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Listening to Radio Silence in Virtual University Teaching and Learning

ABSTRACT: Drawing on my ethnographic research in Ireland, this paper shows how the Covid-19 pandemic changed the context for relational university teaching and learning. My empirical findings illustrate how virtual teaching environments transform classroom silence into "radio silence." I introduce three case studies that give insight into how the online context provides a new context for communication, which impacts the success of relational pedagogical practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Applying Katherine Schultz's (2003) concept of "listening to teach," this paper discusses how the digital classroom can further alienate already marginalized student groups. I aim to illustrate the importance of recognizing the redistribution of power online that transgresses the imagination of traditional forms of education.

KEYWORDS: teaching and learning, relationality, democratic pedagogy, university, COVID-19, ethnography

"silence" vs. "radio silence" – the rise of two conceptual dichotomies

sybille

"I had an experience [in the online lecture hall] where I was like "is someone's gonna ask me a question"? [And] it was just like radio silence (laughs), and you'd wait and respond and say something. But in real life, you know you might be able just, you know, if you look around the room, people will feel awkward, and you know when to talk. But when you [are] kind of just hidden behind the little circle with what your initials on the screen, you can't really kind of [talk]" (Sybille, anthropology tutor, May 10, 2021).

This quote is derived from my semi-structured interview with Sybille, a tutor in the Department of Anthropology at Maynooth University (MU), Ireland, during the Covid-19 pandemic. Our conversation was part of my fieldwork which I conducted during the first year of the pandemic in 2020/2021 in Irish universities in three roles; student, educator, and project member of a nationwide project that focused on the digital attributed of university teachers and learners. This research employed traditional ethnographic methods; participant observation, 10 semi-structured interviews with seven students and eight lecturers, two focus groups with Irish and international postgrad students and with tutors with mixed levels of experience, and autoethnographic elements. Additionally, I used techniques associated with "Digital Ethnography" (Kavanaugh, 2019), techniques, such as attending webinars, online conferences, and social media research. I generally stayed involved in the academic and social discourse through digital media. For example, throughout the year, I received short, frequent audio recordings from one lecturer and one student (24 audio vlogs in total, 2–15 minutes long).

Like most fieldwork during that time, most of my conversations with informants took place online – even though Sybille and I only lived less than an hour-long bus ride apart. As well as the context for most research, the whole field of higher education was also violently uprooted by the forced move online, which had left students and teachers no choice but to continue attending university from their homes. Sybille's words illustrate the difficulties of being an educator during the pandemic. She uses the term "radio silence" to describe the awkwardness and sense of alienation she experienced thrown into a relatively new, unfamiliar teaching environment: the on-

line classroom. An environment where previously acquired pedagogic practices became ineffective, and the usual ways of engaging students (i.e., by looking around the room until someone feels responsible for answering) did not work. This paper aims to illustrate some of the challenges that this rapid move into the digital sphere had on the relationships between students and educators. Most of the issues were rooted in a lack of connection, resulting in a communication breakdown due to technological or interpersonal disconnect. Even though teachers had been offered "hundreds of 'tips and tricks'" (Rapanta et al., 2020, p. 924) to help ease the process, many of these tools fell short in practice.

Sybille was not the only educator who was upset about the ways the "emergency pivot" (Casey, 2020) affected her work as an educator. Her experience of alienation and awkwardness in the classroom, especially during periods without oral expression, is crucial to understanding the lived experiences of many educators who, like her, had to adapt their teaching adequately to the online classroom. Sybille struggled to attend or, in Schultz's (2003) terms, "listen" to her students online. This made it hard for her to respond appropriately to the classroom's needs and create a flow of conversation, which is one of the key features a listening teacher should exercise (Schultz, 2003, p. 9).

"Radio silence" refers to an alienating form of silence that replaced the familiar and potentially pedagogically generative type of classroom silence in the analogue classroom. Instead of enhancing conversation and allowing people to gather their thoughts simply during a period of non-speaking, silence online or "radio silence" seemed to achieve the contrary. Namely, it eliminated the opportunity for discussion rather than encouraging students to contribute. As a result, Sybille struggled to teach and build relationships with students, working to overcome difficulties in creating a shared, inclusive atmosphere.

