Apuntes 92, 5-31
ISSN: 0252-1865
eISSN: 2223-1757
doi: 10.21678/apuntes.92.1550

Article received on June 20, 2021
Article approved for publication on August 5, 2022

Perceptions about the impact of the pandemic on teaching practices in Chile and Peru

Pablo Andrada
Universidad de La Serena, Chile
pablo.andrada@userena.cl

Julio-César Mateus
Universidad de Lima, Perú
jmateus@ulima.edu.pe

Perceptions about the impact of the pandemic on teaching practices in Chile and Peru

Abstract. This paper is part of the international EduCovid19 project, which seeks to identify educators' perceptions about the impact of COVID-19 on their practices, as well as on their students' learning. In this context, this study compares teachers' perceptions across different variables and in terms of the consequences for their teaching careers. A sample (N=541) of Chilean and Peruvian teachers at all educational levels participated in the study through a virtual structured questionnaire. The results show inequalities in teaching practices in both countries based on significant differences linked to gender inequality, socioeconomic gaps, and the educational background of the educators.

Keywords: Teaching practices, education, pandemic, distance education, Chile, Peru.

1. Introduction

During the global COVID-19 pandemic, more than 1.2 billion children around the world stopped attending in-person classes. Of these, 160 million live in Latin America. As the Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean (ECLAC) points out, social deterioration in the region predates the present crisis: unequal distribution of human and technological resources, to the detriment of rural and low-income sectors, has long been evident (CEPAL-UNESCO, 2020).

To assure the continuity of educational provision following the suspension of in-person classes, 32 out of 33 Latin American countries opted to implement distance learning strategies and to create emergency virtual platforms. Among other forms of remote learning, 23 countries chose to disseminate educational programs by way of traditional media such as radio and television. And 8 out of the 33 countries gave out electronic devices (CEPAL-UNESCO, 2020). These included Chile and Peru, the two countries on which this study focuses. The Peruvian government approved a special budget for the purchase of more than one million tablets that were distributed between 2020 and 2021, with priority given to rural and impoverished areas which in many cases had no internet connection (RPP, 2021). In Chile, the Ministry of Education expanded its *Yo Elijo Mi PC* ("I Choose my PC") program to distribute 122,000 laptops with free internet to vulnerable students in the seventh grade of primary school (12 years of age) (CNN Chile, 2020). Moreover, the Confederation of Production and Trade (Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio) donated more than 16,000 tablets with internet connections to technical-professional secondary students[1] (Schüller, 2020).

The present study is part of the international research project Edu-Covid19. It seeks to explore differences between the perceptions of teachers in Chile and Peru regarding the impact of COVID-19 on their teaching practices, based on their own characteristics and those of the schools where they teach. There is a need to explore teachers' perceptions of the emergency measures implemented because the limited "evidence available on the effectiveness of these contingency plans, to date, suggest that access to these alternative modalities has reflected the large socioeconomic gaps that characterize Latin America" (Reimers, 2021, p. 15).[2]

---

1 Translator's note: In the Chilean education system, students can choose to pursue a technical-professional, scientific-humanist, or artistic route at secondary level.

2 All translations from the Spanish are by *Apuntes*.

1.1 National contexts

In Chile and Peru, the respective ministries of education suspended classes starting in March 2020 and implemented remote learning systems that prioritized the existing curriculum. But in both cases, these new systems exposed major technological gaps in terms of device shortages, limited or slow internet coverage, and lack of teacher training in the use of IT resources (Mateus et al., 2022).

In Chile, in April 2020 the Ministry of Education implemented the *Aprendo en línea* web portal (curriculumnacional.cl) with sections for students, teachers, and families at all educational levels. Moreover, that same month, the television channel TV Educa Chile went on air to disseminate educational content. In March 2021, the Chilean authorities opted to continue broadcasting on this channel (Cerda, 2021). In the Peruvian case, a multichannel strategy called *Aprendo en Casa* (aprendoencasa.pe) was devised to produce and disseminate educational materials for different school levels and actors through television, radio, and the internet. This strategy was also extended beyond the period for which it was initially intended, and it is hoped that criticisms about content quality will be addressed (Alarcón-Llontop et al., 2021).

When it comes to higher education, most Chilean universities have trained their professors in the use of online platforms and have established short synchronous classes. Distance education continued throughout 2021, although some educational institutions gave students the option of returning to in-person classes towards the end of the year. At the time of writing, in-person classes are expected to be fully restored in 2022. In the Peruvian case, all universities were given authorization to launch proprietary virtual platforms, which laid bare the gaps between public and private institutions as well as their asymmetrical response capacities. Although Peru has a tradition of distance education, over time the format lost social value to the point where many now see it as inferior to in-person learning (Patiño, 2020). Before the pandemic, for example, it was not possible to convalidate distance-learning degrees, while during the crisis many parents called for discounts on matriculation and tuition fees because, in their view, the online modality implied savings for the universities and less effort for the professors. According to the UNESCO International Institute for Higher Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (IESALC, 2020), the response capacities of education centers depend on their institutional capacities for virtual education, which are founded on prior experience and the regulatory framework. In both countries, one of the worst consequences has been a rise in school dropout. In Chile, an estimated 226,000 students

aged between 5 and 21 were left with no choice but to abandon their education in 2020 (MINEDUC, 2021). Also apparent is the low level of university enrollment, though this, which predates the pandemic, is largely a legacy of the *Estallido Social* that began on October 18, 2019. But the pandemic compounded the trend, with some 9,000 students dropping out of 17 universities in the first six months of 2020 (Said & Gálvez, 2020).

In Peru the quality of private education varies greatly, with high levels of informality. It is in this context that more than half a million private-sector students (almost half of them in Lima) migrated to the public sector during the pandemic, while school enrollment dropped by at least 15% (Cueto, Felipe, & León, 2020). The economic crisis also forced the indefinite closure of around 5,000 private schools in 2021. Likewise, the Ministry of Education reported a school dropout rate of 370,000 students in 2020 (El Comercio, 2021). At the higher level, there was a 25% drop in university matriculation from 2019, with significant differences between public (9.96%) and private universities (26.72%) (Benites, 2021)—although this drop was reverted by the end of the year.

In Chile, from September 2020, the Ministry of Education promoted a partial and voluntary return of students to schools, prioritizing those students in their final year of high school. However, in the first half of 2021, the soaring COVID infection rate and the opposition of a sector of civil society made any return to in-person education inviable. At the time of writing, Peru was one of the few counties in the world where students at almost all levels have not returned to classes, with the exception of those at some rural schools. The resumption of in-person classes is expected for the start of the school year in March 2022.

