motivation to teach or study online, or where we focus on technological advances. Both students and teachers refer to the importance of interpersonal contacts and the school as being a different learning context than home. Although, as it was mentioned in the introduction, the COVID-19 pandemic forced many educational institutions to adopt remote and online learning models, the importance of in-person education clearly remains critical for many respondents, as is also shown in the results. The pandemic has highlighted the need of in-person education as an answer to well-being or youngsters and teachers, as individuals have the need to connect and interact with one another physically, socially, and emotionally. This urges educational institutions to take a critical stance towards developments that followed the pandemic and the increase of the diffusion of technology through online courses. While this has been argued for in the case of new teaching methods such as blended learning, the argument has also been made that this development is being pushed by university managers for totally different reasons. In one of the authors' universities for instance, the main argument for more online teaching has been the impact on needed space. Working online saves the need for classrooms and – given the current energy crisis – the need for using energy. For instance, the service planning the rooms for lectures calculates teachers will only need a room calculated for half the students, assuming teachers will stream there courses and follow the 'new normal'. What is lacking in this debate, however, is often a perspective on what good education really is or should be. This development links to the critiques of the neoliberalization of educational institutions, which is characterized by a shift towards a more market-oriented approach to education. This goes hand in hand with an increasing emphasis on individualism. Students are increasingly viewed as customers, and universities are competing to provide them with the best value for money. This has led to a greater emphasis on individual choice and flexibility, with students being encouraged to design their own programs of study and take control of their own learning. In this development, the 'needs' of the students become the hallmark of good education. The emphasis shifts to outcomes of teaching, rather than education as a meaningful act in itself (Nussbaum, 2016). This has led to an increasing reliance on standardized testing and performance metrics to measure teacher effectiveness, which creates a culture of accountability and surveillance, where teachers are under constant pressure to demonstrate their value in quantifiable terms. It is clear that the neoliberalization of education has significant implications for the role of teachers. This does not contribute to well-being and a sense of purpose of teachers, but can create a sense of anxiety and stress. In a neoliberal education system, teachers are increasingly viewed as service providers whose primary responsibility

is to deliver specific outcomes to students. This focus on the outcomes can lead to a narrowing of the curriculum, with an increasing emphasis on subjects that are seen to have immediate practical applications in the workplace. This has led to a decline in the importance placed on subjects that are deemed to be less directly relevant, such as arts and humanities. The neoliberalization of education can also lead to an increasing commercialisztion of teaching materials and resources. Teachers may find themselves pressured to use specific textbooks and other resources that are aligned with the goals of the market, rather than those that are best suited to their educational goals. But most importantly, the shift towards a more market-oriented approach to education can lead to a decline in the autonomy and professional judgment of teachers. Teachers may find themselves subject to increasing scrutiny and oversight, with less control over their own classrooms and curriculum.

In conclusion, the neoliberalization of education has had significant implications for the role of teachers.

In such an approach, pushing online teaching forward as the new normal might be a way of pushing a neoliberal technical agenda. However, this agenda leads to a decline in the sense of community and collective responsibility, which was stressed by both the teachers and the students as being important, and as such leads to a decline in the quality of education, while both teachers and students deem this sense of community of vital importance.

Public discourse in Poland has been focused on post-pandemic problems with the mental health of children and youths. There is a significant volume of evidence that overall children and youths did not react well to isolation, to lack of personal contact with their teachers and peers, and to increased exposure to spending time online (cf. Szczepaniak 2021). There is an increase of 20 % in suicide attempts, suicides (5 %), psychological crisis, depression, growing reports of mental issues and mental illnesses amongst children and adolescents (Szczepaniak, 2021). The core symptom of these disorders is severe anxiety, which may manifest itself in different ways and may include amongst its effects: "difficulties in learning, remembering, and concentrating on the text being read. Some students find it very difficult or even impossible to study remotely and to use new technologies [...] this excludes them from participating in important academic activities and benefiting from them" (Zabłocka-Żytka, 2022, p.96). A similar situational focus was observed in Macedonia from the early start of the pandemic (Stankovska et al. 2020) and in the US, with more focus on exclusion from social services (Farkas & Romaniuk 2020).

The abovementioned developments not only have a great impact on the well-being of students, but also on how we perceive students. The Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben (2020) wrote a poignant essay called "A Requiem for the Students", stating that the choice for online teaching reflected the end of being a student as a form of life. He states that

> *"Universities were born in Europe from student associations — universitates — and they owe their name to them. To be a student entailed first of all a form of life in which studying and listening to lectures were certainly decisive features, but no less important were encounters and constant exchanges with other* scholarii, *who often came from remote places and who gathered together according to their place of origin in* nations".
>
> *(…) Anyone who has taught in a university classroom knows well how, in front of one's very eyes, friendships are made, and, according to their cultural and political interests, small study and research groups are formed that continue even after classes have ended. (Agamben, 2020)*

According to Agamben, all this will now disappear. He ends his essay with two remarks:

> *"Professors who agree — as they are doing* en masse *— to submit to the new dictatorship of telematics and to hold their courses only* online *are the perfect equivalent of the university teachers who in 1931 swore allegiance to the Fascist regime. As happened then, it is likely that only fifteen out of a thousand will refuse, but their names will surely be remembered alongside those of the fifteen who did not take the oath.*
>
> *Students who truly love to study will have to refuse to enroll in universities transformed in this way, and, as in the beginning, constitute themselves in new* universitates, *only within which, in the face of technological barbarism, the word of the past might remain alive and something like a new culture be born — if it will be born. (Agamben, 2020)*

Although here Agamben is referring to the Italian situation, his essay is a warning for educational institutions in general. The debate on the well-being of students and teachers could be easily reduced to a quest for individual needs. We are living in a "happycratie", as Cabanas and Illouz (2018) call it, where people are told they should and can be happy, if only they manage themselves in the right way. In such a context, risks and uncertainty should be avoided at all costs. Education becomes characterized by 'phrophetic pedagogy' (Moss, 2016) where everything that is about to happen is clear and predictable. As such, the beautiful risk of education (Biesta, 2013) is reduced to technical knowledge delivery.

Conclusions

This study stands in line with the array of research from other countries, contributing to the ones that focus on declared wellbeing (Alves, Lopes & Precioso, 2020; Billaudeau et al., 2022; Chan at al. 2021; Dabrowski, 2020; Lau et al. 2022; Mäkelä et al., 2022; Walter & Fox, 2021). In all of them, including this one, some of the main challenges for online education during COVID-19 were the lack of appropriate preparation, exhaustion from being expected to control an uncontrollable environment and support students without direct contact. Murphy (2020) also observed the need for re-thinking the aims of tuition and the consequences of lack of direct social contact. Controversially, Ellis

et al (2020) claim however, that having a meaningful social network online helped teenagers during the pandemic to deal with anxiety and stress. However, for instance, teachers in Poland had a rough time even before the COVID-19 outbreak. Data shows that the biggest problems faced by teachers in Poland are: overwork (68 % rated as "moderate" or "to a high degree"), employment instability (67 %), unsatisfactory earnings (78 %) and the generally low regard for the profession (69 %) (OECD, 2013). In 2019, about 80 % of teachers in Poland went on strike due to working conditions, mainly due to being overworked and underpaid. This strike is referred to as the largest strike in the history of Polish education since 1993 (Madalińska-Michalak, 2019). However, the situation does not seem to have improved since, and teachers in Poland are still among the lowest paid in the EU, even when receiving the cost-of-living adjustment. Both starting salaries and those at the top of the pay scale are in the EU's bottom four (EURYDICE, 2022), followed closely by Romania, and a few points higher, Croatia.

Of course, the COVID-19 crisis brought about new ideas and possibilities of working and meeting and has brought positive changes. For instance, more students can have access to education when online possibilities are available. Or, from an ecological point of view, less travelling is needed with online work. However, the question is how we make sure not to give up the idea of a good education as a sense of meaning-making, where teaching is a form of community building. This research shows that the most important actors in education – teachers and students – both stress the importance of personal interaction. We suggest listening to them, instead of letting the managerial logic push us away from what education really should be.

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Quo Vadis, Homo Digitalis? Razmišljanje o dobrobitima u obrazovanju i pandemiji bolesti COVID-19 u Belgiji, Hrvatskoj, Poljskoj i Rumunjskoj

Sažetak

Posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća došlo je do neviđeno brzih tehnoloških promjena. Pandemija bolesti COVID-19 ubrzala ih je te prisilno digitalizirala građane, digitalizirala poučavanje i učenje te nametnula stalni angažman putem virtualne veze. Mnogi su procesi premješteni u virtualni svijet, a oni nepismeni u digitalnim alatima osjećali su se isključenima ili zapostavljenima. Tehnološki napredak otkrio je mnoge prednosti, ali je također imao i višestruko negativne učinke na obrazovni proces i dobrobit njegovih sudionika. Kao što pokazuje naša studija, ljudska društvena priroda protivi se korištenju interneta kao glavnoga ili jedinoga medija ljudske interakcije. Naša studija pokazuje da isključivo internetsko obrazovanje nije poželjno i nije dobro za našu dobrobit. U ovom članku predstavljamo rezultate empirijskih istraživanja iz 4 zemlje članice EU koje predstavljaju različite dijelove Europe. Skupina istraživača s 4 sveučilišta udružila je snage kako bi prikazala potrebe nastavnika i učenika te identificirala ključne čimbenike za dobrobit u obrazovanju u poslijepandemijskom obrazovnom okružju. Kvalitativni podatci prikupljeni su od više od 2000 sudionika (nastavnika i učenika) i dio su veće analize slučaja. U ovom se članku prvenstveno usredotočujemo na podatke iz internetske ankete iz 2022. godine, dopunjene prethodnom pokusnom studijom iz 2021. godine.