Katherine Schultz explores the important role of silence in teaching and learning in her book *Listening – A framework for teaching across difference* (2003). Schultz introduces the concept of "listening" to illustrate how educators can become attentive to the classroom, which should inform their pedagogical interventions. Listening, a skill that must be learned and practiced, finds resonance and application in a variety of schooling contexts, both for children and adult learners. For example, listening pedagogy is considered integral to language education (Baurain, 2011), as well as in teacher certification programs (Vinlove, 2012). Attempts to capture the essence of listening pedagogy are manifold; researchers in and outside education are interested in exploring this term in its different rhetorical and practical facets. For instance, listening is understood to be strongly linked to morality (Baurain, 2011) due to its fundamentally relational and context-responsive nature. The rich use of the term reflects its conceptual potential. There is now an international journal dedicated to the concept, *The International Journal of Listening*. This might not seem surprising to most educators, especially those who draw from principles of relational pedagogy. Indeed, according to Schultz (2003), listening and teaching go hand in hand. Ideally, they can be used interchangeably. However, listening "(…) implies becoming deeply engaged

in understanding what a person has to say through words, gesture, and action" (p. 9). Schultz argues that the face-to-face classroom produces the most favorable for listening and listening to silence (p. 8). Schultz explains how listening to silence is crucial for challenging teachers' biases concerning individual students that can easily be assumed to be "intrinsically silent" (Schultz, 2013, p. 22), such as, for example, "timid girls and reticent Asian or Native American students" (p. 22). However, paying close attention to students creates the opportunity to experience them in different educational settings. This allows students or groups of students to be recognized as "shy" in one incidence, as "garrulous" in another, or also as "distracted and rebellious" (p. 22). Thus, understanding silence as only *one* response to teachers opens space to re-think misconceptions and stereotypical behavior towards individual students and student groups. Usually, teaching based on listening and mitigating the risk of excluding certain students or student groups go in hand. In that context, moments of silence bear the potential for noticing students' needs, especially those in marginalized positions. Silence, in that sense, holds transformative potential for positive social change. Listening becomes harder in the online classroom, mainly due to the loss of non-verbal cues such as embodied gestures and actions. This paper illustrates how the limited opportunity for listening to students online can lead to further silencing of the needs of non-traditional students.

NEW FRAMEWORKS FOR LISTENING TO TEACH

I will now briefly explain some of the characteristics of the online teaching environment, of which VLEs (virtual learning environments) generally form a crucial part. Throughout my research, I became well acquainted with the mechanisms of MS Teams. MU, my university, exclusively subscribed to MS Teams, and almost all university operations occurred on this interface. During the first year of the pandemic, MS Teams became famous for having relatively many technical errors. Other VLEs became known for having different flaws. For incidence, there was a reason why MU did not allow their staff to use Zoom for any official university-related activities; Zoom was found unsafe regarding GDPR relating matters compared to MS Teams (Hofmann, 2020; Spadafora, 2021). The decision which VLE a university subscribed to was made on an institutional level, while those who needed to use these VLEs daily (university educators and students) carried the weight of that decision. Other examples of VLEs that are used in Irish education institutes are "Big Blue Button" and "Canvas"MU staff were not allowed to use a different VLE for their teaching than official university policies recommended. On a surface level, each VLE seemed to promote slightly different pedagogical practices. For example, Zoom was the only VLE that exclusively allowed for group work for a long time because of its breakout-room function. Nevertheless, all VLEs limit their users fundamentally: they display a limited set of data about their co-participants. This had an impact on the extent to which lecturers could attend and appropriately respond to students.

