

EDITED BY
ANNA ODROWĄŻ-COATES

WHAT WOULD KORCZAK DO?

**Reflections on Education,
Well-being & Children's
Rights in the Times of the
COVID-19 Pandemic**



WYDAWNICTWO AKADEMII PEDAGOGIKI SPECJALNEJ

WHAT WOULD KORCZAK DO?

UNESCO/ Janusz Korczak Chair's Book Series,
"Development and social adaptation of children and youth"

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Reflections on Education,
Well-being and Children's
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COVID-19 Pandemic

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ANNA ODROWĄŻ-COATES*

A few Words of Introduction

In 2004 the UNESCO/Janusz Korczak Chair in Social Pedagogy was established at the Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw. Since 2006 the UNESCO Chair has organized International Summer Schools aimed at researchers, academics and educators from all around the world. The themes of the summer schools change and evolve, but we always ensure that we draw from our university's roots. The holding of yearly UNESCO Summer Schools has led to the development of a special publication series under the patronage of the Polish Commission for UNESCO and the UNESCO Chair. The series pertains to the issues of inclusion, human rights, child rights and childhood studies, and is financed by the Maria Grzegorzewska University. In the series we aim to promote contributions from the so-called Global South, as we feel it is underrepresented in global discourses. We also embrace the concept of global Englishes, promoting diversity and flexibility of the English language as a tool of communication for inclusive international dialog.

The current COVID-19 pandemic situation forced us to move the 13th International Summer School online, offering a virtual tour of Korczak's philosophy of education and the virtual tour of Warsaw, the city of Korczak, in his footsteps. Studying Korczak in his own socio-cultural space, entrenched in historic and political context of his home city, is the only way to fully immerse in his thought and to gain a deep understanding of the heritage left for the future generations of children, their tutors, parents and researchers of child-

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hood. Communicating from the virtual city of Warsaw is an experimental form of maintaining the context and the circumstances that Korczak lived and worked in. Korczak is a prominent figure in children's rights development and represents an important part of Eastern and Central European heritage. He was also an insightful observer and researcher of childhood and early childhood development (Odrowaz-Coates, Vucic 2017) and the universality of Korczak's ideas from over a century ago, continue to make his contribution to children's rights development relevant and inspiring. We want to reach out from the hub of his child-centric educational philosophy to other parts of the world, to find connections and commonalities for greater unity and cooperation in bringing children's rights to the forefront of political discussions.

In the face of the pandemic, UNESCO (2020) has provided an immediate response to the humanitarian crisis arising from the spread of the virus and has provided solutions and resources for continuation of education, focusing on the issues of access and WHO (2020) provides guidelines and reliable health and safety information daily. Governments of the world have combatted the situation in many different ways, sometimes reaching a united front, sometimes amplifying differences and the discourse of 'otherness'. In this complex new reality, we wanted to hypothesise what Korczak would do and explore the situation for vulnerable groups around the world, in the context of inclusion and well-being.

The last few months have brought enormous changes to the lives of many people in the world, including children and adolescents. In many cases, the situation of those already affected by conflicts, poverty, domestic violence, illness and many forms of inequality, has worsened with new restrictions and imperfect solutions, created ad hoc due to the sudden nature of events. We observe spontaneous social forces emerging in order to support those most vulnerable. We see many positive formal and informal initiatives; solidarity is the key word for surviving this situation and the maintenance of humanity and sanity.

Although it is not the same situation that Henryk Goldshmidt (Janusz Korczak) found himself in at the brink of WW2, his philosophical and pedagogical heritage may be a goal for people supporting children and adolescents at the times of great uncertainty and insecurity. We therefore posed the following questions: what would Korczak do to address these difficult times? What

would Korczak do if he was involved in education, politics, healthcare and social work today? How would he view current social solutions and policy developments? How are children's rights affected and how does the children's rights framework work to combat difficult situations? Let's take this challenge to see the world through the lens of this great global educator (Shner 2018) and read this selection of chapters written in 2020 by scholars and activists from 5 continents. In this volume dedicated to Korczak's relevance in the global context, we present theoretical, empirical and practical contributions including essays, manifestos and thinking pieces. All papers refer to Janusz Korczak, his biography (Lifton 1988) or philosophical and educational heritage (Vucic 2017). The papers are embedded in children's rights, children's participation and empowerment.

The volume opens with a foreword written by the former editor of the UNESCO Chair book series, Dr. Urszula Markowska-Manista, who focusses her attention on diseases in the times of Korczak's life. It is followed by the award-winning essay on digital activism and botification of Janusz Korczak's concepts in 'Twiitterture'. The Author, Waliya, Yohanna Joseph is an emerging scholar from Nigeria. His contribution is unusual as it is an artistic declaration that explains the processes of making the Twitterbot @TinyKorczak, which is loaded with Janusz Korczak's education philosophy. The Twitterbot "protests" in favour of children and their ecosystem in English, Spanish, French, Polish and Hebrew. It tweets and posts updates every three hours on the timeline of any twitter user that mentions its name. The tweets are a composite visual digital minimalist twittext that, according to the author, denounces any act of global anti-children cultural policy. @TinyKorczak is inspired by the research paper: *Notes on an international context of Korczak's Pedagogy Legacy* (2018) and this is used as the conceptual generative dictionary of datasets to feed the Twitterbot. The author purposefully created this Twitterbot for the millions of Twitter users in the world, especially people in his homeland Nigeria, owing to the 10 million out-of-school children, living on the streets.

Next is an inspirational piece by Asma Khalid, a Pakistani scholar and an activist for children's and women's rights. Her chapter explores the social issues of neglected groups of children and young people who are working in the formal and informal economy in Pakistan amid COVID-19. She writes

about how Korczak would have responded to the problems of marginalized and neglected groups of children and the social solutions and policy development in the current pandemic that he might suggest. She claims that the responsible institutions are not prioritizing this neglected group of children and that resources are not managed properly despite international commitments. She proposes that by keeping Korczak's pedagogical principles in mind, we can find solutions as far as education, social protection and skill training are concerned for the most vulnerable groups of children.

The next article is about social inequalities amongst children in Istanbul. Inequalities emphasized by the necessity of online learning during COVID-19 lock-downs. This contribution, prepared by an accomplished Turkish writer of stories for children, Seran Demiral, shows clear links to Korczak's concepts and solutions. The author makes an appeal to draw from Korczak's knowledge of children and society to overcome social divisions during the times of hardship brought by the pandemic. Staying tuned to the COVID-19 situation around the globe, we move on to South America and the educational challenges faced by children in Argentina. This chapter is written by Cecilia Zsögön, who discusses education from the new and challenging perspective that the pandemic has forced on education since schools have had to close their doors as a preventative measure. This has created challenges for students, teachers and the educational system in general, which become even more difficult in the context of the widespread vulnerability and inequality of Latin American societies.

Remaining within the vulnerable groups of people affected by COVID-19, Sribas Goswami has prepared an empirical study from an Indian context. During the last 40 years, Indian society has shown an increasing concern with respect to mental illness and physical disabilities of children. Nevertheless, the author claims that most of the people of his country cannot discern the differences between disability, special educational needs and mental illness. The results of his study show that there are significant differences between many social factors and the quality of life amongst the groups of parents of children with SEN and physical disabilities. Moreover, his study shows that parental psychosocial challenges and anxieties are found to be much severe during the pandemic.

A more generic view on the situation of children during the pandemic is taken by a journalist Megha Varier. In her essay titled: “In a world afflicted by a pandemic, Korczak’s teachings become crucially relevant”, she tries to find the answer on what would Korczak do and points us towards both micro and macro level solutions for children’s rights and their wellbeing as the obligation and the only justifiable direction. Her contribution is a manifesto directed to awaken opinion makers, stake holders and politicians all around the globe.

The next chapter is focused on looking for unique research opportunities created in these unusual times. The author Mark Juszczak, claims that while a considerable amount of research is currently ongoing about the sociological, economic, educational, political and other consequences of the pandemic, the pandemic itself presents a unique opportunity to conduct a type of research that would never have been possible, and in particular that pertaining to the efficacy of online education.

An interesting contribution comes from an anthropologist, Michalina Grzelka, who writes about the situation of female domestic workers in Kuwait, through the lens of critical realism and within the Korczakian approach to human rights and children’s rights.

Children’s rights are rediscovered in the context of theatre as the embodiment of the right to education in the article authored by Faith Ibarakumo Ken-Aminikpo from Nigeria. She claims that Children’s theatre “inevitably operates within contexts of education and learning” (Reason 2010). It is a creative area of children’s development, well-being and has the potential for international didactical cooperation. The paper aims to establish the relevance of Janusz Korczak’s pedagogical legacy to the performing arts. His pedagogical descriptions are analysed through the lens of the international contextuality of his times, and of modern times, trying to identify universality of his concepts in children’s theatre practice. This chapter introduces synergy of his pedagogical heritage and performance in education, using the example of play texts to support the analysis.

The book closes with very important questions posed by an Argentinian lawyer and the children’s rights defender, Yamila Rodriguez, who explores current tendencies towards the deinstitutionalization of children based on measures issued to combat the COVID-19 pandemic. She has contrasted them with Janusz Korczak’s ideas about children living in institutions. The paper

shows that children's institutions are still needed and that their importance will be paramount in the aftermath of the crisis. However, following his ideas, some points are made regarding the exceptional cases in which children should be institutionalized and how their lives at the institution should be.

This selection of chapters clearly shows that Korczak's educational philosophy is alive and well and that it finds new followers, regardless of a cultural context and the challenges faced by children, their caregivers, and educators. His ideas remain timeless and universal, yet still overshadowed by dominant discourses and in need of reviving to not become displaced, lost or unjustly appropriated.

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URSZULA MARKOWSKA-MANISTA*

Foreword

I am delighted to have the opportunity to provide the foreword to this edited collection of texts by authors from various parts of the world, representing both the Global South and the Global North. My connection to the series *Development and Social Adaptation of Children and Youth* goes back to its beginnings (it was initiated at the Janusz Korczak UNESCO Chair in 2016) and the publication of three peer-reviewed monographs in English (*The Interdisciplinary Contexts of Reintegration and Readaptation in the Era of Migration – an Intercultural Perspective* 2016; *The Contemporary Problems of Children and Youth in Multicultural Societies: Theory, Research, Praxis* 2018; *Children and Youth in Varied Socio-cultural Contexts: Theory, Research, Praxis* 2018) that I edited. These three publications constituted a space for an interdisciplinary, research and theoretical-practical dialogue addressing issues which are important in youth and childhood studies in the contemporary world. I am happy that the fundamental premise of the series – opening to scholars, theoreticians and practitioners representing various disciplines of science and various geographical regions as well as contexts – is continued. It gives us hope that we can access research based on contexts familiar to the authors, refer to diverse scientific paradigms and implement the postulate of ethical symmetry in research concerning children and youth (Markowska-Manista 2018) by including the voices of various scholars representing the Global South and the Global North (Budde 2020; Markowska-Manista 2020 a & b).

Reflecting on what to write in this foreword took me a long time. It required bridging the 1920s to 2020 while addressing the situation of children in times of pandemic understood not only as cases of illness or other health-related phenomena in a number exceeding expectations (Porta 2008, p. 79), but

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also an epidemic of crises in values (Bhabha 2018). On the surface of it, the task seems relatively easy. However, if we explore with greater depth the key categories forming the major building blocks of this book (education, wellbeing, children's rights, Korczak and pandemic) and sketch a map of contexts in which we live, we will become aware of the fact that the overlap of space-time that separates our times from those of Korczak clearly shows that there is still much to be done and interpreted in the area of children's rights (c.f. Odrowaz-Coates 2018). There is still room for change in adults' thinking about children, to perceive them as subjects of equal relations (Liebel, Markowska-Manista 2017, p. 10).

The (rhetorical) key question the contributors to the book attempt to answer is: how would Korczak behave in times of COVID-19 epidemic? *What would Korczak do?* This question will probably never be answered, yet it is worth returning to Korczak's times when epidemic, illness and war were so to speak "on the agenda", to trace his actions.

In "Selected Works" (Dzieła)¹, we can find information about epidemic, diseases plaguing Korczak's times and how people coped with these difficult circumstances. A fragment of Stefania Wilczyńska's letter to Fejga Lifszyc recounting the situation in Orphans' Home during WWI says volumes about Korczak's approach to working for children and the situation of adults providing care to children in times of war, famine and rampant infectious disease. Wilczyńska (in: Puszkin, Ciesielska 2004, p. 14) writes: "As I read your letter, I recall the first months (13 years ago), when dr Goldszmit went to war. It was hard being left alone – true, working conditions were a hundred times better than in your [UMM: boarding school], but a hundred times greater responsibility for trying not to ruin what the wise teacher had built. And then the hard times [UMM at Orphans' Home, 1914–1918]: war, starvation, Germans, typhoid, scabies, fungi, and there I was alone. It was God's help not to abandon all that [...]. Cry a little quietly at night, and continue your work when day comes" (1925).

Depending on time and location, on the function performed, status and social situation Korczak takes on various roles: of Korczak – "the hygienist!"

¹ I will be referring to volumes published in Polish since they are the most comprehensive source of Korczak's work. I would like to thank Marta Ciesielska from Korczakianum Archive, branch of the Museum of Warsaw, for providing the resources and directing me to important archives with materials relating to the subject of my text.

in the meaning the word had in those times, Korczak – the doctor (a paediatrician), Korczak – the author: of his diary, books for children and adults, short report stories, non-fiction texts woven into the plot of his novels, writing about disease and other imperfections of the world of adults and children. Finally, there was Korczak with his personal experience of epidemic and infectious disease. Below, drawing on various resources, I will attempt to briefly outline each of these roles that today can help us understand the epidemic-related situations affecting adults and children hundred years ago.

Korczak – „the hygienist” – a person dealing with the child in the process of development rather than the child suffering from illness, as the word was understood then, can be found in Volumes 3/2 of Selected Works, in the texts from “The Voice”, 1904–1905. Subjects addressed in these texts primarily refer to social and hygienic issues, as for instance the last 2 illustrate (from a sanitary train in the Far East, 1905).

In this role, Korczak stressed the importance of wellbeing. It was the fundament of his paedology, i.e. a holistic, interdisciplinary, socio-psycho-physiological approach to children as well as the society’s and state’s obligation and responsibility towards the youngest citizens. Korczak advocated early intervention and postulated the need for a multiplicity of various institutions dealing with the child, in other words: the “pedagogisation” of society. Importantly, these postulates were always accompanied by the promotion of children’s rights and subjectivity. Volume 13 of “Selected Works” (Dzieła) teaches us about the importance of cutting hair (2 texts), tells us about hunger in the boarding school, about the value of opening windows, sleeping and playing in the backyard. Finally, it educates us about the safety of children (from the notes of a court expert).

Let us look at another of Korczak’s roles: Korczak the doctor. Contact with the ill and their illnesses was a daily occurrence for the paediatrician. Examining, diagnosing and treating patients were his everyday responsibilities: in the hospital and emergency room, as a military doctor in 1905–1906, 1914–1918, 1919–1920, as a doctor in Orphans’ Home and Our Home, in private practice, and finally as a court expert. His studies and practices of diagnosing children’s conditions (their development, height, weight, etc.) were filled with medical activities. Summer camps, for instance the camp in Różycka, were interesting periods during which Korczak conducted health screening and qualification tests

for children before health referrals. In Volume 13 of “Selected Works”, we learn about doctor’s responsibilities in the boarding school, read comments about various “types” of children, “this and that about the child” and such issues as “Bedwetting of children in the boarding school”, “Weekly weight measurement (1. text/materials among others from WWI, 2. text from early 1930s), “Social underdevelopment” or “Single case observation” (A boy’s masturbation). Korczak wrote about illnesses and other imperfections of human organisms he encountered. He wrote about typical, “civilizational” diseases resulting from prevalent poor living standards (Sawicki 2011), shortage of medicaments and lack of access to medicaments or medical treatment particularly among the poor. He wrote about infectious and non-infectious diseases, including the pervasive tuberculosis, rickets, skin diseases, pediculosis, scarlet fever, pertussis, measles, mumps, smallpox, dystrophy, cachexia, anaemia and malnutrition. In “How to love a child” he comments: “Poor children’s teacher has to [...] get accustomed to physical dirt. Pediculosis is an endemic illness among poor children around the world, once in a while the teacher has to find a louse on his clothes. This illness must not be discussed with either outrage or disgust, as both children’s parents and siblings refer to this phenomenon with calm and objectivity, hence it is with calm and objectivity that we need to care about children’s cleanliness” (Korczak 2013, p. 142).

Disabilities had an important place in Korczak’s practice and writing – in the nomenclature of this period. Korczak believed “that a separate educational system (special schools) has to be established for children with developmental dysfunctions (in current terminology – special care children), he suggested that educating them together with “fully abled” children would not yield good results. These beliefs were reflected in the set of regulations of Orphans’ Home and Our Home, which explicitly stated that children with disabilities could not live in these institutions” (Frączek 2013, p. 312). In available archives and Korczak’s publications, we can come across information about mental illnesses as well as abuse and sexual harassment. There are also descriptions of so-called wartime diseases: apart from cyclically appearing infectious disease, Korczak mentions scabies, dysentery, typhoid and trachoma.

There is a separate page in Korczak’s life story we have to look at: his experiences as a child, pupil, student, adult man, and finally an ill, overworked middle-aged man (Korczak 1978; Korczak 1984). These experiences are

linked to illnesses of his close ones: his father's mental illness (who probably suffered from an early stage of syphilis), which he recalls as follows: "I was frantically scared of the asylum my father was referred to several times. Here I am – a madman's son. Here I am – with a hereditary taint" (Korczak 2012, p. 107). Korczak also encountered the illness of his brother-in-law suffering from syphilis, who finally committed suicide, and the sickness of his friend Ludwik S. Liciński, who died prematurely of tuberculosis. In 1920, Henryk Goldszmit fought with "his own" rash typhoid. The death of his mother, who contracted typhoid while tending to her ill son, was one of the most difficult experiences in Korczak's life. The same disease killed Maria Falska's husband (Falska was Korczak's co-worker and co-founder of Our Home).

Korczak as a resilient person (Liebel, Markowska-Manista 2018), as an activist, as a teacher, pedagogue, doctor, writer (Olczak-Ronikier 2002) but first of all as a human being lived in his own times. We can speculate and theorise what he would have done in our situation, yet it does not free us from the responsibility – of all of us adults – for the world we create and organise for children in the face of the new challenge – the COVID-19 epidemic. In the 1920s, Korczak warned against passive submission to the flow of events, writing: "if it continues the way it was, if history continues to mark its paths from rape to rape, from crime to crime, through the fetishes with crowns on their heads or mannequins elected with the nod of a docile crowd – if thought and common effort, and their victorious procession in mastering the law and matters are not history – hey, you poor children..." (Korczak 1919, p. 10).

Today, despite countless slogans, references to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and "shedding emoticon tears" under (horror of horrors – unethically published, reproduced on the Internet) images of nameless children affected by war, famine or disease, we suffer from lack of reflection. We suffer from the absence of "Korczak" and illiteracy in interpreting the message of "How to love a child", "Ghetto diary"... Korczak did not offer ready prescriptions or ready answers, but provoked vigilance (Korczak & Medvedeva-Nathoo 2018), which is missing today particularly in our actions towards children and young people.

The title of the book: *What Would Korczak Do? Reflections On Education, Well-Being And Children's Rights In The Times Of Covid-19 Pandemic* encour-

ages us to reflect on the situation of children living today in various parts of the world in diverse conditions and contexts of daily functioning. As a result of COVID-19 epidemic spreading around the globe, many countries have introduced numerous limitations to functioning in social space. The majority of education and care-providing institutions were closed (and now have been reopened), while companies and institutions whose mode of activity allows to do so have implemented the system of remote work (Markowska-Manista, Zakrzewska-Ołędzka 2020, p. 89). However, while trying to protect themselves against the pandemic, out of concern for the societies as a whole (and adults in particular), many states have forgotten about children and young people as key actors – experts and informants in matters and situations that concern them. Under the obvious layer of the epidemic, there is a less evident layer: of a crisis in values. Recognising the threat the latter entails is essential for contemporary and future generations. In this context, it might be worth contemplating on the Nobel Prize-winning Olga Tokarczuk’s words from one of her articles: “The virus will remind us how unequal we are”. Who the children affected to a lesser or greater degree by the epidemic will become, is always a responsibility of adults...

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Digital Activism¹ & “Botification”² of Janusz Korczak’s Concepts in “Twitterature”³

Introduction

Activism has taken another shape since the advent of digitization and datafication of every facet of human life. In fact, it has reached an extent that Twitterbot stands as a moral agent, a preacher of freedom of the oppressed, reprimanding humans of their inaptitude on the Twitterverse. Today, digital activism employs universal visual language such as memes, stickers, kinetic gifs, symbols and emojis to fast-track its intents. The Twitterbot @TinyKorczak⁴ is an output of such distant writing. Therefore, this new form of writing has emerged due to the picture turn phenomenon. For instance, the revival

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¹ It is an art of using social media networks to defend the fundamental human rights.

² It is a word coined by Mark Zuckerberg to mean an art of making bots to execute human duties on the internet Encinas, L. (2017, April 4). *Les bots, « première espèce indigène du cyberspace »* [Blog]. Usbek & Rica. <https://usbeketrica.com/article/les-bots-premiere-espece-indigene-du-cyberspace>; Goble, H., Beattie, A.J., & Edwards, C. (2016). The Impact of Twitterbot Race on Interpersonal Impressions. *Iowa Journal of Communication*, 48(1), 24. They fast-track communication within human-machine interface independently.

³ It is a word coined by Aciman and Rensin, young Americans to referring to the portmanteau of Twitter and literature. Twitting a literary write-up within the concision of 140 characters. Aciman, A. & Rensin, E. (2009). *Twitterature: The world's greatest books in twenty tweets or less*. Penguin, p. 10 but now 280 characters.

⁴ <https://www.twitter.com/TinyKorczak>

of the hieroglyphic system of writing embedded in distant writing which is referred to as “mixed-modal system” (Denisi 2017, p. 8) of orthography. That is, @TinyKorczak Twitterbot in particular, is a distant writing interplay of nanotexts and hieroglyphic system. Denisi affirms that “The best-known ancient mixed-modal system was the Egyptian hieroglyphic one. From about 2,700 to 2,500 BCE, the Egyptian hieroglyphs were mainly iconic, referring to concrete referents (eye, giraffe, sandal, reed, bread, flute, etc.” (ibid.). Emoji stands as an icon, referent and complement to the composite Twitterbot poetry under study in the digital ecosystem.

This essay is explanatory artist’s declaration of the purpose of creating @TinyKorczak Twitterbot, its source of inspirations, and the reason of employing machine to revolt against the established institutions.

Discussion, The Artist’s Declaration Essay

Twitterbots Perform Better Than Humans

One must be thrilled to know that Twitter is a digital universe with her distinct virtual bionetwork, constraint expression within 280 symmetrical linguistic characters now (before it was 140 characters). It harbors both humans and the bots which lead to the battle of authorial relevance in generating tweets. Statistics have proven that 15% of Twitter accounts are run by Twitterbots and they tweet seven times faster than human agents (Modi & Konark 2019). It evidently means Twitterbots dominate humans in tweeting contents on this microblog. In fact, there is virtually a social Twitterbot for everything called philosophical, artistic and literary creations. This automated machine is capable of tweeting, retweeting, updating posts, critiquing tweeters’ posts (both bots and humans) repetitively. All that can be conceived and produced as literality without the intervention of humans, just by adhering to the programming algorithm. Programming algorithm is the impetus of a machine that pushes human to lose control over their invention and intention of making the machine as the rehabilitator of our society. A Polish researcher claimed that ten years of Twitter and other social media existence created a strange world whereby authors give way to algorithms and bots because readers are now on

Smartphones not in the libraries as in the yesteryears (Pisarski 2017, p. 47). It means, digital algorithms and bots rule the world of the connected generations. The @TinyKorczak Twitterbot is eminent to transfigure the world for the betterment of the children which always constitute the next posterity.

Bot is the best choice to engage in protesting against authorities for even an expert in digital activism says “Activists can suffer extreme dangers, including being murdered. Given that bots can remove responsibility from humans, we could think of designing bots that execute and take responsibility for tasks that are dangerous for human activists to do” (Savage 2015). This is the major call for the botification coupled with the datafication of the digital activism on the microblogosphere. Therefore, the Twitterbot stands to spare human lives of the neoliberalist government’s witch-hunting policies against the leftwing.

Twitterbots Defend Human Rights better Than United Nations

Moreover, Twitter, as robotic communication tool, is ubiquitous as the electricity in the world (Leetaru 2019). Morozov claimed also that, “Twitter seemed omnipotent – certainly more so than the **Iranian police**, the **United Nations**, the **U.S. government**, and the **European Union**” (2011, p. 3). I emboldened those global super organizations for emphasis because Twitter penetrated sovereign nations and toppled the dictators of the Arab world which they themselves could not do. Twitter’s universality and potency as a platform of human-computer interactive intermediary depend on the billions of tweets accessible to the United Nations member countries and nonmembers such as Taiwan and Vatican City. Today, her billions of tweets serve as the most sophisticated socio-political weapons of protest and changing of government since Arab Spring to the USA 2016 Presidential Election (Yang, Hui, & Menczer 2019, p. 214). Twitterbots tweet faster, amplify global issues (Mentionmapp Analytics 2017), and create an impression in the hearts of her followers just in 12.5 seconds, faster than human agents (Cafaro, Vilhjálmsón, Bickmore, Heylen, & Schulman, 2013, p. 6). They are both credible and attractive regardless of racial cues perpetrated (Goble, Beattie, & Edwards 2016, p. 30). Then, Twitterbots are the strongest weapon to change the world we live just with their dynamic tweets. These prompted me to create @TinyKorczak Twitterbot

on 29th February 2020 after reading Anna Odrowąż-Coates' constructive paper which elucidated Janusz Korczak's biography and his philosophy in relation to the socio-cultural universality of social pedagogy for protecting and disciplining children. @TinyKorczak, as the name implies, it is a Twitterbot artistic and poetic activist 'pregnant' with Janusz Korczak's philosophical revolution. It equally tweets novel ecopoetic strides as visual digital minimalist twittext arts for halting the surge of climate change as the habitat of children.

Odrowąż-Coates' prowess in revealing Janusz Korczak stimulated me to develop conceptual datasets of dictionary in order to feed the automated agent on Twitter to engage in diffusing Twitterary protests for Children's Rights to education, discipline, protection and better future everywhere around the globe as a means of propagating the ideals of the first world renown Children's Right activist, Janusz Korczak, whose influences contributed to United Nations decision to declare the Rights of the Children in 1989 (Spielman 2007, p. 39). This impact must be reechoed in this digital era for in many nations of the world, children are still deprived of their fundamental human rights. Nigeria as a case study. Many children are still on the streets hawking for daily bread and deprived of education. Emir of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi II, was dethroned on 9th March, 2020 by Kano State Governor, Umar Abdullahi Ganduje, for being active advocate for Children's Rights to education and proper protection especially the girl-child (Ayeni, 9 March 2020). According to UNICEF about 10.5 million of Nigerian children from age 5–14 are not in school (2020). The Emir's advocacy is to reduce such children from the streets of Nigeria. He, being an economist and former Central Bank of Nigeria's Governor, knows that if the out-of-school-children issues are not dealt with, Nigeria will really face setbacks in the future. Muhammadu Sanusi II was recognized and appointed by the United Nations' Secretary-General, António Guterres on the 9th of March, 2020 as a global member advocate of Sustainable Developments Goals (SDGs) (Agency Report 2020). The same day that he was hoisted out of his palace by his State Government. Traditionally, Emir is superior to the Governor and succession comes only after demise.

