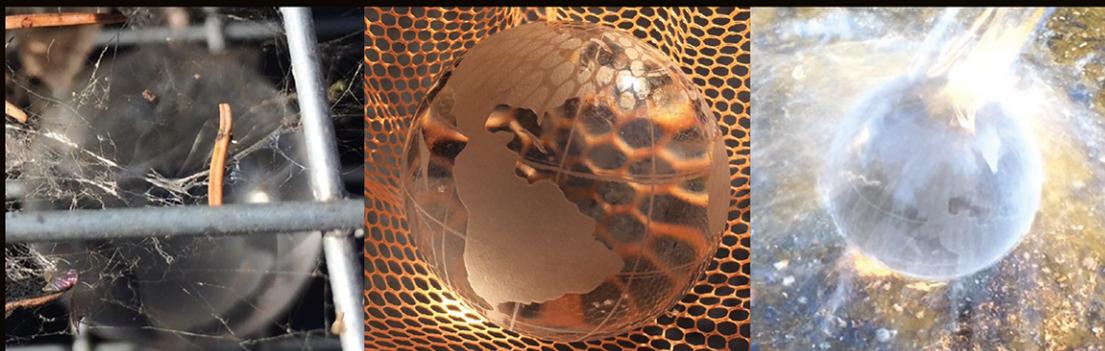


# Symbolic violence in socio-educational contexts

A post-colonial critique

*Edited by*  
Anna Odrowąż-Coates  
& Sribas Goswami



“...suspended in webs of significance...”



WYDAWNICTWO AKADEMII PEDAGOGIKI SPECJALNEJ

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in socio-educational contexts**

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# Contents

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<i>Foreword by the editors</i>	
<b>Anna Odrowąż-Coates &amp; Sribas Goswami</b> .....	7
<i>Preface</i>	
<b>Lilia Monzo</b> .....	9

## Part I

### EDUCATION AND THE FORMS OF 'POST' COLONIZATION

<i>Revisiting power and supremacy in the post-colonial world. Globalization as a refined phase of colonization</i>	
<b>Anna Odrowąż-Coates</b> .....	13
<i>A critical perspective on the use of the trauma narrative in American schools</i>	
<b>Darrick Smith</b> .....	24
<i>Indigenous education and the creation of an indigenous subject in Ecuador</i>	
<b>Philipp Altmann</b> .....	36
<i>At the service of a mythologized labour market: Neoliberal policies in the Italian educational system</i>	
<b>Luca Salmieri</b> .....	46
<i>Education in times of uncertainty. Uncertainty in education. A critical approach</i>	
<b>Mariusz Baranowski</b> .....	63

## Part II

### SOCIAL ASPECTS OF POST-COLONIAL POWER STRUGGLE

<i>Violence against women in Indian perspective: A sociological study</i>	
<b>Sribas Goswami</b> .....	75
<i>Governmentality and creation of the sexual subaltern: Exploring "queer" narratives from Kolkata</i>	
<b>Kamalini Mukherjee</b> .....	97
<i>Calabar lesbian cryptic languages</i>	
<b>Waliya Yohanna Joseph</b> .....	112

<i>The written and unwritten rights of indigenous children in Central Africa – between the freedom of “tradition” and enslavement for “development”</i>	
<b>Urszula Markowska-Manista</b> .....	127
<i>The mechanisms and functioning of linguistic rights in Poland: an example of the Kashubians and the German minority</i>	
<b>Magdalena Lemańczyk, Paweł Popieliński</b> .....	143
Part III	
THINKING ‘OUTSIDE THE BOX’ CRITICAL REFLEXION ON CRITICAL THOUGHT	
<i>The colonization of childhood. The critical pedagogy of Janusz Korczak</i>	
<b>Basia Vucic</b> .....	161
<i>Seeking Alternatives to the Post Colonial Critic Theories Methodology and Antecedents</i>	
<b>Kamel Lahmar</b> .....	181
Part IV	
SUBLIMINAL STRUGGLE: ART, ARCHITECTURE AND MEDICINE	
<i>Crossing the distance: the church of St. Willibrordus in Utrecht and the Cathedral of Our Lady Assumption in Jakarta. How the neo-Gothic style forms a link between the Netherlands and Indonesia</i>	
<b>Annelies Abelman</b> .....	217
<i>Pharmacological action in Ayurveda</i>	
<b>Mahesh T S</b> .....	228

# Foreword by the Editors

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This edited volume about the educational, social and political issues of the globalized world, is a collection of chapters by experienced academics from many different countries that are directly or indirectly entangled in the post-colonial social and economic milieu. The chapters come from Algeria, Ecuador, India, Italy, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, the UK and the USA. The book offers original ways of understating the social and educational contexts of globalized societies, through the critical lens of a post-colonial framing. In the title, the word 'contexts' refers to the inescapable social and educational environments that one is immersed in during their upbringing and throughout adult life. In some of the chapters we find discussions on the sociological aspects of the environment in which the education is constructed and delivered, in others we find the interconnectivity between the sociological aspects of life and the systems of education. The issues of social inclusion and exclusion are ever-present in each of the chapters and power relations are carefully examined, questioning the ideological and economic underpinning of education and the world's social stratification. Due to the cross-continental nature of the book, the principle of *world 'englishes'* is willingly adopted, entrusting that the chapters will gain a global readership.

The editors endeavour to allow contributors free expression of their personal beliefs, to create openness and space for passionate and sometimes 'non-standard' approaches, in order to avoid the routine of false objectivity. This is coherent with the nature of this book, which aims to reach out for innovative ways of understanding and describing the socio-educational matrixes we all function in.

The book is divided thematically into four parts:

Part I – EDUCATION AND FORMS OF 'POST' COLONIZATION – It starts with a chapter on globalization as a form of colonization, followed by trauma narratives from American schools, the creation of indigenous subjects through education in Ecuador and a recommendation against neoliberal policy in the Italian education system. This section ends with a thought provoking theoretical piece on education in times of uncertainty and the uncertainty in education.

Part II – SOCIAL ASPECTS OF POST-COLONIAL POWER STRUGGLE – This part starts with a chapter on violence against women in India, followed by narratives of the third gender in Kolkata embedded in a post-colonial discourse. Calabar’s lesbians’ secret language at schools, completes the gender agenda in this section. The last two chapters in this part, dedicated to: paradoxes of childhood amongst the Ba’aka tribe in central Africa and to an empirical study of the Kashubian and German minority language rights in Poland, form an important contribution.

Part III – CRITICAL REFLEXION ON CRITICAL THOUGHT – THINKING ‘OUTSIDE THE BOX’ – First there is a novel conceptualization of Janusz Korczak’s pedagogy in a post-colonial context and this part goes on to an extensive review of colonial and post-colonial literature through the critical lens of a contemporary, Algerian scholar.