Ključne riječi: *COVID-19; dobrobit; nastavnik; obrazovni sustav; projekt EDUCATORE; učenik.*

Uvod

Pandemija koronavirusa zatvorila je škole i poremetila učenje diljem svijeta, stvarajući hitnu potrebu za preispitivanjem obrazovanja. Prema UNICEF-u (2020), ova kriza učenja bila je najveći globalni izazov u pripremi djece i adolescenata za život, rad i sudjelovanje u aktivnom građanstvu. Ova je kriza također naglasila da zatvaranje i otvaranje škola i sveučilišta ima goleme društvene i gospodarske posljedice te da će

imati trajne učinke na nastavnike, djecu i mlade, na njihove roditelje i na društva u cjelini. Kada su se škole zatvorile, nastavnici su odmah dobili za zadatak implementirati oblike učenja na daljinu, često bez dovoljno smjernica, obuke ili sredstava. Istraživanja modela prilagodbe *online* obrazovanja pokazala su da najpovoljniji rezultati zahtijevaju centralizirano planiranje, a istovremeno omogućuju prilagodbe lokalnih programa (Tonković, Pongračić i Vrsalović, 2020; Doucet i sur. 2020). Prema UNICEF-u (2020), čak i u kontekstu odgovarajuće infrastrukture i povezanosti, mnogim su nastavnicima nedostajale najosnovnije IKT vještine, zbog čega su se borili s vlastitim stalnim profesionalnim razvojem, kao i olakšavanjem kvalitetnoga učenja na daljinu; tjelesno zdravlje nastavnika bilo je ugroženo kada je bilo potrebno omogućiti obrazovanje licem u lice za djecu ljudi zaposlenih u neophodnim službama i djecu u ranjivim društvenim skupinama. Dodatni strah, uz onaj od izloženosti virusu, bio je strah od gubitka plaća i naknada, a sve to uz istovremeno suočavanje s povećanim radnim opterećenjem i obiteljskim obvezama. To se posebno odnosi na nastavnice koje su morale nastaviti poučavati, a imale su i nerazmjeran udio u obiteljskim obvezama. U tom kontekstu razvijen je projekt EDUCATORE. EDUCATORE (*Kraj katastrofe: Poništavanje krize. Aktivni nastavnici otvoreni za refleksiju u obrazovanju)* projekt je financiran sredstvima EU-a kojim se međusveučilišnom razmjenom zaposlenika i studenata nastoji doprinijeti većem znanju o podupiranju otpornosti studenata i profesora u poslijeepidemijskom kontekstu.

U ovom članku predstavljamo rezultate kvantitativne studije koja se sastoji od računalno potpomognutoga internetskog anketiranja (CAWI) i internetske ankete koja je provedena na početku projekta s ciljem prikaza potreba učenika i nastavnika u četiri zemlje/regije sudionice: Poljskoj, Rumunjskoj, Hrvatskoj i Flandriji (dio Belgije u kojem se govori nizozemski). Iako možemo tvrditi da još uvijek nismo izvan opasnosti i da je ideja o razdoblju nakon epidemije dvosmislena (REF), već možemo primijetiti da će kriza uzrokovana pandemijom COVID-19 i razvoj prema *online* nastavi imati trajan učinak na razvoj obrazovanja. Ono što se posebno razvilo u mnogim zemljama jest stavljanje snažnoga naglaska na *online* nastavu koja se normalizira (Ang i Zhang, 2021), i potreba da se nastavnici osposobe te da im se pruži podrška kako bi usvojili ovaj novi način rada. Jedna specifična evolucija u mnogim zemljama jest snažniji fokus na *online* nastavu, koja se normalizira (Ang i; Zhang, 2021.), i potreba za osposobljavanjem i podrškom nastavnicima da usvoje ovaj novi način rada. Nastavnicima je važno da osjete spremnost za usvajanje ove nove normalizacije, kako bi bili zadovoljni nastavnim kontekstom (Lim, 2022). Međutim, šire je pitanje treba li prelazak na *online* nastavu biti novo normalno. Važnost podrške nastavnicima i učenicima da budu otporni u ovom novom kontekstu toliko je naglašena da bismo mogli zaboraviti pitati trebamo li uopće podržati to novo normalno. Spomenuti su mnogi rizici, na primjer, tehnička pitanja, pitanja privatnosti, sve veća mogućnost varanja na ispitima, digitalni umor, i na kraju, ali ne manje važno, ograničena interakcija: *online* nastava može ograničiti količinu interakcije i socijalizacije između učenika i nastavnika. To može rezultirati

nedostatkom povezanosti i smanjenjem kvalitete iskustva samoga učenja (reference). U ovom članku navodimo potrebe i nastavnika i učenika u scenariju nakon pandemije.

Metodologija

Cilj istraživanja bio je identificirati čimbenike oskudice u dobrobiti i otpornosti tijekom *online* nastave. To je kvalitativni dio šire analize slučaja (Yazan, 2015) pri čemu je slučaj fenomen *online* nastave iz perspektive nastavnika i učenika iz četiri zemlje.