In Schultz's sense, the dialectic interplay between the "tone of the group" (p. 5), informing lecturer's responses to the classroom is crucial for relational and progressive pedagogical agendas that see physical proximity as crucial for emancipatory teaching and learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Moreover, interpreting students' responses mostly without any non-verbal cues creates challenges for discussion-based pedagogies, which are essential for university education's ethical and democratic project (Freire, 1998). Sybille's case illustrates this point, showing how silence and "radio silence" are qualitatively different, the latter providing less transformative potential. Silence in the traditional lecture hall holds potency for the organic continuation and development of the lecture flow (Schultz, 2003, p. 139). The feeling of shared responsibility – which Sybille describes as a kind of positive, conversation-encouraging "*awkwardness*" provoked through a momentary absence of talk – usually encourages discussion. This kind of silence helped steer lectures in the right direction. She explains: *"In real life"* (by which she refers to the physical lecture hall) and despite the absence of verbal communication, "(...) *you know you might be able just, you know, if you look around the room, people will feel awkward, and you know when to talk.*" Sybille's attempts to encourage discussion online maily were met with a deadening kind of silence. *"The virtual thing"*, as she refers to the online classroom, did not allow her to employ her previously acquired pedagogical practice. Instead, *"(…) you'd be lucky if you got a fair kind of group students to have their cameras on, uhm yeah that'd be lucky in some days I'll see none."* This points towards a gap between the digital and the analogue lecture hall. Sybille's words sound almost like mourning the loss of non-verbal data or nuanced interpersonal communication in the digital context. This loss is further aggravated by students often choosing not to engage in the lecture at all. Instead, most were formally present but "*hidden behind the little circle with your [their] initials on the screen.*" The lack of engagement made it impossible for Sybille to teach the way she used to. Questions she posed to the empty void, which usually sparked discussion, often remained unanswered. Answers were replaced by radio silence, eliminating the opportunity for further discussion. Instead of silence manifesting as a momentary absence of talk, silence online signaled and further perpetuated a breaking down of the lecture flow through a complete absence of interpersonal communication. Her attempts to spark discussion remain unaddressed, unanswered, silenced, and sunken into the black void of inactive initials.

SILENCE INSTEAD OF CONTRIBUTION – THE UNAPOLOGETIC DIGITAL CLASSROOM

EVE

I will now introduce a second example representing a slightly different perspective on the same issue. Not only did lecturers find themselves in unusual conditions with limited insight into students' lives, but also vice versa. Students felt similarly awkward and alienated. Teachers in the digital classroom often seemed less ap-

proachable and more intimidating, almost de-humanized, especially for students who were already alienated from the typical or traditional Irish student body.

To illustrate this point, I will quote a piece from an interview with a student named Eve. Eve, a Spanish international student, was new to Ireland, new to MU, and new to MS Teams. She joined MU only late in the academic year, which already placed her in a disadvantaged position compared to her classmates, who at least had some chance to come to terms with the digital context. She recalled a particularly awkward incident, which still left her feeling terribly ashamed at the point of the interview (months later to the point of its occurrence). Eve felt guilty for misreading the speech context in one of her digital lectures, which seriously affected her confidence and self-understanding, compromising her subsequent behaviour as a learner negatively. Eve had posted a chat comment trying to contribute to the lecture. The comment was – without her permission, and to her surprise – singled out and read out loud by the teacher, expecting her to elaborate on it:

> "Once I did, I wrote a remark on the chat about Strathern, I think you were all here. And after five minutes, she asked me to explain me and I was oh my god. It's not in the, the flow of the discussion, I have to, to bring my argument, and I was omg omg omg. *hastly speaking* And I couldn't talk anymore and I was it was really disturbing, because I just put this Yeah. Yeah. to, to leave to you and think about it. And that's, that's all, but I have to explain and, and it's, it's it's freaked me out. So yeah. Sorry about that. I was so sorry. Because do I am I understandable? Are my arguments not relevant, and all these questions came to me. And yeah, it was really disturbing. And I was so sorry for you guys. And for the procedure. So yeah. The this thing of the delay and just digestion of the time, is, is quite difficult to handle with that. So yeah. Yeah. I don't know how to do some time" (Eve, international student, March 12, 2021).

Eve's experience shows how the digital framework can create an awkward, unstable context for student engagement and conversation. This meant that students who had already felt alienated or insecure (i.e., due to speaking a different language) were further excluded and alienated from the shared pedagogical encounter. Throughout our conversation, Eve explained that she had always been eager to participate and contribute to classes in the past. She had previously been a lively student and had usually felt a sense of safety in the classroom. However, her recent rather uncomfortable experience left her feeling "*disturbed*" and as if she did something wrong by "*interrupting*" the lecture flow. Eve's understanding of herself as a passionate, valuable learner had been placed into question in front of everyone in a cold panopticon-looking digital classroom. Her eagerness to contribute was shattered, silenced, and replaced with anxiety about sharing her voice using the features provided by MS Teams, such as the chat box.