Distance learning in this context has had multidimensional negative consequences. On the cognitive level, a survey conducted in 2020 by Chile's Educación 2020 foundation found that 57% of students thought the pandemic had negatively affected their learning. The foundation detected "a significant gap in the perception of one's own development of autonomy during the pandemic among students at municipal establishments (50%) in comparison with students at private fee-paying establishments (76%)" (Educación 2020, 2020, p. 9). On the emotional front, the uncertainty and loss of spaces for socialization posed severe risks to mental health, compounded by a 42% increase in occurrences of abuse and mistreatment of children and adolescents at the start of the pandemic (Stuardo, 2020). The work overload caused by remote education has also affected the welfare of the teaching staff. The most recurrent mood disorders reported by Chilean teachers are stress (77%), frustration, (50%) and distress (41%) while

the main symptoms reported were anxiety (59%), insomnia (55%), and irritability (30%) (Bruna, Villarroel, & Hojman, 2021). In Peru, the work overload has disproportionately affected female teachers, who complained of higher levels of stress, anxiety, and depression than their male counterparts. The main symptoms reported include loss of patience, sleeplessness, and loss of interest in preferred pastimes (Zamora Mendoza et al., 2021).

1.2 Emergency learning and reproduction of inequality

Distance learning causes us to lose material contact but to gain the opportunity to resignify technologies (Vaillant, 2020). It is worth thinking of technologies not just as information transmission channels but also as environments. Indeed, Latin American education systems were forced in this context to digitalize at an unprecedented speed (Mateus et al., 2022).

This, as Hodges et al. (2020) point out, was emergency remote learning, defined as a temporary change of teaching format in response to crisis. Under this modality, educators must adapt their classes for online teaching. The purpose of this temporary arrangement was not so much pedagogical redesign as the provision of swift access to teaching. This is important for discussing the concept of virtual education that has now taken root in public opinion.

Even during normal circumstances, educators face a variety of demands. From an academic standpoint, they are expected to provide materials that are inclusive and respectful of diversity; politically, they must assure student access and retention; and societally, their lessons should be relevant and pertinent (Rodríguez-Sosa & Hernández-Sánchez, 2018). Amid these demands, teaching identity is brought into play. This is what the literature refers to as the relational aspect of the profession, composed of the institutions, discourses, and actors with which educators negotiate their own perceptions and beliefs (Sachs, 2001). Such constant negotiation is manifested in what Coldron and Smith (1999) define as a "tension between agency and structure" (p. 712) and contributes to creating the dynamic character of the professional teaching identity.

In a study focusing on Lima, it was found that educators' general perceptions about their work improved between 2001 and 2014. Among other results, it was noted that female teachers most closely associate their profession with the dimensions of vocation and interpersonal relations, while teachers at public schools have very positive attitudes to their vocation and to their remuneration (Carrillo, 2017).

Working conditions for educators in Latin America are difficult and characterized by overload (Ávalos, 2013). In Chile, this has meant that three

out of every ten young educators leave their first teaching job after the first year, resulting in high staff turnovers—a phenomenon that particularly affects schools in marginalized areas (Carrasco, Godoy, & Rivera, 2017). In countries like Chile and Peru, socioeconomic level is especially influential when it comes to students' learning and skills development, given that this gap within the Latin American region is twice that of developed countries (PNUD, 2017). These disadvantages disproportionately affect women, who account for the majority of teachers, given the unequal gender distribution of family caregiving and housekeeping responsibilities (Salas et al., 2020).

Some analysts argue that the prolongation of distance classes would widen existing socioeconomic gaps, including school dropout rates and learning disparities, leading to negative long-term consequences (Eyzaguirre, Le Foulon, & Salvatierra, 2020). The profound changes caused by the virtual format have also been examined; one study on Peruvian secondary school teachers found that the understanding of these technologies is still centered on the devices used rather than the information processes and the forms of expression they promote (Mateus & Quiroz, 2021).

2. Materials and methods

This study takes a descriptive, quantitative approach. In an earlier publication, we inquired into the abilities and material conditions of students and teachers when it came to confronting this emergency (Mateus & Andrada, 2021). Here the focus is on exploring the most significant changes in teachers' professional practices and the effects on their students.

2.1 Instrument

We employed an ad hoc online questionnaire, devised in Mexico in 2020 as part of the international EduCovid19 project in which ten countries in Latin America, Europe, and Africa participated. The original survey was adapted to the language and the circumstances of each country, and validated through the participation of experts in the fields of communication and education. The instrument can be accessed at educovid19.wordpress.com. In the present descriptive study, we analyze the results of the Chilean and Peruvian samples. We focus on 19 items organized into three thematic axes: the impact on teaching practices, on students, and on educators (Table 1). Moreover, for the descriptive and cluster analysis, we take into account the demographic and educational variables presented in Table 2.

Table 1
Contents of questionnaire

Thematic axis	Question	Type of question
Changes in teaching practices (9 items)	BEFORE the COVID-19 pandemic, how would you best describe your classes? Please respond by taking into account the educational level you previously selected.	Nominal
	What is the main CHANGE to your teaching practices that you have identified due to the COVID-19 pandemic?	Open
	Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, to what extent have you had to TRANSFORM the content and in-person component of your courses to an online modality?	Likert
	What is the main CHALLENGE that you are facing in your teaching practices during the COVID-19 pandemic?	Open
	To what extent do you consider the changes you are making (or have already made) to your courses to be PERMANENT?	Likert
	To what extent do you agree with the following statement? [The changes that I am making to my courses constitute "emergency REMOTE teaching".]	Likert
	To what extent do you agree with the following statements [My PRODUCTIVITY has increased since I started working from home.]	Likert
	To what extent do you agree with the following statements [My educational institution has a clear PLAN that supports the changes that must be made to the courses.]	Likert
	What SUPPORT do you require to continue teaching during the COVID-19?	Open
Changes in students (5 items)	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following areas [Student COMMITMENT]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Progress in student LEARNING]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Student WELFARE]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [FORMATIVE assessments (unqualified)]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [SUMMATIVE assessments (qualified)]	Likert

Changes in educators (5 items)	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Your personal WELFARE]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Your COMMITMENT as a teacher]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Your WORKLOAD]	Likert
	How do you think the changes to your teaching practices have impacted the following area? [Your professional TRAINING as a teacher]	Likert
	Overall, how do you feel in relation to the educational changes associated with the COVID-19 pandemic?	Nominal

Source: Compiled by authors.

2.2 Sample

We administered the questionnaire to a convenience sample compiled through educators' social media platforms in both countries. The final composition was 541 participants, after discarding incomplete questionnaires or those that did not correspond to the two countries analyzed. These were distributed as follows:

Table 2
Variables and sample

Variables		Sample (N=541)
Country	Peru	46%
	Chile	54%
Gender	Female	63%
	Male	35%
	Prefer not to say	2%
Age	Up to 35 (young adulthood)	26%
	Between 36 and 49 (middle age)	46%
	50 or older (older adulthood)	28%
Experience	Fewer than ten years	46%
	Ten years or more	54%
Educational environment	Pre-school/kindergarten	11%
	Primary	21%
	Secondary	33%
	Higher	32%
	Others	4%

Type of institution	Public	35%
	Private	56%
	Others	9%
Setting	Capital city	57%
	Regions (provinces)	43%
Type of locality	Urban	88%
	Suburban	4%
	Rural	7%
Level of education	Secondary or baccalaureate	0%
	Licentiate or technical	51%
	Masters	39%
	Doctorate	10%

Source: Compiled by authors.

2.3 Procedure and analysis

The questionnaire was applied through an online form between May 25 and June 30, 2020, and participation was voluntary and informed.