Glavna metoda istraživanja bila je kvantitativna. Započela je pokusnom studijom iz jedne zemlje koja se sastojala od CAWI-ja (računalno potpomognutoga internetskoga anketiranja) kako bi se kalibrirala pitanja za internetske alate, nakon čega je uslijedilo zajedničko istraživanje provedeno u četiri zemlje putem internetske ankete. Podatci su prikupljeni putem interneta, a sudionici su bili volonteri koji su se odazvali otvorenom pozivu distribuiranom putem sveučilišnih i školskih mreža. Internetsko istraživanje sastojalo se od 18 pitanja s odgovorima višestrukoga izbora. Uzorak nije bio reprezentativan, što je slabost studije, ali postigli smo visoku zasićenost sličnih odgovora iz svih zemalja, što ukazuje na slično iskustvo. Odlučili smo da poziv ostane otvoren ograničeno vrijeme, a nastavnici i učenici iz Poljske su brže reagirali, što znači da su možda imali veću potrebu razgovarati o svojim iskustvima *online* nastave nakon pandemije te kako ona utječe na njihovu dobrobit. To može biti zato što je *online* nastava u Poljskoj najduže trajala, gotovo godinu dana za više razrede osnovne škole, sve srednje škole i visoko obrazovanje. Prema STATISTA-i (2022) tijekom školske godine 2020./2021. poljski učenici proveli su otprilike sedam mjeseci učeći putem interneta (školska godina u Poljskoj traje deset mjeseci). Poljski su roditelji 2021. godine učenje na daljinu doživljavali kao „definitivno gore" od obrazovanja uživo. Samo sedam posto ispitanika smatra da je metoda učenja na daljinu bolja od obrazovanja uživo (STATISTA, 2021). Tijekom *online* učenja učenici provode više vremena ispred ekrana. Kao rezultat toga, „više od 45 posto učenika izvijestilo je da im se fizičko zdravlje pogoršalo tijekom pandemije" (STATISTA, 2022).

Važno je dodati vremensku crtu istraživanja. U ožujku i travnju 2021. poljski tim primijenio je ovaj pokusni CAWI i na studente i profesore u visokom obrazovanju, dobivši 923 odgovora.

Između travnja i svibnja 2022. zasebne ankete; jednu za profesore i jednu za studente podijelili su odgovarajući projektni partneri putem obrasca Google Forms. Ukupno 753 studenata (prosječna dob: 24,5 godina) i 343 profesora (srednja dob: 41 godina) ispunilo je anketu (vidi Sliku 1). Većina ispitanika bile su žene (81,7 % za studente; 86 % za profesore). Kad je riječ o studentima, 16,6 % ispitanika bili su muškarci, dok je za profesore taj postotak iznosio 12,2 %. Preostali ispitanici izjasnili su se nebinarnim ili su odabrali ne odgovoriti na ovo pitanje.

Cilj je bio pomoću ankete prikazati kako su studenti i profesori doživjeli *online* nastavu tijekom pandemije, utjecaj koji je ona imala na određeno ponašanje profesora i studenata te što smatraju važnim u vezi s poslijepandemijskim obrazovanjem.

Slika 1.

Rezultati

Pogledi na online nastavu: osobno razmatranje

Slika 2 pokazuje da je 28,5 % od ukupnoga broja studenata navelo da je *online* nastava lošija od nastave uživo, u usporedbi s 42,3 % profesora. Ova slika postaje još jasnija kada pogledate broj ispitanika koji ukazuju na to da je *online* nastava bolja. Čak 17,8 % studenata u usporedbi sa samo 2, 0 % profesora percipiralo je *online* nastavu boljom od nastave uživo. Stoga je jasno da su profesori u studiji općenito imali negativniji ili barem manje pozitivan pogled na *online* nastavu u usporedbi sa studentima. Međutim, unutar obje grupe, studenata (48,9 %) i profesora (46,1 %), gotovo polovica ispitanika smatra da *online* nastava nije ni bolja ni lošija, već samo drugačija. Stoga se čini da je način na koji se percipira *online* nastava rezultat osobnoga razmatranja, što ukazuje na to da je osobno mišljenje vrlo bitno. Ovi rezultati u skladu su s rezultatima koje su dobili Jurlina, Papo i Potlimbrzović (2022) koji su istraživali percepciju studenata o *online* nastavi. Iako studentima ne smeta *online* nastava, doživljavaju je kao goru od predavanja uživo na sveučilištu.

Slika 2.

Nejednakost dobrobiti

Iako gotovo polovica studenata i profesora zauzima stav za ili protiv *online* nastave, znatno manje njih ukazuje na to da ne doživljavaju nikakve prednosti (studenti: 1,5 %; profesori: 12,2 %) ili nedostatke (studenti: 6,1 %; profesori: 0,9 %) uopće. To ukazuje na to da, iako neki *online* nastavu mogu smatrati boljom ili lošijom od nastave uživo, većina studenata i profesora doživljava barem jednu prednost i nedostatak *online* nastave. Osim toga, pokazuje da nastava na daljinu ne samo da predstavlja izazov za obrazovanje, već ima i neke pozitivne strane. Međutim, ne postoje univerzalne prednosti ili nedostaci, naglašavajući još jednom da je stvaranje osobnoga mišljenja vrlo bitno. Nadalje, Slika 3 otkriva da se čini da su profesori u ovom istraživanju manje sposobni iskoristiti prednosti *online* nastave u usporedbi sa studentima. Više od polovice studenata navelo je da ne gubi vrijeme na putovanje na fakultet (82,3 %), može provesti više vremena kod kuće (71,1 %), može jesti kod kuće (55,9 %) i ima više vremena za učenje (51,3 %). U opsežnom istraživanju hrvatski su studenti izvijestili da su uspjeli uštedjeti novac (60 %) jer nisu putovali na fakultet (Havranek, 2021.). Nasuprot tome, unutar skupine profesora jedino se činjenica da ne gube vrijeme na putovanje na posao (68,5 %) doživljava kao prednost kod više od polovice profesora. Stoga se čini da su prednosti nastave na daljinu manje izražene i manje raznolike u skupini profesora u usporedbi sa skupinom studenata.