A girl-child, Success Adegorn on the 19th of March, 2019, took the bull by its horns. This little girl of 7 years old broke a record in the history of Nigeria. She refused to be sent out of school that is constitutionally free for all the children of her kind because her instructress asked her illegally to pay N500 as fees

which her parents could not afford to pay. She resisted her school authority till she attracted an attention of a lady who carried her narrative to the social media, and she was supported by many celebrities nationwide, and international bodies. Her enthusiasm for study gave her scholarship from primary school to the university. *The Nation*, one of the most reputable Newspapers in Nigeria, tagged her as *The Person of The Year 2019* because of her resilience (Belo-Osagie 2019). Therefore, @TinyKorczak Twitterbot is created to fight Nigerian government’s non-political will to remove children off the streets, intending to reach 2 million of Nigerians using Twitter apps which grew at the pace of 24.07 % from last year to February 2020 (TechCabal 2019; StatCounter 2020).

I applied distant writing modeling the Leonardo’s @TinyProtests⁵ Twitterbot powered by CBDQ. Then, Digital Humanities Project was set up to make @TinyKorczak Twitterbot within a three months’ time frame. Fortunately, I was able to finish it within a week thanks to information provided by Anna Odrowąż-Coates’ *Notes on an international context of Korczak’s pedagogical legacy*, 2018, and other works such as *Ghetto Diary* by Janusz Korczak, 2003, *A Pedagogy of Humanist Moral Education: The Educational Thought of Jonusz Korczak*, 2017 by Marc Silverman; Isabelle Collombat’s *Janusz Korczak: non au mépris de l’enfance*, 2016; Zofia Bobowicz’s *Janusz Korczak: La gloire*, 2015 and Gloria Spielman’s *Janusz Korczak’s children*, 2007. These works fueled the content of the Twitterbot which facilitated the completion of the project in time.

Distant Writing⁶ Procedures for @TinyKorczak Twitterbot Creation

The distant reading method of Franco Moretti (2013) was first applied to the works above by putting them into BookShelf app on Kindle e-Reader. Then I typed into its search engine to discover all children, education, parent

⁵ <https://www.twitter.com/TinyProtests>

⁶ It is a computer generative method of writing or designing an art by using algorithms and bots, programming languages and datasets.

Flores, L. (2020 February 3). Distant Writing: Code Critiques from NaNoGenMo and NNNGM. *Critical Code Studies Working Group*. CCS Working Group 2020, Internet. wg20.criticalcodestudies.com/index.php?p=/discussion/85/distant-writing-code-critiques-from-nanogenmo-and-nnngm

and teacher related Janusz Korczak's concepts featured in the works above (see Figure 1 below).

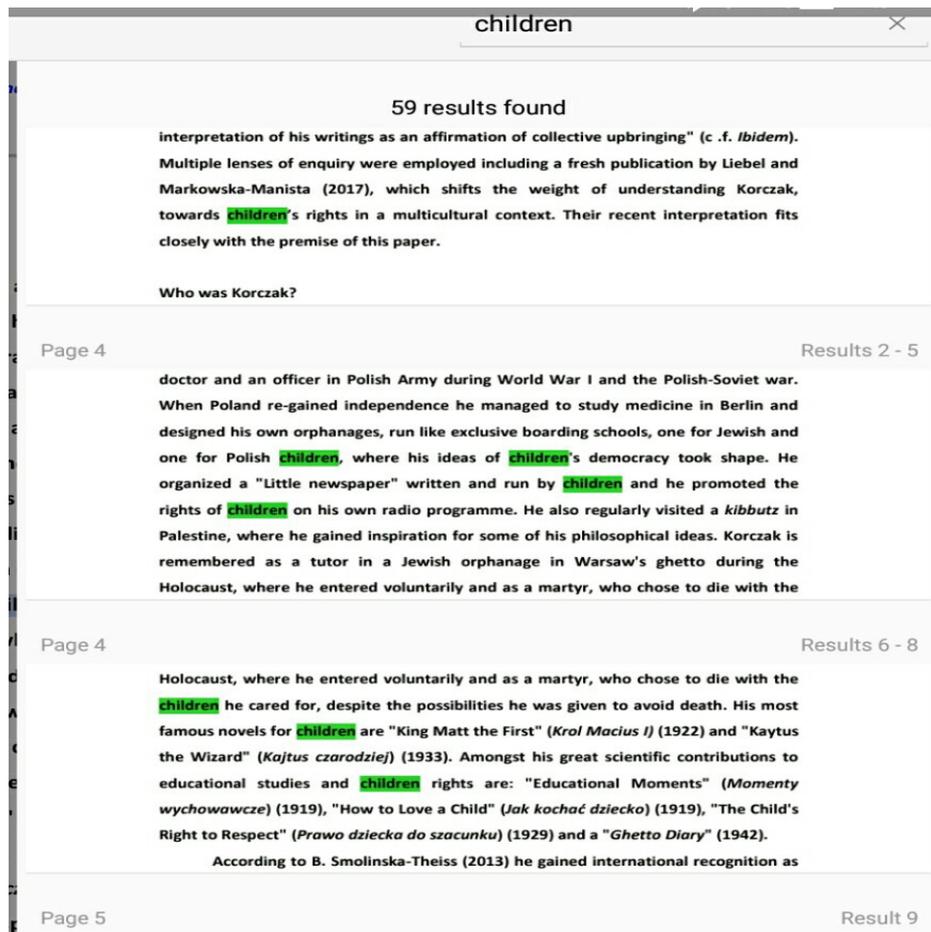


Figure 1. Uncreative reading of Odrowaz-Coates (2018)

The uniqueness of this project merges uncreative reading⁷ with uncreative writing⁸. I leave authorial role to the machine while I do critical thinking figuring which appropriate datasets the Twitterbot needs to feed on as I program the

⁷ It is an act of engaging machine to read and highlight a specific aspect of a text.

⁸ Uncreative writing is produced not through "inspiration," but by approaching an existing text and re-reading it, drawing out something new and unexpected in the process Ortega, É. (2017).

👤👤👤 GAP", "END 👤👤👤 RAPE CULTURE", "END SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST 👤👤👤", "NO VIOLENCE AGAINST 👤👤👤", "¡NO MÁS VIOLENCIA CONTRA LA 👤!", "DZIEWCZYNA JEST PREZENTEM BOGA, A NASTĘPNIE SZACUNEK!\n👤👤👤 EST UN CADEAU DE DIEU DONC RESPECTEZ-LA !", "GOD GIVES 👤👤 THEN REGARD HER!" , "THE FUTURE IS FOR 👤👤"],

8. "WORLDkorczaConcepts" : ["WE NEED 👤👤👤'S DEMOCRACY! ", "WE NEED OUR MALY PRZEGLAD, LITTLE REVIEW BACK", "REMOVE US FROM STREET BY PUTTING US INTO HOMES! ", "KEEP US UNDER 👤👤👤-ORIENTED 👤👤👤👤👤", "THERE ARE NO 👤👤👤\n, JUST PEOPLE, BUT WITH A DIFFERENT CONCEPTUAL SCALE.", "KORCZAK REVOLUTION IS NOW!", "START YOUR DAY BY MINDING 👤👤👤'S LIVES!", "ALL SANE 👤👤👤 DISCIPLINE US!", "WHO SPARES THE ROD HATES 👤👤👤!", "WE WILL NOT DIE IF YOU DISCIPLINE US.", "ALL SANE 👤👤👤 LOVE US.", "NONE OF US IS UNWANTED ELEMENT IN THE MATRIX!", "WE DESERVE SOCIAL & DIALOGICAL PEDAGOGY\nNOT EMIC 👤!", "WE ARE COMPLETE PERSON NOT A PERSON!", "WHOSOEVER SUPPORTS ABORTION HATES 👤👤👤!", "REVIVE 👤👤👤'S RIGHT RADIO!", "WE NEED KORCZAK AGAIN!", "IT'S CALLOUS TO SAY ABORTING US IS YOUR RIGHT!", "👤 CHANGES BY CHANGING A 👤", "DIALOGICAL PEDAGOGY NOT NUCLEAR WEAPONS", "👤 CARE NOT COSMETICS", "RELIGION IS NOT SOCIAL CONTROL", "RELIGION IS PROLIFE", "RELIGION IS LOVING A 👤", "RELIGION IS SPIRITUALITY THAT DEFENDS 👤👤👤", "THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE IS ACCEPTANCE OF ALL", "WE NEED 👤👤, NAME & PROTECTION\nON DOIT UNE 👤👤, UN PRENOM, ET UN CONFORT", "#WorldEmojiDay", "#botALLY", "#SpotlightENDViolence", "👤👤👤 have right to respect", "All 👤👤👤 are alike", "Lie not to 👤👤👤", "Advocate for the welfare of 👤👤👤", "👤👤👤 should have free 🏠🏠 care", "Feed 👤👤👤 with👤👤👤👤👤👤👤👤👤", "👤👤👤👤👤 is the most peaceful 🌍 no gender, no religion, no ethnicity, no country", "Moral education + Moral climate = Social engineering"],

9. "socialPedagogykorczaConcepts" : ["CLIMATE CHANGE IS CHANGE 👤👤👤'S CLIMATE", "THE 🌳 IS RISING\nAND THUS ARE 👤👤👤", "WHOSOEVER DOES'NT PLANT A TREE WILL BE SCORCHED", "THERE IS NO OPTION FOR 👤 SAFETY", "\n\MARCHFORSOCIALPEDAGOGY", "DEFEND SOCIAL PEDAGOGY", "GREEN FLAG REPUBLIC IS STILL POSSIBLE", "SOCIAL PEDAGOGY IS THE SOLUTION"],

10. "educationkorczaConcepts" : ["FUND 👤👤👤👤👤", "MAKE OUR 👤👤👤 GREAT AGAIN", "IF YOU CAN READ, THANK 👤👤👤👤👤", "SUPPORT TO TAKE CARE OF 👤👤👤", "SUPPORT OUR 👤👤👤👤👤", "EDUCATION MUST BE FREE", "👤👤👤👤👤 DESERVE OVATIONS", "FUND OUR 👤👤👤👤👤", "SAVE OUR 👤👤👤👤👤", "TROIS MOIS DE GUIDE RENDENT 👤 ROI DE SA VIE\nTHREE MONTHS DISCIPLINE IS ENOUGH TO MAKE 👤 KING OF HIS LIFE", "Raising 👤👤👤 is communal duty\nÉlever 👤👤👤 est le devoir de tous",

" No 👤 is poor or rich cos all needs cares alike", "Pay 👤👤👤 salary for a little chore at home\nthey'll respect the dignity of labour", "Give 👤👤👤 special 🎁\nThen they shall be generous", "Allow us to share our dreams, hopes & fears with you", "We say no to broken 🏠", " We say no to 👤👤", "we say no to 👤👤", "Give equal right to the 👤👤👤👤👤"],

11. "PL&ISRkorczaConcepts" : ["NO 👤 IS NOT FOR SALE !", "¡CON LA EDUCACIÓN NO SE 🏠 COMO LOS AUTROS", "¡SI HAY VIOLENCE CONTRA 👤👤👤\nHAY REVOLUCIÓN", "RESPETA NUESTRA EXISTENCIA O ESPERA RESISTENCIA", "¡MI 👤 ES MI VIDA!\n👤 IS MY LIFE!", "¡LA EDUCACIÓN ES UN DERECHO PARA TODOS 👤👤👤\n EDUCATION

- IS EVERY👶'S RIGHT", "!EL DERECHO DE 👶👶👶 NO ES UN NEGOCIO\n NO NEGOTIATIONS 4 👶👶👶'S RIGHT! ", "\#UN", "\#childrenSchoolkorczakConcepts#", "! CONSTRUYAMOS OTRO 🏠 DE LOS 👶👶👶", "!MUERTE A LA VIOLENCE"],
12. "childrenSchoolkorczakConcepts" : ["NON AU MEPRIS DE L'ENFANCE!\n Nie z pogardą dla dzieciństwa!", " בילדות בולוו לא 👶👶👶 REPUBLIC!", " REPUBLIQUE DES 👶👶👶\n Republika dziecięca ", " 👶👶👶 LEAD NOW NOT TOMORROW", " Aucun enfant ne doit subir de violence\n No child should be left to violence!", "un 👶 malheureux ou malade doit un medicament gratos\n A sick👶 deserves free medical care ", "Feed a 👶 today!\n Nourissez un 👶 aujourd'hui!", "TALK TO👶👶👶 AS IF THEY WERE 👶👶👶\n TALK TO 👶👶👶 AS IF THEY WERE👶👶👶"],
13. "NORMALshortkorczakConcepts" : ["FUTURE LEADER LEADS FROM NOW!", "CLOSE PARENT-CHILD GAP", "END 👶👶👶 RAPE CULTURE", "END SEXUAL HARASSMENT AGAINST 👶👶👶", "POWER TO 👶👶👶", "TOGETHER WE STAND", "HEAR OUR VOICE\n ENTENDEZ NOTRE CRI!", "¡TODAS ESTAMOS 👶👶 Y 👶👶", "THE FUTURE IS NOW NOT LATER", "CULTURE REFORM NOW", "CONTROL VIOLENCE NOW", "NO MORE 👶👶 LABOUR ", " INSTITUTE 👶👶 TRAINING CENTRE", "YOUR 👶👶 MAY BE NEXT ON THE STREET", "REFORM DEMOCRACY IN FAVOR OF 👶👶👶 NOW", "DON'T FORCE EDUCATION WITHOUT DUE DISCIPLINE!", "SHIELD OUR 👶👶👶👶👶👶", "MARCH FOR OUR 👶👶👶'S LIVES", "WE WANT POLICY CHANGE", "NEVER AGAIN NEVER", "WHOEVER HATES 👶👶👶 HATES GOD & NATURE", "PROTECT KIDS, NOT KITS", "ARMS ARE FOR HUGGING & CORRECTION", "👶👶👶 ARE 🙏 FROM GOD", "👶👶👶'S SAFETY MATTERS", "MORE SALARY TO 👶👶 TO TAKE OF 👶👶👶", "FUND THE CHILDREN 'S FUTURE", "TEACHERS DECIDE OUR FUTURE!", "FUND 👶👶👶 PUBLIC 👶👶👶", " 👶👶👶👶👶 DESERVE STAND OVATIONS", "FUND OUR 👶👶👶👶👶👶", "SAVE OUR 👶👶👶👶👶👶", "NURTURE 👶👶👶'S NATURE FOR FUTURE", "DIVA 👶👶👶, 👶👶👶 YOUR 👶👶👶 ARE DIVAS TOO!", "BREASTFEED 👶 NATURALLY!", "🐄 MILK IS MADE FOR 🐄", "HUMAN MILK IS MADE FOR HUMAN 👶", "BULLYING COMES FROM TAKING BEAST MILK", "NO MORE BABY FORMULA", "NATURAL CARE IS THE BEST", " MORE PATERNITY AND MATERNITY LEAVES THAN EVER", "WRITE A 👶👶👶'S 📖 INCLUDING-👶 David & Jesus' Childhoods! "],
14. "worldChildrenDay" : ["CELEBRATE 👶👶👶 EVERYDAY", "HONOR THEIR 👶👶👶👶👶", "CREATE SPACE IN YOUR 🏠 4 👶👶👶", "CELEBRATE 👶👶👶, 👶👶👶 THAT ARE PROLIFE!", "ACKNOWLEDGE 👶👶👶 AS SACRED GIFT FROM NATURE", "RESPECT 👶👶👶 AS FULL 👶👶"],
15. "childrenEducation" : ["EDUCATE THEM NOW", "STOP 👶👶 LABOUR", "ALL 👶👶👶 MUST LOVE CHILDREN", "LOVE IS 👶'S RIGHT", "NO ABORTION", "OUR LIVES MATTER", "REMOVE US FROM STREETS", "NOW", "ONE GOAL TARGET", "PROLIFE IS FOR US", "EMPTY GHETTO BY MAKING US IMPORTANT", "\#OneGoal", "\#EducateOneChild", "Trusting your 👶👶👶 thrusts their rusted talents out", " God has no gender thus are we 👶👶👶 in our innocence"],
16. "hashtags" : ["\#GoSaveChildren", "\#SaveOneChildToday", "\#Children", "\#OneGoal", "\#OneGoalOneChildOffStreet", "\#ForEveryChild", "\#UNICEF", "\#UN", "\#WHO", "\#botALLY", "\#SpotlightENDViolence.

This snippet of the source code above is a mixture of pure visual and natural language. It contains all the nanotexts and emojis which constitute the datasets of the generative dictionary. In other words, the Twitterbot feeds from the datasets in order to tweet every three hours whilst the generator of the tweets does the mix modal writing to appropriate emojis sequentially as well as dynamically above every twitttext tweeted as a referent as well as a complement. @TinyKorczak Twitterbot as meta-poet in its writing visual poetic micro-style could be one of the future generations of artists that Kempton called “generation rebelling against their “elders” by returning to the functional, healthy use of known iconographics accompanied with their respective Latin or Cyrillic alphabet in the lyrical quest for a visual text art” (2018, p. 281). We know that human existence precedes machines. So, we are the elders that Karl Kempton referred to.

The whole Twitterbot’s Tracery JSON code is inputted into the curly bracket or braces `{}`. Then, within the curly bracket we find the rest of the symbol notations which first commence with the variable “origin” to show the beginning of the coding and colon ‘:’ comes before parenthesis ‘[]’ which stores every dataset inputted into it as a dictionary entry of the Janusz Korczak’s concepts. These concepts are written as strings in the programming language; strings are stored within double open and close inverted commas. Anything inputted in the inverted commas as string stands as a logical algorithm that instructs computer to print it exactly as it is inputted. This makes the Twitterbot polyglot in emitting everything known as language art. It is evident that the linguistic corpora of @TinyKorczak’s datasets constitute French, English, Polish, Hebrew, and Spanish complemented with unique sequential emojis. Moreover, @TinyKorczak Twitterbot generates three types of tweet: Type I-Twitttext with sequential emojis above, Type II-Twitttext knitted with emojis and sequential emojis above, and Type III-emoji alone. See below examples of @TinyKorczak Twitterbot tweeting in its three typologies and in two languages.

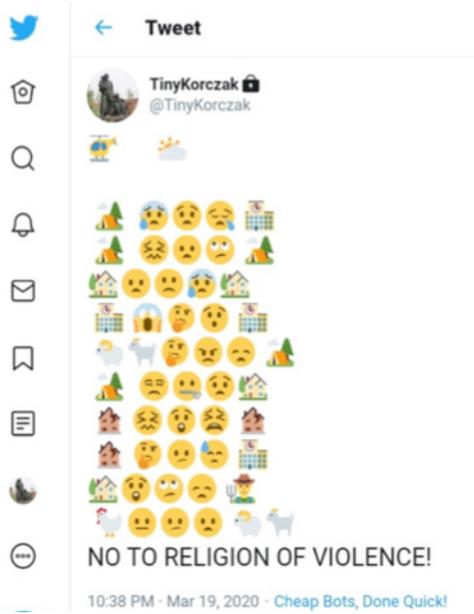


Figure 2. Type i-Twittext with sequential emojis above

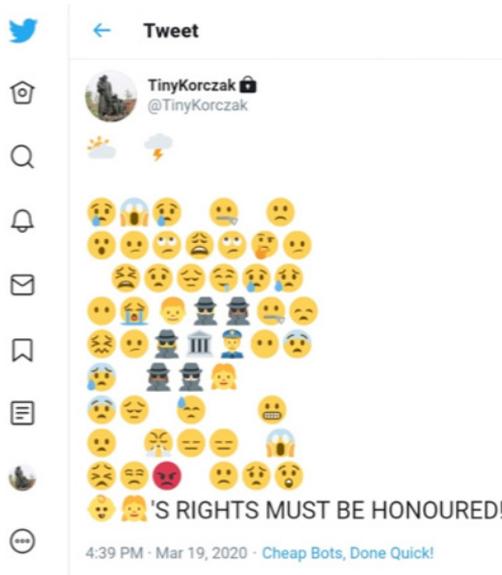


Figure 3. Type II –Twittext knitted with emojis and sequential emojis above



Figure 4. Type III-Emoji alone

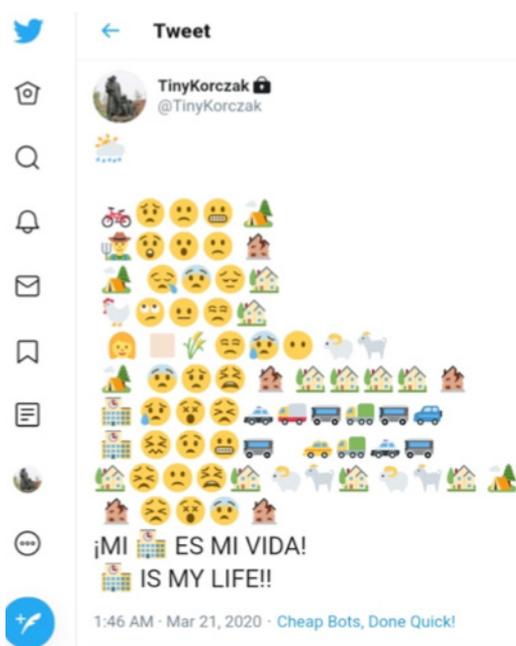


Figure 5. Tweets in Spanish and English

My Twitterbot is a subgenre of Twitterature because it is conscripted in the limited 280 characters and engages as visual Twitter-poetry and Twitter-art bot that generates Janusz Korczak’s concepts and philosophy in natural and digital minimalist visual languages. Its heterometric monostich denounces social injustices, gender inequalities, climate changes caused by the global cultural policies on children cares and protection in the environment. In other words, it defends algorithmically the children fundamental human rights to

education and cares in a conducive environment via unlimited random stanza dotted with ample digital visual icons as digital activism.

@TinyKorczak Twitterbot gets its name *TinyKorczak* from a micro-stylistic expression configured to fit the Twittersverse. @TinyKorczak Twitterbot differs from many other homologous “@tiny... or @Tiny...” Twitterbots such as Katie Rose Pipkin’s @tiny_star_field¹², Twitterbot, which generates small stars emoji with asterisk in the sky using ASCII art. Other likely Twitterbots in this same tiny group are: @petitsmotifs¹³ which equally displays every hour written graphic elements in ASCII art too; @infinitedeserts¹⁴ generates emoji of desert as a genre of TwitterArt in ASCII characters; Eli Brody’s @tiny_astro_naut¹⁵, Emma Winston’s series-@tiny_cityscapes¹⁶, @tiny_gardens¹⁷..., Élika Ortega’s @tinyrelations¹⁸ (Flores, 2018); Amanda Glosson’s series @tinyneighbor¹⁹ and @tinyspires²⁰, Kate Compton’s @TinyAdv²¹ that generates texts grafted in the sky images etc. But, @TinyKorczak Twitterbot is much related to Leonardo Flores’ @TinyProtests in architectural template and partially spun off it. Among all the “@tiny...or @Tiny...” group of Twitterbots hosted on the CBDQ platform, @TinyProtests Twitterbot is my favorite that is the reason I patterned @TinyKorczak Twitterbot after it.

The Reason of Emojifying @TinyKorczak Twitterbot

Emojifying tweets comes from recent practices on the social media ecosystem as a result of an emoji “face with tears of joy” chose as the “*Word of the Year 2015*” by Oxford Dictionary (Danisi 2017, p. vi). This incident mostly popularizes emojis as mixed modal communication interfaces on the net and

¹² https://twitter.com/tiny_star_field

¹³ <https://twitter.com/petitsmotifs>

¹⁴ <https://twitter.com/infinitedeserts>

¹⁵ https://twitter.com/tiny_astro_naut

¹⁶ https://twitter.com/tiny_cityscapes

¹⁷ https://twitter.com/tiny_gardens

¹⁸ <https://twitter.com/tinyrelations>

¹⁹ <https://twitter.com/tinyneighbor>

²⁰ <https://twitter.com/tinyspires>

²¹ <https://twitter.com/TinyAdv>

digital devices. However, long before then, some artists had made emoji itself a universal language (Evans, 2017b) with its grammaticality henceforth making sense and accepted into Internet linguistics (Cohn, Engelen, & Schilperoord 2019). Its virtual encyclopedia²², its virtual and concrete keyboard are manufactured by Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, Microsoft, WhatsApp, Twitter etc.

Emoji is originally known as “word picture”(Evans 2017a), an ideogram to express emotions but its daily usage in cyberspace turns it to be a character, a word or vocabulary, a phrase and a sentence or complete independent grammatical system which justified it now as an independent language. Its sequential arrangement as a compliment, or a referent tweet by @TinyKorczak Twitterbot may make it an individual text for unique heuristic hermeneutics. For instance, in the case of Fred Benenson who translated the whole Herman Melville’s short story called *Moby Dick*²³ into Emoji Dick in 2010, Bing Xu’s *Book from the Ground: from Point to point*²⁴ published in Taiwan in 2011, China 2012 and USA 2014, Yarn Store’s *The Book Written Entirely Out of Emojis*²⁵ published in 2014 and Rector Jamie runs a blog since 2015 called Shakespeare Brand project. This project is about condensing the famous plays by Shakespeare into emojis: *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Macbeth* as the book covers hosted on his blog²⁶.

Conclusion

Finally, another functionality of @TinyKorczak Twitterbot, is that it follows and posts updates on every timeline of the Twitter account that mentions its name every three hours as it normally tweets. It tweets also hashtags relating to children, bots, parents, teachers, UNICEF, UN, WHO and climate change as it is programmed in its datasets. @TinyKorczak Twitterbot is made for whosoever believes in children’s rights to education, care, protection, and

²² <http://emojipedia.org/>

²³ <https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/fred/emoji-dick>

²⁴ <https://lareviewofbooks.org/article/emojis-comics-novel-future/>

²⁵ <https://www.wattpad.com/105027268-the-book-written-entirely-out-of-emojis-the-book>

²⁶ <http://cargocollective.com/jamierector/filter/english/Shakespeare-Brand-1>

responsibility for the climate change. Botification and datafication of this genre of nanoliterature are the future of the world literature that is the reason I inputted Janusz Korczak's social pedagogy philosophy into this post-web platform. Following @TinyKorczak Twitterbot, it is easy to discover new knowledge about the Twitterbot's propensity to mix distinct repetitive nano-texts with dynamic emojis codes for protests against fascistic governments, neoliberalism and anti-green planet attitudes.