The quantitative results were processed using the IBM SPSS Statistics 24® package. A reliability test (Cronbach's alpha of 0.87) was carried out to ensure internal consistency; the minimum accepted value was 0.7. Then, the variables studied were explored for any significant differences. The statistical program was employed to compare column proportions by way of variance analysis. The expectation was that at least one of the proportions would differ from the others. Consequently, different tests were conducted a priori using the Bonferroni method to adjust the values of significance.

The samples obtained do not allow us to extrapolate the results to the entire teaching population of Chile and Peru. However, they do enable exploration of the current state of affairs in the profession in the two countries. To this end, the results are presented in percentages that refer in turn to the sample as a whole and specifically to each variable.

The first case, that of the total sample, analyzes each thematic axis and question based on the results from the sample as a whole. For example, the main changes to teaching practices identified are adaptation of classes (47%), use of technology (34%), and communication and interaction with students (17%), which together account for 98% of the total sample.

In the latter case, which refers to each specific variable, a result pertaining to the pre-school educational level will refer to the number of teachers at this level who stated a preference. For instance, "classes without the presence of technologies occur primarily in the pre-school environment (63%)" means

that 63% of all pre-school educators did not use technology, but this figure is not related to the findings at primary, secondary, or tertiary levels.

In the Chilean education system there is a large number of private schools that receive some funding from the state, unlike the case of Peru. Thus, for analysis of the variable measuring dependence on the type of institution, we added Chilean subsidized private institutions to the overall private category. This distinction allows us to extrapolate the results to socioeconomic gaps given that, as mentioned earlier, there is considerable difference between the results related to learning and access to higher education according to type of institution—public or private—in the two countries.

Meanwhile, the differences in the nationality variable may be due to local cultural differences. However, it should be recalled that this is simply a hypothesis and the study does not claim to be representative of all educators.

3. Results

3.1 Changes in teaching practice

In general terms, before the pandemic teaching was classroom-based with the use of some technology. This is the baseline to which the shift has occurred, necessitating changes to teaching practices. Indeed, the results show that more than half of the educators participating in this study (57%) gave in-person classes with the use of some technology. To a lesser extent, there were in-person classes without any technological content (21%). Looking at the experience variable, educators with more than ten years of experience gave more in-person classes aided by technology, while those who had been teaching for fewer than ten years tended not to use technology in their classroom teaching.

One of the variables in which there were major differences is that of educational level. Classes without the use of technology were given primarily at the pre-school level (63%), while the use of technology in face-to-face classes was more habitual at all other levels, most notably at secondary level (62%). In other words, the situation at the end of schooling is the opposite to that witnessed at the beginning. The trend continues to hold at higher level: just 5% of programs did not use technology before the pandemic.

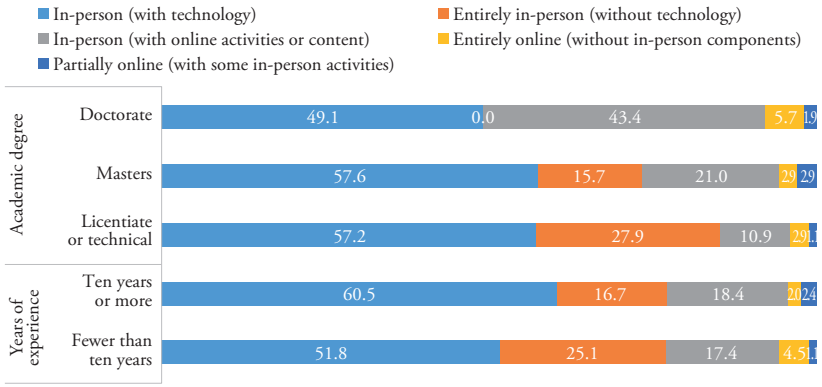
Another significant difference can be found in the type of institution, and is related to socioeconomic gaps. At public institutions, educators conducted more in-person classes without the use of technology, while in the private sector a blend of online and classroom approaches was much more common

Strikingly, at the territorial level, in both countries educators in the provinces said they used more technology in their in-person classes than did their counterparts in the capitals. This was most marked in Chile (66%

in the provinces vs. 48% in the capital). But the more intensive the use of technology, the more favorable the situation becomes for capital-city dwellers, in that face-to-face classes featuring online content within a platform are far more common in the capitals (21%) than in the provinces (14%).

The educator's level of education is another important variable, in that the higher the level the greater the use of technological tools. Thus, educators who hold licentiate degrees accounted for the highest proportion of classes without the use of technology, while sessions that blended in-person learning with online platforms increased exponentially along with education level; 10% of educators with licentiates took this approach, while 20% of educators with master's degrees did, and for those with doctoral degrees, the figure rises to 40%.

Figure 1
Teaching modality before the pandemic, by years of experience and academic level



Source: Compiled by authors.

The main change that educators identified in their teaching practices was the adaptation of classes, activities, and assessments to the distance modality (47%), followed by use of technology (34%). Here, there is a significant difference by nationality; in the case of the Chilean educators the biggest change was adaptation of classes (51%), while for their Peruvian peers it was "learning to deal with technology" (48%).

Middle-aged and older educators, along with those with more years of experience, recognized the importance of adaptation to technology (39%), while for their younger colleagues and those with less experience in the profession (24%), this was less of a consideration. Thus, the existence of a technological gap as a challenge probably applies only to older teachers, and this likely has positive consequences for their motivation—as we will see later.

At the institutional level, for private school teachers adapting classes, activities, and assessments posed the greatest challenge (51%), while for those in the public sector it was learning to use the technologies (44 %). These data are consistent with the technology gap detected at both types of institutions.

Most teachers have had to transform their class content and activities to the online modality. Those for whom the adaptation process involved less work were university professors (21%), followed by high school teachers 37%), primary school teachers (38%), and preschool teachers (54%). Meanwhile, educators at public institutions found the process far more labor intensive (47%) than did their counterparts at private institutions (27%).

We obtained similar results when we enquired into the greatest challenge faced during the pandemic. The most-cited challenge was the adaptation of teaching practices (38%), followed by students' adaptation to distance learning (26%).

Another significant difference related to the challenge is based on the type of institution, in which teachers at private institutions proved far more likely to adapt their teaching practices (44%) than did their counterparts are private ones (31%). Thus, it might be inferred that for the private education system the challenge was primarily pedagogical, whereas for the public system it was more technological.

Meanwhile, Peruvian educators found the use of technology more challenging than their Chilean peers (17% vs. 11%), while older educators thought it twice as challenging as their younger colleagues (21% vs. 8%). The challenge is also far more marked in the provinces than in the capitals, especially in the Peruvian case (25% vs. 12%).

As far as workload is concerned, younger (12%) and middle-aged (13%) educators perceived the challenge to be greater. Thus, those educators with less experience expressed more concern than those further into their careers (17% vs. 7%). Educators at private institutions complained about work overload more than those at public institutions (14% vs. 5%), and so did educators with doctoral degrees (21%) in comparison to those educated to masters (10%) or licentiate (9%) level. The workload in the distance modality was the fourth-most mentioned challenge. Here, the results reveal that the workload was greater for educators employed by private institutions and educated to a higher level.