Slika 3.

Poziv na dobro obrazovanje

Bolji pogled na Sliku 4 s uočenim nedostatcima omogućuje dva opažanja. Prvo, i učenici i nastavnici susreli su se s različitim nedostatcima nastave na daljinu, a čini se da je poredak nedostataka manje-više jednak i kod nastavnika i kod učenika, što ukazuje na to da je nedostatak kontakta s učenicima i rutina sjedenja za računalom u istom okružju glavni problem za obje skupine. Međutim, čini se da su tehnički problemi prisutniji u skupini učenika sa 70,1 % (prvo mjesto) u usporedbi sa skupinom nastavnika (59,8 %, na trećem mjestu) i općenito, učestalost je veća u skupini nastavnika. Drugo, nastavnici ukazuju na to da su imali više konstruktivnih problema u pogledu *online* nastave, u usporedbi s učenicima. Čak 25,9 % (n = 89) nastavnika ukazuje na nedostatak odgovarajućega mjesta za izvođenje nastave, u usporedbi s 10,6 % (n = 80) učenika. Uz to, 19 % (n = 65) nastavnika navodi nedostatak računala ili drugih elektroničkih uređaja za provođenje nastave i 14,8 % (n = 50) njih nema adekvatan pristup internetu zbog financijskih razloga. Za usporedbu, unutar skupine učenika, to je 6,6 % (n = 50) i 5,4 % (n = 41). Međutim, čak su i ti brojevi još uvijek značajni s obzirom na socijalno pravedno obrazovanje i jednake mogućnosti u obrazovanju. I nastavnici (79 %) i učenici (64 %) navode nedostatak osobnoga kontakta s drugim učenicima kao jedan od najvećih nedostataka nastave na daljinu. To dovodi do velikoga broja nastavnika (75 %) i učenika (55 %) koji navode da su previše vremena proveli ispred ekrana. Čini se da ovi rezultati potvrđuju rezultate velikoga istraživanja u Hrvatskoj pri čemu je 43 % učenika prijavilo nezdravo korištenje društvenih mreža jer je to bio jedini način da budu u kontaktu s kolegama (Havranek, 2021).

Slika 4.

Slične rezultate dobili su Puljak i sur. U svojem istraživanju većina učenika složila se da su se oni i njihove institucije/nastavnici brzo prilagodili isključivo e-učenju, da su kod kuće imali odgovarajuće informatičke tehnologije za sudjelovanje u e-učenju i da su ih institucije podržavale u tehnološkoj prilagodbi, ali to nije bilo jednoglasno. Čini se da postoji određeni broj učenika koji su imali relevantnih problema prilikom sudjelovanja u *online* nastavi. U Poljskoj su, prema nacionalnim statistikama, problemi koji su se pojavili tijekom pandemije, bili nedostatak opreme, nedovoljna priprema nastavnika, informacijski kaos, odustajanje učenika i njihovo nestajanje (Centrum Cyfrowe, 2021.). Smanjenje kvalitete poučavanja i učenja prijavilo je Najviše državno revizijsko vijeće u Poljskoj (NIK, 2022.). Ta dugotrajna situacija nije riješena na odgovarajući način, s nedovoljnim planiranjem unaprijed i nastavkom privremenoga – *ad hoc* mjere trajale su predugo. To je rezultiralo lošijim obrazovnim postignućem učenika, lošijim ishodima učenja i povećanim problemima mentalnoga zdravlja.

Oba opažanja o nedostatcima nastave na daljinu također su rasvijetlila šire značenje onoga što čini „dobro obrazovanje". Jasno je da se i za učenike i za nastavnike obrazovanje ne odnosi samo na školovanje i učenje, već i na međuljudske kontakte i školu kao pedagošku okolinu različitu od obitelji (mjesto na koje treba ići, a razlikuje se od

kućnoga konteksta). To je dodatno pojašnjeno u odgovorima na pitanje što učenici i nastavnici smatraju najpotrebnijim pri povratku obrazovanju uživo, kao što je prikazano na slici 5 i 6. Jasno je da i za učenike i za nastavnike u istraživanju nema fokusiranja na univerzalno rješenje. Ipak, općenito, pozornost se posvećuje značenju obrazovanja. Učenici ne traže posebne kompetencije ili psihosocijalno savjetovanje poput radionica integracije /otpornosti/ dobrobiti (7,9 %, n = 60), ne traže podršku u suočavanju s teškim situacijama (16,4 %, n = 124) ili podršku u suočavanju s depresivnim raspoloženjem ili depresijom (20,1 %, n = 152), ali pozivaju na razvoj dobroga obrazovanja i širi pogled na ulogu obrazovanja, s pažnjom za obnovu odnosa među učenicima (38,7 %, n = 293), prijelazno razdoblje za njihovu ponovnu prilagodbu radu u učionici (37,5 %, n = 284), dosljedan plan za povratak obrazovanju uživo (32,5 %, n = 246) i obnovu odnosa između učenika i nastavnika (31,5 %, n = 239). U skladu s tim nalazima, 45,2 % nastavnika (n = 155) naglašava važnost obnove odgojno-obrazovne zajednice, a 37,6 % nastavnika (n = 129) naglašava važnost dosljednoga plana za povratak obrazovanju uživo. Međutim, u skupini nastavnika slika je manje jasna jer oni također naglašavaju važnost stjecanja određenih kompetencija i stavova, poput podizanja razine vlastitih emocionalnih sredstava (32,7 %, n = 112) ili podrške u prepoznavanju poteškoća povezanih s depresijom kod učenika (30,9 %, n = 106). Ipak, općenito bi se moglo reći da i učenici i nastavnici ukazuju na to da razvoj dobroga obrazovanja iz šire perspektive može ublažiti krize poput zdravstvene krize COVID-a. U četiri zemlje javna rasprava bila je uglavnom usredotočena na pomanjkanje učenja kod učenika, ali možda bi bilo potrebno proširiti raspravu.