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ASMA KHALID*

“Being centred on our own struggles, own troubles, we fail to see the child, just as at one time we were unable to see the woman, the peasant, the oppressed strata and oppressed peoples”¹

Introduction

Even though I am a child rights activist, knowing Janusz Korczak came very late. Last year or early this year, when UNESCO Chair announced 13th international summer school and I coincidentally came across email containing information about this summer school, I registered myself immediately and started to read about Korczak. Lifton (1988) gave details about his early life, his transformation as an educationist, a pedagogue and how he sacrificed his life for his children despite having offers to leave Poland and live in peace. Korczak is new to English language literature on child rights and it is true that its philosophy and perspective of child rights is still under-researched and remains poorly understood (Liebel 2018; Vucic 2019).

It is quite interesting for me as a university teacher to know his philosophy about educating children and their rights. In a country such as Pakistan – where

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¹ Janusz Korczak 1967, p. 147.

child labour always prevailed and is on rise due to COVID-19 (explained in the coming section of this chapter), Korczak's pedagogical thoughts, which were revolutionary at his times (1878–1942), and led to bring Convention on children's rights, can be applied to improve the lives of millions who work on the streets, live on the streets and work in the formal economy.

COVID-19 brought many new challenges in everyone's life including children who are forced to stay at homes and others forced to go out for work. The current situation presents a varied complex picture of children lives. On the one hand, they are protected by parents and governments to stay at home and even not allowed to attend schools, but on the other, those who live in poverty, due to lockdowns are forced by parents to work outside as well as in the four walls of houses – as domestic labourers. Moreover, children face exploitation in the form of sexual violence, harassment, and bullying, and a meagre amount of money is paid to them, among other things.

I wonder, if Korczak would have been present in this situation, how he would have responded to lockdowns, social distancing and political actions to save children's lives. In this chapter, I will focus on social solutions to ensure the rights of children to receive care, protection and to improve daily lives of children who are working in the informal and formal economy amid COVID-19.

Current situation and proposed solutions

It is reported by UNESCO that in pandemic of COVID-19, almost 1.5 billion children are affected across the globe due to school closure decision taken by the governments to protect children from this deadly virus (UNESCO, 2020). But how about those children who have always been working and living on the streets, working in factories, in homes as domestic labourers and act as bonded labour? Have policy makers and governments thought about them in this pandemic? Following Korczak's legacy, who has worked on social issues in general but related to children in particular (Lewowicki 1994), I want to focus on this group of children who are working either in formal or informal economy.

Pakistan is one of these countries where high rate of child labour has been observed for a long time (SPARC, 2019). Despite that fact that Paki-

stan has ratified many conventions such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), ILO core Conventions related to child labour: Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138); Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), (ILO 2020a) among many others, a big number of children are still considered child labour. Human Rights Commission of Pakistan estimates that 11–12 million children are involved in child labour in Pakistan, and almost half of the population is being under the age of 10 (SPARC 2019).

The working conditions of child labourers are precarious. They work in closed factories (weaving carpets, soccer making, making bangles or surgical items), coal mines, deep sea fishing, domestic work, on the streets. The money is either very low or not being paid at all to these working children. They face brutalities of their employers in the form of no rest time, no leave, physical and sexual violence, poor health conditions and malnourishment, facing bullying among other forms of violence. It is necessary to mention that there are some children who are labelled as ‘bonded labour’. It means that their parents have taken debt and are unable to pay the debt and as a replacement, their child (ren) is working for the employer without getting a single penny. Children are there for their whole lives to pay the debt which was taken by their parents. It is very important to analyse all factors and actors to work for betterment of children’s lives; and here we can look deeply into the Korczak’s philosophy on how to love a child and how to take care of him/her. Because, all these formal and informal economy sectors do not take care of children, as Korczak did in his orphanage, where children were well looked after by the management and by each other (Lifton 1988). Korczak was right when he said that adults were insensitive to the suffering of children (Lifton 1988, p. 82).

I believe that COVID-19 can be an opportunity for national as well as local governments and policy makers to find the solution for preventing child labour in the country. In the middle of this crises, governments can deliberate on how to improve working children’s daily lives and how through education, social protection and skill improvement, they can become more independent and empowered to take decisions about their own lives. Amid COVID-19, where governments are busy in saving the lives of people, I still believe that those who are responsible for the betterment of child labourers in Pakistan, such as; Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education, INGOs – ILO, UNESCO,

UNICEF-, local NGOs can join hands together to solve this social phenomenon of child labour in general and paradoxically this difficult and unusual time may be a driver of change. I want to propose a holistic framework which can help us to improve the lives of millions amid COVID-19, who are working as child labourers.

Education

It is acknowledged by the GoP that education is a major factor for a success of economic and social development of any country (GoP 2018a). Education has the power to unleash creativity and innovation capacity of 200 million Pakistanis. However, Pakistan is showing a sluggish progress in achieving education goals set for itself, and education indicators are far lower than in the neighbouring countries in last decade (GoP 2018a). Amid COVID-19, which has brought many challenges at national and international level, there is a great opportunity to focus on children who are working on the streets and in factories as the rest of the school-going children are taken care of by parents at homes. Governments can focus on these children as they can be seen on the streets even in lockdowns as (GoP) Government of Pakistan went for smart lockdown instead of complete lockdown.

To help poor families in COVID-19, the Prime Minister has announced Corona Relief Tiger Force (CRTF) of volunteers (announced in March 2020 and almost 185,000 volunteers have registered as members of Tiger Force) and is working to gather data on poor people living in different cities across Pakistan (Gillani 2020; Imtiaz 2020). The Tiger Force can focus on the children who are working on the streets and in factories – the first Tiger Force group is functioning in the city of Sialkot – which is the centre of sport and surgical factories. The Tiger Force can work for the betterment of these children by gathering their data and by providing non-formal education in the areas. It is to mention here that these working children, in most of cases, do not attend schools (out of school children or dropped out from school – which is one of the biggest challenge as far as educational goal achievement in Pakistan is concerned), and work day and night in factories and on the streets. My PhD focused on those children who were working on the streets, but had

some opportunities to attend non-formal schools, however drop-out rate was high and only a small number of children completed their primary education. I have suggested (Khalid, 2014 unpublished) that non-formal schooling should be provided to these children where they work. I still go for this suggestion as children are working and still available as workers as UNICEF’s agenda for action on COVID-19 confirms urging to keep children learning (ILO/UNICEF, 2020). In the arrangement of schools with all Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) of social distancing, wearing of masks and gloves, sanitization, washing hands repeatedly etc., these children can be taught through the pedagogical principles of Korczak, based on humanistic values stressing human dignity, mutual respect, trust, unconditional appreciation, and equality, to mention a few (Silverman 2017, p. 140). Korczak’s pedagogy underpinned by a fundamental concept of children, young people and adults as equal human beings with rich and extraordinary potential, and he considers them competent, resourceful and active agents (Shner, 2018).

Overall, principles also include deliberations on the need to introduce new ways of teaching in schools. In this regard, Korczak was against the school teaching methods of his time. He criticized teaching through lectures, impractical school curricula, and formal relationships between teachers and pupils. He emphasized for the establishment of schools where children can enjoy all things including education and which interests them. He believed that co-operation between schools, families and other various institutions should be developed to create an enabling environment, where children can learn and can be ready for their lives to contribute positively in the society (Lewowicki 1994; Vucic 2017).

Korczak’s pedagogical practice is based on the principle that every child should be respected and loved, and should be treated as a partner and a friend. In his own words: ‘Children are not future people, because they are people already.... Children are people whose souls contain the seeds of all those thoughts and emotions that we possess. As these seeds develop, their growth must be gently directed’ (Lewowicki 1994).

Living conditions are poor and working conditions are dangerous for child labourers, and it is not possible to provide a proper educational atmosphere in their homes, which is one of the central ideas of Korczak’s pedagogy that children should be provided, as far as possible, with a proper educational atmos-

phere in the home environment. The poor living conditions of children are due to illiteracy, poverty, unemployment, lack of food, lack of basic facilities, absence of safe drinking water, poor health, malnutrition, among other things. In such living conditions, it is difficult to provide an environment for education at home. That's why I am proposing that short-duration classes can be arranged in those busy pockets where children are working such; as fruit and vegetable markets, local bus and train stations, factories where they work with all the precautionary measures (for details UNICEF 2020).

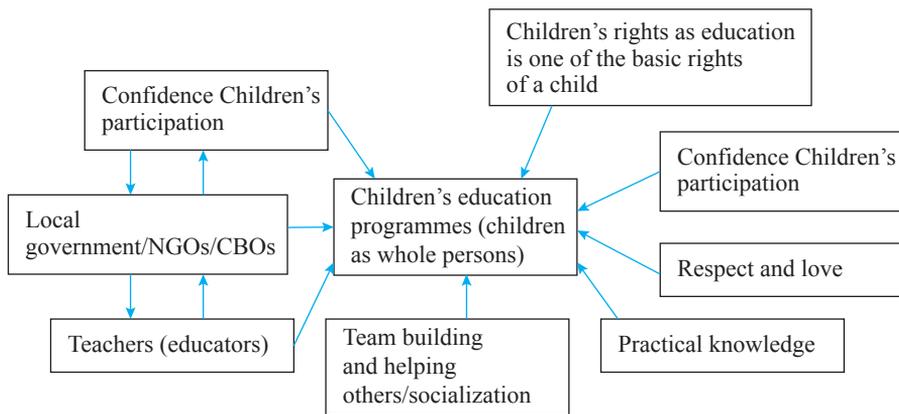


Figure 1. Main actors who can join hands to work for the education of child labourers amid COVID-19

Having classes of one to two hours can be an arrangement which can be done by the local governments, chamber of commerce and/or through CRTE. However, training of pedagogues on the lines of Korczak is a question because the principles of pedagogy needs special education/practices/philosophy to be taught to teachers before they teach students. Because if teachers do not understand children, their rights, the right to respect, equal power relations, then it is difficult for them to treat children in the best possible manner. Untrained, unaware teachers might do more harm than good to children and Korczak would not be happy about it. Korczak had harsh words for the disrespectful teacher who did not respect children: "A gross abuse of power, a barbarous crime. How dare you, you boor, dispose of someone else's property? How dare you demand after such a crime that a child respect anything or love anyone? You

are not burning bits of paper but cherished traditions and dreams of a beautiful life.” (Silverman 2017, p. 153).

However, volunteers for Tiger Force – who are already involved with children’s education –either in Montessori’s or primary to high schools, could be ‘borrowed’ for this method of pedagogy. Because they have the experience to deal with children in schools including involving children in extra-curricular activities. For pedagogic love, Korczak said, was not an empty sentiment, but a true giving of the self. In his view, old nannies and construction workers were often better pedagogues than a doctor of psychology (Lifton 1988, p. 83). We may find those people among volunteer Tiger Force who believe like Korczak – education is a life experience rather than a profession (Shner 2018). To sum up the discussion, I present a figure in which we can look into details of pedagogical principles through which children can be taught.

Social protection

Amid COVID-19, lockdowns have crippled livelihoods of the billion people living in slums, informal settlements, and inadequate housing, and those working in the informal economy (ILO/UNICEF 2020). Global working hours fell in the first quarter of 2020 by an estimated 4.5 per cent compared to the final quarter of 2019. Thus, increased poverty. There is an established link between poverty and increasing child and bonded labour, because children will accept the exploitative working environment including low amount of money. History of the crises also showed to us that when formal employment is lessening for adults, work in informal economy increases and thus ultimately children participate more in the informal economy because this economy accepts unskilled labour such as children. In addition to this, it is also reported that in crises, people migrate from cities to rural areas and start their small enterprises to survive in difficult time (ILO/UNICEF 2020). This affects children’s lives mainly in two ways: their school is abandoned (if they were going to school), and they need to participate in household enterprises which, most of the time, do not care about safety and health concerns. This contributes to the overall challenges for a child to cope with the new situation.

History of crises also showed that providing aid to the poor in difficult times, has improved the well-being of poor families including children (ILO/UNICEF 2020). In this complex situation of COVID-19, governments are looking for social protection of those families who are in need marginalized. In previous pandemic and emergency situations, governments across the globe have focused on the social protection of the most disadvantaged and marginalized classes of the society (ILO/UNICEF 2020). In this regard, the Pakistani government has allocated Rs. 900 million for the extreme poor families. The programme delivers one-time financial assistance to 12 million families, which given the household size in Pakistan, represents over 80 million people in the country. Each eligible family receives approximately Rs. 12,000 (approx. \$75) to provide subsistence/nutrition for four months. Within two weeks of its launch, the programme has already reached 7 million of the nation's poorest people, representing the largest and most extensive social protection intervention in the history of the country (Nishtar 2020). It is also to acknowledge here that government of Pakistan has its own fiscal limitation, and cannot continue this financial aid for a long time. However, it is to argue there that in this amount of money (\$75), it is very difficult for poor families to live for four months due to inflation, big size of families, job losses, lack of assets and cash, among other factors. There are arguments presented by UNICEF and ILO that special care should be taken after the end of this pandemic so that students should re-join schools (ILO/UNICEF, 2020). I want to argue that we are not focusing on the current situation of children who were/are out of schools and out there in the labour market amid COVID-19. We need to concentrate on these children to whom we can see on the streets and in factories too in the current situation by prioritizing and management of available resources. The current situation is not as bad as Korczak's when he lived in Warsaw ghetto with his children. However, even in that difficult time, he was able to provide some food, shelter, warm clothes, health, love, care, and education to his children. He went out of his way to provide in the ghetto, where there were many restrictions by Nazis including mobility. We can learn from Korczak's ghetto diaries, to keep hope that it will get better and to remain dedicated and committed to children. We can learn how to be responsible, caring and loving to children even when death becomes our destiny (Shner 2015, p. 2018), I want to re-iterate that we face a different situation, and not worse than the one that

Korczak faced in Warsaw ghetto. Through the provision of cash payment to poor families, employment to adults, and credit arrangement for adults to start their income generation activities can save millions of children’s lives, their education, health and future. This will not only help them to get basic necessities but also increase the protection from violence, exploitation and abuse which they face while working as labourers in the informal and formal economy. In the presented figure below, I propose that children’s well-being can be taken care of by the responsible institutions.

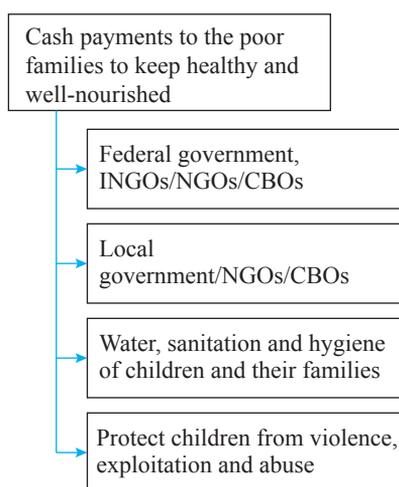


Figure 2. Child protection through cash payment in COVID-19

Skill development

“Dare to dream”, Korczak wrote in a book and “something will always come of it” (Lifton 1988, p. 36). It is the matter of belief which Korczak had as far as children are concerned. By looking at his belief, it is suggested that new skills should be given to children that they can come out of poverty through their own independent work. In this task, we need to support them financially, too (Khalid 2014 – unpublished). An estimate in Pakistan shows that there are almost 1.8 million new labour market entrants each year, deriving from the formal schooling system. In addition to this, there is approximately 4.4 million youth who are not captured in the formal schooling (GoP,

2018b). However, it is not sure whether this number includes children who work as labourers. It is emphasized by the government of Pakistan (GoP) in National Skills for All Strategy Paper 2018 that every new entrant – either from formal schooling or in or non-formal schooling – need to be trained if the nation is to fully exploit the demographic dividend (GoP 2018b). In Pakistan, Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) offers the shortest and swiftest path to engage youth in a productive way. However, TVET is facing chronic systemic ailments to achieve its goals to meet skill training need of domestic and international markets, in terms of both quality and quantity (GoP 2018b).

In the current government of Pakistan, Tehreek Insaaf announced Kamyab Jawan (successful Youth) programme under which Skills for All project can cater for the needs of working children. On my suggestions, I can receive criticism from all sides that governments and institutions are busy with COVID-19 and I am talking about skill development and technical education of these children. My argument is that programmes are there with approved budget and staff. Tiger Force is working too, and all resources can be utilized to give a chance to the working children who are being ignored, despite many ratified conventions –mentioned above.

If we read through the pedagogical dimensions of Korczak, he believed that children are scientists, creative thinkers and active beings (Silverman 2017, p. 74) as he learnt from Robert Quick. When he saw carpentry shop for boys, laundry, sewing and embroidery classes for the girls in Forest Hill orphanage, he found all these activities quite interesting and found that they can offer an independence to children and train them for their future lives (Lifton 1988, p. 33). In the process of giving children skills and enhancing and polishing their un-explored potentials (skills), Korczak believed that it is the development of self-awareness (Silverman 2017, p. 137) that plays a vital role. I found the same thing in my PhD thesis, when I used photo-elicitation technique with children to show things important for them and to express their view. They showed me their work places, rearing of goats (income generation activity), acting like photographers and in result wanted to be professional photographers, capturing images of families, siblings and cousin among others (Khalid 2016). I found that this exercise was self-awareness for them because they showed that what was important for them and what aspirations they had;

but lost in the busy childhood where they had to make a living for the family. Many of them, who took part in photo-elicitation, wanted to learn some new skills and get knowledge to work on how independently and how to get out of poverty. However, there were not outlets for them, despite the focus of the GoP on skill development and enhancement. We could develop self-awareness and work on children’s weaknesses, strengthen their abilities and explore hidden potential in them (Silverman 2017, p. 137). It was observed that Korczak was teaching his teachers how to make a child self-reliant (Lifton 1988, p. 85). I propose that by focusing on skill enhancement and providing technical education, we can do many things for children to improve their lives as explained in the figure below.

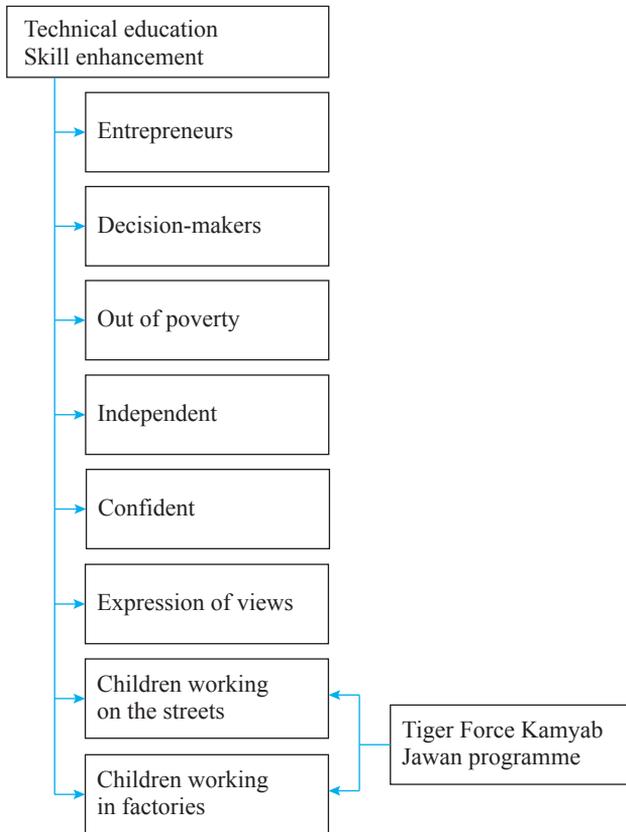


Figure 3. Proposal for improvements. Self generated

Discussion

In this chapter, I have discussed how GoP with the cooperation of different institutions can work for the welfare and betterment of child labourers to meet international commitments. We can learn so many things from Korczak's two orphanages which he set for Jewish and Polish children in Warsaw. We can also learn different things from the two years spent in Warsaw's Jewish ghetto from 1940–1942. The life and experiences of Korczak tell us that there is a need to work for the betterment of children even in hard times. He has shown to us that there is a need to work holistically when talking and working for children as children are “wonderful in their simplicity, gathering force by repetition.” (Lifton 1988, p. 51). It means that we need to understand the viewpoints of children as they are complete human beings in themselves and need to see the world from children's eyes.

It is important to note here that Pakistan supposedly bound by abovementioned Conventions, should follow an imperative to work for the betterment of the situation of children which indicates the advancement of the society. UNCRC (1989) gives many rights to children including right to live, right to respect, right to have adequate living conditions, right to education, right to health, right to identity among many others. When these rights are analysed from Pakistan government's commitment to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), then it became an international obligation to work for children. Government of Pakistan has taken many steps as far as legislation for children protection, rights and development is concerned, however the plights of working children remain the same, due to various reasons such as lack of finances, mismanagement of available resources, lack of coordination among different departments, lack of capacities, lack of private–public partnership to support programmes, less efficient communication system, lack of information technology use (GoP 2018b).

The education policy framework developed in 2018 in Pakistan also prioritized that education is a basic right of every children regardless of their gender, race, colour, religion, ethnicity or social status. 25-A Article of Constitution of Pakistan gives every child a right to education without any discrimination. It is also promised by the Prime Minister of Pakistan that we need to develop Pakistani nation in changing environment in which we live in. There

is a dire need to give quality education to compete in the global arena by taking different steps (for details see, GoP 2018a). For Korczak, the primary purpose of education is to teach pupils to do good things (Silverman 2017, p. 137), thus ultimately resulting in improvement of society. I proposed a framework by keeping Korczak’s pedagogical principles and current situation of COVID-19 that we need to work on main aspects of child labourers lives. The first one is education in which I have talked about the basic rights of children and pedagogy through which children should be taught. There are few examples of different organisations which can help us to set the direction in education for working children in this difficult time.

Amongst them I envisage drop-in Centres (DICs) run by different non-governmental child rights organisations in Pakistan. The overall objectives of DICs are to protect children living and/or working on the streets from violence and abuse, and to provide them with a child friendly environment where they can come in for few hours every day, learn new skills, get some education, spend leisure time and have access to food (albeit, only once a day), water and sanitation facilities. These centres enrol children working on the streets, aged between five and twelve, who had never been to school or were out of schools (SPARC 2020; Khalid 2017). There is a need to increase the number and size of such DICs where child labourers can come at any time, can learn something, eat and take rest.

There is another example, which can be followed for child labourers. An NGO focused on remedying the illiteracy of the most underprivileged children in Pakistan. An innovative idea was taken by this organisation to pay children for their time spent at school and it was called ‘I am paid to learn’. In these schools, any child of any age could be enrolled if they were working on the streets and involved in different work such as in auto-repair workshops or selling different items in shops with their parents or on the streets. The school staff convinced children, parents and employer to allow children to stop work for three hours to attend schools (Zindagi Trust 2020; Khalid 2017) in the afternoon from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. Employers might deduct the money from the children’s daily wages for three hours. The wage cut gap was provided by the school which was effective as it kept children, families and employers motivated as nobody was losing anything in this process, and indeed children were getting an education and relaxation time from work (Khalid 2017). There

is a need to work immediately with the co-operation of all concerned institutions that we don't miss those children who are already working, never been to schools or dropped out, and also new entrants in the formal and informal economy due to COVID-19.

Family is one of the most important aspect of children's lives. It is also reinforced in the UNCRC that for children, that it is best to live with families until there is a danger for children and the separation is in the best interest of the child (UNCRC, 1989, Article. 5 & 9.1). Living with family means that children will do what the family is telling them, including helping in household chores, working in family enterprises, not attending schools, and working as labourers – bonded labour too. There is 24.3% (in 2015) population who lives below the poverty line in Pakistan (ADB, 2020). It is also estimated that during emergencies and situation like COVID-19, 42–66 million children could fall into extreme poverty globally, in addition to already 386 million children living in extreme poverty in 2019 (ILO 2020b). In such situations, there is an urgent need to arrange cash payment to those families which were hit the most by this pandemic so that their children remain at home and can be saved from the harsh realities of exploitation. There is a need that multi-sectoral policy should be adopted to save the future of children. A multi-source funding is required to get funds for education, credit and cash payments to children and their families as this is basic right to have decent work opportunities (UN 2020).

UNCRC (1989, Article 28) emphasized and SDG goal four – education – accentuates that all men and women should get affordable access and opportunities to technical education equally to succeed in their near future. It means that all kinds of barriers will be reduced to provide skill development and technical and vocational education and training starting from secondary level. If we analyse this statement, we can observe that it again ignores those children who are not part of the formal schooling and already working in the formal and informal economies. However, SDG goal four also emphasize that cognitive, communication, team-building, problem solving, creative thinking and conflict resolution should be taught to children that they can be successful in their lives. This encouraging stance can be taken to involve the ignored group of child labourers, however, there is a need for special attention and care to make them a priority in policy and programmes.

The changing economic situations overall, and during pandemic in particular, made it vital to work for the skill provision and enhancement of children and adults as well. Increasing income loss, social media and a trend of entrepreneurship can give more opportunities for everyone including children. It is needed that a systematic and holistic way should be defined that children become independent after some time and that they can choose decent profession to have a decent living.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that we need to invest in children, including neglected and marginalized groups of children, because they are full citizens now and not becoming (Jarosz 2018). We need to understand their views, emotions, feelings as they are, see the world from their eyes not from an adult’s perspective. For Korczak, the underlying philosophy of taking children’s views was that children are not the people of tomorrow, but people today (Silverman 2017). They are entitled to be taken seriously as been described in detail in the UNCRC. They have a right to be treated by adults with tenderness and respect, as equals, not as masters and slaves (UNCRC 1989; Lifton 1988, p. 33).

We need to explore the hidden potentials and talents and “unknown person” inside each child (Lifton 1988, p.33) that in the near future they will do good things to society. Children should be given appropriate learning and employment opportunities to grow into whoever they want to be. It will give a chance to children to change their destiny. Such provision of opportunities will not only help children, but overall, the society (Silverman, 2017, p. 74). We need to believe that child labourers will improve themselves and the world despite the evil that may exist in them (Silverman 2017, p. 137) as per believe of Korczak – children are born with good and evil in them.

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SERAN DEMIRAL*

Visible, more than Ever: Unequal Childhoods in Istanbul during COVID-19

In our kingdom of trouble

The ideas of Janusz Korczak belong to our time so much that his balancing point of view between pleasure and trouble reminds me of *mindfulness*, which is quite popular in recent years all over the world. According to him, “kingdom of pleasure, balls, salons, and beautiful clothes” and “other kingdom of hunger, troubles, and hard work” (as cited in Lifton 1988, p. 50) exist together at the same time. Due to the effect of COVID-19, social inequalities in society became more visible than ever: from the refugee crisis in the border between Greece and Turkey at the beginning of March to social movements against racism in various states of US after George Floyd’s death at the end of May. Although the direct relation of those unequal situations to coronavirus is not so clear at first glance, it is apparent that the call of “stay-at-home” could not be inclusive of black workers or refugees, that call was only valid for the privileged people from upper and middle-classes, who had an economic chance to work from home or the option not to work for a while. Meanwhile, children have also been affected by those times differently, according to their nationality, ethnicity, class, gender and all other variables, separating their everyday lives from each other. In this part about our “trouble-kingdom,” I will share my latest observations from Istanbul, Turkey and then, I will tell how pre-schoolers and school kids have experienced “lockdown” process; at

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the last part, I will suggest some strategies to turn our separation to solidarity by referring to Janusz Korczak.