Part IV – SUBLIMINAL STRUGGLE: ART, ARCHITECTURE AND MEDICINE, contains a chapter about Neo-gothic architecture in Indonesia as a form of cultural oppression of the Indigenous people by the Dutch settlers of faith, followed by the last chapter dedicated to India’s alternative medicine, somewhat critical of the dominance of western medicine and western driven medical industry.

We trust that this volume will make an impact on expanding the boundaries of academic writing, to honour the diversity of the contributors and the multiplicity of their viewpoints, with an overarching motto to think outside of our own self-perpetuated socio-cultural casing, box or frame.

Anna Odrowąż-Coates &  
Sribas Goswami

from the entrepreneurial culture there is a strong message of the necessity for constant personal mobilization and activating behaviour on the part of students while at the same time the emphasis on structural and institutional constraints to these goals is generally downplayed. This culture either ignores or cancels out social inequalities in the existing social order by overriding the democratic impulses and practices of civil society through an emphasis on the unbridled workings of market relations (Giroux, 2008). It astonishes the fact that none underlines the structural basis of youth unemployment as if the latter just derives from a wide mismatch in the labour market. Job vacancies and job researches do not operated according the laws of the market: they are rather populated by social networks, families and informal arrangements. In such a landscape candidates' expectations collide with those of employers and must be channelled according to scarce options, defined and controlled by the companies. That is the reason why upper class families and high social capital networkings can directly and indirectly influence the occupational destiny of students and acolytes, regardless of their educational attainments. Even if all the mismatching problems between skills required by companies and those trained by schools had eliminated, the massive problem of youth unemployment would be still blatantly unsolved. In fact youth unemployment is a phenomenon structurally embedded in the nature of capitalism in Italy. Even more than mismatching (the neoliberal illusion of free markets adjustments), one should then query about the youth unemployment, precarity and loss determined by neoliberalism itself.

A misleading representation of market forces has been radically altering the aims we pursue in both representing and evaluating school functions and students behaviour. Example of this increasing willingness on the part of legislators, government representatives and business leaders is chase to the unpredictable demands of the labour market and their disaffection because «a large majority of young new hires lack adequate problem-solving skills and workplace experience!». And this type of claiming is never debated together with the focus on policies that Italian firms implemented in the last decades, resulting in downsizing, deindustrialization and the trend toward lower paid, temporary, benefit-free, blue and white collar jobs and fewer decent permanent jobs. Rather, the onus of responsibility is placed on the educated unemployed or underemployed young population to recognize that their educational attainments completely mismatch to skills required in the workplace. None cites that financial principles of efficiency, accountability and profit maximization have not created new jobs but in most cases have eliminated them. Absent from the debate is any analyses of how culture at large works in shaping knowledge in the interest of public morality, how the teaching of broader social values provides safeguards against turning citizens skills into training skills for the workplace, or how schooling can help students reconcile the seemingly opposing needs of freedom and solidarity in order to forge a new conception of civic courage and democratic public life. Knowledge as capital in the labour market and in the corporate organization is privileged as a form of investment in the economy just when at the moment Italian labour market and firms offer fewer and less qualified jobs. It is paradoxical that knowledge appears to have little value when linked to the power of self-definition, social responsibility, or the capacities of individuals to expand the scope of freedom, justice and the operations of democracy. Therefore schools are being partially replaced by learning-on-the-job procedures and companies are recruiting more and more on non meritocratic schemes.

# The colonization of childhood. The critical pedagogy of Janusz Korczak

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*“What is this half of humankind,  
living with us and beside us  
in tragic dissociation.(J. Korczak, xxxx)”*

## Abstract

*The colonial discourse joins power and knowledge and is intimately linked with cultural and economic oppression. The conceptualization of childhood in Western society, the Child as the ‘last savage’ and the resulting institutional contexts run parallel to the direct or insidious colonization strategies of past regimes. The body of work about children and childhood, particularly in education, form a developmental discourse which systematises and naturalises how the Child is understood. Over a century ago, Janusz Korczak published a scathing critique of “contemporary schooling” in Europe, resonating with a Foucauldian tone, describing oppressive systems intersecting with age, gender, class and ethnicity to reproduce the societal norms and inequalities. Korczak challenged the pervasiveness of educational ideas such as evolutionary bias and developmentalism which continue their influence today. By undertaking a critical comparative (re-)reading of some of his lesser known writing, under the glare of Foucault, a post-humanist interpretation of Korczak emerges. By moving decisively beyond the adult/child dichotomy and differing from the fixed structures of his progressive education contemporaries, Korczak’s pedagogical alternative offers critical theorists a new starting place to explore the metaphysical relationship between the knower and the known. As an educationalist who was simultaneously active across the main dimensions of education; ideology, research and practice, Korczak’s everyday activism stands in contrast to the prevalent pedagogy of innocence and sympathy. Working from the ‘bottom up’, Korczak’s vision demonstrates resistance to power, providing a refresh to philosophical discussions and presents new possibilities for ethical and democratic practice.*

The colonial discourse joins power and knowledge and is intimately linked with cultural and economic oppression. Within children’s rights literature, there is an emerging interest in exploring the history of the idea of rights within childhood using a postcolonial lens, that is, from outside the dominant Eurocentric position (Huijsmans, 2016, p. 924). However, despite the hegemonic status of the United Nations Convention on The Rights

of the Child (UNCRC), the 'Western' notion of child rights history itself is sparsely documented and certain omissions are propagated. Dr Henryk Goldszmit, better known as Janusz Korczak (1878?–1942), is acknowledged, ignored and disputed as the inspiration behind the Convention (John, 2003; Hammarberg, 2009; Eichsteller, 2009; Milne, 2015). Ironically, Korczak himself laments in a distinctly postcolonial spirit, that his circumstances and suffering did not stem from being a Jew, but by virtue of his life's geographic and historical position, of being a slave under Russian imperialism, and later, for not being born in 'the West' (Lifton, 1988, p. 65; Ghetto, Diary, p. 114). Historically, children and concepts of childhood can be categorised into a number of perspectives: developmental; political and economic; or social and cultural (Mayall, 2000; Cunningham, 2005; Qvortrup et al., 2009). When viewed through the lens of either socialisation or psychology, it is difficult for another perspective to emerge, one which is rights based. Within paradigms, where a child is not yet a member of society or is still in development, that is a 'becoming', thus here 'children as citizens' remain only as an allegory. Paradoxically, the child will only be a citizen when he or she stops being a child (Cunningham, 2005; Wyness, 2006). Criticised for its dominance by *tabula rasa* thinking, these perspectives have gradually given way to social constructivism and a sociology of childhood. Instead of children as passive and unfinished, the new position acknowledges a reciprocal process where children actively construct their own versions of childhood (Waksler, 1991; James & Prout, 1997). The way institutions are organised and the actions taken with children, reflect how children are thought of, valued and how their competencies perceived. This applies to the individuals working directly with children, organisations as a whole and to the broader social context. As the UNCRC evolved from an older League of Nations' charter, today's rights narrative continues to struggle within a vein of caveats in that pleading the case for children (Lewin, 1997, pp. 120–121). "*Mankind owes to the child the best that it has to give...*" it rarely eludes this charity (Save the Children) perspective inherited from Egalatyne Jebb's authorship. Cunningham (2005) unwittingly quotes Korczak (1926, p. 176) in vehement disagreement with this philanthropic call to duty which implored goodwill. Where, traditionally, children were considered as poor, incompetent and dependent, needing the support, care and conductivity of adults, it would be a difficult starting point to transcend to an image of the child as a citizen holding rights (Dahlberg, Moss & Pence, 1999; MacNaughton, 2004). Even Peter McLaren (2000 p. XV) falls victim to once in a while Western romanticism by proclaiming that "childhood" in the US is disappearing, as if there only ever was one. His description of youth violence and school dropouts is typical of the rhetoric used for political gains in presenting both the danger young people are in and the danger they themselves pose within present American society. As the book addressed early childhood his point served the purpose of comparison to his more desirable, less problematic, "innocent" childhood. It demonstrates how readily the figurative Child located within anxieties is used rather than viewed as a political agent. Despite this seeming a minor transgression, it is consistent with attempts to address the political nature of early childhood, which by overemphasizing the repressive nature of social and economic structures, appear to negate all individual agency and subjectivity. Meanwhile, it is reinforcing the pedagogy of *sympathy* and *innocence* that continues to pervade our thinking and action throughout education and society at large (Dehli, 1995; Giroux, 2000). This new thinking of power in the study of childhood is often attributed to