FROM INSTITUTIONAL SILENCING TO BIG CORPORATE SILENCING – THE IRONY OF PROGRESS

BRADLEY

Schultz (2009) describes one aspect of silencing in close detail, which she calls "institutional silencing" (p. 109). While listening for acts of silencing broadly refers to listening for "divergent perspectives and moments when individuals have been shut out of the conversation" (p. 109) institutional silencing has a more systemic character. According to Schultz, listening to institutional silencing bears a transformative potential. To her, listening to excluded or marginalized voices is an act of appreciation of the ethical project of education, accessible in every successful pedagogical encounter. However, the move online, which changed the context for pedagogical encounters, the extent to which educators can listen to acts of silencing or exclusion has also become compromised. VLEs with cameras, microphones, chat boxes, technological interruptions, and such now reconfigure basic principles of presence, engagement, and conversation and followingly challenge the success of relational teaching and listening. Acts of silencing and exclusion, in some cases, became harder to attend to, and there was little time to reflect on its implications for agendas traditionally considered socially progressive, such as transgender rights. The emergency pivot erased opportunities to reflect on the shifting power balance away from institutionalized higher education to a more digitally corporate kind of education. Effects of such on already marginalized groups, such as members of the LGBTQI+ community, were hardly part of public discussions. Bradley, a student who had recently undergone gender transmission and had changed his name from a female to a male name, struggles with the limited ways in which MS Teams controlled his presence according to outdated heteronormative standards. Even though this problem is of a more profound structural nature, with research beyond the Irish context revealing the level of discrimination of LGBTQI+ students both in second and third-level education (Kosciw et al., 2020), the lack of physical interaction during the pandemic left Bradley feeling even more frustrated and isolated than before:

> "Yeah, I mean, that's the biggest thing is, with the move to all tech-based stuff. It's kind of expected that the technology needs to be up to date with what's going on and the fact that **it has been a whole semester, and I've sent emails and I've gotten phone calls from the school about changing my name in Microsoft Teams, it still hasn't been done**. So when I go to lectures for the first time, or when I go to like big meetups, it has my dead name. So people call on me by a name that I no longer use. And I either have to out myself by saying, hey, actually, my name is Bradley, or I just have to deal with it. And then people know me as the wrong name" (Bradley, interview transcript, January 19, 2021, emphasis added after).

Bradley's case shows two main aspects left unconsidered during the move online and thus causing harm. Firstly, his example illustrates the necessity for listening closely to the needs of students whose voices become quieter or silenced with the move online. Listening to silence, had to move beyond institutional boundaries to attend to the redistribution of power properly. Secondly, trying to make his voice heard was a hopeless task. His numerous attempts to find someone to listen to and take responsibility were left unanswered. His struggles were unheard, and he was left alone with the painful experience of having to re-explain himself at the mercy of those who only see his dead name. Relying on others to care enough to remember to address him with a different name, Bradley found himself in an impossible dilemma; either to stay silent and carry the burden of being called by his dead name, or to speak up repeatedly in front of a black screen where everyone in the classroom could hear him. Privacy and personal conversations that often occurred before or after lectures in a physical theatre were eradicated. Instead, Bradley could only choose between two kinds of discomforts, met with silence in response to his cries for help. MU's dependency on MS Teams also affects the classroom in more immediate ways. The move online came in hand with heavily increased asymmetry in power, benefitting MS Teams and other digital players who designed and provided the online classroom. This forced students like Bradley to experience their heteronormative "abnormality" in new ways, causing further alienation and a sense of defeat.

In all case studies, educators and students are unified by their struggles with teaching and learning in a rapidly changing, new, digital educational context. Even though each of their stories reveals different aspects of the phenomenon of "radio silence," each of them highlights the importance of recognizing the changing field of university teaching and learning and the need to re-think relational pedagogies based on listening in that context.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The online environment, opening possibilities of "hybrid" (Nørgård, 2021) or "e-learning" (Rapanta, Botturi, et al., 2020), undeniably creates a "new" context for teaching and learning compared to the pre-pandemic lecture hall. Despite the loss of important and intuitive communication channels, informing teachers' responses to the classroom, education online gained new attraction during the pandemic. This was everything else than surprising. In 2010, long before the pandemic, an article in the *Sciences Journal of Innovative Education* already identified "the potential of hybrid e-learning as a tool to enhance education and training" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 314). However, the rapid move online sheds unique light on the silent and silenced struggles of both educators and students that come in hand with furthering the neoliberal trend. Already in 2010, the move online was understood to be an "efficient and effective learning tool," whereas "traditional methods" (meaning non-digital pedagogies) were understood to be practiced by "reluctant" educators, those resistant to the progress:

> "(…) its [e-learning] value will not be realized if instructors, learners, and organizations do not **accept** it as an **efficient and effective** learning tool. Learners are sometimes **reluctant** to enroll in hybrid e-learning based courses or training programs **if they are not confident that they will benefit more than by traditional methods**." (p. 314)

I do not want to diminish the potential for positive change that teaching technology offers for some teachers and learners. For example, other research highlights the value of having new and alternative ways for student engagement that the digital classroom creates. For example, the option to use the chat or the hands-up function may encourage to contribute the students who are less confident or less eager to speak up in a traditional classroom setting or to contribute positively to agendas of "life-long learning" (Nørgård, 2021, p. 9) for mature students and learners with various responsibilities. However, with the move into a "post-pandemic" (Anderson, Blewett & Carozza, 2021) world, it is important to listen to the struggles of those who seem to be excluded from the decision-making process but who are those who are left grappling with the burdens of such, often in silence. Rather than labelling certain teachers and learners as reluctant, inefficient, or ineffective, my aim is to draw attention to how the online context renders opportunities for relational and democratic pedagogues.

To illustrate that point, this paper presented two excerpts from interviews with students who were already in a marginalised position before the move online. These interviews highlighted some of how "acts of silencing" (Schultz, 2003) in the form of further exclusion of "non-traditional students" (Graham & Massyn, 2019, p. 192) are intensified in the digital classroom. On an obvious level, I aimed to show how pedagogical encounters in this environment occur within a non-democratic framework. This in itself poses challenges to the principles of democratic education. For example, due to increased surveillance (Zuboff, 2019) power ultimately shifts more towards profit-orientated software companies such as MS Teams, instead of local educational institutes.

In this light, it became clear how the move online often negatively impacted in-class participation and discussion, replacing silence with radio silence. At the same time, students' voices were silenced on a much more fundamental, existential level. Such as students' struggles due to pre-existing socially alienating factors, such as being a member of the LGTBQI+ community and not being in charge of one's name (Bradley) or speaking a different language than English and finding it much harder to contribute (Eve).

On the one hand, this paper showed how educators who were used to face-to-face teachings, like Sybille, experienced the online context as alienating and deadening conversations. On the other hand, students, especially those who belonged to marginal members of the university community, struggled with the ways in which MS Teams streamlined their opportunities for participating in class. Moreover, their struggles often went unnoticed online, and their negative experiences were unheard.

In other words, with an altered framework for teaching or listening, the online context created new forms of exclusion or "silencing" (Schultz 2003, p. 17). The ethical project of education (as, for example, articulated by Freire 1998) was placed on hold, finding itself on liminal grounds. Relational teaching aims to create democratic and equal conditions for participation and progressive social change seems to become increasingly overshadowed by the rhetoric of efficiency and effectivity online. Again, I do not argue that teaching online is inherently wrong or necessarily harmful. Yet, my role as an anthropologist and educator is to amplify how this framework can work exclusionary to already marginalized members of the university community and potentially run contrary to the aims of relational pedagogy. This paper showed the value of listening to diverse experiences of educators and students to understand their individual needs and challenges. Further research, both on a microscopic and macroscopic level, is needed to address the diversity of new challenges in a rapidly changing "hybrid" (Nørgård, 2021), "post-pandemic" (Anderson, Blewett & Carozza, 2021) field of teaching and learning. Future research should compare pedagogic practices both in and outside universities to understand new trends and developments in education in this increasingly digital "New Normal" (Pacheco, 2021) by taking a more holistic approach to education. My findings highlight the importance of attending to new acts of silencing or excluding non-traditional students emphasizing the need to care for minority student groups within different cultural and institutional cultures. Fostering inclusivity both in research and pedagogy deserves the utmost attention, especially if we still consider the ethical project of education relevant and if we still believe in the value inherent in striving towards democratic conditions for (university) teaching and learning.

REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPERMANENCE OF PEDAGOGIC DETERMINISM – A CONCEPTUAL AND PRACTICAL MOVE TOWARDS TECHNOLOGICALLY ENTANGLED PEDAGOGY

It is the year 2022, and the immediate thread of Covid-19 has decreased significantly for most of us. Educators are slowly finding their feet in the present again. Thie present brings the potential to re-consider and re-visit our experience during the emergency pivot, especially with respect to a rejuvenated appreciation of human relationality. We learned that digital technology has already constituted an integral part of our professional and private lives for a long time. There is still much to understand before we, as members of increasingly diverse, overheated (Eriksen, 2016) and emotionally burnt-out local and global learning communities, can confidently say that we are even slightly aware of the silent ways technologies co-define the field of teaching and learning. The emergency pivot served as a cruel reminder of the impermanent and largely inappropriate nature of our traditional model of (university) education (Roy, 2020). Given the rapidly changing global context, our feet must remain firmly grounded in the present, allowing our gaze to rest on the fruitful task of finding ways to create new pedagogical encounters. Seizing the creative and

transformative potential of listening may help heal the collective wound that we are continuing to carry with us. Yet, we must also acknowledge that listening alone (at least as it was practiced before the pandemic) is not enough.

The concept of "entangled pedagogy" can provide useful ground to reflect further on the current state of higher education, allowing us to view education as a fundamentally political but also profoundly existentially transformative matter. During Covid-19, we learned that pedagogy must be able to respond to the needs of our time. "Post-pandemic pedagogy" (Anderson et al., 2021), pedagogy after Covid-19, must respond to the urgent and dangerous state of our shared planet, whose cries have become too loud to be silenced any longer (Andreotti et al., 2018). The concept of "entangled pedagogy" (Fawns, 2022) is useful for this agenda because it inherently recognizes pedagogy and technology's entangled and inseparable nature. Instead of investing valuable time and energy in critiquing each other's teaching styles, entangled pedagogues (at least those who consciously recognise themselves as such already) can work on aligning their personal and professional values, purposes, and contexts. Accepting this entanglement, *consciously* embodied pedagogues can practice new ways of modelling those to their students. Listening to others, as well as listening to *oneself,* seems crucial for the survival of relational education in the 21st century, especially amid the current educational landscape. Our learning during the pandemic is essential for the success of future pedagogy. Instead of fighting this reality again, we could realise that power and knowledge are distributed across stakeholders at different levels of the institutions (Dron, 2021) that reside in – and outside university borders. This view agrees with Fawns (2022) and other post-digital educators who argue that we must let go of determinist ideologies and delusional hopes for everything returning to "normal." Instead, students and educators, together with other stakeholders, can find new ways of collaborating in the relational and deeply educational process to co-create hope and solidarity (Rothberg, 2019) in and outside the classroom. Again, this requires educators to find their feet amidst uncertainty. And this is most probably not an isolated or isolating task. Recognizing ourselves as educators *in learning* allows us to deeply connect and collaborate with other learners in an increasingly hybrid and technologically entangled educational landscape.

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SŁUCHANIE CISZY RADIOWEJ W UNIWERSYTECIE WIRTUALNYM

ABSTRAKT: Opierając się na moich badaniach etnograficznych w Irlandii, niniejszy artykuł pokazuje jak pandemia Covid-19 zmieniła kontekst relacyjnego nauczania uniwersyteckiego i uczenia się. Moje ustalenia empiryczne ilustrują, jak wirtualne środowiska nauczania przekształcają ciszę w klasie w "ciszę radiową". Przedstawiam trzy studia przypadków, które dają wgląd w to, jak kontekst internetowy zapewnia nowy sposób komunikowania się, co wpływa na sukces relacyjnych praktyk pedagogicznych (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Schultz, 2003; Waghid, 2019). Stosując koncepcję Katherine Schultz (2003) „słuchania, aby uczyć", ten artykuł omawia, w jaki sposób klasa cyfrowa może dalej izolować już zmarginalizowane grupy studentów. Staram się zilustrować znaczenie rozpoznania redystrybucji władzy w sieci, która przekracza wyobrażenia o tradycyjnych formach edukacji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: nauczanie i uczenie się, relacyjność, pedagogika demokratyczna, uniwersytet, COVID-19, etnografia