In her well-known study, Lareau (2003) addresses the settled differences among children's daily lives, deriving from their families' race and class. While lower-class and/or black families couldn't have attention to their kids' education or success, white middle-class parents spend time with their children and motivate them to develop themselves in cultural and social trajectories. Besides that, parents from higher socioeconomic status have also more cultural capital so they can talk more to each other in their family life, while there is less speech in worker-class families (2003, p. 238). Eichsteller reminds us that children in general didn't use to have emotional value in the past, while children for Polish upper class have had for a long while. Furthermore, he underlines "Korczak's passion to see as priceless every child, including particularly the poorest street children who lived in his orphanage" (Eichsteller 2011, p. 500). We know the history is the history of war and crime, rather than love and pleasure, besides, we are all aware of the existing inequalities around ourselves, as academics and intellectual people who have so many privileges compared to other occupations. For instance, majority of workers had anxiety because of the risk of losing their jobs during the pandemic, whilst academic staff despite their low part time income felt they can continue their employment moving some activities online.

According to the report of Disk Research Center (2020) in May "The number of unemployed who have lost hope for finding a job has increased by 486 thousand people in comparison with the previous year, reaching 1 million 107 thousand," which is an indicator that unemployment in 'broader' meaning seems to increase aftermath the deepening of the post pandemic crisis. As the ongoing economic crisis in Turkey since 2018, the government already developed a strategy not to prevent the existing workforce by requesting citizens to take their 'own precaution', that's why the lockdown in Turkey was just limited to middle-class people staying at home. Moreover, there was a controversial age-specific restriction that "during the week, the stay-at-home order only applies to those under the age of 20 or over 65" (Damon & Tuysuz 2020). Therefore, construction areas and factories have been able to stay open during 'our' lockdown, while people who were thought to be 'too old to work' had to stay home. That situation was quite remarkable to discuss ageism in a so-called 'solidaristic' Eastern society.

At that point though, I would like to draw attention to people under 20, most of them as students who are not included in the workforce yet (unless the risk of child labour is considered as an issue here). The majority of those were also children reliant on decision of adults. All those children and young people also were prohibited to go outside, so that they might have a chance to study their lessons online if they were able to.

Online education vs. distance education

UNESCO has made public the ratio of children who have been impacted by “closures” as “over 60% of the world’s student population” (2020) and there are almost 25 million students, that constitutes more than 30% of the whole population in Turkey. The Ministry of National Education has already been working on a digital platform called EBA¹, where teachers give classes remotely through the internet or TV channels, so, right after the first coronavirus case officially occurred in Turkey, the Ministry of National Education (2020) announced that EBA system would be used for distance education and “a pilot study of live classroom application allowing interactive lectures by eliminating the distance between the teacher and students during distance education process for 8th and 12th grade students” was planned. Because the education system in Turkey is more centralised than many OECD countries (OECD 2017), from pre-schoolers to high-schoolers, all students were to study via EBA. Whereas, there was no attempt for interactive education for pre-schooler or pupils, who actually need social and emotional intimacy more. It was apparent that the pilot study’s preparation for 8th and 12th-graders was because of the national exams, LGS² for 8th-graders and YKS³ for 12th-graders. With only this information, it can be deduced that Turkish education system is still exam-based, no matter is in-class or remote.

Apart from all these, the distinction between public and private schools at pre-primary and primary levels in Turkey has been significant. There are still quite prestigious public universities and colleges at tertiary and secondary

¹ EBA: Eğitim Bilişim Ağı, which means “Education Informatic Network” in Turkish.

² LGS is the high-school/college (secondary education) admission test in Turkey.

³ YKS is the university admission test in Turkey, which is a national and central exam.

levels, which have higher academic success, however, younger kids in public schools might not have access to an eligible milieu especially for social and cultural ways. So, what has happened these days? These days, pupils in private schools have continued their “online” education with their teacher and classmates, while their peers in public schools have already lost their interest in “remote” classes on television. ‘Television’ seems important to address, because having a computer at home is another issue to debate. According to TurkStat’s⁴ ICT usage survey (2019) “82.5% of households had broadband Internet connection” whereas, only “49.1% of households used fixed broadband connection (ADSL, cable, optic fibre, etc.)”, which is faster and more useful for studying or working. During the lockdown process, when lots of people started to work at home-office and we continued our classes online, the internet speed became a massive problem for the whole country: it is quite understandable that even at night time, wi-fi connection at home was never sufficient to upload or download something, even to text a message via social media sometimes. The infrastructure of the internet is so weak that we had to ‘sacrifice’ our time and/or work for our housemates. For example, when I had a lecture, my sister had to go offline; when she had a meeting online, I had to close my laptop and I-pad’s wi-fi connection.

So, it was challenging for people to study and work simultaneously unless they live alone. The statistics below belong to the data gained from people who are between 16 and 75, which means we haven’t had sufficient information about children’s access to technological devices and internet connection yet. There are some other studies focusing on children’s ICT usage, but these are not updated frequently enough. It is stated that “24.4% of children aged 6–15 have their private computers, while 13.3% have mobile phones and 2.9% have game consoles” in the report of ‘use of ICT and media by children aged 6–15’ (TurkStat, 2013). Even those ratios might be increased in the last seven years, especially younger kids may not have their own mobile phones or personal computers because of screen-time limitations. Despite that, all children immediately needed digital devices to become included online not only to have lessons but also to communicate with their peers to socialize. That has been the main conflict in times of COVID-19 in general, everybody regardless of age

⁴ TurkStat: Turkish Statistical Institute

must be online for a reason. At this point, in order to underline what kind of inequalities have occurred during this time, it is necessary to separate online education 'meetings' from 'remote education.'

Regardless of their definitions: 'remote' or 'distance,' many teachers don't want to use these terms as far as I have observed from the teachers I personally know and through social media. They prefer to use the word "online education." It is similar to the reaction about the meaning of "social distance," people subverted it into "physical distance and social connection". In distance education, teachers prepare their lessons to share asynchronously, the distance is re-produced through time, in addition to space; while teachers and students have a chance to come together simultaneously to make a conversation and share something in common through time in 'online education.' That is the main difference: the potential to make a classroom via interactive communication. Unless there is interaction, that would become social isolation. It can be claimed that children from low income families had that kind of experience more than the others. Additionally, more parents/caregivers from lower-classes had to work outside compared to the others so that they were at higher risk of infection; besides, children might feel more isolated at home because of the prohibition to go outside in their parents' absence.

Considering all of these, the new 'troubles' may be listed as:

- Education: children who have no access to school; children who can only get 'lessons' alone; children who have a connection to the teacher, peers, friends via the online classroom
- Health: children at risk of coronavirus because of other people from the household; children who can protect themselves from outside the house
- Family life: children who hardly see their parents due to their jobs; children who can spend more time with their families during the lockdown
- Lockdown: because of the prohibition for all under 20, all children are seen 'equal' in an unequal position. On the other hand, they don't share the same apartment: while some of them can easily reach their garden, balcony, or yard, some children are restricted in confined spaces.

The distinctions can never be as clear as I listed. There are probably more problems or other benefits that I could not foresee. In any case, I'm trying to

keep Korczak's words in my mind: "love the child, not only your own" (cited in Eichsteller 2011, p. 500) and I can realize the lockdown experiences caused all distances to become equal. Through this perspective, I am trying to stay as close to children from all over the world, as long as the internet speed lets us meet. And finally, my question is: what would Korczak do? Is there any possibility to transform the unclearness of our physical existence via online spaces into a new kind of equality? If so, how?

Korczak's contribution to today's children

Janusz Korczak's name connotes children's rights primarily, but his main point is in my view, human rights and justice in general. Since "Children are not future human beings, they are already human beings" (Gliński 2019) is the basic opinion of him about children's being themselves, Korczak's inspiration to childhood studies, children's rights, and related field is exactly up to date. The humanitarian crisis we have been facing politically and economically, has deepened due to COVID-19, humanity needs to discover solutions for the future. In reference to Lewinski (1992, p. 244), Korczak's advice to children was basically that "one must never give up one's humanity, even in the face of death." At the hardest time of the world, not only in the face of death but also in the face of inhumanity, it is apparent that Korczak could always see positive sides of human beings and could keep his hopefulness against the crisis of the dark days. That is why it is quite understandable why Lifton (1988, p. 6) prefers talking about living Korczak who is "vital and fallible." In the biography of Janusz Korczak, there are some memories about what a funny and extraordinary grown-up he was, he even let the children "draw on his bald head with the coloured pencils he was using on the blueprints" (Lifton 1988, p. 32). He valued the nature of children's play as the foundation of the human personality so that he respected children's plays and speech and tried to make their voices to be heard.

According to Janusz Korczak, the only difference between children and grown-ups is children's lack of experience. However, despite this mere difference children are underestimated and seen as incompetent in the face of adults because of it. He underlines the necessity to respect their lack of expe-

rience. Vucic (2018, p. 4) defines children having less experience as “newly arrived foreigners”. They have a fresh mind to learn and to become aware of the circumstances around. At this point, ‘our’ responsibilities for children seem important to debate: to start with a question by Korczak himself, “How can they know how to face tomorrow if we do not allow them to live an aware, responsible life today?” (2017, p. 33). It is clear that Korczak asks people to make a room for children to see, learn, experience and have a say: they have the right to be who they are. To allow them to live aware and responsible, first of all, we need to share all the conflicts and problems of today with them clearly. A child can understand everything like a grown-up if we know how to pass this information. So, all the process about the lockdown, the effects of viruses and even the history of epidemic and pandemic illnesses could be told to children. Question marks and unclearness affect people worse and this is why children have a right to be aware.

Nowadays, lockdown or stay-at-home warnings are becoming weak, we are going back to an almost ‘normal’ life. However, most of the colleges and universities, even several private schools in Istanbul at pre-primary, primary and secondary levels begun to prepare their schedules accordingly to provide remote education for next (autumn) semester due to the risk of second wave and protection against the pandemic. As a result, it is quite important to cope with settled unequal situations already now. The steps can be classified by different scales:

- At the *macro-level*; government and international institutions should provide digital devices for all children. United Nations (2020) declares that it is “more than ever essential that the global community comes together now to foster universal access to information and knowledge through open educational resources” and published a call for free access to educational materials. Meanwhile, UNICEF (2020) has commenced a donation campaign for children’s access to education and health systems as well.
- UNICEF Turkey National Committee (2020) is also included in the call for a donation that people can provide children “home learning pack” at *mezzo-level*. Except having devices, to advocate democratic online education equally, there should be some public programs and lessons for children of different age and degree of ICT

literacy skills. Children need to gain help to become literate also in digital literacy.

- Just as becoming literate means to express oneself in public, digital literacy may be used like that: through digital platforms, children are able to come together to build up their solidarity networks. It can be started as a *micro-level* in accordance with a little movement of a specific group of people as children. On the other hand, it has the potential to become a huge children movement.

Little Review as “the most democratic paper in the world” (Einsteller 2011, p. 177) was one of the earliest examples of children’s movement and agency. In 1926, almost a century ago, children gained a space to speak to people, both adults and children, through a public magazine. In the contemporary world, digital competency becomes an obligation instead of an option, therefore, the digital gap is one of the most significant obstacles to resolve. If a child has “the right to live for today” (Einsteller 2011, p. 507), it means that they have to gain digital access to be a witness of today’s world, where the digital world exists as a large part within it. Recalling the essential point of view of Korczak, we as grown-ups should teach children how to love the other children whoever they are and wherever they live in the world. We need to motivate them to teach each other in order to overcome both physical and digital gaps between themselves and the struggle with unequal childhoods. This suggestion for children to unite by means of the digital world may become similar to the *Children’s Court* and *Children’s Council* over time, as it is built on self-governing principles.

In the well-known children’s novel by Janusz Korczak, *King Matt the First*, “Matt wanted all the people to govern, but children were part of the people, too” (2005, p. 239) at that point, children’s citizenship is basically discussed as an issue. In recent years, the new debates on children’s agency transformed into ‘childism’ to provide justice for both children and grown-ups, just like feminism. In 1922, the novel reflects the idea of childism: “The little children know what little children need, and the big children know what big children need. I hope that someday children from all over the world will meet [...]” (Korczak 2005: 347). Even though Matt is a fictional character, children with green flags as a symbol of childhood-movement and the Children’s Parliament is real, at least, within ‘Our Home.’ So, children’s political

organization has been experienced before, even in the hard times. As Vucic (2019) explained to us in the ‘self-governing workshop’ she had organized (as a part of 12th UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair International Summer School), “Every incoming child knew the opinion of others about themselves by the referendum held after a trial period of three months. The aggregated results of the vote (+/0/-) with the proportion of likes, dislikes and neutrality,” Korczak created an example of ‘self-regulating society’ on the micro-level. Referring to Vucic’s headline, that community also provided every person there to develop ‘self-governmentality’ to face the others and adapt to the order of society: the point seems that ‘the order of society’ is flexible in accordance with every single child’s behaviour, opinion, or attitude to each other. In that case, the voting system about what kind of person one is, might be reconsidered as a new system to reveal one’s advantages and disadvantages compared to others all over the world. On the one hand, it sounds like a hierarchical order among children, on the other hand, this suggestion may be seen as an attempt to build an inter-sectional perspective for childhood studies, that will be realized by children themselves. Instead of the proportion of likes/neutrality/dislikes, the new system can become “privileged/non-privileged/aggrieved,” such as;

+/0/-

- Location: live in a developed/developing/undeveloped country
- Class: live with upper/middle/lower-class caregivers
- Race/ethnicity: raised in a white/black or immigrant/black and immigrant family
- Gender: cis-male/cis-female/other identities under LGBT+ umbrella
- Disability: without disability/physically or mentally/physically and mentally disabled
- Daily life: access to quality education/access to education/otherwise; child workers, children in jail, poverty or other factors as obstacles to access education for children.

The examples may become even more varied. The main purpose is here to develop self-awareness for each child. In this imaginary system, each of them would vote and self evaluate then in accordance with an average result, every child could realize how advantageous their position is compared to others; which means they, as the “privileged” ones need to conduct solidarity networks. Incidentally, I should underline it is only a suggestion for children’s

organizations inspired by Korczak's experience. As a grown-up, my only role in children's networks might be mentoring and leading them to question power relations between us, even the 'empowerment' concept itself. When we consider children's agency and participation, we usually use that concept which reproduces inequality: empowerment sounds like giving power to them; as long as one has the power to give, that means s/he also has the power over them as another group of people, not only children.

Unfortunately, unequal childhoods are reproduced even among children themselves: when I attended the "Children's Participation Right Symposium" in Istanbul in 2019, I had a chance to listen to different children's experiences about child participation. I realized that generally middle-class children, who went to prestigious colleges, were playing active roles in the formal council on children's rights. I hope I might be wrong about my very limited observation, but, the language of some of the children there, reflected the existing hierarchical relation they had. That means, we need to start from questioning the settled power relations in our everyday lives. The nature of power relations is complex and cannot be understood easily, on the other hand, children and young people have 'power' to reconstruct power relations owing to their lack of seriousness. The childish essence inside us has also the potential to teach us how to build a better world, as Korczak provided from his childish side during his life.

Moreover, instead of child-friendly perspectives, it is necessary to create spaces for children to lead the whole process by themselves. Even in the educational system, outcomes and benefits should not be reported by us, the adults, the teachers. It is sure that there are some criteria, such as academic success, children's development and learning stages, however, their development of self-awareness, self-governing are as important as academic indicators. Thus, we should let children report their 'learning outcomes' as a beginning to reform education. In the meantime, as an advantage of COVID-19 times; not only I am investigating and considering all of these but also parents, caregivers and other subjects have already become aware of what children face during their classes. Public schools and government policies have also become more visible than ever during home-education. In conclusion, I try to reveal the positive sides for children, just like Korczak would do in order to be helpful in their journey of life. I think Janusz Korczak would benefit the

online world for children to unite, to make them learn experiences of others and from each other, and let them access relative and infinitive knowledge. As a result, there might be a possibility to build equality together if only we open the doors of opportunity.

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CECILIA ZSÖGÖN*

Challenges of Teaching and Learning During the Coronavirus Pandemic in a Latin American Country

Introduction: a crisis on top of a crisis

Education is one of the elements of society that was most drastically reshaped by the coronavirus pandemic and the closure of schools all over the world¹. This work considers some aspects of the impact of Covid-19 on education in Latin America in general and in Argentina in particular and reflects on its implications from the perspective of the rights of the child. Guaranteeing access to and remaining involved in remote education in this context has become a great challenge, especially for children from impoverished and vulnerable sectors of society, who already had a tenuous place in the educational system. In many countries including Argentina, it is unclear how long the pandemic situation will last since the dynamic scenario changes from day to day. The prolonged school closures put new pressures on the education system, but also on families, especially for parents who are struggling to continue their children's education at home, with whatever resources they possess.

Amid the uncertainty regarding the present and the future, novel contours emerge that account for the specificity of South America, marked by the recurrent economic and social crises in its recent history. It is estimated that because

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¹ According to UNESCO (2020) 87% of the world's student population was affected by school closures.

of the economic crisis caused by the new coronavirus pandemic, poverty could reach 35% in Latin America in 2020. This means that almost 215 million people (of the 660 million who live in the region) would be mired in poverty (ECLAC/ILO 2020).

In Argentina poverty has also increased: while in 2019 it affected 53% of children, this number could reach 59% by the end of 2020, according to UN estimates. The country was already struggling with challenges linked to poverty, economic growth, financial difficulties and a fragile labour market characterized by high rates of unemployment and informality. This already delicate scenario was worsened by the sudden irruption of the first cases of Covid-19.

The major impact of lockdown on education

What strategies were implemented in education to cope with the lockdown imposed by the coronavirus pandemic? How can children remain in school through remote education and how long can this method endure? Along with it goes the rising numbers of infected people, the uncertainty about the immediate future, the anxiety concerning the loss of jobs, and the dynamics resulting from a government struggling between sanitary and economic measures.

By June 28th, Argentina endured one hundred days of lockdown, one of the longest in the world. Many obstacles arised along the way, challenging the resources of schools, communities, families and children themselves to keep the remote education going. I examine some of these issues, based on reports, newspaper articles, and online interviews conducted with teachers in Argentina.

Let's briefly review the chronology of events, and how the current situation in Argentina came about: on December 31st, 2019, China reported a new coronavirus causing an outbreak of pneumonia in Wuhan. Over the course of the next weeks, cases were registered in South East Asia and the first infections occurred in Europe, North America and Australia. On January 30th, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared a Global Health Emergency by Covid-19. On March 3rd, Argentina registered its first confirmed case of coronavirus. On March the 11th with 118,000 positive cases and 4,291 deaths in 114

countries, WHO declared the coronavirus as a Global Pandemic. On March 19th, with 128 confirmed cases and three deaths, Argentina established a total lockdown throughout the country, which was foreseen to end on the March 31st. Three months later, is still unclear when schools would open again.

The consequences are already noticeable for children who have given up remote learning, those who could never engage with it for various reasons, and those who continue with only intermittent participation. UNESCO (2020) affirms that school closures will carry high social and economic costs for people across communities. This exacerbates existing disparities within the education system but also in other aspects that include: deprivation of opportunities for growth and development; disproportionate disadvantages for underprivileged learners; confusion and stress for teachers; challenges creating and maintaining distance learning; gaps in childcare; increased dropout rates as a result of the fact that not all children may return to school when they are reopened, and challenges measuring and validating learning. Faced with this situation, teachers had to create and maintain online education strategies to ensure that children continue to receive education and training. This enormous effort was carried out together with families and, in the case of peripheral countries, with all the limitations stemming from informal economy, lack of access to internet services, a computer or cell phone being shared by numerous families, or having to borrow such devices from a neighbour to be able to do homework.

UNICEF data shows that, in Argentina, 18% of adolescents between 13 and 17 years old do not have Internet at home and 37% do not have electronic devices (computers, notebooks or tablets) to carry out school homework, a figure that increases to 44% among those who attend public schools. It is noted that those who do not have these resources face additional difficulties completing certain school tasks, such as maintaining contact with teachers and receiving feedback and corrections of their work from them (UNICEF, 2020). Even with a computer or telephone with internet connection, there are still substantial disparities between families in the extent to which they can help their children learn; some key differences include: the amount of time available to devote to teaching, the non-cognitive skills of the parents, resources to access the best online material (Burguess and Sieverstsen, 2020).

Transition to remote education: a massive disruption

For teachers of all levels, challenges were significant², since there were almost no digital classes or virtual classrooms developed before the pandemic. One teacher stated that in Argentina, technology is not yet incorporated into the education system, therefore, contingency plans had to be developed overnight. The transition from face-to-face work to a virtual environment was a crucial arising issue, which has posed a challenge for countries in which technology is not widespread, with connectivity issues in many rural areas that prevent the population from accessing information and communication technology.

The goal of teachers at this early stage was to support the students as much as they could and make a transition from the physical to the virtual modality as smooth as possible. This proved a challenge because in Argentina there had only been a week of classes thus teachers had barely got to meet the students when pandemic broke out and remote education had to be both designed and implemented. Most teachers felt they don't have enough training with information technology to set up virtual classrooms, so there was a proliferation of chat groups that, despite their inconvenience, were of great help to teachers as a space to share information, tutorials, tips and other data aimed at unifying criteria to avoid confusion amongst the students. This has also led to long hours of work, including weekends, and late nights where teachers were answering questions from their students on social networks, trying to keep them within the formal education system to which they are attached by a very fragile thread.

This scenario is especially demanding for women, who add one more task to those assigned by traditional gender roles. On top of the effort required to learn to use and implement distance education are added those tasks that come from assisting with the education of their own children and handling household chores, a stark reminder of the marked bias in the division of labour that was exacerbated in this context.

For the initial level (children 4 and 5-year-old), further challenges enter into the equation, since homework requires the collaboration of an adult to be carried out. Teachers have had to be even more creative and search for “virtual mate-

² All the testimonies come from interviews carried out with teachers at the initial, primary and secondary levels of Argentina, in March and June, 2020.

rial” such as songs, stories, and activities that parents could assemble at home. For children of illiterate parents, activities had to be carefully selected. Another major problem was that some families did not have internet connection, especially in schools located in rural and semi-rural settings. Since many students could not engage with online lessons, teachers have been going to school once a month to deliver printed study material provided by the Ministry of Education. One of the main reasons for not attending lessons is the lack of internet service, but even with a reliable internet connection, teachers realized that for many families it was easier to follow the activities with something “physical” rather than relying solely on virtual material, which many parents have trouble working with. The printed books have also provided support for online activities. This sort of mixed modality has been implemented in many schools. But despite all the efforts, three months after the beginning of quarantine, the situation is critical. Many schools started to distribute food to the students and their families, since the lockdown has greatly restricted economic activity. Teachers do not know when they will be able to return to school and government has not yet set a date yet. Some of the problems that prevent a return to regular schooling include that, for young children in peripheral regions, there is a long distance to go to school, and once there, maintaining distance, hygiene and small groups in usually overcrowded classes is nearly impossible. The situation of children from vulnerable backgrounds is especially delicate since they have missed many classes and have been unable to catch up with school tasks. Virtuality poses many difficulties and challenges both for teachers and students; one teacher stated the need of being present, without the mediation of technology and screens. Teachers have also noticed a change in the attitude towards remote learning activities. During the first month there was an enthusiastic response, but over time it has declined and today many children are not participating in virtual activities. Parents, especially mothers who have overseen home schooling in a larger scale than fathers, struggle with exhaustion and are losing the ability to continue assisting with online classes. Teachers state that over time it is becoming more and more difficult to keep the interest and effort required to pursue an activity through a virtual environment.

As for how students are faring in quarantine, several different groups can be identified. There is a nucleus that continues to work and submit homework on time, others send it days or even weeks late, others send partial homework,

others have quit remote education altogether. And a small group never joined the lessons, amongst them, children of families who do not even own a cell phone. Equally challenging is the situation of large families with six or seven children, where there is only one cell phone that everyone must share and makes it very difficult to complete tasks on time. In these cases, mothers prioritize according to various criteria, such as which of the children is “having the most trouble” and really needs to do his homework, or in a more pragmatic approach, who of them “shows more enthusiasm”.

Teachers emphasize the necessity of constantly trying new strategies, keeping those that prove to be successful, and now, after three months of remote education they feel that they have been able to manage virtual environment, organize duties, and figure out the best approach and the most adequate teaching activities for online schooling.

But the main concern is the situation of children and their families. Winter holidays will begin in Argentina in July and teachers hope that this two-week break will allow families to rest and continue with renewed energies, since there is still no certainty as to when schools will reopen.

Teachers face very challenging circumstances, since they have to deal with not only what is strictly “educational” (if such a discrete category can be conceived), but also with environmental, familial, and material situation of students. Parents of children from vulnerable backgrounds also cope with several obstacles trying to keep up with their children’s education when day-to-day basic needs impose their own agenda, in which school and education are relegated to a distant second place.

The first analyses and investigations show conclusive figures: along with the socio-sanitary response implemented so far that has been notable for its results, there has been a drop in production, an increase in poverty and in the number of people in a poor state of health, lack of food, and/or economic emergency. In addition, questions have been raised about the temporal dimension of this crisis: Argentinian society fears that the conjunctural will become structural and that the new poor and marginalized from this crisis will become the new poor and marginalized in the country. The pandemic crisis has exacerbated vulnerability and discrimination towards society’s least protected members, highlighting deep economic and social inequalities that require urgent attention (UN 2020). It has also become clear that school closings exacerbate

educational inequalities: economically advantaged families often have higher levels of education and more resources to fill learning gaps and offer other activities to compensate children who cannot go to school.

Final remarks

Due to the coronavirus pandemic, teachers have had to develop new resources and greatly expand their creativity to face this crisis that has threatened the right to education of millions of children around the world. Janusz Korczak is an emblematic example of an educator who fought against adversity, yet, it is hard to imagine what he would have done in this modern crisis. Almost certainly he would have taken the most difficult path, which is usually the right one. However, he was of a “*nature so simple and noble that his very being seems improbable, as though he cannot be of this world*” and may pose an unrealistic parameter for the rest of us, who can only look upon his legacy and hope to attain, even a little, of his extraordinary conviction, coherence and “*passionate, almost religious, reverence for the rights of children*” (Wolins 1967, p. 7).

These rights are now guaranteed, at least discursively and formally, since they were materialized in the most ratified human rights treaty in history, in an attempt to prevent the immense suffering of children endured in the 20th Century from ever happening again.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child is now a reality. Its article 28 recognizes children’s right to education under conditions of equal opportunities and the need to “adopt measures to promote regular school attendance and reduce dropout rates”. One of the challenges in this context is to make this treaty fully operative so that this framework of human rights are assured for every child, despite their economic status, origin, background or any other consideration. So perhaps we should examine how to actualize Janusz Korczak’s heritage in this context and therefore consider how to shorten the distance between children’s rights and their material living conditions.

Although it is not the same situation that Korczak faced during WWII, today teachers struggle with their students’ adverse conditions, including extreme material deprivation, malnutrition and many other forms of neglect and violence. These situations are inadmissible in the 21st Century and compel

us to reflect on what kind of education is possible for a child whose needs for food, shelter, affection, are not covered. This scenario also highlights the interconnected nature of children's rights. One cannot exist without the others and the violation of one implies the violation of many others.