the influence of Foucault. In the way that it sometimes is, Foucault, credits his early ideas on the use of architectural space sprung from reading the much celebrated and equally maligned '*Centuries of Childhood*' published by Phillippe Aries in 1960 (Foucault, 1980, p. 149; Kohan, 2015, p. 47). These reversals, borrowing and general messiness of ideas are more prevalent than pure. Hence, the aim here, is to present Korczak's messy vision of 'bottom up' resistance within everyday activism as the prevailing trend of *being inspired* by Korczak is not enough. Piaget [1], Kohlberg and Bettelheim were all entranced with his narrative but inscribed as it was within a legend and embodied by an individual meant it could not shake their own commitment to the hegemonic ideas of psychology.

Documented through sites such as the Reggio Emilia schools and empirical research, the status of children as capable of communicating their own opinions and providing information on matters of importance to them has demonstrated the concept of young children's agency, as experts in their own lives (Langsted, 1994; Dahlberg et al., 1999; Danby, 2000; Mayall, 2002; Clark, 2005). Alderson (2007) states that ground is slowly being gained in regards to respect for children's emerging status as competent decision makers. The questioning which seeks to demarcate an age as to when a child becomes developmentally capable to participate concedes power to the adult and ignores socio-cultural theories such as Vygotsky's (Corsaro, 2000; Woodhead, 2005; Prout & James, 2006; Smith, 2007). Innovative for his time, Korczak (1925, p. 176) abstained from any reservations regarding children's capacity to form their own views declaring them experts in their own issues and active agents in their own decision making;

*"The child is a rational being, he knows well the needs, difficulties and obstacles of his life"* Dahlberg et al., (1999) and Woodhead (1997/2005) criticise a needs focus and the assumptions which underlie them. Framing children as vulnerable, at risk or in need, guides professionals working with children to making assumptions about their needs, and describes an imposition of values upon children and their treatment, which is often pathological and Western based. It sits well with Korczak's sociology of childhood that can be simply stated as '*100 children are individual people, not tomorrow but today*' (Lifton, p. 113) and is the powerful tenet needed to understand Korczak's approach to pedagogical practice. It is evident that as a doctor, Korczak was well aware of the biological processes of maturation as he liked to refer to the Ancient Roman broad 7-year stages of *mentalite* to describe his life course (Ghetto, Diary, p. 68) (Parkin, 2010, p. 97). However, he consistently refused to demarcate the competent adult from the child or to position the Child as becoming. Instead he evokes the imagery of the newly arrived foreigner, who lacking experience does not have access to "real knowledge" and should be treated respectfully in their endeavours and difficulties (1926, p. 176). His early books, (*Children of the Street*; *Children of the Drawing Room*) demonstrate his awareness that even in the city of Warsaw, a childhood denoted markedly different lives rather than 'a disappearing childhood'. Unlike the Western view of a universal norm through which all children progress naturally, Korczak was questioning how social class, ethnicity, gender and location impact on children's lives. Wading through this intersectionality, he found the source of misery and oppression was often the imbalance of power between the worlds of the adult and the child. He questions why the knowledge of adults takes precedence over that of the child or why waiting to mature biologically determines a threshold of respect. From this collectivist cultural perspective (and almost post humanist), it would have been difficult for him to

imagine the individual child as anything but a laboratory dissection and as such, it simply did not exist. Although, Korczak does not wholly dismiss individual psychology, the dominant influence of animal studies or laboratory research popular with the behaviourists and biologists was profound during his time (Slee & Shute, 2003, p. 97). Sarcastically, he notes that if he needs to learn about child development he will read those textbooks on criminology or training animals. However, his preferred 'animal' metaphor is the complex social world of insects as he fantasizes that his children's home is a beehive or ant hill within an ecosystem rather than a barrack or prison he fervently resists it becoming under German occupation (Korczak 1978/2003, pp. 22, 91).

Behind the Iron Curtain during the 1970s, Kondziela formed the opinion that rights declarations served to divide on the basis of certain social values and resources but not to examine power. Thus the rights construction accentuated paternalism by allowing for all division to be scrutinized except the structure of the power itself, 'a *sui generis* social egalitarianisation' (Bińczycka, 1997). From the understanding that childhood and child rights are contested allows a different exploration of Korczak's ideas in formulating a charter for children's rights. In viewing it as part of a revolutionary movement that was resisting the oppression of its time. This observation may address some of the criticism directed at Western dominance in the formulation of the UNCRC. Scott (2007) is an advocate for critical realism as a framework to bridge the divide between research methodologies, which might be useful for exploring the mixed method approach Korczak employed in his own research (Siraj-Blatchford, 2010, p. 202). Alderson (2016) extrapolates critical realism further, suggesting the philosophy as a vehicle for increasing understanding and enhancing widespread implementation of child rights. However, the scope of this text does not consider the merits of comparatives between critical realism and the philosophy of Korczak and this is resigned to a future publication. This chapter attempts to envisage 'the birth of an idea' in as concise an overview as possible so as to provide a conceptual reference point for future work. It is conceded that there will be misunderstandings in the nature of post-modernism due to differing political and cultural contexts and its problematic relationship to Bauman's 'liquid modernity' (Turner, 1991, p. 2). To understand how Korczak was a man not solely of his time, a Foucauldian frame has been employed to connect him with contemporary social theory. Not to leave Korczak's writing as passive quotes on the page, nor defined within the boundaries of his own life but as Foucault (1978) would have it, with the force of events that manifested his books, "in struggles carried on around ideas, for or against them" (Afary & Anderson, 2010, p. 3).