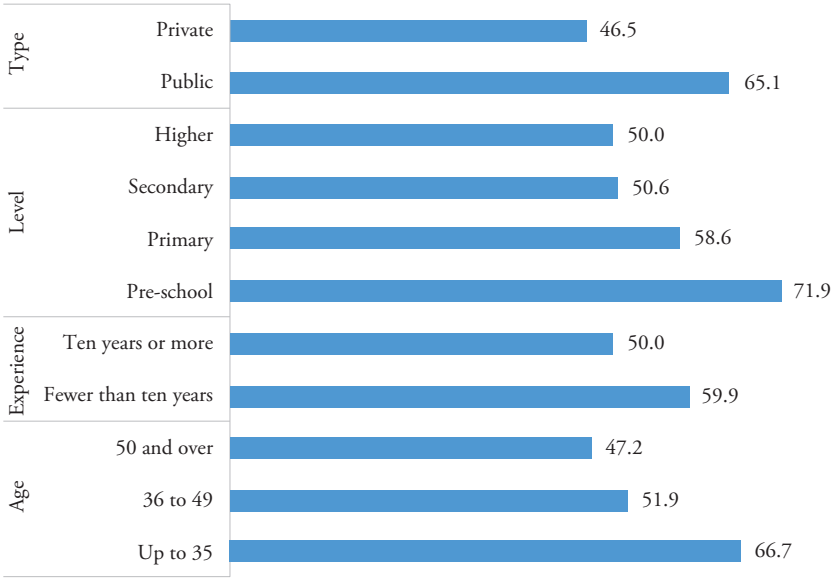
As to the longer-term implications of the pandemic, most educators thought that the changes to their courses would be permanent (56%). However, Peruvian educators held this view in far greater proportion than Chileans (72% vs. 42%). In the Peruvian case, might this response have

been linked to a perception of educational modernization centered on the introduction of technologies?

By age level, younger educators (up to 35) were neutral on the question of whether the changes would be permanent, while their middle-aged (36 to 49) and older peers (over 50) were more inclined to think that the changes would transcend the current public health crisis. The greatest degree of disagreement with the notion that the changes were permanent is found at the pre-school level (23%), in contrast to high-school teachers (8%). These results may express opposition to the notion, which would further illustrate that the early education sector was hit the hardest, while educators at the secondary level were less adversely affected.

When asked whether they viewed the changes as exceptional ("emergency remote learning") or as a "new normal" that transcended the crisis, most educators viewed them in the context of the pandemic (54%). Younger (67%), less experienced (60%), and pre-school (72%) educators subscribed to this idea to the greatest extent. The same is also true of educators at public institutions vis-a-vis those at private institutions. All these groups identified this form of teaching as an exceptional, transitional measure en route to the re-establishment of in-person education.

Figure 2
Level of agreement with the idea of measures constituting "emergency remote learning," by age, type of institution, and educational environment



Source: Compiled by authors

Most participants thought that their productivity had increased as a result of the new measures (46%). At the country level, Peruvian educators expressed more belief in this idea than did Chileans. Another important variable is age. Older educators felt that the changes boosted their productivity to a greater extent than did their younger counterparts. Relatedly, for older practitioners, the new teaching modality was seen as a positive challenge.

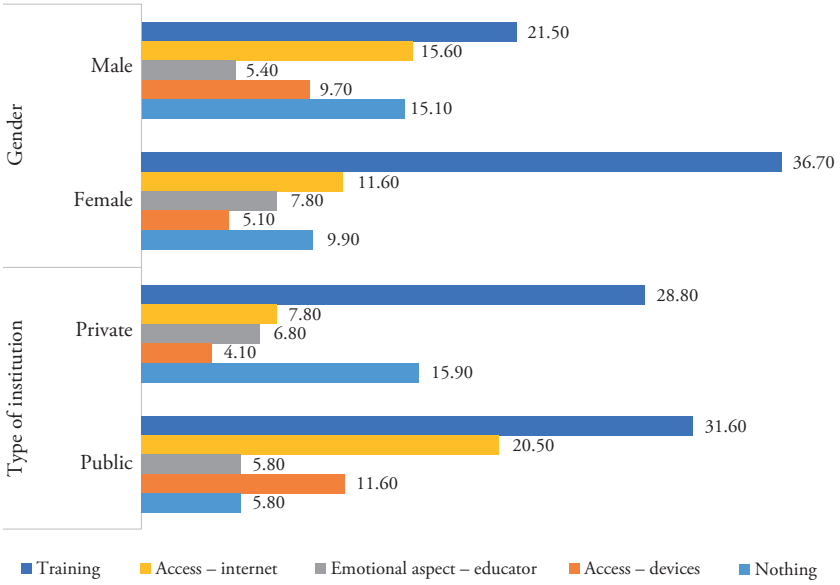
Most educators (45%) agreed that their institutions had a clear plan in place for the adaptation of their courses. But Peruvians were less well disposed towards these plans than Chilean educators. And, once again, older educators took a more positive view than younger ones. Similarly positive views on planning were expressed by educators at private institutions (51%), unlike public-sector educators (33%) and those working in the Peruvian capital rather than the provinces. As to the latter, it is significant that in the Peruvian provinces 47% of educators noted the absence of a clear plan, whereas only 26% of educators based in Metropolitan Lima did. Such regional disparities were far less pronounced in Chile, even though both countries are beset by centralist policies.

Overall, most educators cited a need for more training (31%), followed by internet access (13%). In third place are those who said they required nothing (12%), followed by a small number who called for emotional support (7%) and access to devices (7%). But of the small proportions pointing out these latter two needs, considerably more Chilean educators required emotional support than their peers in the country to the north (10% vs. 3%), while in the case of access to devices the trends were almost reversed (4% vs. 10%). Although these percentages are low, they are indicative of differing perspectives: again, Peruvian educators were more likely to see the emergency as a technological challenge, while Chileans were more inclined to take a more negative view in relation to emotional welfare.

As to gender, women called for more training than men (37% vs. 22%). And here we observe a gender gap in which lack of time may have a bearing. We will return to this issue later. Meanwhile, educators over the age of 50 expressed greater satisfaction, which meant that they did not feel they needed more than they already had. This contentment was also more apparent at secondary level and among educators at private institutions. These three groups consistently fared better during the pandemic, and said they were self-sufficient.

Once more, in this regard, teachers working in Metropolitan Lima were far more comfortable with their conditions than their peers in other regions. The latter were far more vocal about the need for training (38% vs. 25%) and internet access (19% vs.10%) than those working in the capital.

Figure 3
Support required by educators: by gender and type of institution



Source: Compiled by authors

3.2 Changes in students

Six out of ten teachers said that the changes had a positive effect on their students' commitment levels. For the Peruvian educators, the impact was considerably more positive than for the Chileans (72% vs. 55%). Discrepancies are also apparent between older (66%) and middle-aged educators (69%) vis-a-vis their younger colleagues (51%), as well as between more experienced ones (69%) versus those who were just starting out in their careers (55%). As to educational level, high-school (70%) and university (68%) educators perceived a positive impact to a far greater extent than those working at pre-school institutions (40%). Within the sphere of early education, it is striking that the predominant impression of commitment was negative (49%), which reveals a disconnect at this educational level.