A child may have a great desire to learn, but in the context of this pandemic and the subsequent quarantine, they will be unable to do so without the necessary devices. Suddenly, a computer, a phone and an internet connection have become indispensable to guarantee basic rights. It is during crises that we rethink things that we took for granted. The Covid-19 outbreak revealed the many demands school meet in their day-to-day. As a space that provides contention, affection, food, friendship, their manifold capacities are replaced by a concept of remote education that only offers a faint reflection of the whole educational experience. The context of physical presence is of great importance to meet the demands of school children.

Only time will tell if we have lived up to this challenge, if we can be proud of what we are, as individuals and as a society. Because at the end, the only indicator – the only measure – that can be considered a parameter of success is the well-being and happiness of children.

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SRIBAS GOSWAMI*

The Lives of Children with Disabilities in India: A Glimpse into a Hidden World

Introduction

Mental and Physical disabilities are a worldwide problem and in India it is a shocking and alarming fact that approximately 2.5 to 3% of the total populations are children who are differently abled. Mental and physical disabilities are not only a biological, educational or psychological problem but it is a multi-dimensional issue of a mixture of psycho-social, biological and educational factors. The public and professional interest in the etymology of mental delay and problems faced by differently abled children and their families has been at best meagre and sporadic. This apathy has persisted despite the high incidence of mental disorder threats around the world, a problem which no society can avoid. As the problem is not always a biological one, social worker should play a significant role in solving this social problem. Therefore, this research study is taken. Family caregivers play a key role in providing care giving and support to sick persons and persons in need of care. The outcome of stressors on family members caring for a dependent person in the family has been referred to as caregiver's burden. Caregiver's responsibility is a multidimensional phenomenon reflecting physical, psycho-emotional, financial and social consequences of caring for impaired members of the family specially during the pandemic situation. Family members are acting as caregivers as the individual in the family experiences some form of disability and continue his treatment at home. Caregiver burden in disability cases can either be subjective or objec-

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tive. Objective burdens (negative patient symptoms) are explained as voluntarily verifiable behavioural phenomena, caregiver's life often disrupted in terms of domestic routine, social activities and leisure; social isolation; and financial and employment difficulties. Subjective burden involves emotional strain on caregivers, e.g. fear, sadness, anger, guilt, loss, stigma and rejection. The move towards community care for patients with mental disorder have resulted in transferring of responsibility for the day-to-day care of patients to their family members, which has led to profound psychosocial, physical and financial burdens on patients' families. The family burden is typically encompassing two descriptive categories. "Objective burden" deals with the actual, objective problems and "subjective burden with the psychological distress engendered by the illness. There is some evidence of co mortalities of objective burden in families in which a member has a chronic developmental, mental, or physical disability (Biswas 1980). Many studies have investigated the links between measures of social support and health and other studies have examined marital processes and health. No studies have compared whether marriage confers special benefits above and beyond other long-term, committed, non-cohabitating social relationships in one's social network. That said, marital relationship quality may have a greater bearing on health relative to support and strain from other social network members for several reasons. Familial psychosocial conditions of the caregiver's of persons with disabilities, particularly of intellectual kind and blind children are not so clear as research activities in this area have not undertaken sufficiently so far in India and particularly in Kolkata. So, the present study was planned to have an investigation into the above discussed psychosocial variables. It was inspired by the contribution of Janusz Korczak who worked several years for Maria Grzegorzewska, the founder of special pedagogy in Poland' (youtube, 2019) as a paediatrician and a philosopher of education, Korczak dedicated his life to children and to acknowledging their rights (Odrowaz-Coates 2018). These rights were further solidified in the form of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which includes children with special educational needs or physical disabilities.

The Constitution of India guarantees the fundamental right to free and compulsory education for the all categories of children between the ages six to fourteen years in such manner as the State may, by law, determine 47. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, which

represents the consequential legislation envisaged under Article 21-A, means that every child has a right to full time elementary education of satisfactory and equitable quality in a formal school which satisfies certain essential norms and standards. Article 21A and the RTE Act came into effect on 1 April 2010. The title of the RTE Act incorporates the words ‘free and compulsory’. ‘Free education’ means that no child, other than a child who has been admitted by his or her parents to a school which is not supported by the appropriate Government, shall be liable to pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing elementary education. The Right to Education (RTE) Act 2009 and the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act (RPWD) Act 2016 have helped create a comprehensive legal framework for inclusive education. However, there are a few ambiguities about where children with disabilities (CWDs) should study and who should teach them. Gaps remain in the form of appropriate norms and standards applicable to all educational institutions, services provided to CWDs, and the absence of a coordinated authority to enforce the norms and standards. The number of children enrolled in school drops significantly with each successive level of schooling. There are fewer girls with disabilities in school than boys. The proportion of children with disabilities who are out of school is much higher than the overall proportion of out-of-school children at the national level. Thus, although the schemes and programmes have brought children with disabilities into schools, gaps remain.

Children with intellectual disabilities need much more support than others in the face of a pandemic (COVID-19). They may not be eating properly and may experience higher stress because they are unable to understand what is happening all around them. India has signed up to achieving sustainable development goals of which cornerstone is universal access to health and education and equity. The government and the organisations working with people with disabilities have to make efforts to convert prevention and care messages on COVID-19 into an accessible format. Health facilities should prioritise the needs of children with disabilities over the rest of the population. Decreasing waiting time in hospitals for them will reduce contact with other asymptomatic carriers of the novel corona virus. Their special medicinal needs have been taken care of by Government. Mobile health teams are providing them services at home to limit their need for travel to hospitals. A dedicated helpline

has been set up for this so that the medical team can reach them. They are assured of supplies of soap, sanitizers and tissues from protection of potential health hazards because a country's development is measured by its social support and inclusive policies.

Objectives of the study

1. To study the social support system of parents of children with intellectual disability and children with blindness.
2. To know the degree of family burden of parents of children with intellectual disabilities in pandemic situation.
3. To assess and compare the quality of marital life of parents of children with intellectual disability and children affected by blindness.
4. To assess and compare the social stigma of parents of children with intellectual disabilities.
5. To assess and compare the self-esteem of parents of children with intellectual disabilities.
6. To correlate socio-demographic and clinical variables with family burden, social support, marital quality of life, social stigma and self-esteem parents of children with intellectual disability and children with blindness.

Methodology of the study

The study is a cross-sectional institutional-based comparative study conducted during the outbreak of COVID-19 in India. Venue for the study is Institute of Psychiatry, Kolkata, and schools for the blind in Kolkata. Participants were parents (mothers) of children with the intellectual disability attending OPD of Institute of Psychiatry and parents (mothers) of children with blindness attending blind schools in Kolkata. Sample size is 60 (30 each from both disability group).

Findings from the study

The study focuses on evaluating the attitude of the parents of children with mental delay towards psycho-social aspects, conducted in the Institute of Psychiatry, Kolkata, and schools for the blind in Kolkata. Both places are chosen as a research site because of the availability of institutions taking care of learners with disabilities and also children and learners with disabilities in the area, like in all other parts in the country, face numerous social, physical, psychological and educational challenges in accessing socio-educational opportunities. Major findings from the study are statistically analysed. The result in Table 1 shows the comparison between the ID group and the Blind group on Social support. The result shows that there was a significant difference in the no. of supporters in the social support system between the group and Blind group and difference is significant at 0.01 level. Whereas there was no statistically significant difference between the ID group and blind group in the social support satisfaction domain. Finally, no differences with respect to satisfaction with social support were associated with the child's severity of the disability. But the present study did not make a comparison of social support and level of disability (Goswami 2013).

Table 1. Social support during the outbreak of Pandemic

Area of Measurement	Mean + SD of ID	Mean + SD of Blind	Mean Rank		U	Z	P
			ID	Blind			
SSQN	1.1277 .22544	.9570 .13986	ID	Blind	256.500	-2.887	.004**
			36.95	24.05			
SSQS	4.0817 1.59657	4.6633 .87485	28.38	32.62	386.500	-.954	.340

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The result Table 2 shows the comparison between the ID group and the Blind group on the family burden. The result shows that there was no statistically significant difference between the ID group and blind group in the family

burden domain. The study shows that the family is most affected in the form of decreased interaction time. The intellectual disability and blindness are permanent markers in once life, especially when it is affecting their children. (Kamath 1951).

Table 2. Family burden scenario

Area of Measurement	Mean + SD of ID	Mean + SD of Blind	Mean Rank		U	Z	P
			ID	Blind			
Financial burden	1.8000 .40684	1.6667 .47946	32.50	28.50	390.000	-1.158	.247
Disruption of routine family activities	1.7333 .58329	1.8000 .40684	29.30	31.70	414.000	-.666	.505
Disruption of family leisure	1.4667 .50742	1.3333 .47946	32.50	28.50	390.000	-1.045	.296
Disruption of family interaction	1.6000 .49827	1.3667 .55605	34.20	26.80	339.000	-1.886	.059
Effect on the physical health of others	1.1000 .30513	1.0333 .18257	31.50	29.50	420	-1.026	0.305

The result in Table 3 shows the comparison between the ID group and the Blind group on marital quality of life. The result shows that there was no statistically significant difference between ID group and blind group in the marital quality of life domain. Marriages of parents of children with developmental disabilities have often been portrayed as difficult, dysfunctional, and particularly likely to end in divorce (Green 1957). Many authors provide a bleak picture of these marriages. They suggest that unresolved grief and extreme demands associated with raising a child with a disability result in extremely high levels of stress which, in turn, produce dysfunctional marriages and high rates of divorce (Craw 1914). The results show that there was no statistically significant difference between the children with intellectual disability and the children with the blind group in the marital quality of life domain.

Table 3. Marital quality of life

Area of Measurement	Mean + SD of ID	Mean + SD of Blind	Mean Rank		U	Z	P
			ID	Blind			
Marital scale	1.2000 .55086	1.3333 .75810	ID	Blind	430.000	-.477	.633
			29.83	31.17			

Table 4. Self-esteem situation

Area of Measurement	Mean + SD of ID	Mean + SD of Blind	Mean Rank		U	Z	P
			ID	Blind			
Self-esteem	3.0000 .26261	3.0667 .25371	ID	Blind	421.000	-.992	.321
			29.53	31.47			

When the comparison is made between the ID group and the Blind group on Social stigma, the result showed that there was a significant difference in the social stigma between the ID group and the Blind group and the difference is significant at 0.05 level. Social stigma refers to ‘defect’ in a person’s social identity – negative information about a person that is known by others. In the traditional Hindu social hierarchy, an untouchable is evaluated low and the depth of degradation accords him a sub-human status (Kaufman, 1975). Negative reactions from others may take many forms – ranging from disinterest, criticism, prejudice, avoidance, rejection, betrayal, stigmatization, ostracism, abandonment and abuse to bullying (Kolstoe, 1965).

Table 5. Social stigma during pandemic situation

Area of Measurement	Mean + SD of ID	Mean + SD of Blind	Mean Rank		U	Z	P
			ID	Blind			
Social stigma	2.0667 .25371	1.9333 .25371	ID	Blind	392.000	-1.983	.047*
			32.43	28.57			

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The results presented in Table 5 show that the comparison between the ID group and the Blind group on Self-esteem. The result shows that there was no statistically significant difference between the ID group and blind group in Self-esteem domain. Self-esteem was assessed using Rosenberg self-esteem scale by Rosenberg; 10-item scales that measures global self-worth by measuring both positive and negative feelings about the self (Luria 1963).

Table 6. Correlation between Socio-demographic variables and Family Burden

Socio demographic variables	Financial burden	Disruption of routine family activities	Disruption of family leisure	Effect on physical health of others	Effect on mental health of others	Subjective burden on the family
Age of Caregiver	.340**	-0.093	0.067	-0.07	0.13	0.17
Education	0.135	0.073	-0.073	.283*	0.066	0.237
Marital status	-0.098	0.242	0.227	-0.05	0.078	0.186
No of family member	-0.081	-0.015	0.11	-0.099	0.085	-0.135
Income	0.068	0.078	0.02	0.2	.265*	0.139

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

There was a significant positive correlation found between financial burden and age of caregiver at 0.01 level of significance. There was a significant positive correlation found between the effect on the physical health of others and education at 0.05 level of significance. There was a significant positive correlation found between the effect on the mental health of others and income at 0.05 level of significance. There was no statistically significant correlation between other socio-demographic variables like marital status, no. of a family member and FBIS domain.

Table 7. Correlation between Socio-demographic variables and Social Support, Marital Quality of Life, Social Stigma and Self-Esteem

Socio- demographic variables	SSQN	SSQS	Marital Quality of life	Social stigma	Self-esteem
Age of Caregiver	0.085	0.076	0.065	-0.07	0.154
Education	-0.113	-0.138	0.128	-.327*	0.102
Marital status	0.173	0.057	.419**	0	-0.025
No. of family member	0.086	0.106	0.008	0.13	0.016
Income	.277*	.263*	0.025	0.000	0.044

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The presented study evaluated the marital quality of life in its sub-dimensions also. The sub dimensions present were understanding, rejection, satisfaction, affection, despair, decision-making, discontent, dissolution-potential, self-disclosure, trust, and role functioning. In all the above dimensions of marital quality of life, the score among the caretaker of Intellectual Disability is found better than the Blind group. Sigam, (2011) says that the marital quality of life gets hampered by the burden that parents experience. Marital dissatisfaction, frequent conflict, sexual dysfunction, separation, and divorce as adjustment problems were more frequent among parent of children with disabilities than other families. Similar to other studies there was a significant positive correlation found between SSQS and income at 0.05 level of significance. There was a significant positive correlation between Marital Quality of life and marital status at 0.01 level of significance (Biswas 1980). There was a significant negative correlation between social stigma and education at 0.05 level of significance. There was no statistically significant correlation between other socio-demographic variables like caregiver age, education, marital status, number of family member and social support domain (Doll 1941). There was no statistically significant correlation between other socio demographic variables like caregiver age, education, number of family members, income and Marital Quality of life domain (Passamanik 1959). There was no statis-

tically significant correlation between other socio demographic variables like caregiver age, marital status, number of family member, income and Social stigma domain (Repp 1983). There was no statistically significant correlation between socio demographic variables like caregiver age, education, marital status, number of family member, income and Self-esteem domain (Bassom 1954).

Table 8. Correlation between clinical variables and Family Burden

Clinical variables	Financial burden	Disruption of routine family Activities	Disruption of family leisure	Disruption of family interaction	Effect on of Physical health others	Effect on mental health of others	Subjective burden on the family
Level of Mental Retardation	-0.134	0.148	0.205	0.055	0.089	-0.17	0.071
Level of Blindness	-.613**	-0.118	-0.056	-0.226	-0.102	-.388*	-0.274
Age at first recognised	0.091	0.043	0.076	0.25	0.011	0.155	0.021

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

There was a significant negative correlation between Level of Blindness and financial burden at 0.01 level of significance. There was a significant negative correlation between Level of Blindness and effect on the mental health of others at 0.05 level of significance. There was no statistically significant correlation between other clinical variables like level of mental retardation and Family Burden domains.

Table 8 shows that there was a significant negative correlation between age when first recognised and SSQS at 0.05 level of significance. There was a significant positive correlation between age when first recognised and social stigma at 0.01 level of significance. There was no statistically significant co-

relation between other clinical variables like Level of Mental Delay, Level of Blindness and other Social Support Questionnaire domain. There was no statistically significant correlation between clinical variables like Level of Mental Delay, Level of Blindness, and age when first recognised and Marital Quality of life scale domain. There was no statistically significant correlation between other clinical variables like Level of Mental Delay, Level of Blindness and Social stigma domain (Terjan 1987). There was no statistically significant correlation between clinical variables like Level of Mental Delay, Level of Blindness, and age when first recognised and Self-esteem scale domain.

Table 9. Correlation between clinical variables and Social Support, Marital Quality of Life, Social Stigma and Self-Esteem

Clinical variables	SSQN	SSQS	Marital scale	Social stigma	Self-esteem
Level of Mental Retardation	0.096	-0.137	0.099	-0.018	0.000
Level of Blindness	0.121	0.223	0.176	0.147	0.169
Age at first recognised	0.248	-.265*	-0.03	.398**	-0.075

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Comparison for socio-demographic data on children

The study shows that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups with regard to age and gender which was a function of the study design as both groups were matched for age and gender.

Comparison of socio-demographic data for caregivers

The study showed that there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups with regard to age, education, occupation, marital status, religion, mother tongue, category, type of family, no. of family members,

family income and domicile of caregivers. Both groups were matched in most of the socio demographic variables (Goswami 2013).

Comparison of clinical data for children

Age at first recognition as defined by Trieschmann (1987) is the age at which an individual acquires, develops, or first experiences disability. The study showed that there was significant difference between the two groups ($p < 0.001$) with regard to the age of first recognition. In the presented study, the blindness of blind children was detected as early as at 4 months of age and intellectual disability of children were diagnosed at a much later stage of around 3 years. In a study by Grist (2010) it was found that the early-onset group had significantly higher adaptation to disability (Hurlock 1978).

Comparison of perceived family burden for children with intellectual disability and the blind group

Families not only provide practical help and personal care but also give emotional support to their relatives with different forms of disability. The effects of stressors on the family members caring for physically and mentally disabled persons have been referred to as caregiver's burden. Family burden was assessed by using of family burden Interview Schedule (Pai & Kapoor 1987). This scale measures objective and subjective aspects of burden and it contains six general categories of burden, each having two to six individual items for further investigation. Subcategories include: financial burden, effects on family routine, effects on family leisure, effects on family interaction, effects on physical health of family members and effects on mental health of other family members. In the family burden Scale, the domain of disruption of family interaction between parents of children with intellectual disability and children with the blind group showed significant different ($p < 0.05$). Parents of children with intellectual disability had moderate (60%) family disruption as compared to 26.6% parents of blind children. Maes et al (2003) studied care giving burden of families looking after persons with intellectual disability and

behavioural or psychiatric problem & found that parents consider the psychiatric or behavioural problems of their child to be an extra burden and feel it more difficult to raise and manage such a child. This impels them to change the situation and to call on the help of external services. Thus the present study supports the already present Maes's data. The present study shows that the family is most affected in the form of decreased interaction time. The intellectual disability and blindness are permanent markers in caregivers' life.

Comparison of social support for children with intellectual disability and the blind group

As a major protective factor social support has been identified in preventing mental health problems and also as a major contributor to quality of life. Social support was assessed by Social Support Questionnaire by Sarason, et al (1983). The number (N) score for each item of the SSQ is the number of support persons listed. The social support is accessible to deal with a given problem is rated on a scale ranging from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied". The comparison between parents of children with intellectual disability and children with blindness on social support showed that there was no statistically significant difference between parents of children with intellectual disability and children with the blind group in the social support domains. But intellectual disability group had larger number of supporters in the form primary, secondary and tertiary group. whereas number of support group was less in blind group. Contrary to these findings, in previous studies people with Intellectual Disabilities (ID) have been identified as having limited social support structures. Lippold & Burns (2009) did a comparison between social networks of adults with intellectual disability and those with physical disability. This study shows that Adults with ID had more restricted social networks than PD, despite being involved in more activities. Social support for adults with ID was mainly provided by family and carers and few relationships with non-disabled people were identified. In contrast adults with PD had larger social networks than had been reported in the mainstream literature and had a balance of relationships with disabled and non-disabled people. Whereas the present study shows that Intellectual Disability had larger social support network than

blind group. The range of the score of social support satisfaction in this study shows that the social support network gives only a little level of satisfaction even in Intellectually Disabled group in the present study. Earlier studies on social support were done on persons directly affected by disability but the present study was focused on the caregiver's social support system. Erickson & Upshur (1989) in caretaking burden and social support comparison of mothers of infants with and without disabilities found that mothers of infants with motor impairments and developmental delays were more satisfied with support from groups than were mothers of infants without disabilities. In the sub-sample analysis mothers of infants with developmental delays were also more satisfied with the support they received from their friends rather than mothers of age matched infants (Green 1957). Finally, no differences with respect to satisfaction with social support were associated with the child's severity of disability. But the present study did not make a comparison of social support and level of disability.

Comparison of marital quality of life for parents with children with intellectual disability and the blind group

Marriages of parents of children with developmental disabilities have often been portrayed as difficult, dysfunctional, and particularly likely to end in divorce. Many authors provide a bleak picture of these marriages. They suggest that the unresolved grief and extreme demands associated with raising a child with a disability result in extremely high levels of stress which, in turn produce dysfunctional marriages and high rates of divorce. In this study marital quality scale was used for as 50-item, 12-factor, self-report scale developed to assess quality of marital-life and standardized on normal population in India. The results show that there was no statistically significant difference between the children with intellectual disability and the children with the blind group in the marital quality of life domain. In a previous study (Sobsey 2004) on marital stability and marital satisfaction in families of children with disabilities discussed that there is inadequate evidence to conclude that childhood disability is associated with any reliable increase in divorce rates. The presence of a child with a disability in the home increases the risk for divorce.

Spousal violence, for example, has been associated with lower IQ scores even when the child is not directly abused but, perhaps more importantly, spousal violence is commonly associated with violence against children and child battery remains a major postnatal cause of childhood disability (Passamanik 1959). The research on marital satisfaction and family function suggests that most families of children with disabilities function at typical or better than typical levels, but that there is a larger than expected by chance subgroup of families that experience significant difficulties. This pattern is not consistent with a model that assumes that having a child with a disability has a negative effect on all parents, but it is consistent with a model that assumes that there is a subgroup of parents who are adversely affected by this experience (Kolstoe 1965). Most parents in both groups had undergone intense counselling sessions at their schools by trained psychologists which could explain why marital quality of life of parents did not show any marital stress. Clearly, this suggests that researchers' efforts should be focused on comparing parents of children with disabilities who function poorly to parents of children with disabilities who function well, rather than on how all parents of children with disabilities differ from other parents (Luria 1963). It is also interesting to note that scientific and professional discussion of marital satisfaction, divorce, and childhood disability has focused almost exclusively on how having a child with a disability affects the parents. In another study by Kersh et al. (2006) found that contribution of marital quality to the well-being of parents of children with developmental disabilities for both mothers and fathers, greater marital quality predicted lower parenting stress and fewer depressive symptoms above and beyond socio-economic status, child characteristics and social support (Goswami 2013). The present study evaluated the marital quality of life in its sub dimensions also. The sub dimensions present were understanding, rejection, satisfaction, affection, despair, decision-making, discontent, dissolution-potential, self-disclosure, trust, and role functioning. In all the above dimensions of marital quality of life, the score among the caretaker of Intellectual Disability is found better than the Blind group. Sigan (2011) says that the marital quality of life get hampered by the burden that parents experience. (Gabel, McDowell, & Cerreto 1983). Marital dissatisfaction, frequent conflict, sexual dysfunction, separation, and divorce as adjustment problems that were more frequent among parent of children with disabilities than other families.

Ziolko (1991) suggests some reasons for these difficulties: ...most studies agree that there is a high level of marital discord in these families. Feelings of low self-esteem, helplessness, resentment over excessive demands on time and the burden of financial responsibility are prevalent in such families and place a great strain upon the marriage. As (Sobsey 2004) suggested the present study says that the quality of marital life is not hampered much because of the disability of the children. The population in the present study had been undergoing the institutionalised care since 3 to 4 years. They are well educated and informed about the issues. So, they might have already been in an acceptance stage.

Comparison of social stigma in children with intellectual disability and the blind group

Social stigma refers to ‘defect’ in person’s social identity – negative information about a person that is known by others. In the traditional Hindu social hierarchy an untouchable is evaluated low and the depth of degradation accords him a sub-human status. Negative reactions from others may take many forms – ranging from disinterest, criticism, prejudice, avoidance, rejection, betrayal, stigmatization, ostracism, abandonment and abuse to bullying.

(Goffman, 1959) suggests that “when an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him already possessed”. This is a common occurrence when meeting someone for the first time. He also stated that we tend to conceal our true attitudes and beliefs. This happens because we naturally want to give a positive first impression. The present study assessed Social stigma by using the Stigma Scale by (Thara & Srinivasan 2000). It is a 14 items scale. The comparison between parents of children with intellectual disability and of blind children on social stigma showed that there was no statistically significant difference in the social stigma experienced between parents of children with intellectual disability and children with the blind group. The stigma associated with the disability of children found very less, because majority of the children in this study were trained in the special schools, where their parents are already educated about the disability and had good information and guide-

lines regarding the parenting of their disabled children. In this regard (Dalky 2012) in his mental illness stigma reduction interventions review of intervention Trials stated that Educational and contact-based strategies used in various stigma reduction programs resulted in the most durable gains in knowledge as well as positive attitudinal and behavioural changes needed to decrease the stigma associated with mental illness.

Comparison of self-esteem in children with intellectual disability and the blind group

Self-esteem was assessed using Rosenberg self-esteem scale by Rosenberg, 10-item scales that measures global self-worth by measuring both positive and negative feelings about the self. (Leary & Baumeister 2000) said that Self-esteem represents perceptions of one's current relational value in the immediate situation. According to (Greaheart et al. 1980) self-esteem appears to be strongly related to extraversion and emotional stability, moderately related to conscientiousness, weakly related to openness to experience, and unrelated to agreeableness. The present study shows that there was no statistically significant difference between the children with intellectual disability and the children with the blind group in self-esteem domain. But in case of intellectual disability self-esteem was less compared to the blind group. In previous study (Craw 1914) in parents of special educational needs people showed that a serious defect in one's child may be interpreted as a defect in one's self, particularly when a parent identifies closely with his child. In general society tends to promote the concept that children are extensions of their parents and reflect on their parents. Life goals may be abruptly and radically altered when it becomes obvious that one's child will be perceived as a "loser" rather than a "winner". Doll (1941) found that in parents of children with intellectual disabilities, curtailed employment opportunities, a likely consequence of burden, were associated with feelings of isolation, lack of fulfilment, and low self-esteem. In the present study it also reflects that parents of children with intellectual disability had lower self-esteem in comparison with parents of blind children.

Conclusions

There was a significant positive correlation between self-esteem and occupation in parents of children with intellectual disability group. It can be said that higher the occupation higher the self-esteem which can reduce the psychosocial stressor of parents of children with intellectual disability. Results show that in parents of blind children education has a significant positive correlation with disruption of family interaction and subjective burden on the family, occupation is correlated with disruption of family leisure and disruption of family interaction, religion is also positively correlated with disruption of family leisure and subjective burden on the family, subjective burden on the family is correlated with category, and disruption of family interaction is correlated with domicile. In parents of children with intellectual disability there was a significant positive correlation found between the effect on the physical health of others and education, the financial burden and marital status, the effect on the mental health of others and type of family, and effect on the physical health of others. This study deals with the parental psychosocial problems and brought to attention that most of the children and their parents are under some form of institutionalized care. There is no statistically significant difference between two groups in the areas of social support, marital quality of life, social stigma and self-esteem. It is found that there is a statistically significant difference between two groups in the area of family burden. Family burden, social support & social stigma is high in intellectual disability group compare to the blind group. Marital quality of life and self-esteem is higher in the blind group compare to intellectual disability group. Indeed, parental psychosocial problems are found to be not much severe in this study. The fact is that those who are enrolled in this study were already undergoing institutionalized care.