Decades ago, researchers such as Alderson (2000, p. 21) and MacNaughton (2005) were challenging the perpetual blind spot that excludes the voices of children, and in the case of babies and very young children, even refuses them the status of children at all. The eminent London professor of law, Michael Freeman (2015), points the finger at the dominate child rights discourse and studies of childhood that relegate Korczak into remaining a largely forgotten figure. Thus when considering difficulties in implementing rights based approaches, revisiting Korczak as a critical pedagogy may yield fresh insight and novel solutions to the impasse of child rights particularly in constructs of citizenship (Jarosz, 2013). Emerging from the turn of the century Polish context, defined by its struggles for independence against Empires and occupation, Korczak's writing about education, rights and the child should have its place in the post-colonial critique

of education and also within legal, political and sociological libraries. Although mostly known for his tragic death during the Holocaust, Korczak, the Jewish writer, doctor and pedagogue, was an enigmatic and multi-faceted individual whose esoteric writing still proves deceptively simple yet arduous to study 75 years later. Having published over one thousand articles and more than 20 books, it covered his thinking, research, practice and his responses to the debates of the time. Some of his work has been translated into English but Betty Lifton's (1988) biography remains the most cited, even more referenced than those of Korczak himself. To maintain accessibility for future study by readers in English, reference here is made predominantly to Korczak's *Ghetto Diary* (1942/1978) and Lifton's work. Historian, Tim Parkin would issue a caveat on the use of the *Ghetto Diary* as a source for discussion. As with the history of childhood, emotions are closely linked with death, thus we cannot ignore the relationship between the imagery evoked and the 'demographic reality' of the Holocaust context within which it was written (2010, p. 104). Maintaining a critical lens, hopefully, refrains from giving either the 'stamp of truth' (Foucault, 1980).

Foucault's concept of authorship as a construct of an author able to take various roles with the writing of text, helps us to better understand Korczak and his writing. As Mencwel (2010, 2013) points out, Korczak as the author, experiences a distinctive shift between *Children of the Street* (1901, *Dzieci Ulicy*) & *Children of the Salon/Drawing Room* (1906, *Dzieci Salonu*), from sympathy to empathy, growing in his role from an advocate to an activist. He argues that Korczak has 'absorbed' the prevalent Marxist overtones of Warsaw revolutionaries and emerged as the clear voice of the movement, viewing the Child as the 'oldest proletariat' and 'the forgotten half of humanity'. Employing traditions from antebellum literature, Korczak's effort was geared towards the indoctrination of a new generation of Poles with an 'Ideology of Childhood' that would stop the physical and emotional abuse of children. It is impossible to measure the impact Korczak's popular books, radio show and status had in spreading his ideas amongst the general public. Professor Aleksander Lewin, a specialist who knew Korczak personally, took a lifetime to realise the Polish portrayal of Korczak as apolitical was incorrect (Theiss, 2013). A political reading of Korczak has also been masked from readers in English by the pervasive effects of philanthropy and psychology on the meaning of his words and actions. "Postmodernism claims that writing is always partial, local, and situational" and Liamputtong (2007) issues the reminder that although there is no chance of 'getting it right' the process of writing frees the author to tell the story in various ways (cited in White et al., 2009). This is characterized by the way Korczak employed various radical qualitative methods such as case studies and child ethnography now common in sociological research (Nowicka, 2013). For example, in direct contradiction to Mencwel's analysis mentioned earlier, Lifton's (1988) overtly psycho-historical biography, interprets '*the dog*' that bites the master as Korczak's individual awakening, a piece of writing semi-autobiographical in nature (Lifton, p. 39) This is a fairly simplistic reading of "I" as Foucault would pose that the "I" in the narration is different to the "I" who actually wrote the text, although both are the author's simultaneous identities. In this respect, we struggle to understand an author of multiple public identities and roles but also intensely private. Writing exclusively in Polish, but able to access diverse academic sources and thinking facilitated by his fluency of Russian, German and French. Even Korczak warns that "*you have to read all day to understand a day*

*of mine*” and the reader’s vain attempts to relive his life will result only in the grasping of “*some vague summary in a careless sketch*”.

A comprehensive examination of Korczak, let alone comparatively analysed in parallel with Foucault is unlikely in the short space of a chapter. With few translations into English, Hartman (1997) concurs that there are many ways of ‘reading’ Korczak. Furthermore, he points towards the lack of a rigorously researched body of work as the impediment to Korczak’s ideas being propagated. However, without looking past the parochial, post-communist national image and becoming interested in the topic itself, as occurred with Vygotsky, such collaboration is difficult to establish or break through to the dominant academic circles. Although a European country, it is symbolic of cultural and economic oppression, Poland’s academic reputation and Korczak’s legacy are intertwined with the Holocaust and more recent negativity towards its immigrants, particularly in the United Kingdom (Spigelman, 2013). As a critical theorist/educational practitioner, Korczak’s relevance to current social and political issues is the reason this work deviates from the well-worn path of a biographical narrative. Instead it just leaps in to share the provocations emerging from the author’s doctoral research, in an effort to challenge the accepted timeline of the development of critical theory in education. By questioning what knowledge has become embedded as dominant per Foucault’s ‘regimes of truth’, from our vantage we may begin to tease out an alternative interpretation of Korczak. This chapter aims at some insight into what was a revolutionary ‘*philosophical life*’, as the *parrhesiast*, ‘*close to death, speaking a truth society did not want to hear*’ (Foucault quoted in Kohan, 2015, p. 91) and will hopefully justify Korczak’s inclusion within the critical theory discourse.

Why choose a comparative of Korczak and Foucault? Both defined their versions of power whilst refusing the Marxist paradigm. Specifically, Korczak (1922/1926/1929/1939) did not attempt to portray a binary domination to be contrasted with emancipation of relations between adults and children. In simple anecdotes, he related how power shifts, can be yielded to different ends and also contested or overthrown. Whereas Freire’s commitment to a Marxist and hence class oppression creates opposing poles which to a large extent ignores the economically valueless child.