Slika 5.

Slika 6.

Dobrobit nastavnika je važna

Od svih nastavnika, 87,8 % (n = 301) navodi da njihova dobrobit ima izuzetno visok utjecaj na rezultate učenika (vidi Sliku 7). To ukazuje na to da su njihovo poimanje sebe i svoje dobrobiti neraskidivo povezani s uspjehom učenika i njihovom dobrobiti. Slika 8 pokazuje da se u usporedbi s populacijom učenika čini da nastavnicima također treba veća podrška kako bi povećali svoju dobrobit, posebno kada je riječ o osjećaju svrhe i vlastite vrijednosti (nastavnici: 42,0 %, n = 144; učenici: 28,1 %, n = 213) i pozitivnim osjećajima te osjećaju priznanja (učitelji: 38,5 %, n = 132; studenti: 24,5 %, n = 186).

Slika 7.

Slika 8

Diskusija

Gledajući ove rezultate, ne postoji jednoznačna ideja o tome kako se nositi s problemom dobrobiti kao odgovorom na razvoj nastave na daljinu. Rezultati daju vrlo mješovitu sliku o tome kako su ljudi iskusili *online* nastavu i što to znači za njih

ili što smatraju važnim imati na umu pri povratku „normalnom obrazovanju". Jasno je da postoji potreba za podrškom i nastavnicima i mladima, ali posebno je bitno da, ako želimo podržati dobrobit i obrazovne rezultate mladih, moramo podržati dobrobit nastavnika i povećati njihov osjećaj vlastite vrijednosti i priznanja. To je veliki izazov u trenutačnom kontekstu obrazovanja u nekim zemljama. Na primjer, u Belgiji, Hrvatskoj, Poljskoj i Rumunjskoj kriza je u zapošljavanju u obrazovanju jer nedostaje nastavnika, a oni se osjećaju neprihvaćeno u društvu (Europska komisija, 2013.; Spruyt i sur., 2021). To nas potiče na razmišljanje ne samo o tome kako se nositi s organizacijom obrazovanja nakon pandemije kao tehničkim pitanjem, već i o tome da vidimo širu sliku ove rasprave s naglaskom na značenje obrazovanja u društvu i o tome što znači biti učenik ili nastavnik. Jasno je da se rješavanje pitanja dobrobiti učenika ne može svesti samo na tehnička rješenja, u kojima se bavimo nedostatkom vještina ili motivacije za *online* poučavanje ili učenje pri čemu se usredotočujemo na tehnološki napredak. I učenici i nastavnici ističu važnost međuljudskih kontakata i škole koja pruža drugačije okružje za učenje od doma. Iako je, kao što je spomenuto u uvodu, pandemija bolesti COVID-19 prisilila mnoge obrazovne ustanove da usvoje modele nastave na daljinu i putem interneta, važnost osobnoga obrazovanja očito ostaje ključna za mnoge ispitanike, što se također može vidjeti iz rezultata. Pandemija je istaknula potrebu za osobnim obrazovanjem kao odgovorom na problem dobrobiti mladih i nastavnika jer pojedinci imaju potrebu povezati se i komunicirati jedni s drugima fizički, socijalno i emocionalno. To potiče obrazovne ustanove da zauzmu kritički stav prema razvoju događaja koji je uslijedio nakon pandemije i prema povećanju širenja tehnologije putem *online* tečajeva. Iako se o tome raspravljalo u slučaju novih metoda poučavanja kao što je kombinirano učenje, također je iznesen argument da ovaj razvoj potiču voditelji fakulteta iz potpuno drugih razloga. Na sveučilištu jednoga od autora, na primjer, glavni argument za više *online* nastave bila je manja potreba za prostorom. Radom na daljinu smanjuje se potreba za učionicama i, s obzirom na trenutačnu energetsku krizu, potreba za korištenjem energije. Na primjer, usluga planiranja učionica za nastavu izračunava na osnovi pretpostavke da će nastavnicima trebati samo prostorija u koju bi stala polovica učenikapretpostavljajući nadalje da će nastavnici iz nje predavati *online* i slijediti „novo normalno". Međutim, ono što nedostaje u ovoj raspravi često je interpretacija onoga što dobro obrazovanje zapravo jest ili što bi ono trebalo biti. Ovaj razvoj povezuje se s kritikama neoliberalizacije obrazovnih ustanova, koju karakterizira pomak prema više tržišno orijentiranom pristupu obrazovanju. To ide ruku pod ruku sa sve većim naglaskom na individualizaciju. Studenti se sve više promatraju kao kupci, a sveučilišta se natječu kako bi im pružila najbolju vrijednost za novac. To je dovelo do većega naglaska na individualni izbor i fleksibilnost, pri čemu se studente potiče na osmišljavanje vlastitih programa studija i preuzimanje kontrole nad vlastitim učenjem. U tom razvoju „potrebe" studenata postaju obilježje dobroga obrazovanja. Naglasak se prebacuje na ishode poučavanja, a ne na obrazovanje kao smislen čin sam po sebi (Nussbaum, 2016). To je dovelo do sve većega oslanjanja na standardizirano testiranje i mjerenja učinkovitosti nastavnika, što stvara kulturu