In closing I would like to add that technology-savvy professionals should help to make information available in an accessible format for children with disabilities. Students with disabilities also need to be provided with support so that they can keep up academically. The online teaching programmes should also be available in an accessible format. Civil society should volunteer their time to provide this sort of support. Since many may not be able to access professional carers during a lockdown due to pandemic, civil society volunteers should help to ensure their rights.

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MEGHA VARIER*

In a World Afflicted by a Pandemic, Korczak's Teachings Become Crucially Relevant

Introduction

“You do not leave a sick child in the night, and you do not leave children at a time like this.”

Janusz Korczak

When the paediatrician, children's writer, educator and social reformist Janusz Korczak said these lines in 1942, he did not do so from the comfort of his home. He did not do so at a time of glory, but at a time when he walked with over 190 Jewish children to a train that would take them to Treblinka, an extermination camp run by the Nazis in occupied Poland during WW2.

Refusing multiple offers of safety, the Jewish-Polish reformer stood firmly with the hundreds of children he cared for, an image that has long been immortalized through many of his memorial. Decades later in the year 2020, a year when the world anticipated major developmental and technological advancements in every field imaginable, many people across the world continue to live in abject poverty, with little or no access to resources. The year 2020 is also a year when these already existing inequalities were amplified by a global pandemic. To look at the on-going crisis through the eyes of Korczak is to evaluate one's own understanding of children and their rights.

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Corona and world's children

In the first week of June, a 14-year-old girl student in a remote village in India's southern state of Kerala, committed suicide. She could not attend the virtual classes the state government launched several weeks after schools across the world had to shut down following the global pandemic.

The year 2020 began with the World Health Organisation (WHO) declaring Covid-19, a disease caused by corona virus that infected thousands of people across the world, as a global pandemic. While disease outbreaks are not something that is alien to people, the extent of the spread of Corona virus deemed it fit to be termed as a global pandemic, only months after it was first reported. Covid-19 soon escalated on a global scale into a crisis, forcing countries to restrict people's movement within its borders. Several countries shut their borders as an attempt to control the spread of the virus.

As the world was caught off-guard with a major health crisis on its hands, it wasn't too late before the crisis revealed its different dimensions – economical, social and political. With people's movement restricted and countries stepping into an impending economic crisis, children and how they coped with this new crisis, were somehow overlooked. Thousands of school children across the world were forced to remain confined in their homes for months together, not being able to attend school or even step out of their homes. They could not meet their teachers or their peers, walk into their schools every morning as they usually did. In several countries, basic education – that is rightly considered the right of a child – could not reach them.

Across social media platforms and online groups, parents discussed and shared their concerns about schools being shut for long periods of time, with their children missing out on formal schooling. While some parents called for governments to find immediate solutions and take their children back to schools, some parents lobbied for alternative mechanisms to bridge the gap. In all these attempts, however, children as a community ended up being a risk. Not just of a growing global pandemic, but of the issues such a crisis brings to people's lives, especially those in the process of 'becoming' adults.

The after-effects of the Corona crisis laid bare the glaring inequalities of our societies, calling for a world in which children's issues warranted attention and policies that can be implemented on urgent basis. What forced the 14-year-

old student from India to take her own life? Her family later said, was that she was upset that she couldn't attend the virtual school named 'First Bell', that the Kerala state government had launched on television for students of class 1 to 12. Hailing from an economically and socially disadvantaged section of the society, her parents did not have the means to provide her with a functioning television, something she saw as obstructing her path to education. At the core of this incident is not just economic inequality of a given society, but also the issue of access to resources. School administrations and governments decided to move classes online through use of various software. Access to classes require access to high-functioning internet, smartphone, laptop or a home-computer.

Among the many photographs that were captured across the world during the restrictions imposed by the respective governments to control the spread of the virus, one from India's Kerala is profound reveals the issues that children face during this period. The photograph shows a teenage girl student standing on the rooftop of her house, a book in one hand and her smart phone in the other. Asked about why she had done so, the girl said that online classes at her college had begun and the only place where she could manage to get better connectivity was on her rooftop.

A pandemic through Korczak's eyes

Reform is an underlying concept in the life and works of Janusz Korczak – reforms in story-telling, education, reforms in one's collective understanding of children and childhood(s), reforms in the way children and young people are treated. What a global pandemic did to children and young people is to further scrutinize a section of the society that is already considered disadvantaged. Lifton (1998) writes about Korczak as someone who achieved his own kind of victory, 'by remaining true to his principles and not abandoning the children when they needed him most.' In 2020 and especially in a post-pandemic era, this is exactly the kind of victory that countries, states and governments must strive for to achieve – not abandon the children when they need support the most.

In the post-modern world, any and every discussion on the rights of children entails opening and concluding with the UNCRC, a document that binds the countries of the world into ensuring that its children enjoy their rights.

There is some criticism against the practice of advocating for children's rights, especially in conservative societies that continue to function based on the old age and patriarchal social hierarchy, based on the notion that children's rights are new and modern, a product of the new era. This cannot be further from the truth. One look at history, Korczak's life and his work, makes it apparent that Mr Doctor, as he was widely known at the time, not only spoke about children's autonomy and their rights in the early 1900s, but that he acted on his convictions. Korczak founded an orphanage for children in Warsaw in 1912 and ran the establishment not as an entity, but as a community, where the children were active, self-governed, participating members.

In Lifton's biography of Korczak, she writes that "to go in search of Janusz Korczak was to seek a man who was no longer there in a place that was no longer there." In 2020, a year in which countries expected to reach the peak of technological advancements, but were forced to alter their lives in ways never before foreseen, Lifton's dilemma resonates ever louder. In 2020, as governments, welfare organisations, local non-governmental organisations and researchers were caught off-guard and forced to come up with timely solutions to tackle the effects of pandemic, we find ourselves in the same situation Lifton found herself when writing the book. We are, like her, groping in the dark, trying to find Korczak, who no longer lives in this time. A saving grace although, is his teachings and vision he left for a future that he wouldn't physically be a part of, but was bound to shape the future of countless generations of children.

Born Henryk Goldszmit, Korczak picked up his first lessons in adulthood and the lives of children in an adult's world, as early as seven-years-old. At the Russian school he was sent to, after a few years of being home-schooled, the 7-year-old boy learned from his own surroundings that children were seldom treated with respect by adults. It would take him several more years to put down the thoughts and his sense of justice into words and concepts. Concepts that the generations that succeed him would need to make sense of in their own worlds.

So much so, that when in the decades that followed, Korczak became acutely aware and involved in the lives of children he encountered through his medical practice, he realized and acknowledged children's will power and maturity. So much so, that when he wrote his *Magna Carta of Children's Rights*, he acknowledged that children had rights, even to decide whether they want to die or not. Of all the inequalities of the world, what disturbed Korczak – the writer,

educator, social reformer and doctor – is the condition of hungry and sick children. Korczak's pedagogical understandings of childhood and children's lives continue to be relevant many decades after his death. His ideologies and teachings have not only shaped and guided scholars and researchers in the field of sociology and children's rights, but have also been a foundation for drafting international treaties and documents on children's rights in the contemporary world. With only a limited number of his teachings being translated into English, Korczak's world has been quite inaccessible to the wider English-speaking audience. However, his teachings and understanding of children's rights trickled into the lives of today's children, transcending languages and borders. His work spanning decades have paved way for future researchers to confidently navigate themselves in an ever-changing world – politically, socially and economically.

Walking in the footsteps of Korczak

The adult world revolves around the sensitive child at a dizzying speed. Nothing, no one can be trusted. Grownups and children cannot understand each other. It is as if they are different species.

Janusz Korczak (as cited in Lifton's work)

Korczak has always maintained that children were beings who lived in an adult's world, in a world where the adults do not care enough to even address them as equals. From his own troubled childhood and from what he saw around himself, Korczak derived an understanding of children and their childhoods and crafted a rather utopian model of community of children through his orphanages. As the director of the children's orphanage, Korczak not only listened to children, but also created a safe space for children to participate actively and engage in decisions about their own lives. From launching a newspaper run by the children, to having a children's parliament, Korczak applied his reformatory concepts at the orphanage. If one were to look at the pandemic crisis through his eyes, one could see that his teachings and outlook has answers to several of the issues that we face during the pandemic.

The Corona crisis has thrown the world out of balance, or rather, it has made the inequalities explicit to the common man. While countries grope in

the dark to lead their governments effectively in the time of the pandemic never experienced in the recent past, Korczak's teachings are the guiding light for today's children and the adults who work to make their lives better. It is however, not to say that the governments of the world continue to fail their children. Only some policies and programs by a limited number of governments are commendable and proudly uphold the very principles Korczak envisioned. Apart from the initiative of virtual classrooms in Kerala, India, there have been a number of other initiatives that put children at the forefront. A number of independent organisations and Non-Governmental-Organisations published short stories and explanatory cartoons to educate and raise awareness about the virus among the younger population. The UN also launched the "My Hero is You" project, a compilation from children and their families from across the world, on how they cope with the challenges of the pandemic.

In a world guided by Korczak's principles, children would not have been a section of the population that came as an afterthought. Children and young people's needs would and should have been one of the main concerns of governments across the world, and not one that came in hindsight. However, it is commendable to see that more and more governments are becoming aware that children are no longer passive members of society, but active, functioning people, familiar with their rights and obligations, for whom, policies and programs need to be carefully and specially devised.

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MARK JUSZCZAK*

The Emergence of Unique Research Opportunities in Online Education Efficacy as a Result of COVID-19

Introduction

The question of the efficacy of online education is not new. For over the past 20 years scholars at every end of the education spectrum, from kindergarten to graduate school, have studied the effects of both online learning and the usage of digital tools in the classroom. And, while studies have been done to exacting standards, when it comes to population samples, methods and theoretical models (Li, et al. 2008; Mupinga 2005; Jones 2015; Appana 2008, Avella, et al. 2016), results have varied widely.

Without creating any particular study, it bears stating the obvious: where it matters, truly large-scale random longitudinal studies have not been possible for one simple reason: we have never had the opportunity (from a research perspective) to suddenly change learning modalities across very large population groups. In other words, we have never been able to, for example, run an entire school district in a township entirely online for an extended period of time, while keeping a neighboring school district with similar population attributes entirely brick-and-mortar.

Instead, our approach to measuring online education efficacy has suffered from a unique type of theoretical blindness – we haven't particularly framed outcomes of online learning through broad theoretical models. We have focused primarily on 'learning analytics' as proof of efficacy.

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This problem needs to be explained via a more general analogy: imagine that we want to study the efficacy of bullets vs. swords in warfare. So we go to a battlefield and we record the sounds of gunfire, and we record the number of bullets used and we record the locations of bullet shells and we record the positions of dead bodies. And we end up with massive sets of data. We then present that data as evidence of the efficacy of bullets vs. swords in warfare. But we don't present any true theoretical comparative framework. We don't look at the psychological effects on societies of guns vs. swords in battle. We don't look at the difference in mortality rates and long-term peace. We just look at a single indicator: efficiency of killing. We assume that all data about that efficiency represents a collective truth. But there is little or no theory backing up our data.

The same is true for Learning analytics linked to online education efficacy. Because everything happens through a digital interface, whether in the classroom with tools like Chrome or at home with tools like Moodle or Blackboard or Zoom, we assume that clicking is knowing, and that recording clicking informs us about knowing. But there are fundamental limitations to this type of research:

“Learning analytics, educational data mining, and academic analytics are closely related concepts (Bienkowski, Feng & Means 2012; Elias 2011). Educational data mining focuses on developing and implementing methods with a goal of promoting discoveries from data in educational settings. It examines patterns in a large data set related to students' actions. The methods may be utilized to form a better understanding of the educational settings and learners. Hung, Hsu, and Rice (2012) defined data mining as data analysis techniques which when applied extract hidden knowledge consisting of tasks consisting of pattern discovery as well as predictive modeling. Romero and Ventura (2010) provided a definition of educational data mining that uses data mining algorithms with the objective of solving educational issues. Academic analytics refers to an application of the principles and tools of business intelligence to academia with the goal of improving educational institutions' decision-making and performance (Campbell, De Blois, & Oblinger 2007). Academic analytics combines “large data sets, statistical techniques, and predictive modeling” (Campbell et al. 2007, p. 42).” (Avella, et al. 2016)

All of this is impressive, but it hides the a deeper truth: the efficacy of online education can only be really assessed if we have true large-scale comparisons. In

the same way, unfortunately, that it is impossible to assess the structural integrity of buildings without having earthquakes, it is impossible to assess the true efficacy of online education without having large-scale events occur that force education to go exclusively online for large and distinct groups of people.

Interestingly, up to the year 2020, online education did not need, and did not perceive that there would ever come, a true test of robustness at the scale that COVID-19 has provided. Instead, what we have largely seen is a massive support for online education, despite the fact that the very companies promoting it have been found to have, en masse, employees who explicitly reject it as parents.

COVID-19 as a Research Opportunity

The October 26, 2018 issue of the NY Times featured a peculiar article – a recognition of a trend among silicon valley parents that was worthy of note: the appearance, en masse, of a new type of contract with nannies – a no smart-phone, no pad, no laptop contract. Basically, nannies were required to keep all electronic devices away from the very people responsible for designing and manufacturing the hardware and software for those devices.

At the same time, the parents who work for the tech giants in Silicon Valley are also responsible for selling that software and hardware to classrooms all over the world in the form of online learning technologies and platforms. Nowhere has this collaboration between the principal tech giants and the public education sector been more evident than in the United States, where, ultimately, tax dollars are being used to subsidize giant corporations. “According to an estimate by Futuresource Consulting, Chromebook went from having less than 1% of the education market in 2012 to nearly 20% in 2013. And of the 2.9m Chromebooks made in 2013, Gartner reported that the U.S. education sector bought 85% of them. Over the last several years, many U.S. K-12 schools have adopted a one-to-one laptop program, primarily for high school students or in wealthier schools. In the program, students are issued a laptop to use in class and, in some cases, at home. The iPad was the top choice for many of these schools. However, as reported by Meghan E. Murphy in *The Atlantic*, iPads may not be the best choice now. With the adoption of Common Core in many states which requires a computer with a keyboard for online testing and

an overall tech-savvy mindset of teachers and students alike, more K-12 students are getting the opportunity to be a part of a 1:1 program – thanks in large part to Google's Chromebook. The Chromebook is an affordable option and this is an extremely important factor when schools on limited budgets consider which mobile computer to buy and how many." (Voss 2014)

An in-depth study by the NY Times on the same subject in 2017 showed the true depth of this integration: "Chicago Public Schools, the third-largest school district in the United States, with about 381,000 students, is at the forefront of a profound shift in American education: the Googlification of the classroom." (NY Times 2017)" This term, Googlification, does not represent Google's unique foray into the classroom. Rather, it represents Google's ability, over 10 years, to out-maneuver Apple and Microsoft and several other Tech Giants to dominate the classroom. "Today, more than half the nation's primary- and secondary-school students – more than 30 million children – use Google education apps like Gmail and Docs, the company said. And Chromebooks, Google-powered laptops that initially struggled to find a purpose, are now a powerhouse in America's schools. Today they account for more than half the mobile devices shipped to schools." (NY Times 2017)

The contradiction, and its potential implications, should not be lost on anyone: the very people advancing online technology in the classroom and online technology as a substitute for the classroom are also secretly advancing a complete shutdown of that technology for their very own children.

The promise has never had to be fulfilled – that online technology, both in the classroom and as a substitute for the classroom, needs to be better. Because there has never been a true, large-scale test of that promise. This is for a very good reason: no IRB board and no national ethics committee would ever let such a study take place.

COVID-19 and the Ethics of Online Education Efficacy Research

There is a particular irony in all of the research on online education efficacy that has been conducted: it has only been allowed because it has either been self-selective (only those who have decided to actively pay for or engage with an online education platform, course, MOOC, or program have been evaluated

or researched) or because it has been arbitrarily limited in its usage (only those specific instances of online work via specific tools (such as Chromebooks) have been assessed.

The fact that no public agency, anywhere in the world, has voluntarily committed to a large-scale continuous online version of a brick-and-mortar educational experience for a public set of students tells us something about the expectations that we have about outcomes.

In fact, to conduct any such test even approaching a large-scale would actually be considered unethical. Imagine if, in 2018, someone came to a school district the size of New York City, which has over 1,000,000 children in the Public School System (under the control of the Board of Education of NYC) and made the following offer: why don't we suddenly close every single public school in New York City for several months and immediately make all learning occur online. And then, why don't we compare the performance on tests of students who went through several months of online learning only with their peers who remained in the classroom?

Nobody would ever allow such a test to occur. Parents wouldn't allow it. School districts wouldn't allow it. If we believe the data about LA (Learning Analytics) coming out of the major tech companies, why wouldn't we? In fact, the COVID-19 Pandemic has created the largest experiment ever, in the world, in online learning. Suddenly, every single institution of learning, from kindergarten to graduate education has had to shift to an online platform in the vast majority of countries in the World for a sustained period of time.

If there ever was a make or break moment for the peril or promise of online education, that moment has been brought on by COVID-19. "Looming over the entire enterprise is a cloud of fear and urgency. It is critical that remote learning succeeds. The alternative is that over a million children, in crucial developmental stages of their education, will be permanently set back, with no opportunity to salvage lost time." (NY Times, March 13, 2020)

Online Education Efficacy Research Directions

COVID-19, will, in fact, provide the first real test of online education efficacy. That efficacy will be measurable against every single variable present across all classrooms, from kindergarten to graduate school. Some of the most

interesting and critical research studies that will be only be possible because of COVID-19 include:

- Testing tests: For the first time, we will be able to assess outcomes of online learning for every single grade against all standardized tests. From the SATs to the GREs to Regents Exams to High School Subject Mastery tests in European high schools, we will know, with a greater degree of certainty than ever before, whether or not the promise of online education matches up to its outcomes.
- Testing pedagogical methods: For the first time, we will be able to assess outcomes of online learning against standard pedagogical methods.
- Testing for cultural and socio-economic variance: For the first time, we will be able to say, with a great degree of certainty, whether or not cultural and socio-economic factors affect the efficacy of online education.
- Testing the Online Degree vs. The Degree that goes online: We will be able to test the extent to which degree programs that ‘go online’ compete with their former ‘brick and mortar’ selves. Despite extensive research about the efficacy of online, hybrid and blended learning, we have never had a chance to run a real and true large-scale test of the efficacy of online learning in higher education.
- Testing long-term competency development: We will be able to test the ‘Coronavirus’ sample at every age of their maturation. These longitudinal tests, conducted over the following decades, will allow us to track the impact of online learning at every stage of education and professional development.
- Testing long-term reading outcomes: We will be able to test the long-term consequences of online learning on long-term reading outcomes across all population samples and groups in the world.
- Testing effects of peer-support: We will be able to test the significance of peer-support and in-person group learning vs. online/remote learning.

The number of possible research studies is virtually limitless, but the presence of COVID-19 is creating an absolutely unique opportunity for education research.

Ontological Ethical Questions

The work of medical doctors of such James Marion Sims, who was both the ‘father of modern gynaecology’ and a controversial figure in the field of medicine for perfecting his surgical techniques on enslaved black women, has been heavily scrutinized by historians, scholars and the general public. Of particular concern is the ontological question: if knowledge is acquired through unethical means, should that not knowledge be discarded? Should we in any way limit the potential value of knowledge if we know that, in its acquisition, harm occurred?

COVID-19 places a unique burden on educational research scholars. Not just at this moment, but in the near and distant future as well. The selective reopening of schools, for example, with different degrees of in-person vs. online education, means that numerous experiments can and will be done, with respect to the efficacy of online learning in generating educational milestones and outcomes.

While, on the surface, everything appears to be done only in the name of public health, there is no such thing as an isolated decision-making process. Every action taken in the public health is also a political action, a social action and an economic action. The phrase public health does not, in this case, clarify. Rather, it purposely obscures by hiding multiple layers of meaning and action beneath its veneer. We can see this very directly in the current choices taking place in the United States, between ‘anti-maskers’ and states that are increasingly enforcing the wearing of masks in public.

At the ontological level, we are confronted with a unique ethical dilemma that will haunt us as scholars for generations to come. Will the choices that educators make today be seen in the future, with the gift of hindsight, as unbiased scientific choices made in the pure public good and for the public health? Or will those choices be seen as biased and politically or economically motivated? With distinctions demonstrated in future assessment and outcome regimes along socio-economic and/or other differential vectors. If we can get better data about online educational outcomes by prolonging the online or hybrid experience, in some cases, will we be committing a type of ethical sin in research: letting some students purposely do worse than others?

Perhaps the educational leaders of today will be seen as James Marion Sims in the next century: as misguided individuals who chose to advance

either the agenda of tech companies or the seeming power of online learning at the expense of student outcomes. Or perhaps the opposite will be true. In either case, it is highly likely that we will see future historians study this unique moment in online education research from a particular lens with a particular frame that may lay blame on us for ‘not doing more’ and for ‘acquiring knowledge at the cost of others’.

Conclusions

As a research scholar, I firmly believe that this is a make or break moment that technology companies never predicted would happen and, despite the massive use of their technologies during COVID-19, are secretly afraid of, precisely because COVID-19 may very well reveal fundamental weaknesses in the ideology of online.

This is perhaps the most important opportunity that COVID-19 is creating: the opportunity to challenge the ideology of technology in the classroom. That ideology is peculiar in its history: it has been almost universally accepted and, at the same time, behind the scenes, universally questioned. On the one hand, the promise of technology has been an almost irresistible bauble for principals and provosts alike. On the other hand, no public system, responsive to a voting public, has ever actually endorsed the full consequence of that bauble: eliminating the classroom entirely. Until COVID-19 came along and that reality became an absolute dire necessity to save lives.

However, that has not changed the fact that technology in the classroom is an ideology, and its needs to be challenged. Its weaknesses need to be proven and can be proven with a dataset that is the result of a historical anomaly of COVID-19.

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MICHALINA GRZELKA*

Repatriation or Deportation? The Entanglement of Labor, Abuse and (In)Voluntary Returns of Female Filipino Domestic Workers in Kuwait Through the Lens of Janusz Korczak's Radical Humanism

“Each person carries an entire world within himself, and everything exists twice: once the way it is, the other the way he perceives it with his own eyes and feelings”.

Janusz Korczak

Introduction

According to Migrant-Rights.org, an advocacy organization that aims to advance the rights of migrant workers in the Middle East (Migrant-Rights, n.d. a), 90% of all Kuwaiti households employ a foreign domestic worker. In total, there are over 620,000 migrant domestic workers in Kuwait, who account for over 21.9% of the country's total employment (Migrant-Rights, n.d. b). They provide a wide range of essential services, from caring for children and the elderly to housekeeping which might involve such activities as cleaning,

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grocery shopping, and ironing, among others. Out of about 200,000 Filipino workers in Kuwait, about one third are engaged in various forms of domestic work (Garcia 2016b). However, Kuwait is not unique among the Gulf Cooperation Countries (which include Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman) in terms of the high rates of employment of foreign workers. It is estimated that 70% of the GCC's workforce is composed of migrant workers, which means that there are about 25 million migrants working and living in the GCC (Migrant-Rights, n.d. b). According to the Migrant Rights organization (n.d. b), expatriate workers form nearly 85% of the population in some GCC countries and, as a result, are "critical to the fabric of [their] societies and to [their] successful economic development" (n.p.). In spite of this, migrant workers are perceived as "essential yet invisible" in GCC states (Fernandez 2014). They often suffer exploitation and abuse, but governments and media tend to ignore or marginalize their daily struggles (Migrant-Rights, n.d. a). One of the most widely-reported examples of the cruel treatment that domestic workers in the GCC states experience at the hands of their employers, is a case of an Ethiopian maid who allegedly attempted to commit suicide by jumping from the seventh floor. The woman's suicide attempt was filmed by her Kuwaiti employer who, instead of helping her maid, continued filming even after the Ethiopian woman slipped and fell down to hit the awning below the window. This, however, did not stop her Kuwaiti employer from posting the incident on social media (*The Guardian* 2017).

In Kuwait, like in other GCC states, many migrant domestic workers, including Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), face poor working and living conditions (Moreno-Fontes Chammartin 2005). For instance, even though most Filipino domestic workers speak good English and are relatively well educated, they still receive comparatively low wages and often find themselves in situations where their Kuwaiti employers ignore their labor rights (Moreno-Fontes Chammartin 2005). As a result, around five to seven housemaids run away from their employers daily (Garcia 2016b). In an attempt to regulate the work conditions of domestic workers, Kuwait, the first among the GCC states to do so, set in 2016 a minimum wage for domestic staff (*Khaleej Times* 2016). A decree issued by the local Ministry of Interior set a minimum wage at KWD60 (which amounts to about USD200) a month and granted domestic workers the right to a weekly day off, 30 days of paid annual leave,

and a 12-hour working day with rest, among others (Hasan 2016). It is worth noting, however, that the minimum wage of KWD60 a month does not go a long way in Kuwait, where a rent for a single bedroom apartment outside the city center can be in the range of KWD130 to KWD250 (Visit-Kuwait 2020), that is at least twice as much as the minimum wage. Fernandez (2014), however, points out that the meager salaries (between USD100 and USD300) earned by domestic migrant workers in the GCC are “still considerably more than [what] they would earn in their home countries” (p. 4).

Despite the legal changes listed above, some Filipino domestic workers located in Kuwait still experience such problems as non-payment of wages, long working hours with no rest days, physical and sexual abuse, etc. Consequently, many of them choose to leave their employers and find new employment somewhere else, where, due to the Kafala system under which worker's visa is tied to their sponsor (Migrant-Rights, n.d. c), they end up working without a valid visa and thus become undocumented workers (Garcia 2016a). According to the Migrant-Rights website (n.d. c), all GCC states use the Kafala (sponsorship) system to manage migrants' employment and residency. Under this system a migrant worker is sponsored either by a local citizen or a company (the kafeel), which means that a foreigner's right to work and maintain legal presence depends entirely on his or her employer. Given the strict rules that govern transfers of sponsorship from one employer to another, the Kafala system renders foreign workers particularly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Migrant-Rights, n.d. c). Furthermore, Jureidini (2010) argues that the situation of migrant domestic workers not only in GCC states but in the entire Middle East, is particularly precarious because “they are probably the most numerous of those mentioned in reports on trafficking for labor exploitation in the region” (p. 142). For instance, according to the *Trafficking in Persons Report*, some men and women that enter Kuwait as migrant workers are “subsequently subjected to trafficking in persons, specifically forced labor” (Department of State 2010, p. 203). Moreover, the report maintains that although these migrants enter Kuwait voluntarily, upon arrival some of them are “subjected to conditions of forced labor by their sponsors and labor agents”, through such practices as “non-payment of wages, threats, physical or sexual abuse, and restrictions of movement, such as the withholding of passports” (Department of State 2010, p. 203), among others. For example,

a report issued by the Department of Labor and Employment of the Republic of Philippines recalls a case of 21 female OFWs who had to be repatriated from Kuwait due to “distress” they experienced there. In this case the “distress” meant “underpayment of salary; non-payment of overtime pay, rest day, and holiday pay; no sick leave; no food or food allowance of 25 KWD per month (P3,980); and illegal salary deductions, among others” (Department of Labor 2016). Similar challenges faced by migrant domestic workers in other GCC states are also discussed by Fernandez (2014).