“*Children, being small and weak, have little market value*” [Korczak, 1929]

Children are notably absent throughout ‘*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*’ with Freire reserving only a few lines for their lives. This is by vaguely deferring to the (Marxist) psychology of Erich Fromm and instructing parents to avoid being ‘authoritarian’ (Freire, 1996, pp. 135–136) Whereas, both writers emerged from experiences of colonization, Korczak was able to grasp the various conceptualizations of childhood emerging in Western society (and influencing his). The Child as the *last savage* resulted in institutional contexts that ran parallel to oppressive strategies implemented by various regimes and he asserted his stance;

“*The Child – already a resident, citizen and already a person. Not at some point will be, but already is.*”

Going beyond the Marxist economic commodification of the person, Korczak explains that his fellow revolutionaries are misguided. From the earliest experiences, the small

child adopts those guidelines of struggle against power in seeking to be big, to identify with the oppressor (1929). His pedagogy sought not to simply reverse the roles but resist, disrupt and transgress the mechanisms of power relations, whether on the micro, meso, macro or exo levels in order to transform society, to create something new. It complements Foucault's description of all types of knowledge interlocked within "*the clash of petty dominations, as well as in the larger battles which constitute our world*" as described by Rabinow (1984, p. 6). Reading Korczak's lesser known work 'Bobo' reveals the infant as a scientist, struggling to research his world empirically but also conjuring the image of the 'philosophical baby'. Also the title of Alison Gopnik's (2011) book on radically new understandings of the infant within neuroscience and psychology. Korczak's view of the 'child as philosopher and poet' is gaining ground in mainstream pedagogy (Szczepaska-Pustkowska, 2013; Smolińska-Theiss, 2013; Murriss, 2016) Almost a century ago, Korczak took to publishing children's thoughts as a 'philosophy of children' to learn from them rather than using philosophy for them, with them or about them. From a child reader of his 'Little Review' newspaper (Cohen, 1994, p. 292)

*"Will the world never change? Will the one who suffered yesterday as the deprived child, today, when fully grown take a turn at the role of the oppressor"*

Whilst Foucault was concerned with the pressure that writing put on language, JK pressured his teachers and children into writing, to experience its use as a tool for the pedagogy of transgression, take up authorship that violated existing boundaries. Living in completely different space and time, it would be too simple to label them as opposing ends, Foucault seeking in life the "extreme limit – experience" and Korczak searching in the mundane and every day. Regarding post limit-experiences, Foucault learnt that these individual experiences were pointless in the transformation of society. In fact, in his later writing, on this aspect he seems to converge towards Korczak-ian concepts of human liberation. At times there appears almost 'mythical' connectivity between the two through time, not least in their distaste for Marxist ideology, Foucault experiencing it in practice for himself [3] and Korczak for anticipating its problems;

*"I respect the idea, but it's like pure rainwater.  
When it comes down the rainspout of reality, it gets polluted"*

(in Lifton, 1988, p. 184)

Although Foucault extracted himself from the structuralism of Marx, he remains entwined within the philosophy of Nietzsche despite trying to position himself independently as a critically reflective historian studying discourse. Korczak's thoughts on Nietzsche are relatively unknown, but there is a significant clue when he writes in his Ghetto Diary (p. 7) that he seeks to refute '*a deceitful book by a false prophet [...] has done a great deal of harm – Also sprach Zarathustra*'. Korczak gloats somewhat that his discussion with the mystic led him to profound understanding whereas, Nietzsche's path resulted in different learning and led him to death inside an insane asylum. Not that Korczak is sure about his own mental state as "*the son of a madman*", but is clear that psychiatrists will not have the chance to treat him against his will as he "*is too fond of my follies*" (Korczak 1978/2003, p. 91). Such themes of madness, loneliness, power and God are recurrent

throughout Korczak's work and provide a strong argument for further analytical comparison with other thinkers. [4]

Foucault's discussions of the nature of power and knowledge particularly within social institutions such as prisons, asylums and clinics, has brought his tools to the analysis of educational discourse and early childhood practice. (MacNaughton, 2005; Gallagher, 2008). It is worthwhile to note of the two writers shared a common interest in institutional care and its role in society. Korczak had been raised in a wealthy family before it plunged into poverty during his adolescence with the deterioration of his father's mental health. By his early thirties, Korczak had served on the front as a soldier, been a journalist, thrown in prison and had intimate knowledge of the 'madhouse' through visiting his father. A preoccupation with Korczak's scientific training as a physician neglects his foundational studies in politics, literature, psychology and sociology at the Flying University (an underground network established by feminists) and in association with Warsaw's intelligentsia (Lifton, 1988, pp. 35–36, 43). His medical studies afforded his visits to various asylums, clinics, schools and juvenile detention facilities in Germany, Switzerland, England and France. His travels, studies and social circles also brought him into contact with the academic mainstream and counterculture of his day. It is this amalgam of ideas that saw Korczak equipped to defy emerging developmentalism, psychoanalysis and hereditary theories of intelligence within education and society at large. Although, this scope does not allow for a deep exploration of the intelligentsia movements which spawned Korczak, suffice to say that he was not a lone voice but rather at the vanguard of a movement. Evidence of this atmosphere can be found in the UNESCO (1997) list of 100 globally influential educators which has Korczak's personal connections equivalent to 5% of the total number. Beyond Korczak himself, the list includes two personal colleagues, Dawid and Grzegorzewska and two visitors to his orphanage.

The intelligentsia and revolutionary atmosphere surrounding Korczak cannot be underestimated. Both Korczak and Foucault rejected Marxism and capitalism, although perhaps for different reasons. However, in contradiction of Mencil's previous assertion, simply living in an unequal society and reading Marxist literature could not have provided the visionary depth of understanding the doctor displays within his writing. By reading his texts as a personal life history within the larger historical context, rather than a linear biography of facts and events, there is possibility to gain an insight into this. As a young man active in student circles he was exposed to revolutionary rhetoric and youthful zeal but of more consequence is his coming into contact with two of the leading Marxist scholars of the time. One of these, Ludwik Krzywicki was a sociologist and translator of Marx's *Das Kapital* and the developer of the theory of the migration of ideas (memes). Both arrested for political activism, Krzywicki, who was known for taking his work to prison, potentially having weeks for opportune discussion with an enthusiastic young student, Korczak (Falkowska, 1989, p. 139). The second influence was perhaps even more important, that of Stanisław Brzozowski, now an obscure philosopher whose study of Kant, Nietzsche and Marx led to his own 'philosophy of labour' (Lewin, 1997, p. 124; Falkowska, 1989, p. 83; Ciesielska, 2016). When Korczak was invited to contribute to the socio-political gazettes in Warsaw, Brzozowski was already an established political commentator who took the budding writer under his wing. Understanding the older man's accusations against Engel's scientific Marxism, as being determinist, naive and alienating,

assists in framing Korczak's view of work particularly within the context of education and childhood. Key to this anthropocentric 'philosophy of labour' was retrieving the humanist and philosophical basis of Marxism with an emphasis on subjectivity and the role of the person in actively creating and re-creating reality (Walicki, 1973, p. 157). The emphasis turned away from economic necessity and productivity towards other factors such as will-*ingness* (the quality of the will) and the social cohesion and strength of bonds influencing the will. Although acknowledging that all humans reflected their economic and social conditions, rather than dissecting work as labour input and product output, Brzozowski examined work as an experiential process. This internal performance analysis maintained by the will, makes work and its products via physical effort externally possible. The effort was not solely that of the individual as if a part of a machine, but dependent upon other labour which has created the organisation and culture in which it is undertaken. Work is a complex system, created and maintained by society determined by the quality of its will. Although his earlier work was distinctly historical materialist, Brzozowski eventually reaches a conclusion which sent him into Marxist exile and ostracized from socialist circles. Walicki (1973) concludes that he finally declares that discipline of will required a strong, traditional moral bond as an essential, and as such, recognized religion as invaluable in this task and the base element of the intensity of the social bond. His hypothesis strongly argued that work was an essence of spirituality or an inner 'willingness to work' rather than materiality or necessity, and was deeply seated in custom, culture and community that was crucial for the continuity of work. This system of work acquires an almost religious-like veneration which Lewin (1997, p. 124) describing each component – work, tools and good workers acquiring status as cults.