In the case of the perceived effect on students' learning, the perception was again predominantly positive (53%), albeit to a lesser extent than for commitment. And a difference between Peruvian and Chilean educators can again be discerned: the former reported a more positive impact (66%), while, to the largest extent, Chilean educators pointed towards a negative impact on learning (43%). Middle-aged, older, and more experienced educators all had a more positive perception (59% overall). High-school

(70%) and university (68%) educators both noted a more positive impact on their students' learning than did their counterparts in pre-school (40%) and primary (41%) institutions. Moreover, when it comes to students' learning progress, educators with licentiate or technical qualifications discerned a negative impact (40%) to a far greater extent than those with master's (28%) or doctoral (21%) degrees.

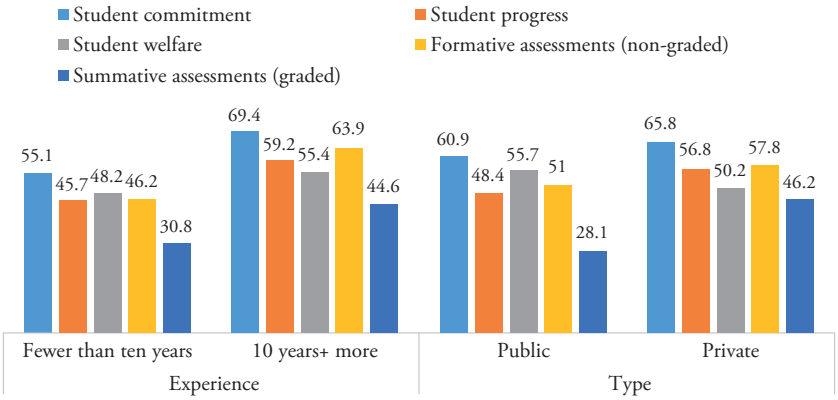
The effect of the changes on student welfare was positively evaluated by a majority of educators (52%). But we detected differences across the different levels of education; university professors were far more likely to discern a negative impact on students (42%) than high-school teachers (28%). Indeed, the latter group perceived the greatest positive impact on student welfare (61%). This result reinforces the general idea that secondary-level teachers were more likely to perceive positive emotional effects in distance learning.

Overall, the effects on formative assessment were well regarded by educators (56%). The Peruvian educators who took part in the study were more likely to report a positive impact than the Chilean participants (61% vs. 52%). As in the learning dimension, the older and more experienced a teacher was, the more likely they were to favorably view the effects on formative assessment (on average, 61% of educators in the top two brackets for age and experience). High-school teachers were far more likely to perceive a positive impact in this regard that their equivalents at the pre-school level (65% vs. 33%). In addition, educators with licentiates thought that formative assessments were negatively affected (30%) in greater numbers than their peers with master's degrees (20%) or doctorates (23%).

With regard to the effects on summative assessments, there is parity between those with positive and negative views. The results for this dimension can be broken down into three broad categories: those who were evenly split on the question, comprised of female, preschool, secondary, and province-based educators; those who took a positive view, which primarily included the Peruvian, male, and middle-aged groups of educators; and educators who thought the changes had a negative effect on this type of assessment—a group that is comprised of Chilean, younger, and primary-level educators, as well as those who work at public institutions and those with licentiate or technical qualifications.

In sum, educators' perceptions of the effects of the changes on students largely mirrors how they felt it affected their own teaching practices. The only difference is that for the case of the perceived effect on students, there are no significant differences between locations (capital vs. provinces).

Figure 4
Educators' perceptions about changes in students, by experience and type of institution



Source: Compiled by authors.

3.3 Changes in educators

Having analyzed teachers' perceptions of the consequences of the pandemic on students' education, we will now move on to the impact on the educators themselves. Most educators reported negative effects on their personal welfare (57%), while a little over a third felt that the impact of the pandemic had been positive (35%). Here there were significant differences by country, gender, and educational level.

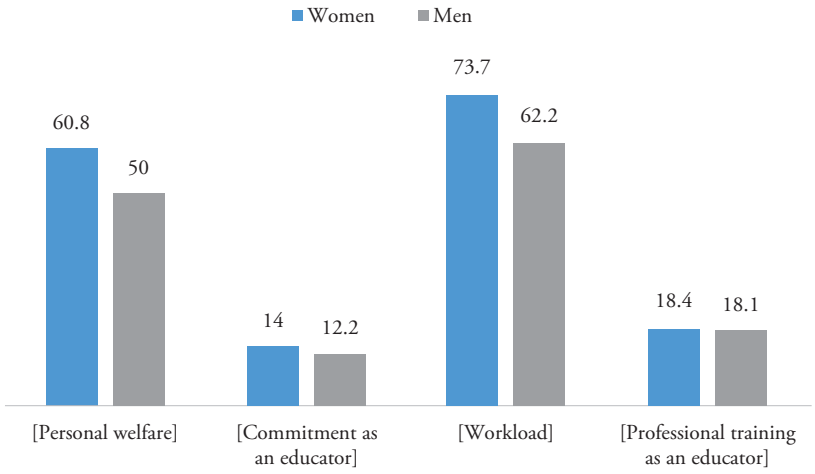
In keeping with the trends described above, Chilean educators had a more negative perception than their Peruvian counterparts (62% vs. 51%). Moreover, in another manifestation of the gender gap, female educators reported more problems in this regard than men (61% vs. 50%). In the provinces there was a more positive reading (40%) than in the capital cities (30%), and this is particularly marked in the case of Peru (58% in the provinces vs. 33% in Lima). In Chile as a whole, educators' perception of the consequences on their own personal welfare was broadly negative (62%). Thus, in this particular case there is a deviation from the previous results for Peru, in that the responses from the capital are more pessimistic. Meanwhile, continuity can be observed for the overall negative interpretation of Chilean educators.

Most of the educators surveyed (67%) think that the changes have affected their teaching practices for the better. The only significant difference arises at the country level, where Peruvian educators expressed more of a positive impact than their Chilean peers (72% vs. 62%), in keeping with the previous result for welfare.

As for workload, most educators thought that the changes were negative (70%). Here, the gender variable is notable; considerably more women acknowledged a negative impact than did men (74% vs. 63%). In turn, educators at public institutions detected a positive impact on their workload in greater numbers than their peers in the private sector (32% vs. 19%), which is consistent with the earlier finding that teachers at private institutions found the change challenging. At the territorial level, educators in the provinces were more likely to view the changes to their workload as positive than were educators working in the capital cities (39% vs. 25%).

In the opinion of most participants in the study, educators' professional training benefited from the changes. Here, two key differences stand out. On the one hand, younger educators were less enthusiastic than their more experienced colleagues (59% vs. 72%); and on the other, more pre-school teachers perceived a negative impact (33%) than was the case of educators at the secondary (15%) and tertiary (16%) levels. This consolidates the impression that younger educators and those in early education had a more negative vision of education during the pandemic.