odgovornosti i nadzora pri čemu su nastavnici pod stalnim pritiskom da pokažu svoju vrijednost u mjerljivom smislu. Jasno je da neoliberalizacija obrazovanja ima važan utjecaj na ulogu nastavnika. To ne pridonosi dobrobiti i osjećaju svrhe nastavnika, ali može stvoriti osjećaj tjeskobe i stresa. U neoliberalnom obrazovnom sustavu nastavnici se sve više smatraju pružateljima usluga čija je primarna odgovornost pružiti učenicima određene ishode. Ovaj fokus na ishode može dovesti do sužavanja kurikula, sa sve većim naglaskom na predmete za koje se vidi da imaju neposrednu praktičnu primjenu na radnom mjestu. To je dovelo do smanjenja važnosti predmeta za koje se smatra da su manje izravno relevantni, kao što su umjetnost i humanističke znanosti. Neoliberalizacija obrazovanja također može dovesti do sve veće komercijalizacije nastavnih materijala i izvora. Nastavnici bi se mogli naći pod pritiskom da koriste određene udžbenike i druge izvore koji su usklađeni s ciljevima tržišta, a ne one koji najbolje odgovaraju njihovim obrazovnim ciljevima. Ali što je najvažnije, pomak prema tržišno orjentiranijem pristupu obrazovanju mogao bi dovesti do pada autonomije i profesionalne prosudbe nastavnika. Nastavnici bi mogli postati podložni sve većem nadzoru i kontroli, a sami gubiti kontrolu nad vlastitim učionicama i kurikulom.

Zaključno, neoliberalizam obrazovanja imao je značajne posljedice na ulogu nastavnika.

U takvom pristupu, poticanje *online* nastave kao novoga normalnog moglo bi biti način poticanja neoliberalnoga tehničkog programa. Međutim, ovaj program rada dovodi do pada u osjećaju zajedništva i kolektivne odgovornosti, koje su i nastavnici i učenici naglasili kao važnima, i kao takav dovodi do pada kvalitete obrazovanja, a istodobno nastavnici i učenici smatraju da je osjećaj zajedništva od vitalne važnosti.

Javna rasprava u Poljskoj usmjerena je na postpandemijske probleme s mentalnim zdravljem djece i mladih. Postoji znatan broj dokaza da djeca i mladi općenito nisu dobro reagirali na izolaciju, na nedostatak osobnoga kontakta sa svojim nastavnicima i vršnjacima te na povećanu izloženost provođenju vremena na internetu (usp. Szczepaniak, 2021.). Za 20 % povećan je broj pokušaja samoubojstva, samoubojstava (5 %), psiholoških kriza, depresije, izvješća o mentalnim problemima i mentalnim bolestima među djecom i adolescentima (Szczepaniak, 2021). Osnovni simptom ovih poremećaja je teška anksioznost koja se može manifestirati na različite načine i može uključivati sljedeće posljedice: „poteškoće u učenju, pamćenju i koncentriranju na tekst koji se čita. Nekim učenicima je vrlo teško ili čak nemoguće učiti na daljinu i koristiti nove tehnologije [...] to ih isključuje iz sudjelovanja u važnim akademskim aktivnostima i koristi koje bi od njih trebali imati" (Zabłocka-Żytka, 2022, str. 96). Slično stanje zabilježeno je i u Makedoniji od samoga početka pandemije (Stankovska i sur., 2020) i u SAD-u, s većim naglaskom na isključivanje iz socijalnih službi (Farkas i Romaniuk, 2020).

Gore navedeni razvoj događaja ne samo da ima veliki utjecaj na dobrobit učenika, već i na to kako mi doživljavamo učenike. Talijanski filozof Giorgio Agamben (2020) napisao je dirljiv esej pod nazivom „Rekvijem za studente", navodeći da izborom nastave na daljinu prestajemo biti studenti. On navodi:

Sveučilišta su rođena u Europi iz studentskih udruga - universitates - i njima duguju svoje ime. Biti student podrazumijevalo je prije svega oblik života u kojem su studiranje i slušanje predavanja svakako bila presudna obilježja, ali ništa manje važni nisu bili susreti i stalne razmjene s drugim studentima*, koji su često dolazili iz udaljenih mjesta i koji su se okupljali prema mjestu iz kojeg dolaze .*