The lack of a valid visa and legal sponsorship (and, sometimes, passports), makes it particularly difficult, if not impossible, for “absconded” workers to return to their home countries (Migrant-Rights, n.d.). In the light of the above, Kuwait’s Ministry of Interior and Immigration Department introduced, in cooperation with the Philippine Embassy in Kuwait, the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program (AVRP) which allows undocumented workers to leave Kuwait without being charged for violating the country’s immigration rules (Garcia 2016a). According to Pinoy OFW, a portal dedicated to overseas Filipino workers and Filipinos living abroad, “the program is not exclusive to runaway housemaids but also accepts Article 18 visa holders whose residency visa has expired or those with absconding issues” (Pinoy OFW, n.d.).

This paper will look at the “voluntary repatriation” process as well as try to assess to what extent the “voluntary repatriation” is, indeed, voluntary. This question seems to be especially valid in the light of the findings of the *Trafficking in Persons Report*, whose authors disclose that voluntary repatriation programs in different countries are not entirely consensual. According to the report, “when government officials cannot offer meaningful, attractive, and legal alternatives to repatriation..., the ‘consent’ victims give to their repatriation is not meaningful” (Department of State 2010, p. 18), especially if “alternatives” include such “solutions” as being detained in a shelter or jailed for violations. In order to assess the level of consensuality of the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program in Kuwait, this paper will attempt to answer the following questions: Why do female Filipino domestic workers decide to participate in the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program in the first place? How do the relations of gender and power influence the repatriation process in Kuwait? And, ultimately, what is the real meaning of the words “assisted” and “repatriation” in the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program? The sources

gathered for the purpose of this study will be analyzed through the lens of Janusz Korczak's radical humanism as an attempt to prove that Korczak's concepts, despite him being best known for his work with children, can be applied to other populations.

I would like to underscore that the questions stated in the paragraph above seem particularly important in the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, since the current public health crisis "is fueling more racist discourse towards migrant workers in the Gulf" (Migrant-Rights 2020). For instance, in Kuwait, a local actress publicly made a statement in which she urged the government to deport migrant workers in order to save hospital beds for Kuwaiti nationals who test positive for the COVID-19 virus (Migrant-Rights 2020).

Methodology

In order to answer these questions, this study will analyze press reports on the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program published in Kuwaiti, Filipino and international press. In addition, the author observed several Facebook groups dedicated to OFW in Kuwait to find out what are the most common issues discussed on-line by Filipino domestic workers. Facebook, as noted by McKay (2016) in her book on Filipino migrant workers in the UK, is a useful tool to "negotiate global belonging, exchanging digital images and comments" (p. 74). Moreover, Facebook seems to play a particularly important role in the lives of Filipino migrant domestic workers: according to *The Philippine Star* website, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) requires all Filipino domestic workers to have a Facebook account which is a part of the government's efforts to monitor their safety and working conditions (Jaymalin, 2015). All sources utilized in this study will be analyzed by the way of discourse analysis. According to Jaworski and Coupland (2006), discourse "is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society" (p. 3). The quote by Janusz Korczak that I chose to begin this paper with is not accidental: through discourse analysis we are able to uncover two different layers of each phenomenon – the first one being the one it appears to be on its surface. The second

layer is constituted of thoughts, feelings, and interpretations various people hold about those phenomena. Therefore, discourse analysis is a particularly useful tool for analyzing how experiences of Filipino migrant domestic workers are reported and self-reported in press and social media. I believe that by analyzing the language used in press reports and social media posts, I will be able to not only collect some facts concerned with the official requirements of the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program, but I will also manage to uncover some hidden narratives about experiences of Filipino migrant domestic workers living and working in Kuwait.

Theoretical framework

In this paper I will utilize the concept of radical humanism embraced and practiced by Janusz Korczak (Silverman 2017). Even though Janusz Korczak is best known for his pedagogical legacy and work with Polish and Jewish children (Odrowąż-Coates 2018), the idea of radical humanism can be applied to people of all ages and nationalities/ethnicities. Silverman (2017) notes that “[t]he core of this radical humanism and the main feature that distinguishes it from other versions of humanism is the population to whom Korczak decided to devote his humanist ethos...: the neglected and, in his understanding, the very ignored and oppressed social class of children” (p. 84). In this study, however, I argue that the principles of radical humanism can be applied to the experiences of adult Filipino domestic workers in Kuwait, who, as discussed towards the beginning of this paper, are often oppressed and exploited by their employers. In this sense, Filipino domestic workers can be construed as the ones who are “the neglected and... the very ignored and oppressed social class”. Two additional features of radical humanism, identified by Silverman (2017), further strengthen my argument for using this concept as a framework for the analysis of experiences and challenges faced by Filipino migrant domestic workers in Kuwait. First of all, Silverman (2017) points out the radical inclusiveness feature, which is “infinite in character and include[s] every suffering being” (p. 84). Second, he discusses radical consistency “between preaching and practice in [Korczak’s] effort to improve the world” (Silverman 2017, p. 84). In light of the above, I believe that radical humanism with its

compassion for “every suffering being”, radical inclusiveness, and its consistency in one’s effort to improve the world, will be helpful in assessing Filipino migrant domestic workers’ experiences with the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program. Therefore, this paper is divided into three sections that look at Filipino migrant domestic workers in Kuwait and their experiences with the AVRP from three different angles that constitute the core of Korczak’s radical humanism: target population, that is “neglected and oppressed” social class of migrant workers, radical inclusiveness, and radical integrity. The first section will attempt to examine the main motivations of female Filipino domestic workers for migrating to Kuwait as well as the mechanism through which Filipino women are brought from their home country to Kuwait. In addition, this section will explore the reasons behind female Filipino domestic workers’ decisions to leave their legal employers in Kuwait in order to look for other, illegal forms of employment which consequently limits their options of returning to their home country without violating Kuwait’s immigration rules. This section will also attempt to find out who constitutes the majority of workers participating in the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program in terms of gender of its participants. The section on radical inclusiveness will address the issue of belonging and will attempt to answer the following questions: Do Filipino domestic workers belong in Kuwait? If so, in what spaces and capacities? The section on radical integrity will examine the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program from the perspective of radical integrity in order to see what the AVRP promises to its participants and what, in fact, delivers. This section will also explore transnationality of deportation and its many forms and intersections as well as its aftermath (Boehm 2016). It will examine alienation, violence and fragmentation that seem to be inseparable from the experience of deportation. Using these concepts, this section will attempt to determine if the AVRP is, in fact, deportation in disguise. Furthermore, in this section I will also look at how, by the logic of border control and rising security concerns, immigrants, such as Filipino domestic workers in Kuwait, become “natural enemies of the nation” (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2007, p. 111). In addition, this section will attempt to establish to what extent the concept of immigrants as enemies is reflected in the AVRP.

Limitations of the study

Although this research was carefully prepared, I am still aware of its limitations and shortcomings. First of all, I do not speak Tagalog, a language spoken as a first and second language by many Filipinos. As a result, I had to rely strictly on English-language sources. Second, I had no direct access to female Filipino domestic workers and instead my analysis was limited in its scope to a small batch of press reports that I managed to collect in the course of this study. Therefore, the results of this study cannot be generalized for larger groups. Additionally, it has to be mentioned that for the purpose of this project I managed to collect only fourteen press reports/articles on the AVRPP and Filipino nationals in Kuwait. One of the reasons behind this scarcity of information on the matter at hand may be the fact that the AVRPP in Kuwait was introduced relatively recently, however, in the course of my research I was not able to obtain the exact date of the introduction of the program. The earliest press report on the AVRPP dates back to 2013 which suggests that the program has been in place for about six to seven years. However, during my research I noticed that the information provided in this relatively small sample of press reports/articles is quite consistent which, as a result, allowed me to believe that the sources analyzed for the purpose of this study must have been relatively accurate and trustworthy. Nevertheless, it still needs to be underscored that the data sourced from such a small batch is not representative of a wider population.

Target population of Filipino migrant domestic workers

First of all, it has to be underscored that I was not able to find/obtain any official statistics regarding the Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program in Kuwait. Therefore, I do not have any statistics that would provide exact data on the gender makeup of Filipinos participating in the AVRPP. Fourteen press reports on the OFWs and the AVRPP that I managed to gather for the purpose of this study also fail to provide any clear information on what gender constitutes the majority of Filipino workers repatriated to their home country through the AVRPP. However, the press reports provide other cues that allow us

to guess what gender constitutes the majority of those repatriated to the Philippines. For example, a press report titled “97 Nationals Repatriated to Manila Through Assisted Voluntary Repatriation Program” published in *Kuwait Times* states that “many of those repatriated were domestic helpers” (Garcia 2016a, n.p.) – according to the International Labor Organization’s (2004) report *Gender & Migration in Arab States – The Case of Domestic Workers*, the majority of domestic workers are women. Therefore, it can be assumed that the majority of repatriated domestic helpers mentioned in the *Kuwait Times* article were women too. Another editorial published in *Kuwait Times* reports on 143 Filipino housemaids repatriated through the AVRPP (Garcia, 2016b). Another one, titled “78 Undocumented Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in Kuwait Repatriated”, mentions that “of the 78, six were males while the rest were females” (Q8 India 2017, n.p.). “152 Undocumented Pinoys in Kuwait Fly Home” published by ABS-CBN News reports that “most of the undocumented OFWs worked as Household Service Workers (HSWs) who left their employers” (Santiago 2016, n.p.). Given the statistics regarding the gender makeup of domestic workers, it can be assumed, again, that the majority of the repatriates mentioned in the article above were, indeed, women. “DOLE’s Assist W.E.L.L. Comes to the Rescue of 21 OFWs Repatriated From Kuwait”, a short press report published by the Department of Labor and Employment of the Republic of Philippines, directly states that all of the OFWs repatriated in this case were women (Department of Labor 2016). “143 Distressed Filipina Maids Leave Kuwait For Home” published by Carbonated.TV (n.d.) reports on 143 Filipino women returning home after experiencing abuse at the hands of their employers. To sum up, seven out of the fourteen press articles/press reports selected for this study more or less directly indicate that the majority of those repatriated in the described cases were women (in addition, two other articles repeat the data provided in the two of the articles discussed above). Although this study is lacking more specific and official statistics, based on the analysis provided above, it can be carefully assessed that women constitute a significant number, if not a majority, of those who are repatriated to the Philippines through the AVRPP.

Given that female migrant workers often fall prey to abusive employers and, subsequently, get repatriated/deported to their home countries, it is important to ask why female Filipino domestic workers choose to migrate to Kuwait

in the first place. Furthermore, what are their reasons for ultimately leaving Kuwait? McKay (2016) places migration in the global context governed by affect. She underscores the importance of affect in understanding the global by pointing out that affect “offers us an entry point to the global where the global itself is not just an institutional superobject or an artifact of a globalized popular culture” (McKay 2016, p. 7). She furthermore maintains that affect, even though difficult to represent or quantify, “plays a significant role in the manipulations of identities, markets, and value comprising globalization” (McKay 2016, p. 7). Therefore, by neglecting affect, transnational scholars are at risk of missing those accounts and experiences of the global that are not embedded in “the ubiquity of a universal, Western-style individuated self” (McKay 2016, pp. 7–8). As such, global affect draws our attention to the meaning of personhood in a globalizing world (McKay 2016). “Affect’s intimate, cultural ties” (McKay 2016, p. 8) resonate well in several articles and reports analyzed in this study, in which female Filipino domestic workers, about to be repatriated/deported, reflect on the reasons behind leaving their home country for Kuwait, and, ultimately, returning to the Philippines. For instance, “78 Undocumented Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) In Kuwait Repatriated” published by *Q8 India* initially provides a blanket statement according to which “Household Service Workers (HSWs)... left their employers after experiencing various forms of maltreatment such as physical, verbal or sexual abuse, non-payment of salaries, lack of food and overwork” (Q8 India, 2017, n.p.). However, short conversations with the Filipino women awaiting their repatriation at the Kuwait International Airport, reveal deeply personal and emotional stories of affect. Janet, for example, is very grateful to the Philippines Embassy and the Kuwaiti government for providing her with the opportunity to go back home. “We’re very happy”, says Janet (Q8 India 2017, n.p.). Aida, another woman interviewed for the article, confesses: “I don’t have iqama [a long-term visa for a foreign national] for five years. It’s very difficult. You’re always on the lookout and it’s traumatic every time you see some police. You’re afraid that they might catch you and detain you” (Q8 India 2017, n.p.). It has to be underlined that neither Janet nor Aida spoke under their real name. Ella, a single mother of three, states: “I’m just happy to be with my kids. I still don’t know if I’ll work abroad again, my kids need me more” (Q8 India 2017, n.p.). “143 Distressed Filipina Maids Leave Kuwait For Home” points out that “nearly all the

maids being repatriated were happy to leave” (Carbonated.TV n.d., n.p.). One of the repatriated workers, Mila, describes her experience of working and then trying to leave Kuwait in the following way: “Thank God, I can go back to my family in one piece... I was verbally and physically abused by my female employer, but I had to stay at the embassy because the employer would not want to cooperate and filed a case against me” (Carbonated.TV, n.d., n.p.). Another woman, aware of the large scale of the problems faced by Filipino maids in Kuwait, expresses her hope that the Filipino government is finally going to properly address the matter at hand: “I hope the next president will pay due attention to our plight... I still have a few friends left behind who couldn’t go home because of some cases filed against them by their employers. I hope the next president will look after their needs...” (Carbonated.TV, n.d., n.p.). In “152 Undocumented Pinoys in Kuwait Fly Home” a woman named Gloria expresses her joy for being able to go home for Christmas. It turns out she has not been home since 2009 (Santiago, 2016). Lorna, who suffered from physical abuse as an OFW, also feels very happy for getting the opportunity to return home for Christmas (Santiago, 2016). In “Kuwait Interior Ministry Allows Repatriation of 250 Filipinos” the Philippines Ambassador in Kuwait expresses his understanding and sympathy for the reasons for which so many Filipino workers come to Kuwait: “We understand that our OFWs left the Philippines for Kuwait because they aspire for a better life for their families and loved ones. They therefore deserve all the assistance the Philippine Government can give them...” (Official Gazette 2015, n.p.). All those statements belong in the realm of affect – they give face and personhood to such global and seemingly faceless experiences as migration, working abroad, deportation, and, ultimately, repatriation. They are also in line with the main characteristics of the target population of Korczak’s radical humanism. Of course, Filipino migrant domestic workers are adults, but, despite the importance of their services, they are still poor, oppressed, and discriminated against. Furthermore, Kuwaiti law does not provide them with the same level of protection as other workers. Since Private Sector Kuwait Labor Law does not apply to domestic workers (referred to as “domestic servants”) (Kuwait Labor Law, n.d.), in case of conflict with an employer they are more likely to run away and, ultimately, get “voluntarily repatriated” from Kuwait, than other private sector workers who enjoy more protections under local labor law.

Radical inclusiveness

As mentioned towards the beginning of this paper, there are currently around 200,000 Filipino workers in Kuwait (Garcia 2016b). This section will attempt to find out what it means to be a Filipino in Kuwait. Kapferer argues (2005, cited in: Daswani 2013, p. 31) that scholars often “missed the fact that significant social relations were not bounded by the idea of community”. Social relations can be studied across time and space – they are not limited to a single place. A great example of such an approach in transnational studies are studies of on-line communities, which “create social and affective interaction that simultaneously connects people from different parts of the world” (Daswani 2013, p. 33). Filipino migrant domestic workers are no exception in this regard. According to the on-line and social media part of my research, Filipino workers in Kuwait form well connected on-line communities through which they search for jobs as well as recommend their relatives and friends for nanny and maid job openings posted by Kuwaiti and expat “madams” in the “Kuwait Maids and Nannies” Facebook groups. Many such job postings begin with the “Filipinas only” disclaimer which suggests that, for some reason, Filipino nannies and maids are highly regarded by local and expat “madams”. “Pinoy OFW”, a Facebook page “liked” by 541,605 users (as of December 15, 2017), offers advice to Filipinos working and living abroad. Topics covered by “Pinoy OFW” range from “The Six Most Annoying Types of Kababayans New OFWs Should Avoid” to “Rights and Obligations of Domestic Helper Employers in Saudi Arabia”. In “real life”, there exists Sandigan, a Filipino community group in Kuwait, which recently helped to rescue a female Filipino domestic worker from the hands of her abusive employer (Migrant-Rights 2017).

Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004) argue that in order to understand immigrants’ ways of belonging, transnational scholars should focus on how immigrants manage the pivot between full assimilation and transnational connection as well as how “host country incorporation and homeland or other transnational ties mutually influence each other” (p. 1011). In this regard, female Filipino domestic workers’ position in Kuwait is very peculiar. On the one hand, as mentioned earlier, they are excluded from the protections offered by Private Sector Kuwait Labor Law, but, on the other, they take

care of Kuwaiti families and their children. In terms of their relations with their homeland, they send remittances to support their families in the Philippines, but at the same time the Philippines Embassy in Kuwait closely works with Kuwaiti authorities in “voluntarily repatriating” Filipino domestic workers who had decided to leave their abusive employers. From one perspective, female Filipino domestic workers’ earnings and services are highly demanded, respectively, in their home country and Kuwait, but from the other they are refused basic protections under Kuwaiti labor law. Therefore, it can be stated that they both belong and do not belong in Kuwait: their services are valued, but not enough to offer them higher wages and more rights to defend themselves against abusive employers. Female Filipino domestic workers have to deal with the vast “gulf between ‘who is in, and who is out’, a divide created by the expulsion, displacement, and attempted erasure of transnational subjects” (Boehm 2016, p. 16).

The vulnerable position of Filipino migrant domestic workers leads us to the concept of radical inclusiveness, which can be understood as “Korczak’s infinite capacity to offer respect and love to real people, irrespective of their ethnicity” (Silverman 2017, p. 88). However, in Kuwait Filipino migrant domestic workers do not receive the same level of respect and protection as other expats and Kuwaiti nationals. Silverman (2017) points out that radical inclusiveness preached and practiced by Korczak was “directly connected to his commitment to improving the world and his lifelong feelings of compassion for all sentient beings” (p. 89). It also entailed “an ethos of absolute egalitarianism” (Silverman 2017, p. 89). It bears mentioning that Korczak himself respected both physical and intellectual work (Silverman 2017). By analyzing the press reports on Filipino migrant domestic workers’ experiences with the Kuwaiti job market and the AVRPP, it becomes obvious that what is missing from those experiences are, indeed, respect, compassion and egalitarianism. In terms of compassion, Filipino domestic workers in Kuwait often experience lack of interest in their difficult working and living conditions, while in terms of egalitarianism, they do not enjoy the same level of legal protection as many other migrant workers in Kuwait.

Radical integrity

Returning to their home country through the AVRPP is emotionally charged to female Filipino domestic workers. These emotions, however, are, to say the least, ambivalent. Joy is mixed with painful memories, as in the case of Noura, a physically abused OFW repatriated through the AVRPP, who states: “I’m very thankful that finally after my harrowing experience here, I can be with my family now” (Fe Santiago 2016, n.p.). Almira, another maid quoted in the same article, suffered “three years of torture from her female employer who beat her with a steel and burned her back, legs, arms and hands with a flat iron” (Fe Santiago 2016, n.p.). She sums up those three years of mistreatment with the following statement: “I have lifted everything to God and hopefully justice will prevail. Right now, I just want to be with my family” (Fe Santiago 2016, n.p.). According to another article titled “78 Undocumented Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) in Kuwait Repatriated” most of the seventy eight OFWs mentioned in the title, used to work as domestic workers and left their employers as a result of “various forms of maltreatment such as physical, verbal or sexual abuse, non-payment of salaries, lack of food and overwork” (Q8 India 2017, n.p.). Even though the majority of the press reports and articles analyzed for the purpose of this study state that OFWs usually choose to leave Kuwait through the AVRPP due to the maltreatment they experienced at the hands of their employers, the articles seem to omit the question of what happens to employers who abuse their maids. A report published by Migrant-Rights.org recalls the case of a Kuwaiti physician, who, after hitting the left eye of her maid and thus causing permanent blindness, got away with ten months in jail and settlement and, after her time in jail, she returned to her old job and continued working as a doctor in a hospital. The victim, on the other hand, was “repatriated” (Migrant-Rights.org 2017). Boehm (2016) writes that “deportation focuses on individuals even as its impact reaches beyond any one person to affect families and communities” (p. 28). The AVRPP focuses on Filipino individuals, puts them in the role of pardoned offenders, and prefers to ignore the actual reasons behind the “voluntary” repatriation that so many Filipino maids decide to “choose”. By preferring “repatriation” over pressing charges against abusive employers and thus participating in “continuum of violence” (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois 2004; cited in Boehm 2016, p. 55), both Kuwaiti

and Philippines authorities allow the abuse female domestic workers to flourish and affect more OFWs in the future.

I keep referring to the AVRП as “deportation” because it bears all deportation characteristics as named and described by Boehm (2016): it involves alienation through dehumanization and marginalization (abused maids choose to abscond because they know nobody is going to help them), violence, fragmentation (in the case of female Filipino domestic workers removed through the AVRП it is about “gendered racial removal”), absence (in this case – the absence of help when maltreatment happens), and reinvention (deported maids are happy to be back with their families instead of enduring maltreatment in order to send remittances).

Therefore, it can be argued that, in accordance with Wimmer and Glick-Schiller’s (2007) idea of “immigrants as enemies”, the AVRП turns female Filipino domestic workers into natural enemies of the Kuwaiti nation. There are several reasons behind this statement. First of all, in the process of applying for “voluntary repatriation” absconded maids are turned from victims of abuse into offenders. Second, as offenders, they are graciously pardoned and removed from the country. Last, the real offenders and thus actual “enemies” of the nation, that is Kuwaiti employers who abuse their maids, are not punished (or their punishment is inadequate) and therefore are allowed to continue to mistreat their employees. The end product of this “continuum of violence” in a transnational setting reverses the roles of victims and offenders. Those, who should be punished, are pardoned exclusively because they are Kuwaiti citizens and thus belong in Kuwait. Those, who should be pardoned, are removed because, as foreigners, they and their problems belong somewhere else. This “continuum of violence” stands in stark contrast to Korczak’s concept of radical integrity understood as “consistency and correlation between preaching and practice in [Korczak’s] indefatigable effort to improve the world” (Silverman 2017, p. 89). The AVRП, originally designed to help runaway maids return to their home countries, turns victims into offenders and does not provide any protection to those who are most vulnerable and abused. Korczak believed that “[a]ll the dimensions of life – emotional, behavioral, intellectual, and spiritual – were interconnected, interdependent, and nourished one another, forming a single organic whole and leaving no place for inequality and hierarchy” (Silverman 2017, p. 90). The AVRП, on the other hand, creates inequality and does nothing to dismantle power hierarchies.

Conclusion

This paper shows how vulnerable is the transnational position of female Filipino domestic workers in Kuwait. They receive low wages and are not protected by Private Sector Kuwait Labor Law. Many of them suffer maltreatment and abuse at the hands of their employers. When they try to complain, they are turned away by authorities and their employment agencies. When they run away – they are marked as illegal and, ultimately, removed from the country. The voluntary repatriation program they are offered is, in fact, deportation in disguise. From the perspective of transnational studies, Filipino migrant domestic workers are a perfect example of victims of methodological nationalism which takes “national discourses, agendas, loyalties and histories for granted, without problematizing them or making them the object of an analysis in its own right” (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002, p. 221) – something that Janusz Korczak fought against all his life (Odrowaz-Coates 2018). And yet, despite the rampant abuse of domestic workers in the GCC, they leave their home country and travel to Kuwait in order to support their families and provide money for their “projects” back home (McKay 2016). Given their vulnerable position within this transnational setting, I would recommend human rights groups, especially those present in the GCC, to pay closer attention to Filipino and other migrant domestic workers and their living and working conditions. This paper proves that Korczak’s radical humanism provides a universal framework for working not only with children, but also with vulnerable adults, whose rights are abused.

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The Relevance of Janusz Korczak's Pedagogy to Child's Right to Education in Children's Theatre Practice

Introduction

There are numerous theories as to what constitutes children's theatre. This intricacy means that there is a need to specify the sense in which the term is being used. The narrative here is focussed on children's theatre as a form of pedagogical approach to creating a piece of theatre for children that can enable them to learn and be morally developed while being entertained at the same time. This approach is expected to add to other, well received, Janusz Korczak's works in Russia, Canada, Japan, Nigeria and several other countries on African continent. There is a large number of interpretations of Janusz Korczak's works from Polish, Israeli, German and US scholars and a study from Nigeria will now be included. It is aimed to awaken the readers by introducing this new dimension to interpreting Korczak's works, in the field of Children's Theatre and drama education. The information about this development will be now shared with the rest of the world.

Therefore, let us start with a question: what is children's theatre? What should be the level of involvement for children? Children's theatre has been researched by many scholars (Maguire & Schuitema 2012; Schonmann 2006; Wood & Grant 1997) and the definition of the term varies. When we say children's theatre what do we actually mean? Children's theatre is classified as

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an art form (Maguire & Schuitema 2012). Goldberg (1974) defined children theatre as a “formal theatrical experience in which a play is presented for an audience of children. The goal of children’s theatre is to provide the best possible theatrical experience for the audience” (1974, p. 5). Concisely, children’s theatre is a piece of performance that involves children as actors and/or as audience. One of the ways to provide children with the best experience in theatre is to understand their world. Regardless of its form, children’s theatre is based mainly around the interests of children, even though it also takes into consideration the interests of their parents. The important point is that it does not ignore the interests of children and does not only take the interests of their parents or adult actors into account.

The relevance of Koczek’s pedagogical legacy is most striking when used to support the sociological setting of a sampled drama as it affects children’s right to education through their theatrical practice. It attempts to address the question of the place of children in society and the world at large. It highlights the defenceless nature of children’s rights to education, protection. Opportunities to live better and the ability to live well in Nigeria may be prompted by the adaptation of Koczek’s pedagogical inheritance. His pedagogical foundation supports the development of the child’s psychological, mental, physical, sociological and emotional well-being. A dramatic text by Ken-Aminikpo (2016) “*Say ‘No’ to Child Abuse* is used to explore this connections. The play centres on a story of young girl who was abused sexually and gave birth to baby twins who she abandons at the St Mumbasa Orphanage. Her children and other orphans were maltreated, battered, underfed, and made hawkers of petty goods, and were abused by Mrs. Braye and her attendants in the orphanage, were driven by greed and wickedness. However, the luck ran out for Mrs. Braye when a policeman apprehends the children from the orphanage on the street and takes them to the police station. The story also portrays further abuse of some of the adopted children by their foster parents instead of rendering them protection. There is also a complication when Mrs. Inemo, the mother of the abandoned twins [Nelson and Nelly]; some years later, unexpectedly turns up to claim her children back. These issues are brought to provoke a reflection in favour of the child’s rights and freedoms.