Figure 5
Perception of negative impact on teaching practices during the pandemic, by gender



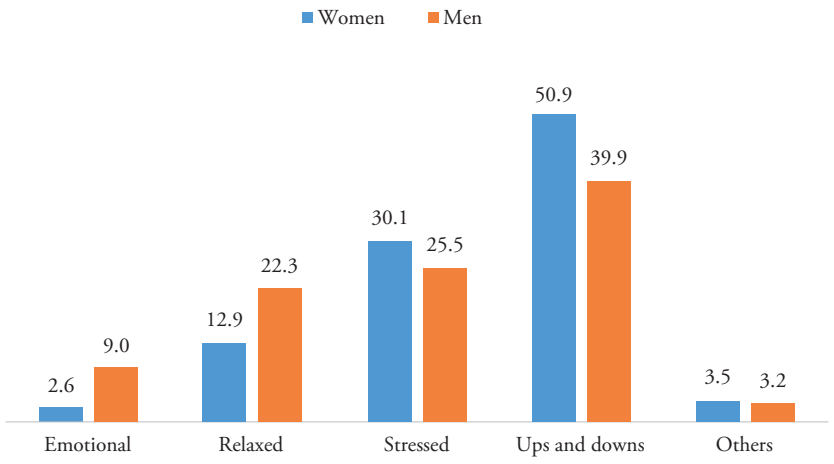
Source: Compiled by authors.

Overall, it is worth reflecting on some of the educators' feelings in relation to the educational changes implemented in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The largest group was made up of educators who said that they experienced ups and downs (47%), followed by those who felt stressed (29%). The results vary significantly according to country. Chilean educa-

tors experienced more highs and lows than Peruvians did (55% vs. 38%), while the latter were more likely to feel emotional about the changes (8% vs. 3%). By gender, more women than men spoke of ups and downs (51% vs. 40%), while men were more likely to experience excitement (9%) and peace of mind (22%) than women (2% y 13%). This reinforces the idea that the pandemic negatively affected female more than male teachers.

And in the case of age, older educators stated they felt more peace of mind than did younger ones (22% vs. 11%). Likewise, educators with master's degrees (20%) and doctorates (30%) were considerably more likely to report feeling relaxed about the situation than those with licentiate or technical qualifications (11%). Indeed, the most highly educated educators were more likely to feel relaxed about facing the crisis. This may be related to higher levels of confidence and job security, leaving them better equipped to take on the challenge.

Figure 6
Feelings about educational changes, by gender



Source: Compiled by authors.

4. Conclusions

The results of this study offer a freeze-frame from a movie that is still unfolding. Although the sample is preliminary and unrepresentative, it is possible to discern some relevant perceptions about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on teaching practices. In keeping with previous research (Mateus & Andrada, 2021), we found that the more notable pre-existing structural gaps cited by educators are associated with centralized education systems,

gender inequality, limited access to technological goods and services at public schools, and job instability, especially in the case of educators with fewer qualifications and those at private institutions. Centralization is especially marked in Peru, where educators in the provinces stated that their institutions did not have clear plans for responding to the emergency and had limited access to the information and communications technology they needed for their classes. Educators in the Peruvian provinces were the only ones who reported favorable personal welfare, though further research is needed to expand our understanding of the complexity of this group.

Teachers at public schools have been profoundly affected by the paucity of technological resources or internet connections for their students—a problem that predates the pandemic. Their biggest challenge was keeping their students "connected" and curbing the soaring school dropout rates. In the meantime, the problems faced by teachers in the private sector tended to be pedagogical.

Likewise, gender gaps are evident in both countries insofar as male educators feel more prepared for change, greater peace of mind, and less affected by the workload. These findings reflect those of Carrillo (2017), who shows that female teachers educators have a more positive attitude to the teaching profession and their interpersonal relations. But the situation can become more problematic when it comes to their own emotional health, since they are more involved in the needs of their students.

In contexts such as that of Latin America, where the gender approach is currently a matter of public debate, the data revealed through the educators' perceptions provide glimpses into assigned roles and the differing conditions between men and women.

Previous studies show that female educators have to deal not only with their professional duties but also those related to their household caregiving responsibilities. This situation is even more serious when we recall that the profession is highly feminized at all but the university level (Ávalos, 2013). Educators call for more training because the multiple domestic and caregiving tasks they assume compound their occupational obligations, depriving them of the time they need to address the challenges presented by the pandemic.

Another interesting aspect of this study is the picture it provides of a more critical perspective among younger and less experienced educators on the one hand, and greater enthusiasm among older educators on the other. The negative perceptions of younger educators echo those revealed in a longitudinal study of pre-school teachers carried out before the pandemic (Carrillo, 2017). Our results are also consistent with the high turnover of

young teachers in Chile, especially in contexts of vulnerability (Carrasco, Godoy, & Rivera, 2017). Indeed, this is the only group not to have detected an increase in their productivity.

The adaptation of in-person classes to the virtual modality based on technologies with which educators were previously unfamiliar has been a source of pride for the older teachers. For many in this group, emergency education will bring lasting benefits and changes such as greater productivity, further training, and ICT access programs. Older educators largely have a positive appreciation of the challenges posed by adaptation to technology, the transformation of their classes, and the productivity boosts, and are more likely to feel supported by their institutions.

However, without any real points of comparison in their nascent careers, less experienced professionals find discord between the classroom-based models for which they were trained and the virtual approaches that they have been compelled to adopt. And they are less likely to be impressed by the impact of ICT, because most are well acquainted with it already.

When it comes to educational level, there are also differences. Pre-school teachers differ from their colleagues at the other levels. Even though technology played a less important role at this level before the pandemic since technological solutions are less viable for young children who require more in-person support from adults, pre-school teachers were those most able to adapt, where possible, and to connect. Moreover, it is this group that asks for emotional support to the greatest extent. Perhaps for this reason, early education teachers tend not to view the changes as permanent, and hope that in-person classes will resume soon. Most members of this segment are women, and their training is different and was more recently validated than that of other teachers. Thus, pre-school educators proved especially vulnerable to the impact of the pandemic—which, in general terms, disproportionately affects women—on education. In general, the question arises whether early childhood education fits into this context of increasingly technology-intensive or virtual education, or whether it ought to remain a bastion of classroom learning. If the former is true, how can the increase in virtual education be reconciled with a stage of education intended to be primarily emotional and social and, therefore, to be provided in-person?

The educators likewise noted changes in their students. Some were positive, such as increased commitment, while others were negative, such as lags in learning. In both countries, however, the positive perceptions are at odds with the reality—observed in the months following our fieldwork—of a rise in school dropouts and difficulties keeping in contact with students. If

education is intended to foster education, then the balance of the pandemic is clearly negative.

On the other hand, pre-school, primary, and secondary teachers perceive their students' level of welfare to be high, especially in the latter case, though this is not the case among university professors. It may be that older (university) students have more freedom to express their difficulties given their more horizontal relationships with their professors.