But coming back to Foucault, he *is* a materialist stating that there cannot be a position of certainty outside that of history and society, no universal truths. Similarly, Korczak had become suspicious of universalism and the scientific claims of different theories as truth. As his Berlin paediatric supervisors promoted their new invention of infant formula, trusting his own experiences, writing as Doctor Goldszmit, he sided with his Parisian colleagues to advocate for breastfeeding (Falkowska, 1989, p. 133). He advised the Mother to become the expert on her own Child, to glean knowledge through painful experiences, learning to trust her own perceptions as no expert or textbook "can know her child as she does" (Lifton, p. 80). In parallel, he also invests in the child as the expert, with anecdotes advising to learn from each child and from the children in a group is the mantra peppered throughout his work (Korczak 1978/2003, pp. 26, 40). In this regard, Korczak advocated and utilised empirical observation but largely his views were incompatible with the materialists as they regarded matter as the only reality thus denying the concept of the soul and any divine power. Probably under the influence of Brzozowski, Dawid (the skilled translator of Kant) and Krzywicki (of Marx), it was the Kantian objection to materialism with its various forms that prevailed. Enmeshed in various ideologies it is problematic to make too much of the influence of positivism on Polish intelligentsia during Korczak's era, as Silverman (2011) has been prone to doing (cited by Krappmann, 2013, p. 334). It is the wording itself that Foucault would argue was problematic. Chekhov may have been drawn to the worldview of rationalism and the Positivist promise, but his 'spiritual condition' would have held him back from a full embrace (Bunin, 2007, p. 66). Similarly, it was unlikely the Polish and Jewish intellectuals striving for independence and freedom from

subservience would fully subscribe to the *scientific truth* presented as “survival of the fittest”. Thus without certainty, change and time act upon an enduring substrate, he evokes a biopolitics symbolic of Gaia that binds all people, animal, plant and stone; “*Man is both Earth and heaven, plant and animal*” (Korczak cited in Starczewska, 1997).

By reflecting on ideas that have migrated and colonized the territory of our everyday lives and become reified within our discourse, there is value to be found in exploring the Korczak’s structure-agency relationship that is more in line with contemporary social and integrated theories. However, this is issued with a Korczak-warning that although a wholeness or totality may be sought, *‘life never gives more than partial liberation. Achievement can never be more than fragmentary’* (Lifton, 1988, p. 88). Time is fleeting and with this comes a lack of certainty, a mystery at its core that cannot be explained by the combination of the psycho-biology of the individual, interpersonal relations and the influences of the cultural-historical structures of society. This allows for a place where things can be seen in their differences almost as a whole but also within their connectivity (Norrie, 2010).

Despite this distinctly spiritual tone, surrounded by Jews, Christians, Communists and Zionists, the orphanages were criticised for not either being Jewish or Polish enough, in that the way the knowledge of the religion, language and culture was not being transmitted with sufficient gusto. Declaring that there was no one truth, Korczak’s identification with the modernist ideals may have stemmed from those Kantian and Arts & Crafts precursors drawing him towards art, literature and revolution. He declared his rejection early on for the consumer culture that he observed emerging in newly industrialised Warsaw. Before ‘The Theatre of the Absurd’ emerged post-war in the West, Korczak admired the absurdist art of Warsaw contemporary, Witkacy whose work expressed the belief that human existence had no meaning. Korczak’s (1931) own play, *‘The Senate of Madmen’* prophesied the rise of the totalitarian states led by Hitler and Stalin. His rejection of Enlightenment ideals is starkly presented in his monologue entitled *‘Euthanasia’*. Naming the symbol of progress *‘the Eiffel Tower’* as a *‘contemporary tower of Babel’*, Korczak describes how secular State institutions and services replaced those of the Church (Ghetto, Diary, p. 87). *“The penal, civil and commercial codes are the equivalent of the old decalogue and its commentaries. Prisons are former cloisters. Court verdicts – excommunications.”*

That Korczak writes this in the weeks before his death at the hands of the Nazis cannot escape being connected with the pessimistic work of Adorno or Arendt’s banality of evil;

*“Cruelty comes in many forms; the whip, the stick or the pencil.  
In the name of efficiency, to keep order, procedures and priorities.”*

Offering his insight into World War II as a Jewish insider, with cool detachment, he provides an analysis of a “naive battle” which boosts the economy by providing work and goods but where the underlying issue was the migration of people (and their interbreeding) on both German and Russian sides (Ghetto, Diary, p. 104). However, somehow through his musings that he despises the other Jewish doctor more than the young soldier outside his window there is reserved a certain optimism for a humanism beyond humanism. One is reminded of his motto borrowed from Kropotkin;

*“People are generally better than the institutions they serve”*

In his comparison with State institutions, he declares at least the Church had held sanctity within, nothing outside only the “beasts of burden, numbed, exploited, helpless”. Therefore, although Korczak professed a universal connection, he reserved a particular position for humanity and its power. According to his hero, the French entomologist Fabre (1823–1915), animals are a-historical, unaware of their own history or future, they do not take risks and as such, there is no intentionality in their actions, only instinct (Fabre, 1937). Only human activity can be transformative and creative, the ability to produce not only objects but ideas, institutions and culture. Now that children are constructed as active agents rather than passive objects allows them to be released from their conflation with animal studies and gain status as people (Beresford, 1997; Punch, 2002; Smith, 2002). However, some argue it was precisely the Postmodernist turn that would be responsible for a fragmentation of the human condition, which for some philosophers, left *‘the child as less than not much’* (Staples, 2008). Searching for optimism, Sven Hartman (2009), the Swedish professor of pedagogy, gains hope in an *‘inestimable source of inspiration’* he finds in Korczak’s work. He explains, in Korczak’s imagery (1929) the Child appears to become more, with closer connection with history and nature, the embodiment of the mystery of humanity;

*“The child – that little nothing, is the flesh-&-blood brother of the ocean wave, of the wind, & ashes; of the sun & the Milky Way. This speck of dust is the brother of every ear of corn, every blade of grass-every fledgling from the nest there is something in the child which feels & explores – suffers, desires & delights – loves & hates, believes & doubts, something that approaches, something that turns aside. In its thought this small speck of dust can embrace everything: stars & oceans, the mountain & the abyss. And what is the actual substance of his soul if not the cosmos, but without spatial dimensions ...”*