(...) Svatko tko je predavao u sveučilišnoj učionici dobro zna kako se pred vlastitim očima sklapaju prijateljstva, a prema njihovim kulturnim i političkim interesima formiraju se male studijske i istraživačke skupine koje se nastavljaju i nakon završetka nastave. (Agamben, 2020)

Prema Agambenu, sve će to sada nestati. Svoj esej završava s dvije napomene:

Profesori koji pristaju - kao što to masovno čine - *na podvrgavanje novoj diktaturi telematike* i na održavanje svojih kolegija isključivo putem interneta *savršen su ekvivalent sveučilišnih profesora koji su se 1931. zakleli na vjernost fašističkom režimu. Kao što se tada dogodilo, vjerojatno će samo petnaest od njih tisuću odbiti, ali njihova će imena zasigurno biti zapamćena zajedno s onih petnaest koji nisu položili zakletvu.*

Studenti koji istinski vole učiti morat će odbiti upisati se na sveučilišta preobražena na ovaj način i, kao i na početku, udružiti se u novim sveučilištima*, samo unutar kojih bi, suočena s tehnološkim barbarstvom, riječ prošlosti mogla ostati živa i moglo bi se roditi nešto poput nove kulture - ako će se uopće roditi. (Agamben, 2020.)*

Iako Agamben ovdje navodi talijansku situaciju, njegov esej je upozorenje za obrazovne ustanove općenito. Rasprava o dobrobiti učenika i nastavnika mogla bi se lako svesti na potragu za osobnim potrebama. Živimo u „vladavini sreće" (happycratie), kako to zovu Cabanas i Illouz (2018), gdje se ljudima govori da trebaju i mogu biti sretni samo ako se snalaze na pravi način. U tom kontekstu trebalo bi, pod svaku cijenu, izbjegavati rizike i nesigurnost. Obrazovanje postaje obilježeno „proročanskom pedagogijom" (Moss, 2016) gdje je sve što će se dogoditi jasno i predvidljivo. Kao takav, prekrasan rizik obrazovanja (Biesta, 2013) svodi se na isporuku tehničkoga znanja.

Zaključci

Ova studija u skladu je s nizom istraživanja iz drugih zemalja, doprinosi onima koja se usredotočuju na deklarativnu dobrobit (Alves, Lopes i Precioso, 2020; Billaudeau i sur., 2022; Chan i sur. 2021; Dabrowski, 2020; Lau i sur. 2022; Mäkelä i dr., 2022; Walter i Fox, 2021). U svima njima, uključujući i ovu, neki od glavnih izazova nastave na daljinu tijekom pandemije bolesti COVID-19 bili su nedostatak odgovarajuće pripreme, iscrpljenost od očekivanja da se kontrolira okruže koje je nemoguće kontrolirati i pružanje podrške učenicima bez izravnoga kontakta. Murphy (2020) je također primijetio potrebu za ponovnim promišljanjem svrhe školarine i posljedica nedostatka izravnoga socijalnog kontakta. Kontroverzno, Ellis i sur. (2020) tvrde, međutim, da je smisleno društveno umrežavanje na internetu pomoglo tinejdžerima tijekom

pandemije da se nose s anksioznošću i stresom. Međutim, na primjer, nastavnicima u Poljskoj bilo je teško i prije izbijanja pandemije bolesti COVID-19. Podatci pokazuju da su najveći problemi s kojima se suočavaju nastavnici u Poljskoj: prezaposlenost (68 % ocjenjuje kao „umjereno" ili „u visokoj mjeri"), nestabilnost zaposlenja (67 %), nezadovoljavajuća zarada (78 %) i općenit nedostatak poštovanja za profesiju (69 %) (OECD, 2013). U 2019. godini oko 80 % nastavnika u Poljskoj stupilo je u štrajk zbog radnih uvjeta, uglavnom zbog prezaposlenosti i potplaćenosti. Ovaj štrajk naziva se najvećim štrajkom u povijesti poljskoga obrazovanja od 1993. godine (Madalińska-Michalak, 2019). Međutim, čini se da se situacija od tada nije poboljšala, a nastavnici u Poljskoj i dalje su među najslabije plaćenima u EU-u, čak i kada primaju dodatak za troškove života. I početničke plaće i one na vrhu platne ljestvice nalaze se na dnu ljestvice EU-a (EURYDICE, 2022), a slijedi ih Rumunjska, a s nekoliko bodova više, Hrvatska.

Naravno da je kriza zbog bolesti COVID-19 donijela i nove ideje te mogućnosti rada i sastajanja te je donijela i pozitivne promjene. Na primjer, više učenika može imati pristup obrazovanju kada su dostupne mrežne mogućnosti. Ili, s ekološkog stajališta, uz *online* rad potrebno je manje putovanja. Međutim, pitanje je kako biti sigurni da ne odustajemo od ideje dobroga obrazovanja, kako ga mi percipiramo, pri čemu je poučavanje oblik izgradnje zajednice. Ovo istraživanje pokazuje da najvažniji akteri u obrazovanju - nastavnici i učenici - naglašavaju važnost osobne interakcije. Predlažemo da ih poslušate, umjesto da dopustite da nas menadžerski način razmišljanja odgurne od onoga što bi obrazovanje zapravo trebalo biti.

Napomena