The especial context of the pandemic, in which there was less pressure related to summative assessment, appears to have played an important role, albeit there were still some differences. In the Chilean case, educators with less experience as well as those at public institutions perceived these assessments negatively. This study illustrates that, for many educators, there are major gaps or lags in students' learning, especially in vulnerable sectors. Therefore, as well as recovering those students who have dropped out, there is a need to reinforce any curriculum content that may have been missed in 2020 and 2021. In the Peruvian case, the overall outlook of educators regarding the impact on students is somewhat brighter for all the variables studied. We propose a reading of these data based on local cultural considerations, mindful of the caveat that they cannot be extrapolated to the population as a whole. We attribute the positive attitude in Peru to a greater emphasis on the democratic element of the educational modernizing project, with its promise of the rational and moral evolution of society (García Canclini, 1990). Conversely, in Chile, the *Estallido Social*, which began with the protests of October 2019 and culminated in the proposal for a new constitution, reflects a deep-seated malaise marked by social precariousness and structural inequalities (Garcés, 2020) that also finds expression in the education system.

In accordance with their feelings about their profession, young educators have consistently negative perceptions about the effects of the pandemic on their students. This is the group with the most negative regard for the commitment, learning, and summative assessments of their charges. Likewise, pre-school educators perceived a negative impact on these dimensions. This prompts the conclusion that teaching experience and educational stage are both decisive factors in shaping positive or negative views of how students are faring.

Finally, the educators attested to negative effects on their own welfare, with emotional highs and lows and an increased workload. The pandemic placed many in the profession under even more pressure than they had already faced. The need to continue assuring learning, access, and inclusiveness fell disproportionately on their shoulders. This pressure, however,

was often translated into increased commitment and demands for better professional training. Work overload, a common characteristic of the teaching profession in Latin America (Ávalos, 2013), afflicted educators in all categories, but especially women and teachers at private schools.

This is another sign that educators bear much of the burden of the emergency in their sector. It is worth reiterating this point: despite increased awareness of the need for equal rights and responsibilities between genders (Mateus & Andrada, 2021), domestic work is still assumed predominantly by women. The most conscientious of attitudes towards interpersonal relations can easily lead to a blurring of the boundaries between professional and personal life, resulting in a vicious circle with harmful repercussions for both. Remote work from home represents a double burden for women. This is why both the welfare and workload indicators show a negative impact on educators. This is indicative of the difficulty translating discourse into reality, even in a profession of such importance to society.

Educators working for private institutions also experienced detrimental effects on their workload, which may be explained by the lack of unionization at their workplaces. It is striking that this group, alongside those with the highest qualifications, has felt the impact the most. At times of crisis, productivity, seen as part of the "business" of education, affects the components with the greatest market profitability.

There is a discourse that attacks the rights and assurances won by educators in the public system, accusing them of intransigence and a lack of incentives to improve. The counterpoint to this discourse is the context of job insecurity in which many private-sector employees feel more vulnerable since they are forced to assume more hours and keep in constant touch with students to prevent them from dropping out at the possible cost of their jobs.

In sum, it is recognized that the changes to education prompted by the COVID-19 pandemic have different effects depending on the educator's profile, and express continuities with pre-pandemic realities. By and large, older, more experienced teachers, those who are male, and those who have college or postgraduate studies have been able to take advantage of opportunities and to positively resignify technologies for virtual education (Vaillant, 2020). On the other hand, educators who are women, younger, or less experienced; work in the preschool or primary system or at public institutions; or who are educated to licentiate level are more likely to have perceived the changes to education necessitated by the pandemic as negative.

The role played by ICT in this emergency situation has been vital. Much of the time, these technologies precluded major changes to pedagogical practices because, in many cases, educators had to devote their time to dis-

covering how they worked or to developing digital skills they lacked before the pandemic. Moreover, access gaps also reaffirmed inequalities that cannot be overcome solely with the distribution of devices.

All this attests to the position of educators as a cornerstone of the education system, and to the crucial importance of investing in their initial and ongoing training as a means of assuring better working conditions. Educational authorities are focusing on the return to in-person classes to prevent thousands of students dropping out of the system because of the gaps in learning that we have explored in this study. However, we ought to learn lessons from this crisis and not treat it as a mere footnote. Rather than just lauding the heroic efforts of educators, it is better to call out their increasing precarity and introduce institutional reforms so that this unprecedented situation can be a starting point for systemic reform.

5. References

Alarcón-Llontop, L.-R., Torres-Mirez, K., Pasapera-Ramírez, S., & Carrasco-Yovera, M. (2021). La radio y la televisión en "Aprendo en casa": hallazgos por codificación abierta. *Contratexto*, (36), 119-147. doi:10.26439/contratexto2021.n036.5231Ávalos, B. (2013). ¿Héroes *o villanos? La profesión docente en Chile*. Santiago: Universitaria.

Benites, R. (2021). *La educación superior universitaria en el Perú post-pandemia. Documento de política pública*. Políticas y Debates Públicos, 1. https://escuela.pucp.edu.pe/gobierno/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/La-Educacion-Superior-Universitaria-en-el-Peru-post-pandemia-VF.pdf

Bourdieu, P., & Paterson, J.-C. (2009). *Los herederos: los estudiantes y la cultura*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

Bruna, D., Villarroel, V., & Hojman, V. (2021). *Emociones y salud mental de los profesores en la educación remota en pandemia. Un estudio en el sistema escolar chileno.* CIME – U. del Desarrollo. https://psicologia.udd.cl/files/2021/05/Salud-Mental-de-docentes-en-pandemia-CIME.pdf

Carrasco, D., Godoy, M. I., & Rivera, M. (2017). Rotación de profesores en Chile: quiénes son y cuál es el contexto de quienes dejan su primer trabajo. *Midevidencias*, *11*, 1-7.

Carrillo, S. (2017). Actitudes hacia la profesión docente y condiciones de bienestar: ¿una década de cambios y continuidades? *Revista Peruana de Investigación Educativa*, DIAGRAMODERES UNIR*9*(9), 5-30.

CEPAL-UNESCO. (2020). *La educación en tiempos de la pandemia de COVID-19*. https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstream/handle/11362/45904/1/S2000510_es.pdf

Cerda, P. (2021). TV Educa sigue más allá de la pandemia y autoridades buscan modelo de gestión. *La Tercera*.

CNN Chile. (2020). *Mineduc adelanta entrega de computadores para alumnos de 7.º básico*. https://www.cnnchile.com/coronavirus/mineduc-entrega-computadores-septimo-basico_20200416/

CNTV. (6 de junio de 2020). *86% de consultados manifiesta que canal TV Educa Chile debería continuar tras la contingencia sanitaria*. Sala de Prensa CNTV. https://www.cntv.cl/2020/06/02/86-de-consultados-manifiesta-que-canal-tv-educa-chile-deberia-continuar-tras-la-contingencia-sanitaria/

Coldron, J., & Smith, R. (1999). Active location in teachers' construction of their professional identities. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, *31*(6), 711-726. doi:10.1080/002202799182954

Cueto, S., Felipe, C. & León, J. (2020). *Predictores de la deserción escolar en el Perú*. Análisis & Propuestas, 52. Grade, Niños del Milenio. http://www.grade.org.pe/wp-content/uploads/GRADEap52.pdf

Educación 2020. (2020). *2.ª Encuesta online: #Estamos conectados. ¿Cómo enfrentamos los desafíos de la educación a distancia y un posible retorno presencial? Análisis focalizado. Agosto 2020*. http://educacion2020.cl/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Resultados_2%C2%B0_salida_noviembre.pdf

El Comercio. (2021). ¿Cuáles son las consecuencias de la deserción escolar? *El Comercio*. https://elcomercio.pe/respuestas/cuales-son-las-consecuencias-de-la-desercion-escolar-ano-escolar-2021-revtli-noticia/

Eyzaguirre, S., Le Foulon, C., & Salvatierra, V. (2020). Educación en tiempos de pandemia: antecedentes y recomendaciones para la discusión en Chile. *Estudios Públicos*, (159), 111-180.