Although elevating the status of each individual, he does not subscribe to the pragmatism of his contemporary, Dewey (1899/2010), who proposed that choice fulfils individual needs whilst maintaining living together as community. Korczak, in fact, echoed not just the liberal idea of children making their own informed choices, his cryptic statements eluded a poststructuralist perspective of childhood and that choice was not freely available. The “illusion” is created and maintained by the dominant discourses, and the purpose of Korczak’s methods was to reveal the hidden forces at play. Although his Christian and Jewish orphanages were kept separate by law and by funders, Korczak embraced pluralism, with the children attending local schools and experiencing the neighbourhood. Children were encouraged to engage with the traditions and history of their respective culture and experience it within the contrast to daily life with all of its conflict and contradictions in values. Beyond Freire’s *‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’*, although Korczak acknowledged the constraints of social structures and the multiple ways in which his children found themselves on the bottom rung of the ‘power ladder’, his approach centred on the agency of each person to individually resist in the smallest of ways, even against themselves. The development of will and willingness as understood by Jan Dawid (1911) who had been a student of Wundt’s can be considered Korczak’s teacher training. That *“to know, to want and to do are the three sources that animate human life”*. Dawid’s other experimental work into what he considered to be academic intelligence showed it to be independent of gender,

race, class or religion counter to the prevailing idea that the poor or ignorant were bound by their inheritance to remain so (Kupisiewicz, 2000, p. 1). Thus the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had begun a discourse on a new vision of Polish school, breaking with the previous positivist utilitarianism, with Korczak writing in 1907;

*“The child was considered a person, as a being, with whom one would have to be reckoned with, which must not be led on a leash [...]. Past despotism has survived within education [upbringing], the children’s old fear of their parents disappeared over time – what to put in its place? Love, respect and trust.”* [School of Life]

It was connection to these circles that led Korczak to reject the unilateral professionalization of school, with Smolinska-Theiss (2013) proposing that ‘his pedagogical manifesto, asks, whether we teach children *what, how* and *for whom* to live?’ As he mused on the vision and mission of the future school, Korczak is adamant about the one it replaces;

*“Everything that happens here is either a terrible mistake, or a shameful lie. I looked upon the whole of school as if on a madhouse (lunatic asylum).”*

As education practices assess averages and PISA scores and theorists homogenize ‘the poor’ or ‘the working class’, Zygmunt Bauman (2003) reminds us of the words of Wittgenstein, *“The whole planet can suffer no single torment greater than a single soul”*. Bauman explains this within the spirit of Korczak’s pedagogy by highlighting the difference between two films both set during the Holocaust; Spielberg’s blockbuster ‘Schindler’s List’ is about survival at all cost, whereas Andrzej Wajda’s ‘Korczak’ was on the value of dignity. This lesson in social Darwinism is applauded by Hollywood audiences – *the will of the strong, clever and cunning to survive overcomes the weak and hapless*. Brzozowski declares, *“Mankind creating itself – such is the fundamental, the principal idea of philosophy”* (Walicki, 1989). If this was the constructivist foundation from where Korczak had started, four decades later, he did not profess a vision of man’s conquest and power over the universe. Thus to change the world, Korczak had to examine *‘the will to...’* retain human dignity and value, for oneself and the other. Mencwel (2010) explains that for Korczak the horrors of the Ghetto were not a surprise, rather awareness of the ongoing effects of rationalization and the logic found within the narrative of modernity. His experiment in human essence would have to begin as early as possible, so the infant is not humiliated, the young child not made a fool. Resonating with Levinas, this pedagogical love is not possession nor power, battle or fusion and resides beyond knowledge, must remain a mystery that cannot be known (Bauman, 2003). Mencwel (2010) concurs that Korczak’s drive and pedagogical evolution came from the desire to understand human essence, not simply to love and know the child. Freire’s student-teacher contradiction is solved where both are simultaneously teachers and students, thus Korczak implores teachers to be critically reflective in learning how to be with the child;

*“Be yourself. Seek your own road. Get to know yourself before you desire to know children”*

There are countless indictments written on the cruelty of school of the early twentieth century. Korczak, as no exception, also describing domineering teachers, harsh punishment, boredom from rote learning and disregard for children’s interests and needs for

comfort, movement, play and nutrition. From this position, we gain clarity into Korczak's reputation for holding many professions, teachers and doctors alike, in contempt. When the early days of the children's home were in mayhem, rather than blame the children, he sacked the teachers. Diplomas held no sway, as he was prone to issuing edicts that he preferred an old woman who raised chickens for child care than a graduate nurse (Lifton, p. 69) or *'old nannies and construction workers are often better pedagogues than a doctor of psychology'* (ibidem, p. 33) To bridge the abyss created by the professional hierarchy, the janitor and washerwoman were a regular presence at staff meetings, on hand *"to offer specialist advice"* (ibidem, p. 107). Korczak himself was often mistaken as the gardener or dishwasher rather than the celebrity doctor, as he explained that there should not be allowed to exist such dirty or dangerous jobs to be considered beneath him. Echoing Brzozowski, in his division of labour, he blames vanity as a downfall and demands respect for the honest worker. He recommends that no job be purely physical nor mental, much like a crop rotation for farming or change of climate for one's health, he slyly praises the Pope for taking a day to humbly wash the feet of the homeless (Ghetto, Diary, p. 107). In order to realise his societal pedagogy in practice, aside from his publications and lecturing at various universities, Korczak established the multidisciplinary Bursa as a boarding house for university students to learn about education through living amongst the resident children. An adolescent girl, newly arrived 'from the provinces' recounts her surprise at securing a competitive Bursa place based upon her commitment to children's right to play (Merzan, 1987, p. 6). Korczak's application of Dawid's 'souls of teachers' theory fits well within Gert Biesta's (2010, p. 21) retake of Levinas' work posing that education works in three domains with overlapping aims. Qualification (schooling) covers the right kind of knowledge, skills and dispositions needed for the future. Socialisation concerns a maintenance of the existing order and formation of identity as part of that profession. Lastly, subjectification counters socialisation so as not to assimilate the new into the existing hence arguing against determinism. Conserving a degree of independence, the individual is not a 'specimen' serving replication of the existing order. It is this subjectivity that facilitates an *'emergentist epistemology'* allowing for the creation of solutions which are not only new but previously unimaginable (Osberg et al., 2008). The child was to be read each day different to the day before, as a manuscript of hieroglyphs, that the Child is an evolving mystery, underpinned Korczak's oft reply to questions was a cheeky 'I don't know' which he acknowledged was the key to new breakthroughs and limitless possibility (Lifton, p. 80). This resonates with the idea that knowledge (or knowing) is not revealed from the engagement in the moment but that each 'knowledge event' is in itself a radical new way of knowing, thus one that cannot be recaptured or repeated (Osberg & Biesta, 2007, pp. 33–40). This translation of ideas into practice with constant critical reflexivity can be dismissed as a search for the utopian ideal but one that Smolińska-Theiss (2013) believes Korczak would defend as such;