Moreover, my personal field research experience is born from my PhD: “Practical experiment with Children of the University of Port Harcourt Chil-

dren's Theatre Programme (UCTP)" at the Arts Theatre (The Crab), University of Port Harcourt. Years 2008–2010 prompted my journey of discovering Korczak's pedagogical legacy that was interpreted and adopted in the children's theatre practice. This theatrical play was in the area of Theatre in Education (TIE) whereby children are opportune to declare their rights and freedom in a consensus voice saying '*No' to Child Abuse*'. It is a one Act drama that is broken into Nine (9) Scenes. Please note that his paper is not a review of the discipline rather an attempt to direct Korczak pedagogy in the children's theatre practice. It is about a pedagogical approach to creating a piece of theatre for children between the age of 5 and 11 who can learn and be morally developed while being entertained at the same time. In this paper children's theatre is the term that will be used throughout. Furthermore, the paper will link Janusz Korczak's major works to main questions related to cultural differences and the contextual nature of educational practice and will relate it to children's theatre practice around the world.

Readers unfamiliar with Korczak should note that according to Odrowaz-Coates (2018, p. 127) "Janusz Korczak was born in 1878, in Warsaw to a Jewish family (this part of Poland was under Russian control at the time, due to the partitions of Poland). His birth name was Henryk Goldszmit (read Goldshmit), but he soon assumed a pen-name of Janusz Korczak when he started to write to Polish language newspapers. From birth, he embraced both Polish and Jewish identity, which at times of ethnic and religious conflict made him a link between two distinctive worlds" (Odrowaz-Coates 2018, p. 128).

Relevance of Janusz Korczak Pedagogy to Child's Right to Education in Children's Theatre

The paper includes the discourse of relevance of Janusz Korczak pedagogical legacy amongst ideas that are inherent and imbedded in cultural backgrounds which disclosures children's rights concepts amongst educators and caregivers in the play *Say 'No' to Child Abuse* written by Ken-Aminikpo (2016). Korczak's ideas are related to this children's drama and theatre in education establishing the fact that beside schools there can be another medium through which children's rights can develop. The focus is on educational poten-

tials in children's theatre practice, "the rich opportunities that play provides for children make choices, develop new skills, solve problems, and make sense of the world they live in" (McFarlane & Hamilton 2005, p. 10). Education being a critical and long-term sustainability of freedom played a pivotal role in educating the whole person. The concept of standard for critical pedagogy, children's rights and the cultural aspects often cultural relativity and children's love forms the lead in this essay. This pedagogical framework is what this article refers to as "life-threatening pedagogy" as enacted in the drama. The lives of the children were exposed to danger and they learned in a very hard way. This issue was engaged and tackled with the strength every human possess as related to Janusz Korczak's ideas where he sees adults as been frightened to treat children as equals, because it requires a lot more effort (Odrowaz-Coates 2018, 135). The drama has graciously educated children on their rights to live a level playing grounds for both the child and caregivers: adults. There may be no social stratification. The relevance of Janusz Korczak's ideas was applied to play during the children's theatre practice training which clearly followed and accepted the guidance from (Korczak 1967)

"Be true to yourself, seek your own road. Learn to know yourself before you attempt to learn to know the children. You should realize what you are capable of before you begin to bring home to the children the scope of their rights and duties. Of them all, you yourself is the child whom you must learn to know, rear, and above all, enlighten..." (Odrowaz-Coates 2018, p. 136).

But the caregiver (adult) could not respect the children's right as it was seen by the display of power relations at the St Mombassa Orphanage. The travails of the children (inmates) in the orphanage and the maltreatment of children by Mrs. Braye, the owner of the orphanage. (Ken-Aminikpo 2016). As seen in Act 1: Scene 3.

Mrs. Braye: Listen all of you, here are some items for you to go sell; not return until you have sold everything in this tray. Is that clear?

Children: Yes, Ma! [**All responds together**]

Sunday: But ma, we have not eaten since morning.

Mrs. Braye: What? [Gets up and slaps him] You are very stupid! Why didn't your parents think about it before dumping here a miserable child like you? Can you talk to your parents like this? Idiots! Now, get out of my sight before I kill you? (p. 29–30)

The insensitivity of humans against children relates Korczak's drive to put a stop against children's right to humanity. Korczak's ideas on child right are not far-fetched from what is obtainable in other parts of the world. For instance, in Nigeria, discrimination of the girl-child was also showcased as an aspect of cultural relativity. A girl – a child (teenager) in this society who is put to bed still in her father's house before married and her family is chastised. The fear of the norms created was also reflected in the play. This thought drove Mrs. Inemo (as a teenage girl) to leave her babies at the gate of the orphanage (Ken-Aminikpo 2016). In Act 1: scene 1 (At the gate of St Mombasa Orphanage)

Attendant 1: Who dropped these babies in cold without any covering? (p. 19).

These kind of societal norms are not set in favour of girl-child's right. Mrs. Inemo's love for her children in the drama is impeccable, yet she returned to her babies after fifteen years. Although, the awful act of abandoning her children was clearly the societal discrimination of the girl child and the chastity of her family and it was prompted by Mrs. Inemo in the dramatic piece.

Korczak's also determined attitude towards hard work, towards bettering oneself and life-long learning, which makes a universal mould for modern educators and their students. This was completely faulted by the owner of the St. Mombasa Orphanage. She never saw any future for children in her custody. Therefore, Korczak relevance comes to play rightly, that children may be the uniting, common cause by having a consensus voice to say 'No' to Child Abuse 'ENOUGH IS ENOUGH' all over the world. This was enacted in ACT 1, Scene 2: where adoption of children is seen as being taken away to unknown family to start life.

Mrs Braye: (Mrs Braye quickly calls one of the attendants to bring the files). Who is there? Please the adoption files, our Guests are here to take Nelly. I really need to decongest this home.

Analysis of Play in Focus Say 'No' to Child Abuse

This play exposes the travail of the children in the St. Mombassa Orphanage in a bid to reawaken the conscientious of children about their rights, through practical involvement. The aim is to educate the children the essen-

tials for the prevention of human rights abuses and sustainable development as demonstrated in a consensus voice on realisation of freedom and justice for all.

Actions in the Scenes

Scene One: The play opens in the front premises of “St Mumbasa Orphanage where a young girl walks up to the gate of the Orphanage and drops a basket bearing twin babies.



Image 1. The gate of the Orphanage¹

Scene Two: Official signing of Document for the adaptation of Nelly

¹ Images in the work were derived from my Ph.D. experimentation with children of University Children's Theatre Programme (UCTP), University of Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria. The children who participated were: Chisom Nnabuo, Cherish Wegwu, Ogar Agabi Adaaniukpe, Daberechi Anwukah, Chinenye Nwankwo, Dornubari Bakor Kenom, Chukwuemeka Nwankwo, Buchi Nnabuo and Kue Ken-Aminikpo. I remain grateful to Dr. (Mrs.) Blessing Wegwu, Dr.(Mrs.) Caroline Nnabuo and Dr. (Mrs.) Ngozi Nwankwo, Project Assistants: Dr. Tekena Mark Gasper & Mr. Ibirinde Adeyomi, Photographer/Editor: Mr G. Baridam. Image 1, 2 & 8 were photoshopped.



Image 2. Office in the Orphanage

Scene Three: Exposes the travail of children in the Orphanage and the maltreatment meted on the children by Mrs. Braye, the Owner of the Orphanage.



Images 3, 4, & 5. Various Activities of Inmates in the Orphanage

Scene Four: The events open on a bush path with children relaxing, after a tiresome hawking of banana given to them by Mrs. Braye. A young man at this point pretends to buy banana but ends up abusing one of the children sexuality.



Images 6 & 7. The Rape Scene and Raped Victim

Scene Five: At the home of Mr. and Mrs. James the adopter of Nelly. Nelly was seen standing close to Mr. James in a sober mood, she tries to remind him of his promise of sending her to school and that she has been denied of education because they now have their own children. Just then, his wife Mrs. James walks in, she misunderstands the mood, thinks that her Husband and Nelly has a romance. Mrs. James reacts quickly by forcefully sending Nelly of their house.

In scene six: Mrs. Braye distributes the food items donated for the children in the orphanage between her, and the attendants. Nelly returns to the orphanage and reunites with her brother.

In scene seven: Children are seen hawking again, this time they are surrounded by police officers and child welfare officials.



Image 8. Children on the street apprehended by Police Officer

Scene Eight: Exposes Mrs. Inemo and Mrs. Braye talking about twins, she abandoned years ago. Police officers arrive and arrest both of them for various charges.

However, the last **Scene Nine** is in court and the judge is issuing sentences according to the offences committed against children.



Images 9 & 10. The Court Scene

In Nigeria the implementation of child rights faces challenges. One of the main challenges belongs to the process of the incorporation of child's rights in national legal systems: the risk of a particularization of human rights. Human rights are integrated in a national legal system by becoming part of the fundamental rights of the constitution through a democratic process. Within the national legal system, the legal subjects acknowledge each other as holders of these rights within the framework of internal logic of a legal system. At the same time this undermines the universality of human rights, because then human rights would exist only within a legal system of a particular legal society. Human beings who are not citizens of this, legally bound, particular society remain without human rights. Human rights run the risk of reduction of their universality through the particularization as parts of a national legal system. Justification models within the moral dimension can as already mentioned include the essential aspect of human rights that every human being – even living in a place on the planet where she or he does not benefit from a legal system respecting human rights – has human rights.

On a practical level, the process of strengthening international law and the global institutionalization of the implementation and protection of human rights – in parallel to the integration of human rights within national legal systems – is necessary. One can see some progress in the tradition of human rights from philosophical ideas of human rights (e.g., in the period of Enlightenment) to the implementation of the philosophical ideas of human rights on a national level (e.g., Declaration of Independence of 1776, with its obvious limits (only white men of a certain socio-economic class excluding other human beings, excluding all other men and women, and still not overcoming the theory and practice of slavery), initiating the implementation of human rights on a universal level (Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the UN human rights treaty body system, regional human rights mechanisms) (c.f. Bobbio 1998). Odrowaz-Coates (2018, 132–133) wrote that: “An interesting aspect of re-thinking Korczak may be found in the African Charter of the Convention. The way that children’s autonomy is interpreted may be seen as tainted by Western bias, so having a separate charter, which accounts for cultural differences is perceived as the act of decolonization, yet it may also be an act of lowering the standards that Convention brings”. It is hard to decide what would be his point of view on this document. Either way echoes of his concepts may be found in all these documents. Universalism in Korczak’s ideas may be seen as a critical pedagogue, almost a ‘norm critical’ pedagogue, a norm critical for his times, but also in a more universal sense. Korczak has defined a child as “a complete person and not a person in making but a person here and now” (Shner 2014, p. 1). This article is another voice added to Korczak’s ideas by re-awakening consciousness of humanity, though theatre and play.

Conclusions

Korczak may be considered a hero, one who has struggled through hard conditions and bad experiences throughout his life, turning the direct impact of these conditions and experiences into a positive force to manage a Polish and a Jewish orphanage and to keep them both at a high standard. This was reflected in the performance of children at the orphanage of St. Mombassa in the children’s theatre practice using a Nigerian situation. Artists and the arts

reflect society that attunes to social, political, and cultural issues to enter the public consciousness and public discourse. The paper establishes that children rights have gained weight and power when the characters (participants) seek help in the courts; they become part of a particular legal system in their country that is obtainable all over the world. This is exactly what Janusz Korczak's pedagogy stands for in order to promote attitudes that recognize children as subjects of rights, principally as set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

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YAMILA V. RODRÍGUEZ*

A Suitable Amount of (De) Institutionalization: Lessons from the Covid-19 Pandemic

Introduction

You do not leave a sick child in the night and you do not leave children at a time like this.

Korczak (Lifton, *The King of Children*)

Since the outbreak of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) crisis, the situation in closed facilities, like prisons or care homes, has shown how quickly overcrowded institutions can become a breeding ground for an infectious disease. Many international organizations involved in fighting the pandemic have called for public action towards reducing overcrowding in closed settings, with the argument that, besides undermining hygiene, health, safety and human dignity, it constitutes an insurmountable obstacle for preventing, preparing for or responding to COVID-19 (World Health Organization 2020).

Children residing in alternative care institutions and orphanages around the world are facing difficult conditions. In majority of cases, the number of caregivers has been reduced because of actual infections, public transport reductions or because of lockdown and social distancing measures, which means that staff that are not living in the premises are not able to enter the insti-

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tutions. For similar reasons, numerous residential institutions for children are being closed in result of pandemic. The authorities understand that when most orphanage staff are unable to work, it is not possible to provide adequate care to children living in the institutions. Therefore, many local governments took decisions to send children from orphanages back to their families and communities (CRIN 2020). This provided renewed arguments and raised voices for the deinstitutionalization reform around the globe. The most disturbing aspect is that children appear to be sent back to their communities without proper consideration of where they will reside, how their transition will be supported, and whether their safety will be monitored.

Although the present situation has essential differences with the times in which Janusz Korczak (born Henryk Goldszmit) lived and worked, there are also important similarities. As Agamben (2020b) stated, it is not surprising that we talk about the virus in terms of war since the emergency provisions effectively forced us to live under a curfew. Furthermore, as in Korczak's time there is a tendency to use state of emergency as a normal paradigm for government with the consequent limitations on freedom (Agamben 2020a).

In this context, due to the varied nature of his work and his revolutionary ideas about children's rights, referring to Korczak's philosophical and pedagogical heritage is mandatory. Even if, as Odrowaz-Coates (2018, p. 129) maintains, Janusz Korczak did not intend to produce long-lasting philosophical or pedagogical thought and perhaps was more engaged with children's upbringing in his own time and space, as sharp critique of society and adult-children relations, Korczak's thoughts are of high relevance to current social and political issues and suggest an interesting point of view regarding the life of children in institutions. It should not be forgotten that, many years before Foucault's (1975) studies about the use of architectural space and power, Korczak's work demonstrated a profound interest in institutional care and its role in society.

The aim of this paper is to explore current tendencies towards deinstitutionalization of children based on measures issued to combat the COVID-19 pandemic, and contrast them with Janusz Korczak's ideas about children living in institutions during ruthless times. The paper will show that children's institutions are still necessary and that they will regain the paramount importance in the aftermath of the crisis. However, following his ideas, some points

will be made regarding the exceptional cases in which a child should be institutionalized and how his or her life at the institution should be.

Deinstitutionalization reform

Deinstitutionalization tendencies are not new. An appalling record of abuse and neglect in orphanages and in other forms of residential care has caught the attention of the international community during the last decades (CRIN 2018) and has motivated the development of alternatives to institutionalization. These alternatives may include supporting children to be cared for by their own families or communities by means of cash transfers or special programs, family reintegration, adoption, kinship care, foster care, kafalah, and other forms of family-based care.

A number of countries are in the process of progressively closing orphanages and reintegrating children in their families and communities, a process known as “deinstitutionalization reform” (Save the Children 2012). The main argument behind this process is that institutions are costly and can be harmful to children’s wellbeing (Goldman et al 2020). Likewise, due to the pandemic, human rights advocates have been calling for “emergency deinstitutionalization” and immediate provision of housing and support in the community for children who live in institutions (Basharu 2020).

However, institutional care proliferates. The reasons are varied and complex, and are not the object of this paper. Probably, the persistence of children living in care institutions is a result of lack of political commitment, the financial challenges of implementing new programmes, the unscrupulous use of children as international commodities and misconceived good intentions of humanitarian and development agencies and donors.

Historically, alternative care institutions have provided a political safety valve for governments that are unable – or unwilling – to tackle the complex social and economic factors driving families to place their children into care (Csáky 2009). In most countries, the approach to child rights has been dominated by the idea that poor families were incapable of giving their children adequate upbringing. As the result, childhood welfare policies were shaped both as paternalistic and as part of the system of patronage.

Implicitly, these legal frameworks attribute the responsibility for poor conditions in which children live to their families, often resulting in the separation of children from their parents and their placement in some form of institution, whether they are large-scale orphanages or smaller homes, substitute families, external foster – community – or family homes (*Innocenti Research Centre* 2003). Meanwhile, the real structural reasons behind poverty – those that relate to political and economic decisions – remain hidden.

Moreover, research has shown that long-term institutionalization of children in large institutions can be harmful in many ways. To begin with, there is a serious risk of developmental damage, where children under 3 are particularly vulnerable. According to Browne (2009), young children in institutional care are more likely to suffer from poor health, physical underdevelopment, deterioration in brain growth, developmental delay and emotional attachment disorders. In consequence, these children are supposed to have reduced intellectual, social and behavioural abilities compared with those growing up in a family home. Especially, the lack of positive adult interaction from consistent carers can limit children's ability to develop personal confidence and key social skills (Csáky 2009).

Secondly, when institutions are closed and isolated, children are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, such as systematic rape and other forms of sexual abuse, trafficking, physical harm (beatings and torture) and psychological harm (isolation, denial of affection and humiliating discipline). Some cases concerning abuse and neglect of children in orphanages have reached the European Court of Human Rights. As an example: *Scozzari and Giunta v. Italy* (2000), *Saviny v. Ukraine* (2008), *Nencheva and Others v. Bulgaria* (2013), *Câmpeanu v. Romania* (2014). In those cases, States were found responsible for violations of Article 8 (right to respect for family life), Article 2 (right to life), Article 9 (separation from parents) and Article 13 (right to an effective remedy) of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Thirdly, unwanted social consequences may occur. For instance, where care institutions are cut off from communities, children are probably prevented from developing social networks that are essential for later life. Children residing in institutions are not used to exercise freedom of choice and may be accustomed to following instructions without questions, which makes them dangerously unaware of their rights as citizens.

Finally, in addition to other concerns, many children in large-scale institutions face additional problems of neglect caused by poor quality standards. This includes –but are not limited to–malnutrition, poor hygiene and health care, lack of access to education and lack of physical and emotional attention. The extent of the damage in this regard is directly connected to the interrelation of two factors: the number of children residing in the premises and the number and professional skills of staff members.

All in all, there is a consensus about the use of institutional care only as a last resort. With the right kind of support, many families would be able to keep their children and when it's not possible for a child to live with his or her parents, there are other family and community-based options where they can be cared for and protected. That would be true in an ideal world, however in present times – dominated by poverty, disease, disability, conflict, disasters, and discrimination, all of which are aggravated by the pandemic – “the right kind of support” could be something impossible to fulfil for governments and communities.

Additionally there are cases where children are removed to a place of safety because of parents and families that are judged as abusive, neglectful or incapable of meeting children's physical and/or psychological needs, which makes it evident that there the need for institutionalization will continue, so there is a need to investigate more progressive ways to treat children in out-of-home care.

Notes on Korczak's ideas about children's institutions

Caregivers have an obligation to skilfully arrange conditions under which children may freely develop in the fullness of their rights.

Korczak (*A Child's Right to Respect*)

According to Vucic's research (2020), Korczak believed that there would always be a requirement for residential care options for children and youth beyond the family model due to incompatibility in temperament, needs and behaviour of both adults and children. She contends that even though the dein-

stitutionalization movement in Poland was initiated in 1908 by the Orphan's Nest program – which operated as a foster family model in villages – and was sponsored by the famous writer Maria Konopnicka (admired by Korczak as his “teacher” in his civil work), he did not abandon his lifelong institutional model (Korczak 1942/1978, p.210, cited in Vucic 2020, p. 251).

However, his ideas about children's autonomy – “(t)here are no children, just people but with a different conceptual scale, different ranges of experience, different urges, different emotional reactions” (Korczak 1967, p. 204) – and about the basis and essence of protection rights – “(c)hildren are foreigners, ignorant of the language, of where roads lead, and of laws and customs. Often, they prefer to explore for themselves, asking for directions and advice when they find themselves in difficulty” (Korczak, 2017, p. 31) – shaped characteristically *Dom Sierot* [the Orphan's Home] and *Nasz Dom* [Our Home], the two institutions he co-managed with his collaborators, mainly Stefania Wilczyńska and Maria Falska. As Vucic (2017, p. 162) maintains: “(t)he way in which institutions are organized and the actions taken with children, reflect how children are thought of, valued and how their completeness perceived”.

In this regard, Janusz Korczak devoted much attention to the democratic organization of the two homes. He strove to create a model of a self-governing community whose members-both children and adults- consciously and responsibly participated in working for this community. Children at both of his homes had their own self-government and a court of their peers that – based on the law code developed by Korczak – solved conflicts and could put adults on trial as well, propitiating a healthy accountability system. Children participated in preparing meals, maintaining order, caring for their younger friends and organizing free time (Lifton 1988, p. 120; Polin 2018, p. 223).

Discipline was important but allowed children to exercise their freedom: Korczak embraced pluralism, with the children attending local schools and exploring the neighbourhood (Vucic 2017, p. 171). According to Lifton (1988, p. 120), the orphanage and the residence were radically progressive in a period when children were beaten in many institutions but, at the same time, appeared highly structured by contemporary standards.

There is a large, beautiful house in Warsaw on Krochmalna Street where orphans reside. The orphans are very happy there, not only

because they have enough food and drink, they live in a beautiful house, they sleep in large rooms in squeaky clean white beds. They are happy because they are being looked after by people who love them dearly and do everything to raise them wisely and beautifully (*Tygodnik Domu Sierot* [The Orphans' Home Weekly], W. Słońcu, 1916, no. 4, 1 December, p. 117).

Korczak believed in the power of children living together in favourable conditions to build a new type of society, one based on the principles of respect and cooperation. A rich child – “a child of the drawing room” (Korczak, 1906) – is powerless because he or she is forced to spend his time with adults. Moreover, a child who is deprived of the companionship of people of his or her age is impoverished: if a child is forced to be alone, he or she would be bored; thus, unhappy.

In this regard, social distancing measures represent an interesting opportunity for institutions. As staff may not be allowed to travel, they may be required to stay in the homes for long periods of time. This may collaborate in building trust and cohesive bonds between children and their caregivers. In addition, since lockdown measures restrain the possibility to go out, the residences could be very stimulating playing fields. Having the possibility to spend time with your equals is a privilege in these times.

In fact, as reported by Lifton (1988, p. 124) during the first days of the German occupation in Warsaw, Korczak was urged by childcare authorities to send the children back to their relatives because of the difficulty of providing for them. However, he would not consider disbanding the home. He insisted that children were safer remaining together with him and Stefa (Stefania Wilczyńska).

He not only valued the power of the group but also understood that caring for children was not only dealing with bodies but also souls. These ideas were mixed with his concerns about child development based on his training as a medic: “a child has the right [...] to grow up and mature” (Korczak 2018). Besides struggling to find the necessary food and supplies for his children, human dignity was one of his main concerns.

In his last days, when the danger was imminent, Korczak was still reluctant to jeopardize the welfare of any of the orphans. Just as he could not bear

the thought of a child being punished in a dark closet or a cellar, so more he could not bear to imagine the children being hidden from the Nazis in dark places (Lifton 1988)

At this point, the comparison is inevitable. This crisis has demonstrated that men and women have become so used to living in conditions of permanent crisis and emergency that they do not seem to notice that their lives have been reduced to a pure biological condition – naked life – one that has lost not only any social and political dimension but even any compassionate and emotional one (Agamben 2020b).

Therefore, following Korczak’s ideas, the risk of a senseless life, without a community of peers, without the love and the guidance of committed caregivers and exposed to ill treatment is worse than the risk of physical damage. Despite the discussion about if it is in the best interest of the child in a certain case to live with his or her relatives, there is no evidence about how living in a clean, organized facility would place people living in it – adults and children – at risk of becoming infected with coronavirus. On the contrary, social distancing – which is easy to achieve in a closed institution in relation to the rest of the society – and hygiene is, at the moment, the only measure effective against the virus.

Provided appropriately, to a high enough standard and in the best interests of the individual child, may mean that not all care institutions are harmful to children. Furthermore, small group homes, can play an important role in meeting the needs of certain groups of children. Paraphrasing Vucic (2020, p. 414), rather than deinstitutionalizing as such, the aim should be the provision of the greater possibility of freedom.

What is worrying is not so much the present but the aftermath. The dismantling of institutions will reduce options for care for the large number of children who will undoubtedly find themselves orphaned or homeless after the pandemic.

As Agamben (2020b) warns it is very likely that there will be attempts to carry on pursuing, even after the medical emergency is over, many of the measures that governments hadn’t been able to implement, in the same way as “the legacies of wars on peacetime have included a whole range of nefarious technologies, from barbed wire to nuclear plants”.

Conclusions

Placement in residential institutions must be the very last resort. In the few cases where children simply cannot receive the care they need within their family, family and community-based alternatives must be sought.

The underlying reasons for decisions to place children in care in the first place; such as poverty, family breakdown, disability, ethnicity, inflexible child welfare systems and the lack of alternatives to residential care, must be addressed with a holistic response that identifies families at risk, addresses their needs and prevent the removal of their children. The ethical and practical challenge that we face is to ensure that families – with special emphasis on women who are increasingly heads of household – have the support they need to nurture and raise their children and effectively assume their parental responsibilities (Csáky 2009).

The rights of the child are to be effectively safeguarded in all such cases, and certainly also when children are placed in such institutions, as a priority. In this regard, the Convention on the Rights of the Child sets an overall framework for the consideration of this reality, acknowledging that the family is the natural environment for the development and well-being of children. Moreover, it is the parents who have primary responsibility for the upbringing of their child, and that the child has, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her own parents. At the same time, it foresees the appropriate use of substitute care for cases where children are deprived of their family environment or if their best interests cannot be achieved in that environment. In such situations, it anticipates institutional placement but seen as a measure of the last resort.

Finally, the COVID-19 pandemic offers an unprecedented opportunity for children. During the war, power positions are usually disputed and reclaimed by new groups (women, the elderly) because the hegemonic group (men) is absent or eliminated. In a similar way, under the right circumstances and with support this new disease that, at least for now, appears to be kind with young people, may allow children to conquest new spaces and gain different position in society. The challenge might be to find the exact point to reach – paraphrasing Nils Christie (2004) – a “sensible amount of deinstitutionalization”. The point which would guarantee the rights of children not to be separated from

their families and communities without infringing on their protection rights and while ensuring that any child who has to live in an institution is treated “as a resident, a citizen, a human being” (Korczak 2008).

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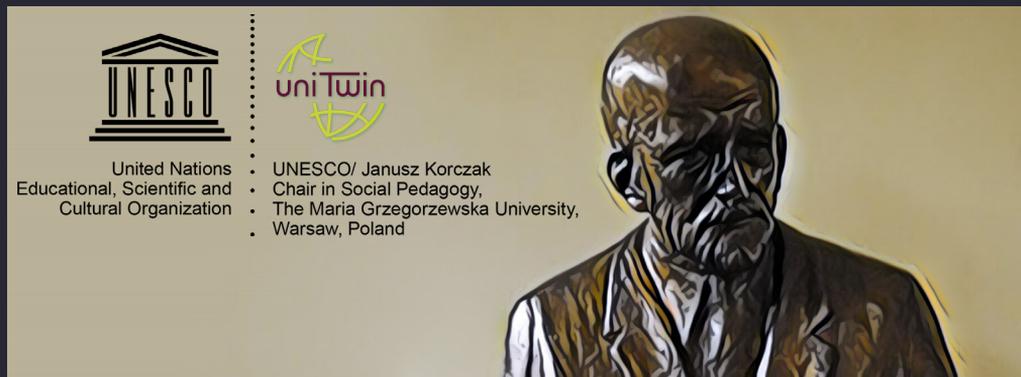
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