Garcés, M. (2020). October 2019: Social uprising in neoliberal Chile. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, *28*(3), 1-9. doi:10.1080/13569325.2019.1696289

García Canclini, N. (1990). *Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad*. Mexico City: Grijalbo.

Hodges, C., Moore, S., Lockee, B., Trust, T., & Bond, A. (2020). *The difference between emergency remote teaching and online learning*. https://er.educause.edu/articles/2020/3/the-difference-between-emergency-remote-teaching-and-online-learning

Iesalc. (2020). COVID-19 y educación superior: de los efectos inmediatos al día después. Análisis de impactos, respuestas políticas y recomendaciones. http://www.iesalc.unesco.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/COVID-19-ES-130520.pdf

Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP). (2020). *IEP. Informe de opinión. Encuesta nacional sobre educación a distancia. 31 de mayo 2020*. https://iep.org.pe/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Informe-OP-Mayo-2020-Educación-4.pdf

Mateus, J. C., & Andrada, P. (2021). Docentes frente al COVID-19: cambios percibidos en Chile y Perú. *Magis, Revista Internacional de Investigación en Educación*, *14*, doi:10.11144/Javeriana.m14.dfcc

Mateus, J. C., & Quiroz, M. T. (2021). La "competencia TIC" desde la mirada de docentes de secundaria peruanos: más que habilidades digitales. *Revista Peruana de Investigación Educativa*, *13*(14), 7-23. doi:10.34236/rpie.v13i14.266

Mateus, J. C., Andrada, P., González-Cabrera, C., Ugalde, C., & Novomisky, S. (2022). Teachers' perspectives for a critical agenda in media education post COVID-19. A comparative study in Latin America. *Comunicar*, *70*, 9-19. doi:10.3916/C70-2022-01

Mendía, R., & Pérez, C. (2020). El impacto de la educación a distancia. *La Tercera*. https://www.latercera.com/tendencias/noticia/el-impacto-de-la-educacion-a-distancia/WFGBJWI37JAH7G4R2BFYSYHIY4/

Ministerio de Educación de Chile (MINEDUC). (2020). *50 municipios han solicitado al Mineduc abrir las puertas de sus establecimientos educacionales*. https://www.mineduc.cl/50-municipios-han-solicitado-abrir-las-puertas-de-sus-colegios/

Ministerio de Educación de Chile MINEDUC). (2021a). *Mineduc entrega detalles de cifras de deserción escolar 2021*. https://www.mineduc.cl/mineduc-entrega-detalles-de-cifras-de-desercion-escolar-2021/

Ministerio de Educación de Chile (MINEDUC). (2021b). *Reingreso escolar: Mineduc envía proyecto de ley para recuperar a estudiantes que han salido del sistema*. https://www.mineduc.cl/nueva-modalidad-educativa-de-reingreso-escolar/

Ministerio de Salud de Chile (MINSAL). (2019). *Presentan guía con recomendaciones para la prevención de la conducta suicida en establecimientos educacionales*. https://www.minsal.cl/presentan-guia-con-recomendaciones-para-la-prevencion-de-la-conducta-suicida-en-establecimientos-educacionales/

Pablo, F. (2020). Retos de la educación en tiempos de pandemia. *Tarea*, *100*, 2-8. https://tarea.org.pe/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/Tarea100_02_Flor_Pablo_Medina.pdf

Patiño, A. (2020). Por una educación a distancia de calidad. *Tarea*, *100*, 16-22.

PNUD. (2017). *Desiguales. Orígenes, cambios y desafíos de la brecha social en Chile*. Santiago de Chile: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.

Pulso PUCP, Grupo de Investigación en Psicología Comunitaria PUCP & Ministerio de Educación. (2021). *Salud mental en docentes durante la pandemia: reflexiones en torno al género*. Instituto de Analítica Social e Inteligencia Estratégica – Pulso PUCP.

Reimers, F. (2021). Oportunidades educativas y la pandemia de la COVID-19 en América Latina. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, *86*(1), 9-23. doi:10.35362/rie8614557

Rodríguez-Sosa, J., & Hernández-Sánchez, K. (2018). Problematización de las prácticas docentes y contextualización de la enseñanza. *Propósitos y Representaciones*, *6*(1), 507-541. doi:10.20511/pyr2018.v6n1.211

RPP. (2021). *El país que educamos. Integración al Bicentenario*. https://bit.ly/3y0meas

Sachs, J. (2001). Teacher professional identity: Competing discourses, competing outcomes. *Journal of Education Policy*, *16*(2), 149-161. doi:10.1080/02680930116819

Said, C., & Gálvez, R. (2020). La crisis golpea a universidades: aumenta deserción y 50 mil deudores del CAE piden apoyo. *La Tercera*. https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/la-crisis-golpea-a-universidades-aumenta-desercion-y-50-mil-deudores-del-cae-piden-apoyo/3MEFLSJALZH4DPWCEZNBEREJU4/

Salas, G., Santander, P., Precht, A., Scholten, H., Moretti, R., & López-López, W. (2020). COVID-19: impacto psicosocial en la escuela en Chile. Desigualdades y desafíos para Latinoamérica. *Avances en Psicología Latinoamericana*, *38*(2), 1-17. doi:10.12804/revistas.urosario.edu.co/apl/a.9404

Schüller, P. (2020). Más de 16 mil tablets serán entregados a estudiantes técnicos más vulnerables del país. *La Nación*. http://www.lanacion.cl/mas-de-16-mil-tablets-seran-entregados-a-estudiantes-tecnicos-mas-vulnerables-del-pais/

Stuardo, M. (2020). *En un 42% aumentaron los casos de maltrato a menores desde llegada de la pandemia a Chile según ONG*. https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/chile/2020/04/12/en-un-42-aumentaron-los-casos-de-maltrato-a-menores-desde-llegada-de-la-pandemia-a-chile-segun-ong.shtml

Vaillant, D. (2020). La formación de docentes y estudiantes para ambientes de aprendizaje multiplataforma. In Fundación Ceibal, *Escuela de Invierno en Educación y Tecnología 2020*. Montevideo.

Zamora Mendoza, C., Velázquez Castro, T., Solar Cárdenas, Y. D., Gutiérrez Muñoz, G., Sánchez Ponce, C., Gonzales La Rosa Sánchez, J., ... & Pillaca Montes, J. (2021). *Salud mental en docentes durante la pandemia: reflexiones en torno al género*. Informe de Evidencia sobre Educación y Salud Mental n.º 3. http://repositorio.minedu.gob.pe/handle/20.500.12799/7699