*"Faith in the power of education is not the delusion of a dreamer, but the result of centuries of study and experience."*

Rather than seek the emancipation of the child within Romanticism as per the 'deschooling' movement of the 1970s, Korczak turned to Revolution for inspiration. An anti-colonisation thesis had appeared in the late 19th Century in the political circles of London

and Paris, propagated successfully by, amongst others, the anarchist Peter Kropotkin. Highly anti-capitalist, his opposition to serfdom and exploitation rang true for the young Polish doctor, who as a colonial subject of the Russian Empire, experienced the harsh practices of Tsarist schooling, censorship and army conscription. However, Kropotkin was criticising not only the oppression of colonies but the intrusion of the modern state into daily life by its hijacking of social activities such as education and welfare for its own ends (Morris, 2014, p. 176). This background is what makes Korczak strikingly different to other philosophers and thinkers. That praxeology remained central to his work rather than a short-lived periphery relates to his standing in solidarity with the oppressed that Freire (1996, p. 155) required. In 1905, long before his famous orphanage is built, Korczak delivers a scathing commentary on “contemporary school”. With a tone that could have been responding to Dewey, that even if turned towards the service of democracy or citizenship, mass schooling was insufficiently politically aware and critical of its own structure and process, thus doing little to address the discrimination of class and gender;

*“For anyone today, it is no secret that the modern school is an institution thoroughly nationalist-capitalist, that first and foremost responsibility is of the education of central bureaucrats and patriotic-chauvinists.”*

He argued that the case of school reform was most closely associated with the general reforms of the State. The school as an institution was dependent on the whole and closely linked to complex issues, the school influences directly, faithfully reflects and is enslaved to them. Korczak (1905) mocked the banality of the apolitical school “*independent of time and space, a school that would serve pure knowledge without any political colouring, in other words – a school on the moon*”. He branded each individual State’s education system with its own distinctive trademark, reserving a particular criticism of colonialism for the English;

*“So English school educate the brave, clever and nimble plantation owner-colonists and industrialists, whose goal is to operate more and more territories, to exploit more and more new territories, to harness more and more new markets, squeeze the benefit of English power through more and more tribes and nations. And throughout these immoral purposes, through exemplary schools, the English government achieves successfully.”*

This drew from the influence of the radical humanism proposed by Kropotkin, who also formulated his ideas within the sphere of crime and punishment, proposing that human essence was repressed by institutions. Later, Foucault would argue against humanism, that the human nature which wills to power also is that which “*dominates and exploits us*” (Newman, 2001, pp. 84–85). However, Korczak drawing upon Kropotkin’s humanism more than a century ago, came to similar conclusions as Foucault;

*“Schools serve the same social functions as prisons and mental institutions – to define, classify, control, and regulate people.”*

Korczak’s view that education is discriminatory against the young resonates with the emerging posthumanism particularly within philosophy of early childhood education. Moss (2016) paraphrasing Murrin provides an accessible definition of the posthumanist

child as enmeshed with relations with all earth dwellers constantly becoming and interacting which Korczak says as so;

*“You may not believe in the existence of the soul,  
yet you must acknowledge that your body will live on as green grass, as a cloud.  
For you, are after all, water and dust.”*

In considering Foucault’s contempt for ideal models and utopias, it lays in an over reliance on theory, searching for abstract models to be superimposed onto societal conditions. In examining Korczak’s model, we find no Rousseau-ian sentimentalist and an awareness that his vision is something unattainable ‘to have one longing, that is for a better life which does not exist but one day might’ so it is worth striving for anyway (Merzan, 1987). This returns to the idea that Korczak was striving for philosophy, not as an antiquated and isolated discipline but in a lived form, as an active, living exercise that is problematized by the intrusion of reality, in space and time (Foucault, 2015, p. 15).

Exploring Korczak’s writing using these Foucauldian tools, not only reveals his underpinning framework but also similar tools. Korczak created institutions in practice, within which he could investigate the complex network of power, horizontal, vertical and radiating networks which shift. External as well as internal. Remarkably, the institutions he established explored both the ‘state’ apparatuses of power and those of resistance. According to Gordon (1980), Foucault defines power as structural, “a complex strategic situation in a given social setting requiring both constraint and enablement”. Counter-power is necessary as the counterbalance and even to its erosion of power of the usual hierarchy. Korczak’s pedagogy takes a political angle from the outset and challenges perspectives and habits on the basis of power, accepted rights, expectancies and capabilities. The disruptions that Korczak introduced daily into the lives of those around him, were designed to do just that – disrupt power allowing for counter-power, in a way, exploring what Foucault calls *governmentality* (Gallagher, 2008, pp. 401–403). The old doctor’s actions were often described by those who knew him as eccentric, sometimes humorous, and at other times, problematic. The main ingredient was that they were unexpected, in flowing against the grain of conventional norms. Whether defiant or peculiar, the behaviour he exhibited in even simple situations was intentional to transgress boundaries and illuminate the inherent complexity of even the dullest tasks or events. These deliberate exclusions and inclusions – who was in or out and on what basis, were part of deliberate denial and unconscious legitimization (Smolińska-Theiss, 2013).

Despite much of Korczak that resonates with posthumanism, he retains his anthropocentric gaze, perhaps related to his religiosity or Jewish roots, but yet there appears to be something more. Not only does he unlearn, allow himself to be challenged by the rich child, but he hopes the child sees the Child in the man, an equal (Lifton, p. 84). Perhaps his search for what is human essence is relevant for our time, one which Freire describes as our anthropological movement, where the youth are preoccupied with what and how they are ‘being’ (Freire, 1993, p. 25). By focussing on the interconnectivity of the child with the adult, other children, family, community, Korczak’s extension far exceeded that of the later (Bronfenbrenner) ecosystem model by including all living and nonliving objects across time and space. In amongst the Romantics lies the sense of the paradoxical words of Wordsworth (1802); ‘*The child is the father of man*’.

Rather than a helpless new 'thing' the child, *Bobo* (1914) is an Ancient, conversing with history, in touch with their familial ancestors and descendants, bound to and boundless in nature and possessing a universal language that adults have forgotten.

## Notes

[1] Piaget visited Korczak's orphanage with elements incorporated in his theories that appear familiar with Korczak's work. This was possibly due to the influence of his research assistant, Alina Szeminska who was from Warsaw (Kohler, 2014).

[2] Even more so if currents are 'picked up' by others such as Emmi Pikler, the Hungarian paediatrician operating an orphanage (currently a comparative of her work with Korczak is the subject of PhD research in Italy); Ludwik Rachmann, the founder of UNICEF (the brother of Korczak's colleague Helena Radlińska); Alice Miller's 'Prisoners of Childhood', in the Warsaw Ghetto as a teenage girl and graduated from university in Warsaw post-war).

[3] Foucault lived and worked in Warsaw, Poland as a cultural attaché and lecturer at the University of Warsaw.

[4] Refers to the Author's current doctoral research.

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